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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 20 October 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)
later: Mr. KNIPPING-VICTORIA (Vice-President) (Dominican Republic)
later: Mr. YUSOF (Vice-President) (Malaysia)
later: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President) (Cyprus)

- The situation in Kampuchea [25] (continued)

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General
- (b) Draft resolution

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 25 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/41/707)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/41/L.2)

Mr. AL-GHILANI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): There is no doubt that our world faces several problems whose effects on man and his environment vary. It may be difficult to categorize such problems with the aim of assigning priorities to the business of dealing with them. However, we might agree that those of them that affect the dignity of man and his freedom to determine his destiny should be assigned the highest priority, especially since we are at the threshold of a new century and hope to be able to leave the present century behind with a set of comprehensive solutions to the urgent human problems in hand, including of course the question of Kampuchea.

That question constitutes the most important threat to peace and security in Asia. The fact that it has defied solution and may continue to do so means that it will spill over the borders of Kampuchea, and affect other parts of the most densely populated of the world's continents.

The people of Kampuchea live under very difficult conditions as a result of the general deterioration of the country and its economy which depends upon agriculture. The Secretary-General was quite right when he warned that the situation in that country was extremely grave because of the upheavals which have taken place there. Those of the unfortunate people of that country who have managed to flee, have not been spared the misery that has been the common lot of those people. Military operations along the borders have forced them to flee further in the hope of finding better, safer refuge.

Based upon our belief in the need to respect the security and integrity of nations, the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs and the right

(Mr. Al-Ghilani, Oman)

of peoples to live in peace and choose their own form of government, my country has consistently sponsored and supported all United Nations resolutions on the question of Kampuchea.

We call upon all countries to implement those resolutions and, in compliance with the will of the international community, withdraw all foreign military forces from Democratic Kampuchea and enable the people of that country to exercise self-determination and choose their form of government in line with their national interests without foreign pressure.

(Mr. Al-Ghilani, Oman)

In this respect, my country supports the eight-point comprehensive proposal (A/41/325) put forward on 17 March by the National Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The proposal has been supported by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). It contains positive suggestions that would make it possible to deal with the various aspects of the Kampuchean problem, including the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the taking of measures necessary to bring about national reconciliation, enable the Kampuchean people to exercise self-determination, and safeguard the security and integrity of the countries of the region.

We laud the efforts of the ASEAN countries to find points of agreement between the parties.

We should emphasize here that if Viet Nam has the sincere intention to bring to an end its military presence in Kampuchea - as it has repeatedly stated in this world forum - it will find in the foregoing proposal the necessary and appropriate framework to do so.

In view of our particular interest in this matter, and as a result of the positive outcome of the meetings, consultations and exchanges of view that have taken place, my country has made a point, since the Kampuchean problem began towards the end of the 1970s, of continuously discussing the problem with the parties concerned in order to keep abreast of the latest developments in the situation. Last July, our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs met Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the head of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in Peking. That was one of several meetings on the Kampuchean question. There have been many meetings and deliberations on the situation in Kampuchea. As is usually the case in such situations, there have been many resolutions which have had the support of the majority of the world community. We

(Mr. Al-Ghilani, Oman)

hope that they will lead to concrete measures that can be rapidly implemented, in order that a just solution to the problem of Kampuchea may be found.

It now remains to take the vital step. We should translate those resolutions into concrete actions. We in Oman join the rest of the world community in calling for a speedy and just solution to the Kampuchean problem. We believe that it is a source of happiness for men of good faith to feel that they are contributing to the lessening of people's suffering. So let us all co-operate in doing just that in the case of the people of Kampuchea.

We are steadfast in our support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives with regard to the situation in Kampuchea. We thank the Secretary-General for the specific and reliable information provided in his last report.

My country supports the draft resolution before the General Assembly, which is designed to ensure understanding and peace in Kampuchea, in conformity with the overwhelming desire of the international community.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): I should like to express the Australian delegation's shock and sadness at the sudden, tragic death of President Samora Machel, one of the great leaders of contemporary Africa and the architect of his country's independence. I had the honour of meeting the late President in Harare at the non-aligned summit meeting last month, and I wish to express my personal condolences to his family, to the families of his colleagues who perished with him in this disaster, and to the people of Mozambique.

I turn now to the item on the Assembly's agenda.

The unresolved situation in Cambodia remains the principal source of tension and instability in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Australia, as a country of that region, is concerned that efforts so far have not led to any major breakthrough in the long search for a settlement of the problem. We appreciate the complexities and the difficulties of the Cambodian situation. But Australia believes that efforts aimed at reaching a solution must continue. In the United Nations, we must continue to maintain a principled position in the hope that, ultimately, the parties will be obliged to accept the established rules of international behaviour enshrined in the Charter.

We have made it clear in the past that Australia is inevitably affected by developments in our region. Hence, we believe we have a right - and a responsibility - to assist in the search for solutions to regional problems. We do so as a long-standing friend and neighbour of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). We do so also as a country which has been seeking to build an improved and more constructive relationship with Viet Nam. Another element in our regional perspective is the view that development of co-operative and cordial relations between the Indochinese countries and the countries of ASEAN would greatly enhance the longer-term stability of our region. The principal factor inhibiting the development of this desirable co-operation is not so much ideological differences as, rather, Viet Nam's intervention in Cambodia in 1979 and its continuing presence, after seven years, in that suffering country.

Australia has not sought to adopt a leading role for itself in the settlement of the dispute in Cambodia: this is, primarily, a matter for the parties most directly affected. But as a regional country, concerned to be responsible and helpful, we have done and shall continue to do what we can to encourage the political will for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem.

We base our activities on a number of fundamental principles. The first is that the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia must end. We believe in the importance of a comprehensive peaceful solution, reached through regional negotiation.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Military solutions to the problems of our region have not worked in the past, and the pursuit of a solution by such means will not, in our view, work in the case of Cambodia. Restoration of normal relations on the part of Viet Nam with regional countries and with the rest of the international community would seem to be an integral part of a comprehensive settlement.

Let me say that Australians were deeply shocked by the atrocities of the Pol Pot Government, perpetrated against its own people. But, as a matter of principle, Australia has not accepted any country's claim to a right to enter the sovereign territory of its neighbours without their agreement; and we do not accept any contention that Viet Nam was justified in intervening in Cambodia on the grounds of needing to assist in ousting Pol Pot because of the atrocities he was inflicting on Cambodia. When the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia occurred, Australia condemned it, and we continue to condemn it.

No lasting Cambodian settlement will be possible without a recognition of the basic right of the people of Cambodia to determine their own future. No formula should be imposed on them, however satisfactory it might appear to others, which would not give them a Government genuinely reflecting their own wishes. It must be their free choice. To do otherwise would be contrary to basic rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and it could also ultimately lead to renewed instability in Cambodia and in the region.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

To promote a negotiated settlement and allow Cambodians to determine their own future, Australia has consistently called upon the main parties involved in the question of Cambodia to engage in dialogue. There is still a long way to go before anyone can be confident that the path to resolution of the problem has been embarked upon, but we have sought to encourage flexibility by all concerned in their search for a mutually acceptable solution.

We are encouraged that despite the fundamental differences efforts to promote such a solution have continued. We welcome the contacts that have taken place between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam. In particular, the Australian Government has noted with appreciation the tireless efforts of the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Mochtar, to establish a productive dialogue between Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries. We are encouraged, too, by the decision of Foreign Minister Siddhi and Foreign Minister Trach to meet in Bangkok earlier this year. We have also noted, over the past two years, other contributions to the task of establishing dialogue. We hope that all parties will be able to build on the present cautious steps towards dialogue, although we cannot fail to remark that there is a clearly still a long way to go before the gaps between the positions of the various parties can be closed.

Consistent with its interests in the region, Australia has encouraged the development of ideas for promoting dialogue. It has done so through close consultations with ASEAN States, with Viet Nam, with China and with other interested parties aimed at determining the scope for movement and clarifying the respective positions.

We believe that this process of consultation has the potential for positive developments between interested parties and it would be preferable to any tendency which might aim at isolation of any key party from the economic and political life

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

of the region. We intend to continue the development of our bilateral relationship with Viet Nam, in the belief that a more productive relationship will enable us to pursue objectives which we share with our neighbours relating to the longer term future of the region. This approach has made it possible for us to speak frankly - and we believe productively - with Viet Nam on the Cambodian problem, just as we have been able to discuss it frankly with ASEAN countries and interested outside parties. Australia does not underestimate the complexities in the way of resolving this problem. After all the interests of the two major super-Powers and China are engaged; in addition to those of Viet Nam itself and those of the ASEAN countries.

We have discerned, however, that at the base of the conversations we have had with all of the interested parties is a desire to resolve the problems of Cambodia. This should provide a foundation upon which to build in searching for ways to make regional dialogue more productive. It would be extremely unfortunate if the region, the international community and the Cambodian people were to lose any opportunity to advance towards a just settlement.

Australia has during 1986 attempted to identify one such opportunity. It has long seemed to us that a system will have to be developed for dialogue involving the genuine representatives of all Cambodian people. This process could, we believe, be facilitated if some mechanism could be established to determine, once and for all, the culpability of the Pol Pot leadership, in the process clearing the way to participation of the rank and file members of the Khmer Rouge in the movement towards a settlement. We have not developed any hard and fast ideas about the sort of mechanism which might be involved, but we believe the concept could contribute to removing one serious impediment to progress. It could in the process allow other positive ideas for peace to be addressed. Whether or not that is a viable proposal will be determined by the assessments of various parties directly

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

concerned about Cambodia as to how relevant and practical they see it. Unless it is widely supported, it will have little practicality or relevance.

In addition to the political issues there are also compelling humanitarian aspects to the problem of Cambodia. Australia is active in efforts to face up to these problems.

As a major resettlement country for Cambodians and other Indo-Chinese refugees, we shall continue to participate in resettlement efforts while cautioning against proposals unlikely to advance a permanent solution. It is becoming increasingly urgent that other efforts include the voluntary repatriation of displaced Cambodians under guarantees that, should they return, their human rights would be protected.

International agencies have continued to provide assistance in the Thai-Cambodian border area in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs. We will remain a firm supporter of such efforts. Moreover, aid directed to humanitarian needs inside Cambodia will continue to be provided through bodies such as the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and through non-governmental organizations. Our aim will continue to be to alleviate human suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Cambodians to remain in their country and displaced Cambodians to consider returning. The well-being of the latter remains a source of concern and we trust that nothing will be done to jeopardize their lives and sense of security.

It is in the interests of all Cambodians that all possible efforts should be made to find a peaceful solution in Cambodia and that in the meanwhile pressing human needs should meet a generous response from the international community.

In our view, the draft resolution before the General Assembly embodies those goals and Australia, as in past years, will vote in favour of it.

Mr. MONSALVE (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to join my voice, on behalf of Colombia, to the others which have expressed condolences upon the death of the President of the Republic of Mozambique. My country conveys to the Government and people of Mozambique, through its delegation, our deepest feelings of solidarity on the occasion of their great loss.

This is the eighth consecutive year that the General Assembly has discussed the question of Cambodia. Over the years the overwhelming majority of members of this world Organization, in growing numbers, have rejected the foreign occupation of the soil of Kampuchea and consistently renewed their appeal to Viet Nam to end an illegitimate military occupation.

(Mr. Monsalve, Colombia)

It is a human tendency to become accustomed to certain situations when they continue without an effective solution. We must beware of that dangerous attitude. For us this repetition brings with it the hope that ultimately it will lead the parties involved to accept the established rules of international conduct set out in the Charter and to a sincere expression of solidarity with the people of Kampuchea. It is like an intermittent signal or light indicating that we have not forgotten that country or its cause. Given the sacrifices, shortages and atrocities that the Kampuchean people have had to bear, this is the least that we can do on their behalf.

The question of Kampuchea remains the principal obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia. The solution of this conflict would open up broad prospects for freedom and progress for the people of Kampuchea and, at the same time, contribute to the greater well-being of that important area of the continent. The persistence of the present situation, on the other hand, spells instability, deprivation and poverty for the Kampuchean people and accentuates the polarization and tensions in the region.

Recently the prospect of arriving at a political settlement of the conflict has improved because of the strength and cohesion achieved by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Internally, as has been rightly pointed out, a growing number of people have been fleeing the Vietnamese military occupation to join the ranks of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and externally acceptance of the Coalition Government has been growing.

The countries of the Association of South-East Nations (ASEAN), in their sincere and consistent desire to bring about a political settlement in Kampuchea, are continuing their close collaboration with that aim in mind.

(Mr. Monsalve, Colombia)

In this context, my country welcomes the proposals for a political settlement made since the beginning of the year, including the eight-point proposal submitted on 17 March 1986 by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Referring to these proposals the Secretary-General, in his report, said:

"I feel that further efforts will be needed to bridge the significant differences which persist regarding the procedure for negotiations and the implementation of the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. I am determined, for my part, to contribute to these efforts, in the framework of my good offices." (A/41/707, para. 11)

It is a very praiseworthy task that has been undertaken by the Secretary-General and the Ad Hoc Committee. Both have conducted extensive and encouraging consultations and talks which demonstrate the spirit of agreement in which dialogue must continue among the parties concerned.

Like the rest of the international community, we support the efforts of the member countries of ASEAN in the process of negotiating with the parties concerned in order to bring about compliance with the United Nations Charter, with regard to territorial integrity, self-determination and independence, without internal interference.

We believe that dialogue aimed at peace is a universal formula for understanding and harmony among peoples and is the best means of achieving lasting political solutions to conflicts. The first important step towards agreement would be for the parties involved, to sit down together at the negotiating table in a spirit of goodwill.

Despite the international community's unequivocal condemnation of the violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter, the situation in Kampuchea persists. The people of Kampuchea have undergone incalculable human suffering,

(Mr. Monsalve, Colombia)

to which the countries of the world, the United Nations and other organizations involved in problems of humanitarian assistance have responded with solidarity and sympathy. The task of the relevant bodies of the United Nations in assistance operations has been carried out efficiently and commendably and very satisfactory information has been supplied in this context in the Secretary-General's report. We hope that this generous assistance will continue.

The draft resolution we have before us follows the outline of those of previous years and reiterates the appeal of the General Assembly at past sessions for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. The draft resolution provides an appropriate framework for a negotiated solution that will enable Kampuchea and all the peoples of South-East Asia to live in stable and lasting peace.

Colombia desires peace for Kampuchea, it desires Kampuchea's independence and freedom. For that reason we are pleased to sponsor this draft resolution, which deserves the support of all Members of the United Nations.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of Egypt, I should like to extend most sincere condolences to the people and Government of the fraternal country of Mozambique, and assure them that the people and Government of Egypt share their deep grief. We are convinced that their resistance and endurance will enable them to overcome their great loss.

We listened with great interest to the statement made by President Norodom Sihanouk at the present session, during which he described in detail the tragedy of the Kampuchean people. We support the appeal for peace he

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

made from this rostrum on behalf of his people and the Coalition Government, when he reaffirmed once again the desire of his people for an equitable and honourable solution of the Kampuchean problem.

President Norodom Sihanouk appealed for the necessary national reconciliation in the political, economic and social spheres and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea showed great flexibility and farsightedness when, on 17 March last, it submitted its eight-point proposal. Egypt believes that this is an appropriate basis for a comprehensive political settlement.

It is most regrettable that each year we have to return to the discussion of the situation in Kampuchea. Each year the General Assembly adopts a resolution, by an overwhelming majority, which contains the main points of a lasting, political solution of the Kampuchean problem, in accordance with the eight points put forward in March.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The resolutions of the General Assembly and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea have remained a dead letter for many years and the heroic people of Kampuchea has suffered foreign occupation of its territory. Therefore it is high time for the world community to shoulder its responsibilities and bring about a comprehensive, peaceful, equitable and lasting settlement of the problem.

Having studied the Secretary-General's report (A/41/707) to this session, I wish to express my appreciation to him and his Special Representative Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, who have spared no effort in their contacts with all the parties concerned and in the field of co-ordinating humanitarian assistance to Kampuchea. We reaffirm our support for the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, which are most praiseworthy. There is no doubt that further efforts must be made, as the Secretary-General has explained, but the General Assembly has an essential responsibility to support the Secretary-General in accomplishing his task.

The position of Egypt with respect to the problem of Kampuchea is based on a policy which it has scrupulously adhered to. That policy is based on respect for the principles of international law, the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the absolute conviction that human rights and fundamental freedoms must be guaranteed, above all, the right of self-determination. That is why our appeal today in support of Kampuchea is the same as the appeals that we have made on behalf of all peoples that have not yet had the opportunity of exercising that right. In appealing for increased efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem, we look forward to the day when the tribulation of other peoples will end and they will be able to recover their fundamental rights under the Charter of this Organization.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

We also wish to reiterate our support for the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea in fulfilling its duties and for the recommendations contained in its report (A/CONF.109/11). We also take this opportunity to express our support for the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in its efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Finally, we fully support draft resolution A/41/L.2.

Mr. YUSSOF (Brunei Darussalam): Sir, I should like to take this opportunity to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am confident that with your diplomatic skills, experience and wisdom you will be able to guide the session to a successful conclusion.

I should like to join my colleagues in saying that it was with deep sorrow that we learned of the very tragic death of President Samora Moises Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique. On behalf of my delegation and myself, I wish to extend our profound condolences to the bereaved families and friends at this time of great loss to the Mozambique nation and people.

Earlier in this session my Minister reaffirmed Brunei Darussalam's commitment to and support for the high objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We will spare no effort in making this world body a prestigious and credible Organization, an Organization whose problems can be solved through the process of negotiation.

I am addressing fellow Members of the Organization because I want to emphasize the important role that this body can play in bringing about a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Yussof, Brunei Darussalam)

Since 1979 the United Nations General Assembly, under this item, inter alia, has called for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchean independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny. Viet Nam has not responded although this call has the increasing support of the majority of the Members of this international Organization.

I would like to elaborate a little on the role of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in connection with this matter. When Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea in December 1978 it violated one of the basic principles of international relations. ASEAN felt that this violation of Kampuchean sovereignty must be resisted and condemned and, as it believes in the process of settling problems by negotiation, it took the issue to this body to mobilize world opinion in order to bring Viet Nam to the negotiating table.

The question of Kampuchea, I reiterate, is not a conflict between Viet Nam and ASEAN. What ASEAN has been doing over the last seven years is to provide a propitious framework and environment for Viet Nam to come to the negotiating table and finally allow the Kampuchean to settle the problem themselves.

ASEAN tried by all manner of persuasion to get the Vietnamese to respond. Last year ASEAN proposed that a proximity talks be held so that the various Kampuchean factions could start a process of talking to each other. Viet Nam did not respond. This year the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea introduced the eight-point proposal, which its President, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had announced on 17 March 1986. The eight-point proposal has received support from the majority of the international community. It addresses comprehensively the core issues of the Kampuchean problem. Among other things, it calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam to discuss

(Mr. Yussof, Brunei Darussalam)

the process of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The withdrawal of the armed forces is the first logical step before any settlement can take place. For a smooth process of withdrawal, a cease-fire directly negotiated through the United Nations must be agreed upon. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, therefore, has spelled out the basic elements for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Viet Nam, which has repeatedly declared its aspirations to establish peace and stability in the region, thus has no valid reason to reject this idea.

The proposal also calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Heng Samrin faction, in order to set up a quadripartite Government of Kampuchea. This demonstrates the flexibility of Democratic Kampuchea, which attaches importance to national reconciliation of all the Kampuchean people.

(Mr. Yussof, Brunei Darussalam)

In the final part of the eight-point proposal, Democratic Kampuchea has once again shown its reconciliatory attitude by its willingness to sign a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence with Viet Nam and to establish economic and trade relations between the two countries.

That proposal reaffirms the conviction of ASEAN that the Kampuchean problem has to be solved by the Kampuchean people themselves. It could serve as a constructive basis for negotiation. Accepting the proposal would not only restore the independence of Kampuchea but would also guarantee the security of Viet Nam itself. Viet Nam would thus be able to direct its attention to more pressing problems at home, such as those related to national and economic development. Brunei Darussalam urges Viet Nam to reconsider that proposal.

Viet Nam must be made to realize that there is no military solution to the Kampuchean problem. The only road it can embark on is the path of negotiation. Signs indicating the urgency for a political solution are very much in evidence in Kampuchea. There is a stalemate as far as the ground situation is concerned. Military victory for Viet Nam is now definitely out of the question. The Vietnamese occupying forces continue to be faced with strong resistance from the forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean civilians themselves. There was no dry-season offensive launched last year by the Vietnamese forces along the Thai-Kampuchean border. This was possibly partly due to the fact that the resistance forces were very active and successful in the interior of Kampuchea and possibly partly due to the current pressing economic problems confronted by Viet Nam, and also there have been recent political signs from the cold far north-westerly part of Viet Nam that it appeared to it to be wiser to reassess its position. Therefore, in the interests of both conflicting

(Mr. Yussof, Brunei Darussalam)

parties, negotiations must be convened, either directly, as called for by the eight-point proposal, or indirectly, as suggested in the proposal for proximity talks between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam made by ASEAN in Kuala Lumpur on 8 July 1985.

Viet Nam must also be made to see the reality that its continued occupation of Kampuchea is a major drain on its economic resources, which could have been better used for the development of the country. Its isolation and the continued occupation of Kampuchea can only lead it to an underdeveloped economy, bringing suffering and poverty to the country. Surely the people of Viet Nam must be weary of war and they really deserve to taste the fruits of peace in their own country.

The continuing presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and the resulting exodus of thousands of refugees are sources of tension in our region. In this connection, Brunei Darussalam appreciates the efforts of the United Nations through the United Nations Border Relief Operation and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and also, of course, of the International Committee of the Red Cross and other voluntary agencies. We also express our appreciation of the generous contributions which have made the implementation of the programmes of the international agencies possible.

Viet Nam's actions, therefore, have jeopardized the peace and stability of our region and are endangering international peace and security. We believe that peace and security in South-East Asia can be a reality only if all States in the region adhere to the principles governing international relations among friendly nations and co-operation among nations, particularly the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

(Mr. Yussof, Brunei Darussalam)

This body can influence and persuade Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea and come to the negotiating table. It can do so by supporting the draft resolution with such a convincing majority that Viet Nam can see the futility of its present position.

If Viet Nam responds positively and comes to the negotiating table, the prestige and effectiveness of this Organization will be further enhanced. Its relevance as the body for the resolution of problems by peaceful means will be not just a dream but a reality. Therefore we urge all Member States to support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. ORN (Sweden): I should like to share in the condolences already expressed from this rostrum on the tragic death of President Machel. As my Prime Minister stated in Stockholm this morning, President Machel had many friends in my country, which he had visited on numerous occasions. Mozambique is, moreover, one of Sweden's main partners in development co-operation in Africa. Samora Machel was a valiant fighter for national independence, not only for his own country, Mozambique, but for the oppressed peoples in southern Africa as a whole.

This year, as in the case of similar draft resolutions in the past, my delegation intends to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. Let me briefly explain why.

The draft resolution demands the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. It stresses that it is of vital importance that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea be restored and preserved. It recognizes the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; and it reaffirms the need for all States to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. These are, in our view, the main elements necessary for a peaceful solution of the conflict.

(Mr. Orn, Sweden)

However, our vote should not be taken as an expression of support for every formulation in the draft. There are preambular elements in the text which, in our view, are either not warranted by facts or not likely to facilitate a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. It remains the position of my Government that no Government at present can be regarded as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

The suffering of the Kampuchean people has been immense in recent years. The notorious Pol Pot régime was followed by foreign intervention causing further bloodshed and convulsive internal strife.

A peaceful solution of the conflict is, therefore, first and foremost of vital importance to the Kampuchean people themselves. But the war has had repercussions far beyond the borders of the country. The fighting has spilled over to some of the neighbouring countries. The massive flow of refugees has also created a major burden for these countries, in particular for Thailand.

It is also evident that a just solution will have a positive influence on the stability and the peaceful development of Asia as a whole. Only on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference can the countries of the region lay the foundation for future co-operation and trust.

It should also be of great concern to the entire international community that respect for international law and for the United Nations Charter be restored in Kampuchea. All nations, big and small, will suffer if anarchy is allowed to rule in international relations.

The efforts on the part of the Secretary-General, as well as all other attempts to promote a peaceful solution, have the full support of my Government.

(Mr. Orn, Sweden)

In the meantime, the need for substantial humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict remains great. During 1986 my Government's contribution to the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes has exceeded \$2 million. The Swedish Government is prepared to continue its support for these programmes.

The Vietnamese ought to realize from their own experience that no people can for ever be denied its right of self-determination and freedom from foreign domination. It is a source of great regret to the Swedish Government, which strongly supported the Vietnamese people in their own struggle not so long ago, that this moral and historical lesson has so soon been forgotten by the Government in Hanoi.

Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): Before I speak on behalf of the United States delegation I should like to express my condolences to the people of Mozambique, the Ambassador of Mozambique and the family and admirers of the late President Machel and to tell them how grieved we are at the untimely accident that has taken the life of a man who played such an important part in the life and activities of that country since it became independent. It is a sad and grievous event and we share in the sorrow of his people and his friends.

We meet today to discuss a question of searing humanitarian importance: the continued existence of the Cambodian people.

The Cambodians have a proud and glorious heritage which traces its lineage over hundreds of years. From the eighth century, when the first Cambodian king established himself on the shores of the Great Lake, the Tonle Sap. From this beginning grew the Angkor Kingdom, one of South-East Asia's mightiest empires. The Cambodians searched out the secrets of water management and irrigation and built huge reservoirs which allowed bountiful agricultural production. The Cambodians of the Angkor period developed into the master builders of the time and left the world that unsurpassed masterpiece, Angkor Wat. He who gazes at Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom cannot but be awed by the Cambodians' accomplishment and what they bequeathed to all mankind.

The glories of Angkor, however, are far in the past and the Cambodian people now find themselves in very different circumstances. Instead of the proud warriors who kept their enemies at bay for centuries, we see the Cambodians now prostrate. Their country is occupied by foreign forces and their very future existence as a people is in question. It is right and proper that we in the United Nations should address ourselves to this question, for the fate of Cambodia and the Cambodian people is of concern to the entire world community. It is one of the principal

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functions of the United Nations to defend just such a small nation and helpless people.

The origins of the Cambodian tragedy are well known. In April 1975 the black-clad Khmer Rouge stormed Phnom Penh and opened a chapter in world history which will live for ever in infamy. Applying extreme ideas of agrarian revolution, the Khmer Rouge emptied the cities and treated the inhabitants as little better than draft animals. Hundreds of thousands of innocent Cambodians died from exhaustion, disease and malnutrition. Others were brutally executed by the increasingly paranoid Khmer Rouge leaders.

In December 1978 Viet Nam invaded Cambodia and drove the Khmer Rouge from power. The Vietnamese claim that they acted to liberate the country from Pol Pot, but the truth is far different. Before the Khmer Rouge seized power Viet Nam gave them massive support. Many Khmer Rouge leaders were trained in Viet Nam; but once Pol Pot was in power Viet Nam quickly learned that it could not control him. It was at this time that the Vietnamese used the growing world condemnation of the Khmer Rouge as a pretext to invade and conquer.

After nearly eight years Viet Nam's intentions for Cambodia have become increasingly plain; Viet Nam seeks nothing less than the creation of a vassal and colonized State. The Heng Samrin régime which it installed in Phnom Penh could not survive without the 140,000 Vietnamese occupation troops. All senior Heng Samrin officials have Vietnamese "advisers" who ensure that Viet Nam's dictates are followed to the letter. Even those officials must resent the hours of political "education" designed to produce conformity with Viet Nam's outlook. No policy can be promulgated in Phnom Penh without Vietnamese approval, and woe to the Cambodian official who dares to display any hint of independence or nationalism. The fate of Pen Sovan serves as a vivid reminder of what happens to those who step out of

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line. Vietnamese control reaches down to the district and village levels, where Vietnamese "advisers" have often unilaterally established their own governmental structures.

The Vietnamese presence, however, is not limited to the Government; it permeates all aspects of the society. The schools have been turned into instruments of Vietnamese propaganda, seeking to justify the Vietnamese occupation. Knowledge of the Vietnamese language is a prerequisite for advancement; students have regularly been sent to study in Viet Nam. The local press is also directed by the ever-present Vietnamese "advisers". The shattered Cambodian economy continues to be drained by the Vietnamese. Cambodia's hard-pressed farmers still have to help supply the Vietnamese occupation forces.

The most insidious of Viet Nam's plans to subjugate Cambodia is the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese nationals on Cambodian territory. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk has repeatedly raised the alarm about the Vietnamese colonization of his country. Estimates of the number of Vietnamese settlers now run as high as 700,000, or over 10 per cent of the population, and more arrive all the time. Former Prime Minister Son Sann recently said in Washington that Cambodians were being forced out of the cities to the villages to make way for the new Vietnamese arrivals. Even in the villages Vietnamese authorities are apparently requisitioning the best houses and choice farm lands for their compatriots.

That the master builders who once raised the magnificent Angkor Wat from the swamps of the Great Lake should be reduced to being outcasts in their own land is a source of outrage and deep concern to us all.

As has occurred in many other oppressed lands, the Vietnamese occupation has fanned popular revolt inside Cambodia. Armed resistance to the Vietnamese is

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spreading. Vietnamese and Heng Samrin installations throughout the country are now targets of resistance attacks. Key lines of communication are often interdicted and even the suburbs of Phnom Penh have witnessed resistance incursions. Heng Samrin conscripts are defecting to the resistance ranks in increasing numbers. Several hundred Vietnamese soldiers have also thrown down their arms and fled to the Thai border to escape involvement in this unjust war.

His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk detailed for us in his 30 September general debate speech the growing strength of the resistance, reaching ever deeper into Cambodia. Stung by the increasing effectiveness of the Cambodian resistance forces, the Vietnamese have tried unsuccessfully to crush them militarily. In the winter of 1984-1985 Vietnamese divisions brutally attacked refugee camps on the Thai border, killing scores of innocent civilians and uprooting tens of thousands more. The resistance, however, remained unaffected and, indeed, is stronger than ever before. Recently, the Vietnamese have tried another tack by constructing barriers along the Thai-Cambodian border. In a move reminiscent of the Khmer Rouge, the Vietnamese have conscripted thousands of civilians to clear land, plant anti-personnel mines and construct barriers. An untold number of these conscripts have died because of disease, exhaustion and mines. Despite this effort, the resistance continues to grow and is now more than ever before firmly established inside Cambodia.

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The growing opposition to Vietnamese imperialist ambitions in Cambodia has other dimensions. The 250,000 Cambodians who remain on the Thai border bear witness to their continued defiance. Living in spartan conditions and under the constant threat of attack, the border Cambodians courageously epitomize the love of country and freedom which has characterized the Cambodian people down through the centuries. Our hearts go out to them and we pray that they will soon be able to return to a free and independent Cambodia. We also deeply appreciate the work of Mr. Kunugi, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cambodian Relief, and the dedicated staff of the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO), the World Food Programme, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the voluntary agencies who have turned the border relief operation into a humanitarian success story of the highest order. The Royal Thai Government should also be commended for its unswerving commitment to the support and protection of the border Cambodians.

The world community also remains united in its opposition to Viet Nam's actions. For years, an overwhelming number of United Nations Members have called for the unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. This year marks the eighth time we have met under the auspices of the United Nations to debate Cambodia and to issue the simple plea that the Cambodians be allowed to decide their own destiny. But what has been Viet Nam's response to world opprobrium? The record is clear. The Vietnamese have rejected all calls for peace and have continued undeterred in their imperialist and colonialist policies. Furthermore, a letter of 15 October signed by the Acting Permanent Representative of Viet Nam and circulated as a General Assembly document declares that Viet Nam will consider null and void any resolution emerging from our debate here.

The Vietnamese, nevertheless, have tried to sway public opinion by an intensive propaganda campaign. The most recent example took place at an August

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meeting in Hanoi, where the foreign ministers of Viet Nam, Laos, and the puppet Heng Samrin régime issued a communiqué which once again claimed that great strides had been made inside Cambodia, that the changes in Cambodia were irreversible, and that the Vietnamese occupation troops would be withdrawn by 1990. But how can we talk about "great strides" when Cambodia suffers poverty, hunger and disease; when young people are conscripted against their will to die for a foreign invader; when innocent civilians are press-ganged into building defensive fortifications in malaria-infested forests with little food or medical care? Let there be no doubt about it: Cambodia today is an abjectly poor, battered country on the brink of disaster. Without peace and self-determination, the very existence of Cambodia and of the Khmer as an independent people is threatened.

Moreover, the Vietnamese claim to withdraw its forces from Cambodia by 1990 is clearly based on the hope that their puppet, Heng Samrin, would be able by then to manage largely on his own. The recent performance of Heng Samrin's soldiers suggests that Vietnamese hopes are as illusory as their protestations of peaceful intent. The Vietnamese troop withdrawals to date are nothing more than a public relations fraud aimed at deceiving world opinion. There has been no general withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. What we have seen is the regular rotation of some units, nothing more. There are still an estimated 140,000 Vietnamese troops inside Cambodia, roughly the same number as at the onset of the occupation, despite claimed withdrawals.

Above all, there is one basic fallacy to the Vietnamese arguments: Viet Nam has no right to lay down the conditions for a settlement. The Vietnamese are the invaders and they must leave Cambodia. It is as simple as that. Moreover, there is no need for new formulations for a Cambodian solution. They are already clearly laid out in the principles of the 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea:

(a) a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces in the shortest time possible

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under the supervision and verification of a United Nations peace-keeping force; (b) arrangements to ensure that armed factions will not be able to prevent or disrupt the holding of free elections and will respect the results of the free elections; (c) appropriate measures to maintain law and order until the establishment of a new government; and (d) the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision.

In contrast to Viet Nam's intransigence, other parties involved in the Cambodian issue continue to demonstrate a sincere effort to reach a peaceful solution. The member States of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in particular should be commended for their efforts on behalf of peace. Since 1981, the members of ASEAN have advanced a series of different ideas to address Vietnamese concerns. Unfortunately, Viet Nam has ignored all efforts at conciliation.

I wish also to pay tribute to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff to bring peace, freedom and justice to the Khmer people.

Other proposals have also been advanced to the Vietnamese containing elements which, if accepted by all the parties involved, could advance the search for peace. Again and again, Viet Nam has rejected these out of hand.

Viet Nam's Minister of State, Vo Dong Giang, recently told the General Assembly that a Cambodian solution must be based on guaranteeing the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, on the elimination of the genocidal Pol Pot clique, and on guaranteeing a process of national reconciliation. Viet Nam clearly wants peace but only on its own terms. But since proposals with many reasonable elements have been made to the Vietnamese by their neighbours, it remains for the Vietnamese Government to initiate the process. Genuine willingness to negotiate a settlement in Cambodia would be a welcome development, above all, for the Cambodian people. The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, more than any other factor, stands in the

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path of Viet Nam's participation as a constructive member of the peaceful community of nations. Surely, the Vietnamese would benefit enormously from a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian conflict. If the Government of Viet Nam is serious, let it begin serious troop withdrawals and seek serious solutions to this problem. Until then, the world must judge them by their actions. We must not forget that they are, after all, those who have driven 2 million of their fellow countrymen out to sea in open boats.

Let us remember, also, that Viet Nam is not the only country which shares responsibility for the Cambodian plight. Viet Nam could not continue with its subjugation of this land if it were not for the massive military support received from its Soviet backers. Most of the bombs and bullets the Vietnamese use against the Cambodians come from the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union were to cut off this military support, Viet Nam would be hard-pressed to maintain its occupation, and peace might be possible. We call on Moscow to place sufficient pressure on the Vietnamese to agree to a comprehensive settlement.

The Cambodian tragedy must be brought to an end. The Cambodian people have suffered long enough. Now is the time to end the violence and the human suffering. Now is the time for us to join hands and contribute jointly to the rebirth of a truly free and independent Cambodia. With our help, there can be a resurgence of the Angkor spirit which illuminated South-East Asia in the past. But to make this possible, we must first bring peace to this ravaged land. And to do that, Viet Nam must heed the appeals of the world community to withdraw its troops and negotiate. There is no other choice.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): My delegation was deeply shocked and saddened to learn of the tragic air accident involving His Excellency Mr. Samora Machel, the distinguished President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and a number of his senior colleagues. A fighter for freedom and a leader committed to peace, President Samora Machel will always be remembered for his noble causes and contributions. On behalf of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, I take this opportunity to extend to the Government and friendly people of Mozambique, as also to the members of the bereaved families, our heartfelt condolences in this hour of national grief.

I turn now to the item on the agenda.

The Vietnamese invasion and occupation of neighbouring Kampuchea continues into its eighth agonizing year. Through these years, as we deliberate the issue, a land once known for tranquility and the richness of its art and culture has been cruelly transformed into a battleground of blood and brutality, and the symphony of temple bells is replaced by the shattering sounds of bombs and gunfire.

As a representative of a small, peace-loving country desirous of institutionalizing peace within its own borders, I find the situation in Kampuchea highly disturbing. Committed as Nepal has always been to the concept of peaceful settlement of disputes, to the right of self-determination and to the concept of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, it is only logical that Nepal should voice its concern over such flagrant deviations from accepted inter-State behaviour, which have resulted in prolonged human suffering and misery for hundreds of thousands of innocent Kampucheans.

Our concern - deep and fundamental as it is - is also tinged with dismay, for that delinquent behaviour comes from a nation that not very long ago had earned the admiration of the international community for its heroic struggle against decades of colonial exploitation and external intervention.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

But, however ironical such behaviour on the part of the interventionist and occupying Power in Kampuchea may be, much more germane to our consideration of this agenda item is the bitter fact that Viet Nam's action poses a threat to the security of South-East Asia, and especially of Thailand, which is heavily burdened by the presence of hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees.

We appreciate the humanitarian assistance that has been mobilized for the Kampuchean refugees living in camps near the Thai-Kampuchean border, but we strongly deplore the fact that even such civilian camps have not been spared from military attacks. Indeed, we view with grave concern the repeated military incursions into Thai territory mounted by interventionist forces from Kampuchea and have taken serious note of the mining of the Thai-Kampuchean border aimed at preventing Kampuchean refugees from returning to Kampuchea to exercise their right to self-determination. My delegation also views with the utmost gravity reports of demographic engineering being perpetrated by the occupation forces in some Kampuchean provinces - a practice that evokes the darkest chapters of colonial misrule.

My delegation takes appreciative note of the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to find a peaceful settlement to the problem. We deeply regret, however, that the relevant General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea have repeatedly been ignored by the interventionist State. Similarly, we deplore the fact that the main elements of the Declaration of the United-Nations-sponsored International Conference on Kampuchea - which offers a balanced negotiating framework for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem - have also been studiously and stubbornly sidetracked.

We welcome the eight-point proposal of 17 March 1986 by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as a comprehensive and constructive framework

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

for negotiations for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem beginning with negotiations for withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, to be supervised by the United Nations.

We should like to place on record Nepal's unstinting support for any peace initiative that secures the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, restores and preserves its independence, and grants the right to the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny without any outside interference. In Nepal's view such a settlement should also take into account the legitimate security concerns of all the States in the region, including a commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. That being the case, my delegation takes pleasure in co-sponsoring draft resolution A/41/L.2 and hopes it will help facilitate an early, peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Mr. BAGBENI ADETTO NZENGEYA (Zaire): In speaking today before the General Assembly, my delegation has deep emotions of sadness at the irreparable loss just suffered by Africa as a whole with the tragic death of one of our most valiant sons, a tireless fighter for freedom, President Samora Machel, with whom my delegation had the privilege of co-operating throughout the long years of Mozambique's struggle for liberation. The delegation of Zaire extends its deepest condolences and sympathy to the people, Government and delegation of Mozambique on this tragic event.

I turn now to the item on the Assembly's agenda.

Once again, for the eighth consecutive year, the General Assembly is considering the situation in Kampuchea since the invasion of that country on 25 December 1978 by foreign forces, and is once again demanding the withdrawal of those forces from Kampuchea. That testifies to the fact that General Assembly

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resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6, 38/3, 39/5 and 40/7, adopted during the past seven sessions of the Assembly, have not even begun to be implemented and have been rejected by those to whom the Assembly has addressed its call for their complete application. As Members of the United Nations that have subscribed to the Charter and its purposes and principles, they should be reminded in particular that Article 2, paragraph 2 of the Charter states:

"All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter".

They are surely aware that they are expected to settle their disputes by peaceful means, having recourse to negotiations, so that peace, international security and justice are not endangered.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

Accordingly, they are expected to refrain in their international relations from making use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. It is by violating that principle of the Charter, which guarantees the territorial integrity of States and their political independence, that foreign occupation forces, today estimated at over 140,000 men, have for nearly eight years now been depriving the people of Kampuchea of the exercise of their right to self-determination, independence and fundamental freedoms.

Basing itself on resolution 40/7 of 7 November 1985, and in view of the negative attitude of those whose forces continue to intervene in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, the Commission on Human Rights did not shrink from adopting, on 10 March 1986 in Geneva, a resolution reaffirming that the continued occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces deprived the population of Kampuchea of the exercise of their right to self-determination and constituted the main violation of human rights in Kampuchea. The Commission on Human Rights thus set the tone for the Economic and Social Council, which in turn called to order those who continue to maintain their hold on Kampuchea.

Decision 1986/146 of the Economic and Social Council, of 23 May 1986, reaffirms the right of peoples to self-determination and the application of that principle to peoples under colonial or foreign domination or foreign occupation.

The Economic and Social Council also considered the inhuman sufferings endured by refugees from Kampuchea and expressed its deep concern over the placing by occupation forces of landmines all along the Thailand-Kampuchea border to prevent the civilian Kampuchean population from exercising their inalienable right to voluntary repatriation into their country and to self-determination.

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Zaire)

As can be seen, far from improving the situation in Kampuchea only continues to worsen, despite the numerous appeals which the United Nations, through its principal bodies, the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations International Conferences on Kampuchea has been addressing to the parties concerned, urging them that constructive dialogue begin with a view to seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The United Nations, in our view, constitutes the only instrument in this world, torn by excessive expansionist ambitions, that can guarantee the independence of small and weak States in the face of the more powerful and ensure respect for their territorial integrity. That is the case today for Democratic Kampuchea, and if we are not careful that may be the case for many other countries, potential victims of bigger and more powerful neighbours.

My delegation believes the time has come for the aggressors to comply with the requirements of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, the more so since the good will of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was clearly expressed on 17 March 1986 by the adoption of a proposal favouring a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. Presented in eight points, that very constructive proposal is a milestone in the history of the liberation struggle of that people and it shows the unequivocal will of the people of Democratic Kampuchea to begin direct negotiations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in two phases. The second point of the proposal calls for a cease-fire, after agreement on the process for troop withdrawal, while the fourth point provides that after the initial phase of troop withdrawal Heng Samrin and his faction will negotiate with the Government of Democratic

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Kampuchea to form, in accordance with the spirit of broad-based national union and reconciliation, a quadripartite coalition government of Kampuchea comprising the four political wings of the national community. That quadripartite government of coalition and national union would thus organize free elections under the supervision of observers from the United Nations in order to enable that country to recover its independence, unity and status as a non-aligned country. As regards the Non-Aligned Movement, the delegation of Zaire expresses its support to Democratic Kampuchea as a fully fledged member of the movement, in conformity with the 10 principles of Bandung on peaceful coexistence, principles which stand against acts of aggression and interference by one State against another country. Democratic Kampuchea, the victim of an external aggression, should recover its seat in the Non-Aligned Movement at its forthcoming meetings.

These considerations and suggestions have prompted my delegation to become a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/41/L.2, which reiterates the General Assembly's conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem. In calling upon the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-second session on the implementation of the resolution, my delegation expresses the hope that we shall see all peace and justice-loving States expressing massive support for the draft resolution before the Assembly.

Mr. KOUASSI (Togo) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the Government and people of Togo I should like to express my deep and sincere

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique on the tragic loss of President Samora Machel. Africa is in mourning for one of its most brilliant and worthy leaders. We bow before Mozambique and share its grief, but we express our conviction that the people of Mozambique, under the direction and leadership of FRELIMO, will continue its heroic and already victorious struggle towards freedom and glory, for which it has opted.

Gratitude, admiration and confidence are the feelings of my delegation on the occasion of the brilliant re-appointment of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We express to him our deep esteem and assure him of our constant and full readiness to co-operate with him to ensure the full success of his heavy, delicate but most exalted mission in the service of peace.

Having had the honour and privilege having been one of your every-day aides Mr. President, in the General Committee, I have been able to appreciate your qualities of heart, your wisdom and your efficiency. I should like to bear witness to them publicly in this Assembly, over which you preside with so much success, skill and competence.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

Togo, a country deeply devoted to peace and freedom, has always been, and always will be, concerned when the fundamental principles of the Charter are questioned, when the sovereignty of a State is questioned, when the fundamental rights of a people are trampled on and when the peace and security of an area are threatened.

For my country, peace in the world and peace between peoples and between individuals means, above all, the independence of all peoples, their right to live in dignity, to survive in security, freedom and equality. That is why my country has always supported the peoples of all continents in their struggle for the ideals of peace, justice and freedom. It was so in the past, it is so today, and Togo shall remain faithful to the commitment it has undertaken before the international community in the interests of peace, harmony and security for all.

In the past, the people of Togo resolutely took their place beside the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for freedom and independence. In 1970, from this very rostrum, the representative of my country said:

"Nor can we pass over in silence the painful problem of Viet Nam which has been of concern to our Organization for many years. We duly appreciate the United States decision to withdraw its troops from South Viet Nam and we hope that the resumption of the Paris negotiations will lead to a compromise settlement satisfactory to all of the parties concerned and will lead to a genuine peace in that part of the world where the civilian populations have been so sorely tried for so long." (A/PV.1849, para. 59)

A year later, in 1971, the representative of Togo spoke again about the problem of Viet Nam, on the occasion of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and stated from this rostrum:

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

"The solution of the Viet Nam tragedy also depends on the happy outcome of the Chinese problem. No one is unaware that peace in Viet Nam presupposes an understanding with North Viet Nam and co-operation with the People's Republic of China. It must be hoped that with this happy outcome the Paris talks will have some possibility of reaching a positive result." (A/PV.1960, para. 80)

Still more significant was the statement of the representative of my country in the plenary Assembly in 1972:

"As regards the Far East, we must not overlook the fact that at this time whole peoples live in conditions comparable to those of the Second World War. We must make an effort to to awaken from our torpor, from our guilty indifference in the face of the Vietnamese problem. Thousands of innocent people are subjected to a cruel, merciless war, to deadly and indiscriminate bombardments. Our Organization must no longer remain aloof from this problem; it must encourage and support every attempt at a settlement inasmuch as it is, unfortunately, powerless to impose a cessation of hostilities. We are convinced that pressure from this Organization and from world public opinion, in the long run will be a factor for peace in the Indochinese peninsula."

(A/PV.2048, para. 76)

It is with the same feeling of solidarity, the same thirst for freedom for all, the same faith in the sacred ideals and principles of the Charter that my country stands at the side of Kampuchea, today invaded and occupied by a militarily more powerful neighbour. No sooner had that neighbour freed itself from long years of war than it became a conquering and dominating invader. Did we support the just, legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people to freedom and independence only to see those responsible for this people now refuse to the Cambodian people

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

what the international community had recognized and guaranteed to them: dignity, sovereignty, freedom, independence and territorial integrity? This is why the invasion, then the occupation of Cambodia by Viet Nam is a cruel irony of fate, a dramatic, historic injustice, a tragic and heart-rending phenomenon.

In this connection, may I remind the Assembly that the solidarity of the people of Togo with the Khmer people in their trial does not just go back to 1979. As early as 1974, Togo spoke out in favour of Cambodia and stated in the plenary Assembly:

"... the persistent intervention of foreign troops in the political life of that country constitutes, without any doubt, a major obstacle to peace, security and the well-being of the Khmer people. The Togolese Government will, for its part, continue as in the past, to support the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the only legitimate Government. My delegation therefore takes particular pleasure at the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". (A/PV.2257, p. 92)

Faithful to this unequivocal undertaking to the Government presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Togo has condemned the invasion, then the occupation in 1979 of Cambodia by foreign forces and has always strongly supported the efforts of our Organization to find a solution to the painful problem of Kampuchea. It has voted in favour of many resolutions on the question, notably resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979; 35/6 of 22 October 1980; 38/3 of 27 October 1983; 39/5 of 30 October 1984; and 40/7 of 5 November 1985, which demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its fate without foreign interference.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

Because the struggle of Kampuchea had reached a decisive phase since the previous year, my country became one of the sponsors of resolution 40/7 of 5 November 1985 on the situation in Kampuchea, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority. By this action my delegation was stressing a new stage in its adherence to the just cause of the Kampuchean people. Because this cause is just, the fight is even more legitimate. This is why it enjoys the active, continuous and massive support of the international community. Thus, seven years after these debates began, the General Assembly has been adopting regularly, with increasing majorities, resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea, condemning the foreign armed intervention and occupation of that country, and demanding the total withdrawal of foreign forces from its territory in order to enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise its right to self-determination. From 91 votes in 1979, the votes in favour of the resolution reached 114 in 1985.

This firm, massive and overwhelming support of Governments and peoples has been confirmed and strengthened, but today it is universal, with over 60 peace-loving and justice-loving Member States throughout the world and from every continent openly supporting draft resolution A/41/L.2, on which the General Assembly is probably going to vote with an even larger majority. Just and lawful, this struggle is also being waged because of violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

The invasion of Kampuchea and the continuation of the occupation of that country, despite numerous resolutions by which the General Assembly demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces, constitute serious and flagrant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State, respect for the principles of good-neighbourliness and of non-recourse to force in international relations.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

By signing the Charter or adhering to it, all States undertook not only to respect these principles scrupulously but also to defend them and ensure their respect everywhere. In this connection, it is regrettable - and we note this in order grievously to deplore it - that a country which made such efforts and so many sacrifices to free itself from foreign domination, and which thus won general esteem, today suddenly appears as an expansionist and conquering Power, violating the letter and spirit of the Charter and ignoring and trampling underfoot the wise resolutions adopted by our Organization to put an end to the war in Cambodia. In that regard, we must pay a tribute to Democratic Kampuchea and its President, His Royal Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, for his attempts always to look for peaceful solutions and dialogue to end the Cambodian conflict, thus respecting the means laid down by the Charter. Revealing in this connection is his statement of 30 September 1986 from this rostrum:

"Along with the patriotic armed struggle, we have also sought to offer our adversaries the possibility of reaching a negotiated solution satisfactory to both parties. Should they accept, we would wish to establish an agreement with the Vietnamese that would benefit our two countries and peoples and would enable them, once peace has been restored, to establish ties of friendship and co-operation based on the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence, in equality, mutual respect, and reciprocal interests." (A/41/PV.16, p. 11)

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

This wise declaration resounds like the solemn, authentic, sincere echo of the following statement of the Council of Ministers of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 28 August 1985:

"The Council of Ministers of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has not the slightest desire to wage war. We need peace to reconstruct our country and improve the standard of living of our people. Our only desire is to live in peace and to have friendly relations with all countries of the world, near or far."

Unfortunately, that generous offer was neither heeded nor accepted and the efforts of the international community to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Kampuchea remain vain. None of the resolutions of the General Assembly has even begun to be applied because of the opposition of one of the parties directly involved in the conflict.

This situation is particularly dangerous for many reasons. It endangers the peace and security of the area and the rest of the world, because through a process of development war could at any moment spread beyond the borders of Kampuchea, leading the countries of the area and perhaps also the rest of the world, because of alliances, into a wider conflict with unforeseeable consequences.

This situation is also dangerous because the continuance of the occupation of Kampuchea could seriously affect the trust that small States such as ours put in the United Nations to safeguard our right to existence and guarantee our independence and respect for the integrity of our territory. The international community must therefore react urgently and appropriately so that small States do not have cause to doubt the *raison d'être* of our Organization and the validity of the principles on which it is founded.

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

That is why it is necessary to put an end as soon as possible to this conflict through a negotiated solution in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

In this connection, my delegation supports the eight-point proposal put forward on 17 March 1986 by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea, because it is in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, of July 1981, which stipulates, among other things ... negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for the total withdrawal of foreign forces, followed by an agreement on a cease-fire under the control of United Nations observers; the establishment of a quadripartite coalition Government in Kampuchea with a view to the holding of free elections under United Nations control to enable the people of Kampuchea freely to choose its political and social system and its Government without foreign interference; and the signature of an international agreement to guarantee the existence, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

My delegation takes this opportunity to express its warm congratulations to the Secretary-General on his unanimous election and to express our appreciation for the tireless and sustained efforts made by him and by his Special Representative for Kampuchea to bring about a peaceful solution to this painful conflict.

To this end, my delegation addresses an appeal to the Vietnamese Government to recognize the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by His Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and to embark sincerely on the path towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict by accepting the peace plan of 17 March 1986 as a basis for negotiation.

Last year my country sponsored the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, fully aware of its responsibility and of the facts of the case. Today

(Mr. Kouassi, Togo)

my country, by sponsoring the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, does so not only in a spirit of solidarity and against injustice, arbitrariness and the policy of fait accompli, not only because we respect our commitments and the sacred principles of the United Nations Charter, but also and especially because we are moved by a profound, firm and unshakeable conviction that

"Violence, no matter where and no matter what its origin and motives, cannot and must not have the last word in relations between peoples."

Mr. ARMSTRONG (New Zealand): My delegation was shocked and deeply saddened by the untimely death of President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique together with a number of his senior colleagues. Among his many achievements, the late President will be long remembered for his role in leading his country to independence. I wish to offer our sincere and profound condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the members of its delegation. We extend our deepest sympathy to the bereaved families.

This is the eighth session of the General Assembly which has had before it this item concerning the situation in Kampuchea. In each of the past seven years a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and setting out the basic principles for a peaceful settlement in that country has been passed with a resounding majority. Yet Kampuchea remains an occupied country. Regrettably, there is no firm evidence that we are any closer to a political settlement in 1986 than we were in 1979.

New Zealand is again sponsoring this draft resolution because it is committed to supporting efforts to bring peace and stability to South-East Asia. New Zealand has consistently supported moves to achieve a comprehensive political settlement that will guarantee self-determination for the Kampuchean people and restore to them a peaceful, stable and productive way of life. To achieve this goal,

(Mr. Armstrong, New Zealand)

all parties concerned must be prepared to negotiate in good faith on the basis of a commitment to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter. They must be willing to pursue a dialogue aimed at reconciling the various conflicting interests.

In this regard, we welcome the contribution to the process of dialogue made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which we consider should have an important role to play in any settlement in Kampuchea. It is, of course, for the Kampucheans themselves to determine their own future in accordance with well-recognized principles. But I must record my Government's abhorrence at the atrocities carried out in Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979 under the Pol Pot régime. It is our continuing belief that, given the opportunity, the Kampuchean people would reject Pol Pot and his former associates.

In the course of the past year the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea proposed a negotiating framework aimed at bringing about a settlement in Kampuchea. This eight-point proposal was a serious and constructive attempt by the Coalition to bring the conflict in Kampuchea to an end. The proposals included some major concessions that went a long way towards accommodating the position of the Government of Viet Nam. Yet it was promptly rejected. New Zealand considers it unacceptable that the people of Kampuchea should have to face a prolonged delay, perhaps even beyond the 1990 date referred to by the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, before their country is free of Vietnamese troops.

(Mr. Armstrong, New Zealand)

My delegation is under no illusions that the process of securing a political settlement will be anything but long and difficult. Therefore the sooner negotiations start the better. The draft resolution before us offers a framework for the continuation of efforts to bring peace to South-East Asia. It also reaffirms that the people of Kampuchea are entitled to the rights and protection accorded to all States under the Charter and that they have the right to decide their own future freely and without outside interference. It also urges all States concerned to take part in negotiations to achieve a settlement. For all these reasons, this draft resolution deserves the widest possible support.

Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): On behalf of the Japanese Government and people, I wish to repeat what I said earlier today on behalf of the members of the Asian Group and express the profound condolences and sympathy of our people to the people of Mozambique on their tragic loss of the President of Mozambique and others.

The Government of Japan wishes at this time to express its appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Gratz, to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Mr. Sarré of Senegal, and to the other officers of the Ad Hoc Committee for their efforts to promote a process of negotiation towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, his Special Representative, Mr. Ahmed, and his staff. I hope that they will continue to work for a peaceful resolution of this important international issue. Today I listened with great interest to such eloquent speakers on this subject as Mr. Sarré, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Minister of State of Singapore, Mr. Yeo, and others.

For almost eight years Kampuchea has been occupied by Vietnamese forces and its people have been denied their right to self-determination. The Vietnamese

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

have been occupying all the major cities of Kampuchea and the routes communicating them, at least during the daytime. However, the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have waged a staunch resistance all over their territory, benefiting from local civilian co-operation. The massive Vietnamese offensive in the Thai-Kampuchean border areas in the 1984-1985 dry season succeeded only in, first, dispersing the resistance forces in small units in the interior of Kampuchea and, secondly, forcing another wave of refugees into Thai territories.

These recent developments provide indisputable proof that the problem of Kampuchea will not - indeed, cannot - be settled militarily. Only when all foreign troops are withdrawn from Kampuchea and the people's right to self-determination is restored will the problem of Kampuchea be resolved. The voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States, as reflected in resolutions of the General Assembly and in the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea, calls upon Viet Nam to enter into negotiations for a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement. My Government once again appeals to Viet Nam to heed this call by the international community.

Japan believes that it is important to continue to explore various means for overcoming the present impasse. Thus it values highly the determination and vigorous diplomatic efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. My Government firmly supports the joint appeal that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers made in September 1983. My Government also appreciates the proposal for proximity talks made by ASEAN in its serious efforts towards the establishment of a dialogue between the parties concerned.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

Japan also regards the eight-point proposal announced in March by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as worthy of serious consideration. Among the noteworthy elements in the proposal are, first, the acceptance of a two-stage withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, secondly, negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Heng Samrin group for the establishment of a quadripartite coalition Government and, thirdly, the holding of free elections under that Government.

Japan believes that that proposal by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, together with the various previous ASEAN initiatives, could provide the clue to a political settlement. Japan sincerely hopes that Viet Nam will re-examine all these proposals.

Japan, for its part, has taken an active role in the efforts to resolve the Kampuchean problem. At the ASEAN post-ministerial conference with the dialogue partners in July 1986, the then Foreign Minister, Mr. Abe, made an appeal for what he called a "dialogue for coexistence", in the recognition that the Kampuchean problem should be regarded not solely as a destabilizing element in international relations but also as a matter of grave humanitarian concern. Indochina has not participated in the remarkable economic development achieved over the past decade in other regions of Asia, including the ASEAN countries; furthermore, the development potential of Indo-China can be realized only under conditions of peace and stability. To this end the Kampuchean problem must be resolved and relations of peaceful coexistence established among the countries of South-East Asia. The Foreign Minister went on to say that this goal should be pursued through dialogue aimed at removing mutual distrust, building confidence and achieving a political settlement.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

In presenting his ideas for a "dialogue for coexistence", Mr. Abe made the following three appeals. First, he called on the Kampuchean people to remain steadfast in their resolve to attain national reconciliation and self-determination. Secondly, he urged Viet Nam to consider seriously the benefits that would accrue to its own people from an early, comprehensive and just political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and to commit itself to serious dialogue. Thirdly, he called on all the countries of South-East Asia, including Indo-China, to reaffirm peaceful coexistence as their common objective.

It was in this spirit that Mr. Abe's successor as Foreign Minister, Mr. Kuranari, reaffirmed Japan's commitment to the solution of this problem stating:

"Japan will continue its dialogue with Viet Nam and all the other countries concerned in an active effort to create a climate conducive to peace in Indochina."

As a matter of fact, on this very day in Tokyo Mr. Kuranari is meeting with Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Minister of State of Viet Nam.

Japan is aware that the thousands of Kampuchean refugees and affected Thai people are placing enormous burdens on the Government of Thailand. Thailand's courageous determination to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees within its borders deserves our sincere admiration. Japan also deeply appreciates the selfless devotion of all those engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance activities of the United Nations Border Relief Operation, the World Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and numerous other voluntary agencies.*

* Mr. Knipping-Victoria (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Rikuchi, Japan)

The Government of Japan has contributed generously to those activities and is ready to extend human resources development assistance to help prepare the Kampuchean people for the task of nation-building. Japan wishes to call on all countries to do their utmost to extend assistance, especially to the refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to the Thai villagers affected by this.

Japan supports and has joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/41/L.2, as with similar draft resolutions in the past. It does so in the conviction that armed intervention in another country must be rejected categorically wherever and whenever it occurs and, more specifically, that the right to self-determination must be restored to the Kampuchean people.

We urge all Member States which respect international law and seek world peace to join us in the adoption of this important resolution.

Before concluding my statement, let me recall that during the struggle for liberation of the Vietnamese people themselves we became familiar with a number of Vietnamese words and expressions, namely, giai-phong, doc-lap, tu-do and dan-chu, meaning liberation, independence, freedom and democracy, respectively. Whether the people of Viet Nam enjoy these rights and benefits today is another question, but I submit that it is now the time for the Khmer people to enjoy liberation, independence, freedom and democracy, not in Vietnamese terms, but in their own cherished manner.

MR. HUSSAIN (Maldives): May I at the outset join, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, in the grief of the people of Mozambique and the family of the late President Samora Moises Machel. The sudden, tragic passing of that great leader and valiant freedom fighter along with several close associates has created a vacuum which it will be hard to fill. President Machel will be long remembered by friends of Mozambique, members of the Non-Aligned Movement

(Mr. Hussain, Maldives)

in general and the people of Mozambique, in particular, for the qualities of leadership and the brave statesmanship for which he was known.

The United Nations proclaimed 1986, the year following its fortieth anniversary, the International Year of Peace. It is ironic that despite their aspirations the peoples living in areas of tension, where aggression, foreign occupation and open conflict persist, have to see the purpose of the International Year of Peace go unfulfilled.

The situation in Kampuchea eight years after the outbreak of the conflict remains unchanged. The tragic situation in that country not only continues to be the main cause of tension and instability in that region, but constitutes a major obstacle to the achievement of the noble objective that South-East Asia be transformed into a region of peace. The peoples of that region have spared no effort in their painstaking collective contribution to bringing about a settlement that would guarantee the people of Kampuchea their legitimate rights.

The United Nations, for its part, has been rightly concerned about this situation, which clearly involves actions that violate the principles of the non-use of force and non-intervention in the internal affairs of a free and independent sovereign State. The Assembly has demonstrated its determination to resolve this problem by giving it increasingly significant attention each year.

My delegation is happy to note the enthusiasm and readiness displayed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to find a viable approach to a just and lasting peaceful settlement. It has once again convinced the international community of its genuine desire to resolve this issue by the recent eight-point proposal, which contains a constructive framework for meaningful negotiations and also demonstrates the wisdom of the belief that the Kampuchean problem can best be settled by the Kampuchean people themselves.

(Mr. Hussain, Maldives)

My delegation is convinced that any logical argument must be based essentially on the widest possible acceptance of the facts. The decisions of the Assembly on this question have received ever-increasing acceptance. Therefore any resolution must send a clear signal to the Vietnamese Government to abide by the internationally respected principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Our collective resolve also demonstrates our objection to Viet Nam's violation of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The continuance of the situation in Kampuchea has affected other areas of concern to the international community. The stability of South-East Asia is threatened. The peace and security of the region are endangered. There is widespread hardship and suffering among the Kampuchean people. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to flee their homes and become refugees. The neighbouring countries have been forced to assume the burden of dealing with the problem of the overspill of refugees.

Furthermore, the domestic scene in Kampuchea has been even more seriously affected. Scores of people have been imprisoned and subjected to unspeakable torture and punishment. The large numbers of people held in detention camps and prisons are suffering from malnutrition. Inadequate medical care has been the cause of a large number of deaths in the detention camps. It is reported that these conditions have taken the greatest toll of lives among children, who are often detained with their parents. In many instances, persons who are taken into custody have virtually no access to legal advice. Typically, they are arrested without charge and kept in detention for indefinite periods.

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(Mr. Hussain, Maldives)

We are reminded by past experience of peoples struggling against foreign military occupation that the occupying forces will not succeed in subjugating the resistance forces. We therefore have an important responsibility to persuade the Vietnamese authorities to come to the negotiating table.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): This morning we were shocked to learn that President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique and his senior officials had lost their lives in a plane accident. President Machel spent his life struggling for the independence of his country and the cause of the freedom of southern Africa. His death is a great loss to his own country, to Africa and to the whole world. On behalf of the Chinese Government and Chinese people, I should like to extend our sincere condolences to Mozambique.

This is the eighth time that the situation in Kampuchea is considered by the United Nations General Assembly. However, the situation in Kampuchea remains abnormal. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Member States have, over the past eight years, consistently upheld principles and justice, resolutely safeguarded the independence and sovereignty of small and weak nations and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries as enshrined in the United Nation Charter, extended their deep sympathy and solidarity to the suffering Kampuchean people and voiced their condemnation of the aggressors. This is indeed heartening.

The root cause of the Kampuchean question lies in the Vietnamese invasion. The ultimate goal of the Vietnamese authorities is to conquer the Khmer nation and annex Kampuchean territory by force so as to realize their ambitious design for a greater Indochinese federation. Their well over 100,000 troops have been hanging on in Kampuchea for a long time; their legions of advisers and specialists have taken control of all the military and administrative organs of the puppet régime in Phnom Penh; and their large-scale immigration plan is quickening the pace of the Vietnamization of Kampuchea. Over the past year, Viet Nam has stepped up its military operations in Kampuchea. While dispatching massive numbers of troops to seal off and harass the Thai-Kampuchean border area, Viet Nam has launched an

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

all-round attack against the Kampuchean patriotic forces which had manoeuvred into the country's hinterland, in an attempt to wipe out the latter and turn Kampuchea into its colony.

After all they have done in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities want people to believe that they have the "sincerity" for the political settlement of the Kampuchean question and that they are ready to contribute to "peace and stability in Southeast Asia". This can deceive no one. The goal that Viet Nam is pursuing, as proved by all its actions in Kampuchea hitherto, remains the perpetual occupation of Kampuchea through a military solution. The kind of political settlement they talk about is nothing but the recognition by the international community of the fait accompli of their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

The time is long gone when a country could wilfully conquer another by force. Whoever worships force will be punished by history. If the Vietnamese authorities were unable to see the light in the past, then, after eight years of the development of events, they should have realized by now that the military solution of the Kampuchean question is impossible.

First, the Kampuchean people refuse to be conquered. They have an unshakable resolve to resist aggression and safeguard their national independence and territorial integrity. In the face of the formidable enemy and enormous sacrifice, they have never given up their resistance and are growing stronger. Eight years ago when Viet Nam dispatched troops to occupy Phnom Penh, it had hoped to overrun the whole country in one swoop, but its dream did not come true. Over a year ago, it once again attempted to wipe out the patriotic forces of Kampuchea at one stroke so as to settle the Kampuchean question by military means once and for all. Again it ran into a stone wall. Now it clamours that the situation in Kampuchea is

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

"irreversible". If it were so, why does Viet Nam still find it necessary to keep its troops in Kampuchea? Why does Phnom Penh still have to be propped up by Vietnamese bayonets? The very fact here proves that the military solution insisted on by Viet Nam does not work and will get it nowhere.

Secondly, nothing, not even the support of a major Power, can gloss over and legitimize an illegal act such as Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. As is well known, ex injuria jus no oritur is a basic norm in international law and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries is one of the most fundamental principles in the United Nations Charter. The time of power politics is gone for ever, when the strong bullying the weak was justified and legitimized. Sticking to fallacies of this type will not help improve one's image; on the contrary, it will only subject one to increased detestation and isolation in the international community.

Viet Nam's aggressive war against Kampuchea has not only brought untold misery to the Kampuchean people, but also gravely undermined the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese nation and people. As written in the Chinese classic "Art of War" by Sun Zi, "Prolonged militarist ventures abroad are bound to deplete a country's resources." Any country that carries out long years of military aggression abroad will inevitably impoverish its own people and deplete its financial resources. After eight years of a continuous war of aggression against Kampuchea, is Viet Nam's national economy stronger or weaker? Is the life of the Vietnamese people better or worse? Is Viet Nam's international status higher or lower? The answers are obvious to all. Even the Vietnamese people themselves can see the facts clearly. Kampuchea has never been a threat to Viet Nam's independence and sovereignty, nor has it ever tried to obstruct Viet Nam's economic development.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Why then must Viet Nam fight a war in Kampuchea? What benefit can this dirty war bring to the Vietnamese people? An early and total withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea, thus ending this unjust war, serves the interests of the Vietnamese people. This is the only wise choice for the Vietnamese authorities as well. It must be pointed out that were it not for the backing of one big Power, Viet Nam would not have been able to sustain its aggressive war against Kampuchea. Needless to say, this big Power should also give heed to the just call of the international community and stop its support for this aggressive war. Only in so doing can it be of real help to the maintenance of lasting peace and security in Asia.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

In its effort to seek a political solution to the Kampuchean question, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, put forward last March an eight-point proposal. This proposal not only accords with the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the past sessions of the General Assembly and with the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, but also provides a reasonable basis for a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean question. Proceeding from the realities in Kampuchea and taking into consideration the interests of various parties concerned, this proposal offers reasonable arrangements and practical measures regarding such questions as troop withdrawal and negotiations, takes a conciliatory and generous attitude toward Hanoi and Phnom Penh, and sets forth explicit provisions regarding the independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea in the future. It fully demonstrates the sincere desire of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, for a political solution of the Kampuchean question and has won a warm response and broad support from the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the international community. If Viet Nam really wants to see a reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question, it should accept this proposal. Regrettably, however, Viet Nam not only has bluntly rejected it, but also has raised an unjustifiable demand that interferes in the internal affairs of Kampuchea as the pre-condition for withdrawing its troops from that country and holding negotiations on the Kampuchean question. This has once again exposed the fact that the so-called "troop withdrawal", "negotiations" and "political settlement" proposed by Viet Nam are nothing but a hoax.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea and the political future of that country are two questions with different natures. To realize peace and national self-determination in Kampuchea, Viet Nam must pull out all its troops from that country. The settlement of the internal problems of Kampuchea must be left to the Kampuchean people to decide. It would be absolutely unacceptable to condition Vietnamese troop withdrawal on a decision as to which political faction should or should not be allowed to exist in Kampuchea. If we were to accept this untenable demand by the Vietnamese, would we not have in fact recognized Viet Nam's right of control over Kampuchea's internal affairs? Would we have not allowed a country to interfere in the internal affairs of another under various pretexts?

China is always opposed to hegemonism, in whatever manifestations, and supports all oppressed nations and peoples in their just struggles to win national liberation and safeguard national independence. China has no intention to seek spheres of influence in South-East Asia or in Kampuchea. We sincerely hope that after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question will be worked out and national reconciliation achieved by the various political forces in Kampuchea, through consultation on an equal footing free from outside interference, and that a broadly representative, multi-party coalition Government can then be established, a Government which conforms to the present political reality of that country and is free of the monopoly of power by any single group. We hope to see a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, which will be in its own national interests and will be conducive to peace and stability in South-East Asia. China is ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee of Kampuchea's independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned status.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The ASEAN countries have made unremitting efforts in search of a political solution to the Kampuchean question and restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has also done a great deal of work in this respect. We appreciate their endeavours. At the current session of the General Assembly, 60 countries, including the ASEAN members, have proposed a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea which reaffirms the principle of complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people. The Chinese delegation is in favour of and supports this draft resolution and calls on other Member States to give it their support so as to discharge our sacred duty to uphold the United Nations Charter.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): Before addressing myself to the agenda item before us, I wish to express my delegation's profound sorrow at the tragic death of President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique. With his untimely death Mozambique has lost its most illustrious son and the continent of Africa one of its most dedicated and inspiring leaders. Throughout the struggle for independence and since the assumption of the presidency, Mr. Machel had led Mozambique with great courage and vision. His record as an outstanding freedom fighter and statesman will be held in grateful memory by his nation. I express our heartfelt condolences to the delegation of Mozambique and would be greatly indebted to it if these sentiments could be conveyed to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the members of the bereaved family in their hour of sorrow.

I turn now to the item before the Assembly.

The continuing conflict and unabated human suffering in Kampuchea remains a matter of grave concern to the international community, and especially to the

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

neighbouring countries of South-East. The fact that for the past seven years the General Assembly has been continually seized of this tragic situation is a poignant reminder of that. Over those years, and in successive resolutions, our Organization has emphatically reaffirmed the inadmissibility of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and upheld its people's right to determine their own destiny, while at the same time offering a balanced and equitable negotiating framework as well as the pertinent elements towards a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. Those resolutions, however, have gone unheeded and Kampuchea today remains a country under foreign occupation, with its people denied their inalienable right to live in peace under a Government and within a political and economic system of their own choosing. It is a country where unceasing war and upheaval have exacted a horrendous toll in human lives and material property. Kampuchea is also the focal point of tensions and instability in South-East Asia, a region which for so long has yearned to enter a new era of regional harmony and common progress, free from great-Power contention and interference.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

In justified response, the Kampuchean people have launched and continue to wage a determined struggle to liberate their country. National resistance, rallied around the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspiring and visionary leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, is constantly growing in strength and effectiveness. The just cause of their struggle, to restore and preserve the sovereign equality, territorial integrity and cultural identity of Kampuchea, indeed deserves the full support of all States which value these basic ingredients of independent nationhood. The legitimacy and authenticity of the Coalition Government led by Prince Sihanouk is widely acknowledged by the international community and once again reaffirmed by this Assembly. It is time, therefore, that Viet Nam and all other parties directly involved recognized that fact and realized that in any efforts to resolve the Kampuchean problem there can be no substitute for dealing directly with the President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

In addressing the Kampuchean question, Indonesia and the other member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have consistently maintained a position based on adherence to internationally recognized principles rather than on animosity towards any particular State or group of States. Moreover, our proposals and actions have always been motivated by a sincere desire to contribute to a just and lasting solution, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

Self-determination of peoples, sovereign equality of States, non-aggression, non-interference and peaceful coexistence are fundamental principles of inter-State relations which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and held sacred by the Non-Aligned Movement; hence the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean soil and the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty, under a

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

freely elected government of its people's own choice, must necessarily form the basis for any solution, as that would reflect the essential vindication of those principles. Our approach towards a solution also encompasses other elements without which, we believe, no settlement could be durable or just, for example, the encouragement of a genuine process of national reconciliation between all factions or groups of Kampuchean society and the re-establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea, free and safeguarded from foreign intervention as well as from manipulation by outside Powers, at peace with its neighbours and posing no threat to any of them.

While firmly convinced of the validity of these principal elements for a solution, Indonesia and ASEAN have always shown flexibility as regards the modalities for their implementation. Thus on 21 September 1983 the ASEAN Foreign Ministers issued a joint appeal, subsequently circulated as General Assembly document A/38/441, in which they proposed a series of initial steps within the context of a comprehensive settlement, including, inter alia, the phased withdrawal of foreign troops on a territorial basis and within a definite time-frame, a cease-fire and the establishment of safe areas and the introduction of peace-keeping or supervisory forces. In its joint statement of July 1984, ASEAN endorsed Prince Sihanouk's call for national reconciliation in Kampuchea, and urged all other parties to do so as well. In yet another manifestation of ASEAN's sincerity in exploring all possibilities that could lead to a peaceful solution, the annual ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Kuala Lumpur in July 1985 proposed indirect or proximity talks between the parties directly concerned, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam, with the participation of the Heng Samrin régime. Clearly all those proposals were never offered as the only basis for negotiations, as ASEAN is fully cognizant of Viet Nam's basic positions and views in so far as they are relevant to the solution of the core problem of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Meanwhile, as ASEAN's designated interlocutor vis-à-vis Viet Nam, Indonesia's Foreign Minister has endeavoured to explore and broaden the options available in the search for a comprehensive and durable political solution, within a strategic framework for the future of South-East Asia. In this context, the ongoing discussions between Indonesia and Viet Nam have ranged over a number of basic issues that will have to be resolved if the process of moving towards genuine dialogue and negotiations is to be sustained.

At their most recent meeting, held in Manila last June, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers welcomed the eight-point proposal for a political settlement to the Kampuchean problem recently advanced by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and circulated as document A/41/225. Again, ASEAN's support should not be construed as an endorsement of one specific set of modalities for a solution to the exclusion of all other proposals, but as this is the first time that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has outlined its own views on a possible scenario or framework for a negotiated settlement, and noting the flexible approach and constructive elements contained in the eight-point proposal, we believe that it deserves careful consideration, at least as a useful starting point for further elaboration and discussion. The proposal is also consistent with ASEAN's long-held view that essentially the Kampuchean problem has to be resolved by the Kampuchean people themselves.

My delegation, therefore, cannot but regret Viet Nam's summary rejection of this proposal, just as it has so far spurned all other appeals and proposals by ASEAN.

The fact that all the initiatives and efforts by the United Nations, by ASEAN and by others over the past eight years have yet to produce concrete results does not deter us from continuing our efforts by exploring all possible avenues and

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

modalities which could realistically and effectively lead to a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean tragedy. As the report of the Secretary-General emphasizes, there can be no military solution, nor is there an alternative to a comprehensive political settlement based on the purposes and principles of the Charter and reached through a process of genuine negotiations without pre-conditions. Although significant differences and obstacles still have to be overcome, Indonesia is not inclined to consider the Kampuchean situation as being a stalemate, for we believe that the dynamics of the problem within the evolving strategic context are such that all parties to the conflict will eventually see the desirability and viability of a political settlement compared with the vain hopes of either a military *fait accompli* or conversely a return to the status-quo ante.

Although the political aspects are serious and compelling, the humanitarian dimensions of the Kampuchean problem should remain of equal concern to us. The magnitude of the suffering of the Kampuchean people, and especially the plight of thousands of Kampuchean refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, calls for the continued attention and generous support of the international community. My delegation joins others in expressing our sincere appreciation to donor countries, to the various United Nations agencies and to the many voluntary humanitarian relief organizations which have been active in providing aid and assistance to the Kampuchean people in their present ordeal. The Thai Government deserves our special commendation for its steadfast humanitarian commitment despite the heavy economic burden it has to bear in these difficult times.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

At this juncture, I should like to register my Government's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, whose unanimous re-election is most gratifying to Indonesia, as well as to his able associates, Under-Secretary-General Rafeuddin Ahmed, Special Representative for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia and Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, Special Representative for Co-ordination of the Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programme, for their unremitting and dedicated commitment to the cause of peace and human welfare in the region. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Graz of Austria, and the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Massamba Sarré of Senegal, for their continuing endeavours to achieve a just and comprehensive solution to the conflict.

The need for an early political settlement of the Kampuchean problem should not only be recognized but acted upon by all concerned. I am certain that Viet Nam concurs in our view on the costs and implications of continuing conflict and instability in the region. The state of polarization between contending major Powers, whether direct or through proxies, which has characterized the situation in South-East Asia in the past, should not, in any form, be re-established. The longer the Kampuchean conflict is allowed to drag on, the greater the possibility that such polarization will become entrenched. The political fate of South-East Asia cannot and should not be left to the competing strategies and designs of Powers external to the region itself. My Government therefore continues to hope that ultimately Viet Nam will see that it is in its own fundamental interest to co-operate in finding a speedy and just solution to the Kampuchean problem and, towards this end, show greater flexibility and seriousness in pursuing a process of genuine dialogue and negotiation.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Only when this tragic episode of Kampuchea is brought to a satisfactory conclusion can the prospect and the promise of one South-East Asia, at peace within itself and with the neighbouring Powers, co-operating for common progress and stability, finally be realized.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Allow me to begin by joining the preceding speakers in expressing our deep sense of shock and profound grief at the tragic death of President Samora Machel of Mozambique in an air crash, the cause of which is still obscure. President Samora Machel was one of those heroic figures who not only liberated his own country by his unsurpassed leadership of the freedom movement in Mozambique, but by the quality of his thought and deed and as a brilliant example of a dedicated patriot, inspired the freedom fighters throughout southern Africa to continue their struggle in the certainty of victory as its crowning achievement.

It is a tragic experience of the international community, in this International Year of Peace, that the blood of freedom fighters is flowing not only in southern Africa but in far-flung corners of the globe, such as Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

In his latest report on the situation in Kampuchea, the Secretary-General still speaks of nearly a quarter of a million Kampuchean civilians who have sought refuge inside Thailand since the upsurge of hostilities late in 1984 and early in 1985, and remain in evacuation sites operated by the United Nations Border Relief Operation. A peaceful resolution of the situation in Kampuchea still eludes us. The Secretary-General feels that further efforts are still needed to reconcile the persisting differences regarding the procedure for negotiations and the

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

implementation of the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. We applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General and the intensive search for peace in the region, which was undertaken in the months of May and June by his able Special Representative, Under-Secretary-General Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed.

In his eloquent address to the General Assembly on 30 September 1986, His Royal Highness, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, said:

"We do not expect miracles from this International Year of Peace, but only that it may offer an opportunity for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to think about the consequences of its ambition, which has already caused so much bloodshed, misfortune and suffering to our people as well as to its own people. It is certain that an equitable settlement of the Khmer-Vietnamese dispute would set a valuable example for all countries the world over which are having difficulties with their neighbours and wish to settle them without recourse to arms." (A/41/PV.16, p. 27)

We hope this good advice will be heeded by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which, to our deep regret, has let itself be transformed so soon after its own heroic and successful struggle for independence from colonial rule into an aggressive and domineering State and allowed its escutcheon to be crimsoned by the blood of innocent Kampuchians. The international community is scandalized by the fact that the General Assembly's call for withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, initially made in its resolution 34/22 of 14 November 1979, remains unheeded and has to be repeated, once again, for the eighth time in draft resolution A/41/L.2, now under consideration by the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

In its resolution 40/7 of 5 November 1985, the General Assembly, while calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, reiterated its conviction that the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, were the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.

This call is being reiterated in the current draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. The key elements for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem remain, as before: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration of Kampuchean independence; the exercise of self-determination by the people of Kampuchea; and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of this ravaged country. Such a settlement will be entirely consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations, and the Secretary-General feels convinced that it can only be reached through a process of "genuine negotiations without pre-conditions".

Hanoi is reported to have said that it hopes to withdraw its troops by 1990. "The fighting must continue for some time", Vietnamese General Man is reported to have said, adding, "It is not possible to stop soon." The Vietnamese Ambassador to Phnom Penh was reported to have said, in April this year: "We may have to return if Kampuchea is menaced in the future."

These are verified statements reflecting the policy and ambitions of a hegemonic Power. They represent a blue-print for the permanent subjugation of a free country and its people who cannot, for the time being, compete with a strident neighbour in the power game.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

It has to be realized by all expansionist States that the time has passed for stealing other people's freedom in the darkness of night and posing as liberators and protectors by daylight. The international community is wide awake and will not permit such theft. It is in situations such as this that the United Nations comes into its own. All of us assembled here remain vividly aware of the invasion of Kampuchea eight years ago by a powerful Vietnamese army; we have never forgotten it. The victory proclaimed by the invading army then exists nowhere except in the imagination of its leaders. Viet Nam has grasped a nettle which will hurt the more, the longer it is clasped.

The situation inside Kampuchea continues to fester. A huge army of occupation is helplessly bogged down. Innocent men, women and children continue to die in the unwinnable confrontation between the invading forces and the unyielding and freedom-loving people of Kampuchea. Viet Nam's fair name is being sullied in the international arena, where it is facing ever-increasing isolation.

Now there are reports that Viet Nam is undertaking sustained efforts to alter the demographic structure of Kampuchea. According to reliable information, several hundred thousand Vietnamese have been resettled inside Kampuchea with the obvious aim of lending a permanent character to the present situation of occupation. This gives further credence to the charge that the real objective of the Vietnamese occupation troops is the "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea.

These actions of the Vietnamese occupation forces in Kampuchea indicate that Viet Nam is not acting out of any humanitarian concern for the Khmers but with the objective of creating an "Indochina Federation". Nor has its military intervention mitigated the tragic circumstances inside Kampuchea which was its ostensible purpose. It has only worsened the situation, and has served to prolong the agony of the Kampuchean people who had earlier suffered the excesses of the Pol Pot

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régime. The imposition of a régime by force of foreign arms, on the pretext of rectifying earlier violation of human rights in that country, is totally unacceptable.

The only viable solution to the Kampuchean problem lies in a comprehensive political settlement which restores that country's independence and sovereignty through national reconciliation. The eight-point proposal made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986, reflects a genuine effort to finding a solution of the Kampuchean problem. This proposal has received wide international support and was endorsed by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Foreign Ministers in April 1986. The proposal calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government and Viet Nam on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in two phases, and envisages progress towards a negotiated settlement, in which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea is preserved and the process of national reconciliation is bolstered.

We welcome the call of President Norodom Sihanouk for national reconciliation and his constructive initiatives for the restoration of national independence and unity. His proposal for establishing a quadripartite Coalition Government and the conduct of free elections under the supervision of a United Nations observer group, offer viable modalities for a just solution. It is most regrettable that Viet Nam has rejected these proposals, exposing itself to the charge of inflexibility and unwillingness to solve the Kampuchean problem through political means.

As long as the Vietnamese troops remain in Kampuchea there can be no solution to the problem. The people of Kampuchea will continue to suffer and they will continue their valiant resistance to foreign occupation. Their resistance has become increasingly credible and has succeeded in inflicting heavy damage on the forces of occupation. They operate not only near the Thai border but also deep inside Kampuchea. The Economist magazine reported, last April, that the Heng Samrin

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Government, even with the assistance of Vietnamese soldiers over the past eight years, had been unable to get a grip on the country.

Le Nouvel Observateur reported in August that roads in Kampuchea were no longer safe for the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin soldiers. It said:

"Insecurity, resulting mainly from the activities of the resistance forces, starts from the gates of Phnom Penh. It is clear that they" - the national resistance forces - "are able to strike almost everywhere, outside the towns".

As long as the tragic situation in Kampuchea persists, the international community must bear a twofold responsibility towards Kampuchea and its people.

First, sufficient political pressure must be maintained to encourage dialogue and sustain the diplomatic process in favour of a peaceful solution. Strong support of the draft entitled, "The Situation in Kampuchea" in document A/41/L.2, would send a clear signal that the world community will continue to raise its voice in support of universally accepted principles and against the breach of the Charter. The draft resolution which we are called upon to consider is balanced, positive and forward looking. It establishes a framework of universally accepted principles and calls for negotiations without any pre-conditions.

Secondly, the quarter of a million refugees who were forced to flee their homes and who have endured deprivation and travail must be allowed peace and security while they await the opportunity to return to their homes. The responsibility of looking after these refugees is well beyond the resources and capacities of the neighbouring countries. My country, which provides shelter and basic sustenance to 3 million Afghan refugees, fully understands the magnitude and dimensions of this problem.

It is gratifying to note that the international community has responded generously to the Kampuchean assistance programme. My delegation commends the

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United Nations, particularly the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, for sustained effort in providing relief assistance to the Kampuchean refugees. The Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programme has been a unique effort by the international community, channelling over \$US 1 billion for aid to the Kampuchean people. The successful efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to resettle the Kampuchean refugees in third countries also merit our deep appreciation.

The Government of Pakistan, despite resource constraints, has fully associated itself with the efforts of the international community to alleviate the suffering of the Kampuchean people and will continue to make its contribution to the United Nations humanitarian relief programme as long as necessary.

Before concluding my statement, I should like to express our full support to His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, whose ceaseless efforts and creative proposals for a national reconciliation within Kampuchea, contain the seeds of the eventual solution that we all seek. We also declare our solidarity with the Coalition Government led by him and wish it every success in its endeavours to recreate a sovereign and independent Kampuchea, strong in its unity and territorial integrity, inviolate in its sovereignty and independence, and capable, once again, of playing the role of a cultural and spiritual catalyst in the region, which is its rightful heritage and one justly deserved by its history.

Mr. YUSOF (Malaysia): On behalf of the Malaysian delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to extend our deepest condolences to the people of Mozambique at the tragic death of President Samora Machel. We hope that the sharing of their sorrow by the international community will help to ease their deep grief and loss.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

In his address to the General Assembly on 29 September the Prime Minister of Malaysia reaffirmed Malaysia's strong desire to see the legally reconstituted Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea returned to its legitimate seat in Phnom Penh. In the attainment of that objective, he stated, the Malaysian Government will support all efforts towards a peaceful solution to the problem caused by Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and its installation of a puppet régime in Phnom Penh. To underscore in a durable and stable manner that commitment to international peace, particularly as it pertains to South East Asia, the Prime Minister strongly supported the call for a comprehensive political solution to the problem on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Hence our firm advocacy of United Nations resolutions on this subject with the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) since 1979, following Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea.

I would like to note that during the general debate in the General Assembly at this session, more than 70 speakers have touched upon this transgression against peace in Kampuchea. The majority of them once again endorsed the call for comprehensive political settlement. However, Viet Nam's statement stood out in contrast to those of the others. Once again, Viet Nam has attempted to distort the facts, most glaringly in its charge that the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are attempting to return the Pol Pot clique to power in Phnom Penh. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Almost everyone knows that the Pol Pot régime has been condemned by many Governments, including those of the ASEAN countries. No one wants that régime to be installed in Phnom Penh. The Government that we feel should return to Phnom Penh is the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which is led by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. That Government has been constituted freely by three factions of Kampuchean political forces. To its great credit, the United

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Nations has continuously recognized it. My delegation wishes to note that Viet Nam has preferred not to challenge the legitimacy of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in this Hall. We want to state that that is the correct thing to do, but we are still perplexed and anguished by the charge that the ASEAN countries want to bring the Pol Pot régime back to Phnom Penh.

In this regard, I should like to recall the fact that the power-sharing process, the process of national reconciliation, has emerged and is strongly returning to the whole country of Kampuchea. We wish it well, and we hope for its success. Once again, we would like to appeal to Viet Nam not to block the Kampuchean reconciliation process.

When the Kampuchean problem was created by Viet Nam, the ASEAN countries were heartened by the re-emergence of Kampuchean national reconciliation. It was an important trend in itself, but with regard to the problem of Kampuchea it was a vital ingredient for a political settlement of the situation as well as a means of bringing about the return of normalcy in South East Asia as a whole. ASEAN had, therefore, given every encouragement to the Kampuchean factions to enable them to realize their objective, while at the same time calling upon the United Nations family to contain the conflict so that the problem not be made more difficult or worsened by other external factors. The result of those approaches has been the rebirth of new nationalism in Kampuchea, characterized by the merging of the Kampuchean forces and the reconstitution of a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

It is now very clear that the Kampuchean people are increasingly rallying their support behind the Government of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk. My delegation is gratified by that trend and considers it a very positive movement towards the fulfilment of the cherished desire of all Kampuchean for freedom, independence and development. We do not think it proper or desirable for any

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

country to place any impediment to this process of national reconciliation in Kampuchea. We all know that that process is a key element in the solution of the Kampuchean problem. My Government will be continue to be strongly disposed to efforts to deepen and enlarge that process.

My delegation wishes to note another significant development that testifies to the determination of the Coalition Government further to consolidate national reconciliation and the struggle for independence. Last March, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea announced its eight-point proposal. We regard that as a very important step to bridge the gaps to reconciliation that still exist within Kampuchea and between the Coalition Government and the Vietnamese. We commend the Coalition Government for its attitude of accommodation and flexibility, which stands in contrast to that adopted by Viet Nam.

The international community generally views the eight-point proposal as a positive contribution by the Coalition Government as a positive contribution to the solution of the problem. It is indeed a very creative framework within which Viet Nam can join the process for the return of peace, stability and independence to Kampuchea.

However, in spite of this forward-looking movement within the polity of Kampuchea, Viet Nam has made no discernible changes in its policies on Kampuchea. On the contrary, it is stiffening the rigid stance it has always adopted towards the United Nations call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and for the exercise of self-determination in that country.

That rigidity is not easily comprehensible from a country that fought so long for its own independence from both foreign domination and internal factionalism. We had expected Viet Nam not only to respect the desire of Kampuchean to national independence, but also at the same time to support every effort towards the country's national reconciliation. But this is not yet the case.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

My Government has been following very closely the growing strength of the Coalition Government in resisting the foreign occupation of its country in the past few years, and we have been particularly happy with its emergence as the focal point of national reconciliation. I would therefore like modestly to suggest to the Assembly that this important development not be left to pass unnoticed. On the contrary, we should do everything possible to advance it.

It is for that reason that my delegation would like to urge Members to maintain their important and invaluable support for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and their assertion that the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter be fully respected and upheld by all parties, as called for in draft resolution A/41/L.2.

In the consideration of this item we should not be distracted by any attempt to cover up the situation in Kampuchea. It is, of course, nonsense to say that the people of Kampuchea are happy, that a united and peaceful Kampuchean nation exists and that its population loves the foreign occupation of its country. None of those is true.

It is also absurd to draw the conclusion that, with Vietnamese support, the puppet régime could overcome all opposition in Kampuchea or promote the wellbeing of its people. That cannot be so. Neither the armed forces of the Coalition Government nor the growing sense of freedom and independence of the Kampuchean people can be swept aside. Their demands are just and in keeping with the historic trends of this post-colonial era. Their determination cannot be dimmed. Surely the Vietnamese people can see that?

It is equally absurd to make the claim, as has been done in Hanoi, that the Vietnamese action in Kampuchea is a strategic necessity for the security and construction of socialist Viet Nam, especially in view of the fact that that relationship has been imposed by a treaty signed with a puppet régime. In all

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seriousness, we do not think that the "friendship" obtained in such a manner will serve the long-term interest of Viet Nam vis-à-vis Kampuchea, or any of its neighbours. It makes Viet Nam's intentions and its relationship with all neighbouring countries suspect. Furthermore, we have seen that, in the past 8 years of the occupation of Kampuchea, neither the security nor the construction of Viet Nam has been served. Indeed, the so-called historic programme of the reunification of Viet Nam has been stultified. As a neighbour, we do not rejoice in this failure. We regret it, because we know how much the Vietnamese people wanted progress.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

But it must be very clear now that Viet Nam's security and socialist construction cannot be promoted or sustained through unilateral action against its Kampuchean neighbour. Viet Nam must realize that the sustaining force in international relations in this millennium is that of interdependence. This is especially so in the context of South-East Asia, where conflicting forces are ever present to disturb the peace and stability of nations for their own selfish ends.

It is principally for this reason that my delegation supports the draft resolution before the Assembly. The draft resolution is based on the desire to forge a strong relationship of interdependence between Kampuchea and Viet Nam. We believe that such a development would promote similar, mutually beneficial relations between them and other countries of South-East Asia as well. We are confident that in this way secure, lasting peace and stability would be achieved in South-East Asia. The draft resolution would advance that objective.

At this juncture I wish to say that the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea bears a close resemblance to last year's ASEAN proposal for proximity talks. But I hasten to add that in our view the eight-point proposal includes even more significant elements for an ensuing dialogue with the clear objective of solving the Kampuchean question. We support such dialogue. However, there should be no misunderstanding about the nature of the dialogue we wish to see. Obviously we are not talking about a dialogue for the sake of talking about South-East Asia. We want to see a serious dialogue to solve the question of Kampuchea, which is the root cause of instability in South-East Asia. ASEAN wants to promote such a dialogue; the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea wants it and wants it very urgently. But Viet Nam says that there is nothing to talk

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

about with regard to Kampuchea; that there is no Kampuchea problem. Viet Nam wants to talk about other matters pertaining to South-East Asia, not with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea but with the ASEAN countries.

We believe that such dialogue would be meaningless in the present situation. It would be hypocritical and, worst of all, it would be a betrayal of the people of Kampuchea who have been making such heavy sacrifices.

In putting forward these points, I should like to make it clear once again that Malaysia is not hostile towards Viet Nam; nor is ASEAN hostile towards Viet Nam. The draft resolution testifies to this, as do all the statements that we have been making on the subject. The fact is that Viet Nam, Malaysia, Kampuchea and all the ASEAN countries are neighbours. In ASEAN we have learned one important lesson of history: that each of our nations is living in the proverbial glass house and that we cannot afford to throw stones at each other. It is that same simple ground-rule that we wish to see followed by other nations in our region.

I feel that such impulses are felt strongly by the President of the Coalition Government, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. On many occasions he has stated how readily he will sign a treaty of friendship and pursue mutually beneficial relations with Viet Nam when the occupation forces have been withdrawn from Kampuchea.

For these reasons, the ASEAN countries have once again submitted a draft resolution (A/41/L.2). My delegation is highly gratified by the number of sponsoring countries, big and small, non-aligned and otherwise, developed and developing, from all parts of the world. This draft resolution and the proposal made by the Coalition Government should serve as strong encouragement for the initiation of negotiations on the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

However, Viet Nam too must seriously reconsider its stand. Much as we hope for a constructive response from Viet Nam, so far we have had none. Of course, Viet Nam has mentioned its intention to withdraw its troops by 1990, but this should be read in combination with its policy of Vietnamization, on which a French researcher, Dr. Marie-Alexandrine Martin, has published two titles. We know now that about 700,000 Vietnamese citizens, mostly demobilized soldiers, have been resettled in Kampuchea. We must regard this as a desperate attempt to distort the course of Kampuchean nationalism in the short term. In the long term it contains the seeds of the dismemberment of Kampuchea. I am sure there is no need to remind Viet Nam of the kind of withdrawal we are talking about in this Assembly.

We believe that the highest task of the United Nations is the preservation of world peace and justice for all mankind. The United Nations has not been able to stop every conflict, but it is significant that no world war has taken place since the Organization's inception. This has deepened our faith in its efficacy. For this reason I should like to put on record our appreciation of the Secretary-General's report (A/41/707), which reflects the seriousness with which he and his Office have been pursuing implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the Kampuchean question, thereby instilling in a practical way the ideals and principles of peace.

The report indicates also how necessary it is for us to sustain our efforts to ensure the restoration to the people of Kampuchea of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. It is obvious that the resolutions which the General Assembly has adopted on this subject over the past seven years have helped sustain the faith of Kampuchean everywhere in the United Nations and in their own national independence and freedom. In particular, they have provided strength and hope to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in its principal task of forging a united nation out of Kampuchea. I therefore join those

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

who have spoken earlier in urging the widest support for the draft resolution, so that the leaders and people of Viet Nam can see in the clearest way the desire of the international community for the return of peace and independence to Kampuchea in particular and South-East Asia in general.

I should like also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the various United Nations agencies concerned for providing humanitarian assistance to Kampuchean displaced by Viet Nam's occupation of their country. I share the Secretary-General's view that progress in the programme for the resettlement of Kampuchean refugees living in Thailand has been gratifying. In view of the unresolved problem of Kampuchea, it is important that the Assembly should continue to appeal for emergency relief assistance to Kampuchean who are still in need, especially those in holding centres in Thailand.

Finally, I urge the Assembly to endorse clearly the process of national reconciliation that is emerging and spreading vigorously in Kampuchea.

Mrs. BERGET JORGENSEN (Norway): My delegation learned with deep sadness of the sudden death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Machel, and other members of the group accompanying him when the tragic accident occurred. President Machel was a prominent African statesman and the highly respected leader of his country, with which Norway has enjoyed friendly and wide-ranging relations since its accession to independence. I wish to express my delegation's sympathy and condolences on the tragic loss suffered by the Government and people of Mozambique. I would ask the delegation of Mozambique to transmit our sincere condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the bereaved families.*

*Mr. Yusof (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mrs. Berget Jorgensen, Norway)

For the eighth consecutive year the General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. Despite the many efforts that have been made to bring about a peaceful, just and comprehensive political solution, and the overwhelming and increasing majority in the General Assembly who support the United Nations resolutions, the Vietnamese forces remain in Kampuchea in clear violation of the United Nations Charter. That reflects a sad state of affairs - for the international community, for the region of South-East Asia and, most of all, for the people of Kampuchea who have suffered so much in the past.

The Norwegian delegation has repeatedly stressed that the main responsibility for the present situation rests with the occupying Power. Foreign interventions violate the fundamental principles of international law and constitute a grave threat to international peace and security. Just as the world could not condone the former régime in Kampuchea, whose gross violations of human rights caused innumerable deaths and untold suffering, so it cannot acquiesce in a foreign Power invading and occupying another country. The violations of human rights by the former régime in no way gives legitimacy to the new régime or the way in which it was installed in Phnom Penh.

The Norwegian delegation shares the view that an essential first step towards a comprehensive solution to the current situation in Kampuchea must be a firm commitment by the occupying Power to cease all hostilities and withdraw its forces, thus paving the way for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In our view, the draft resolution before us, of which Norway is a sponsor, incorporates the elements for a comprehensive political settlement: first, the total withdrawal of all foreign forces, and, secondly, the right of the Kampuchean

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people freely to choose their own Government. My delegation is confident that the General Assembly will once again reaffirm those basic principles for a solution to the question of Kampuchea.

The Secretary-General continues to seek a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question through extensive talks with the parties concerned. My Government would like to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement, and to express our support for their continuing efforts.

The need for an early political settlement seems to be recognized by all the parties concerned, and it can be achieved only through a process of genuine negotiations, without preconditions. In this connection, my Government would like to express support for the efforts undertaken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

It is a sad fact that almost a quarter of a million Kampuchean still remain in the evacuation sites on the Thai-Kampuchean border. But the relative calm in the area during the last year enabled the various organizations and agencies that are involved in assisting the border population to consolidate their work and achieve improvements in the fields of public health, nutrition and social welfare.

Last year my own Government contributed \$US 900,000 to the United Nations Border Relief Operations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the International Committee of the Red Cross and various non-governmental humanitarian organizations assisting Kampuchean refugees. As long as the search for a political solution to the problems of Kampuchea goes on there will be a need for assistance to the refugees in the border area. My Government will in the future also assume its fair share of the costs involved in this humanitarian effort.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): The tragic news of the death of Mr. Samora Machél, President of Mozambique, in an air crash over the territory of South Africa has come as a great shock to the Government and people of India. President Machél was greatly admired in India as a valiant freedom fighter who showed exemplary courage in facing the repeated aggressive onslaughts on his Government and country by the racists in Pretoria. He had established close bonds of friendship with the late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and with Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. On behalf of the Government and people of India, and on behalf of my delegation, I pay a rich tribute to the late President of Mozambique for his important contribution to the history of the freedom struggle in southern Africa and reiterate our solidarity with the Government and people of Mozambique.

India's relations with the countries of South-East Asia, including those of the Indo-China peninsula, are close and date back centuries. These historical and cultural ties were strengthened in the recent past through our common struggle against colonial rule. Since attaining independence, our nations have been involved in the great task of seeking a better life for our peoples.

South-East Asia occupies a strategic part of the world. It was for this reason that the wars of liberation there were bitter and prolonged. We once again express our admiration for the valiant peoples of Indo-China and others who have fought so bravely against powerful forces to regain their freedom. We had hoped that the period of strife and instability would be followed by peace and reconstruction. My delegation notes with genuine regret that those hopes have yet to be realized.

The Assembly is once again reviewing the situation in Kampuchea. A few days ago the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly took up the question of

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Kampuchea. India recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh as the legitimate Government representing the people of Kampuchea. Our view is that the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be enabled to take its lawful place in the United Nations. We fail to see what could come out of the discussion of a situation in that region without the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

At the eighth summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Harare, the Heads of State or Government expressed grave concern over the continuing conflict and tension in South-East Asia, particularly since many of its States are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against sovereign States. They warned that there was a real danger that the tension in and around Kampuchea could spill out over a wider area. They were convinced of the urgent need to de-escalate those tensions through a comprehensive political solution providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The Heads of State or Government further reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny, free from foreign interference, subversion or coercion, and expressed the hope that through a process of negotiations and mutual understanding, a climate conducive to the exercise of that right would be created. They also agreed that the humanitarian problems resulting from the conflicts of the region required urgent measures calling for the active co-operation of all the parties concerned. They urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers. In this context, they noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called upon all States to give those efforts their fullest support.

It is the conviction of my delegation that any solution of this problem should be based on the principles and framework accepted by the eighth summit conference of the non-aligned countries.

We have read with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea contained in document A/41/707. We have noted the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General during 1986 for achieving progress towards a peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean problem. The Secretary-General has stated:

"I am convinced that it can only be reached through a process of genuine negotiations without pre-conditions. I urge the countries concerned to work actively, in the coming months, towards the elaboration of a mutually acceptable mechanism for the initiation of this process. It is in this way that it will become possible to give peace and reconciliation a serious chance. The mutual accommodations that this may entail will be far exceeded by the benefits that will ultimately be reaped." (A/41/707, para. 20)

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

We have also noted other proposals for dialogue and negotiations which have been put forward.

The concerns of my delegation are twofold. Firstly, our concern is directed to the alleviation of the effects upon the people of Kampuchea of the sufferings brought about in so cold-blooded and deliberate a manner by the Pol Pot régime. The people of Kampuchea are now beginning to emerge from the after-effects of the despicable policies pursued by the Pol Pot régime and are engaged in a massive effort at economic and social reconstruction under the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Government and people of India fully support these efforts. These efforts have also received the support of the international community and the co-operation of various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea. The report of the Secretary-General details the implementation of the programmes of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people. We wish to record our appreciation of the efforts made by all these agencies as well as by the many non-governmental organizations, whose officials have worked selflessly in the discharge of their duties. India has made its own modest contribution and will continue to do so.

The second concern of my delegation is to seek ways and means to see to it that durable peace returns to the Indo-China peninsula in particular and the South-East Asia region in general. We do not think that recourse to any inflexible position or attempts at the restoration of the status quo ante would create the conditions in which a peaceful and lasting solution could be found. The people of Kampuchea cannot allow the return of those who once were the cause of depredation and fear. The urgent need of the hour is to promote dialogue that would build

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

confidence, so essential for an atmosphere conducive to bringing about a negotiated settlement. There can be no military solution to this problem. Interference and military pressures would be counterproductive. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries in the region and elimination of all outside interference.

India is prepared to support any constructive action that will defuse tension and promote a viable political solution. However, we do not believe that the approach embodied in draft resolution A/41/L.2 will bring about the desired result. My delegation, therefore, will abstain from voting on the draft resolution.

Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): My delegation joins others in expressing our profound shock at the tragic death of President Machel. We offer our condolences to the people of Mozambique and to his family.

Yet again we are forced to take part in a debate that makes a mockery of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. For the seventh year now, we must remind Viet Nam that it is flouting the undertaking it accepted when it joined the United Nations. Its forcible occupation of Kampuchea continues to cause suffering and misery to the Kampuchean people. It is an outrage that has no place in international relations. The conflict seriously jeopardizes peace and stability in South-East Asia and poses a potent destabilizing threat internationally.

The annual voting in the General Assembly clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of the international community condemns the continued occupation and has repeatedly called for a negotiated settlement. The International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981 set out the basis for a settlement, which included the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

Viet Nam's refusal to withdraw from Kampuchea flies in the face of United Nations resolutions and the almost total unanimity of the international community. In spite of Viet Nam's considerable military presence, it has not been able to subdue the Kampuchean people. Kampuchean resistance forces remain active and effective. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, continues to have the full backing of Kampucheans as well as of the international community.

The eight-point plan put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in March this year has received wide endorsement and support. My delegation, like many others, believes these proposals constitute a very positive development and illustrate the determination of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to find a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem. As the plan contains two new elements which demonstrate the willingness of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to find common ground, we are disappointed that Viet Nam remains obdurate.

We commend the initiative and continuing efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to find a just and lasting solution. They have been in the forefront of international concern and deserve full support. The Secretary-General and his special representative have been very active in trying to find a way to facilitate the peace process. Success continues to elude these efforts, caused mainly by the intransigence of Viet Nam.

It is most unfortunate that the conflict has caused a much wider area of instability. Not only are the quarter-million refugees facing severe hardships but they are also a burden on Thailand. It is sad to learn that, not content to attack periodically these defenceless people, the occupiers of Kampuchea have planted more than 1,000 mines on Thai territory, which cause indiscriminate maiming and death.

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

Contrary to specific provisions of the United Nations Charter, a deliberate policy of transmigration to change the demography of certain parts of Kampuchea is also being implemented. This practice must be brought to a speedy end.

The basis exists for a just and durable settlement in Kampuchea. What is needed is the willingness of Viet Nam and its mentor to honour the provisions of the Charter and to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly. We believe the draft resolution before us contains all the essential elements for a settlement. We are happy again to be one of the 60 sponsors. We commend the draft resolution to the Assembly.

Mr. ABISINITO (Papua New Guinea): On behalf of my delegation I must at the outset associate myself with the others who have preceded me in extending heartfelt condolences to the people of Mozambique for the tragic and most untimely death of President Samora Moises Machel and his senior officials in an air crash. President Machel was indeed a great statesman of our time. His death is a great loss to the people of Mozambique, to his own bereaved family, and of course to the continent of Africa. Please accept our deepest condolences in this hour of mourning.

Papua New Guinea takes this opportunity to speak on the situation in Kampuchea because it poses a serious threat to the peace and security in South-East Asia. We are also equally concerned about the suffering inflicted upon the people of Kampuchea, the continued abuse of basic human rights by the occupying State, and the denial of the legitimate rights of the people of Kampuchea to choose freely their own future. The situation in Kampuchea has been before the United Nations since Viet Nam invaded that country in 1978. Various attempts by many countries, including the proposal by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), have been brought before the United Nations with the aim of finding a peaceful solution to the situation in Kampuchea. Each proposal had attempted to find the best way possible to resolve the Kampuchean problem. As most Members of this Organization are aware the most constructive proposal was put forward by ASEAN, which many Members of the United Nations, including Papua New Guinea, actively supported. For some time the ASEAN proposal presented the most convincing and workable framework for reaching an amicable solution to the Kampuchean problem, until the eight-point proposal was announced by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986. One encouraging common denominator between Viet Nam and those most concerned with the Kampuchean issue, especially the Coalition Government of

(Mr. Abisinio, Papua New Guinea)

Democratic Kampuchea, is a strong resolve on both sides to seek a political solution to the Kampuchean situation. In this regard Papua New Guinea believes firmly that the eight-point proposal for resolving the Kampuchean issue as proposed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is not only the most constructive and comprehensive framework for negotiations directed to a political solution to the problem, but also the most likely to accommodate the interests of both opposing parties.

The proposal calls for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam to negotiate the withdrawal of Viet Nam's forces from Kampuchea. The proposal also calls for the sharing of administrative power between the different groups in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces. In addition it provides that Kampuchea should hold free elections under the supervision of the United Nations and should sign a non-aggression and peaceful coexistence treaty with Viet Nam.

If Viet Nam accepts the proposal it would enable Kampuchea to be restored as an independent and non-aligned country, while Viet Nam's lost reputation in the international community would be restored. Papua New Guinea believes that the eight-point proposal has shown that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has stretched its capacity to accommodate Viet Nam's interests to the extreme limit, basically in order to achieve a just and lasting political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. It is fair to say that Viet Nam must be seen to display some degree of flexibility and a willingness to consider the eight-point proposal. Papua New Guinea considers that this proposal is the most accommodating to both parties to the conflict and that it provides hope for maintaining peace and security in the region.

(Mr. Abisinio, Papua New Guinea)

It is alarming to note that Viet Nam is engaged in military incursions into Thailand, a country which bears the burden of looking after the Kampuchean refugees. We appeal to Viet Nam to refrain from such practices and to respect the territorial integrity of Thailand. We note with great hopes the eight-point proposal put together by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and we hope that Viet Nam and the political functionaries concerned in Democratic Kampuchea will see their way clear to engage in a meaningful dialogue to bring about the much needed political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Papua New Guinea speaks in solidarity with the ASEAN countries which have declared their positive support for the eight-point proposal.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): It was with deep sadness and sorrow that we received the news of the tragic death of President Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, one of the most prominent freedom fighters and leaders in Africa, and a respected statesman on the world scene. His death is an irretrievable loss, not only for Mozambique and Africa but for the entire movement of non-aligned countries, to whose activities he made a great personal contribution and to whose ideas he was deeply committed. By the death of President Machel, Yugoslavia has lost a trusted and sincere friend with whom we were maintaining close links even at the time when, as the leader of FRELIMO, he led the courageous people of Mozambique in their liberation struggle against exploitation and domination. On behalf of the delegation of Yugoslavia I express our deepest condolences to the people and the Government of Mozambique and to the family of the deceased.

The question of Kampuchea is among those international problems affecting peace and security to which Yugoslavia attaches major importance. The recently

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

concluded debate in the General Assembly has widely borne out the assessment that the international situation continues to be complex and difficult, largely because of the failure to solve crises and to eliminate hotbeds of tension in the world.

It is with concern that I must point out that this is already the eighth session of the General Assembly to discuss the situation in Kampuchea, whose people have for many years been waging a continuing just struggle for freedom and independence against foreign intervention and occupation, demonstrating once again the well-known fact that international problems cannot be solved by acts of aggression and military force.

Inadmissibility of the use of force and intervention against sovereign States is one of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and the policy of non-alignment. In view of the flagrant and ever more frequent violation of those principles, and recognizing the danger of its becoming a practice in the behaviour of the large and more powerful countries towards the smaller countries, five years ago the General Assembly, acting on a proposal by the non-aligned countries, adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

The international community, and in particular the United Nations, which is entrusted with special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, must be consistent in defending those principles wherever and whenever they are threatened or violated. They must also resolutely reject attempts to legalize the situation created by military intervention - prolongation of occupation and the policy of *fait accompli*.

Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia has resolutely striven for strict respect for the legitimate right of each people to independence, freedom and independent political and social development. Only on the basis of those principles can a lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea and peace and security in South-East Asia be ensured. In this sense the problem of Kampuchea has not only regional, but wider implications.

The only possible framework for a comprehensive and peaceful solution of the situation in Kampuchea, as well as of the existing crisis in South-East Asia, is full implementation of United Nations resolutions and the decisions and positions adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea and at the meetings and gatherings of non-aligned countries, with full respect for the authentic aspirations and interests of the Kampuchean people.

No solution is possible without the participation of the representatives of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, recognized by the General Assembly as the only legitimate representative of Kampuchea. This presupposes the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops and the opportunity for the people of Kampuchea to make freely and independently, without interference and outside pressure, the choice of their internal development and foreign policy orientation. Any other solution would be

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

contrary to the aspirations of the people of Kampuchea and the demands of the international community.

Yugoslavia has actively supported all constructive efforts aimed at finding a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. In this context, the eight-point plan of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea constitutes a constructive and acceptable basis for solution of the problem.

Since the beginning of the crisis Yugoslavia has always pointed to the unavoidable and irreplaceable role of the United Nations in resolving the crisis, which has already for years burdened the region's stability and security. It has fully supported the Secretary-General's efforts to find a way to overcome the problem of Kampuchea by political means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions. It should again be recalled that the United Nations renders significant humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea, particularly to the numerous refugees fleeing their own country.

Yugoslavia firmly believes that there can be no lasting peace and security in the South-East Asian region without the restoration of the independence and non-aligned status of Kampuchea and the creation of the necessary conditions for its suffering people to decide its own future and social and political development freely and democratically, without pressure and outside interference. That is the essence of the position Yugoslavia has always adopted on the question of Kampuchea, whether in the United Nations or the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and in its overall foreign policy activities.

As in the case of past resolutions, Yugoslavia will vote for the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea this year too, as an expression of our profound conviction that only by fully respecting the right of all the peoples in

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

the region to freedom and self-determination is it possible to contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia and in the world at large.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Austria learned with deep sympathy and regret of the death of Mr. Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. I wish to express my Government's sincere condolences to the family of the deceased as well as to the people of Mozambique. The untimely death of that great statesman is undoubtedly a severe loss not only to the African nations but to the international community as a whole.

The illegal occupation of Kampuchea continues. Its consequences are the continuing suffering of the Kampuchean people, a climate of distrust and instability in South-East Asia and continuing violation of such fundamental principles of the Charter as the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the right of self-determination of peoples. The Austrian position on these questions of principle is on record and well known, and requires no further elaboration.*

Over the past decade the Kampuchean people have suffered on an inconceivable scale. Their situation would, however, be even worse today if the international community had not responded to their plight with a massive expression of solidarity. Large-scale humanitarian assistance programmes have resulted in an improvement of living conditions in Kampuchea. The economic situation is still precarious and further assistance is required - in particular, for the refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Austria is contributing regularly to those relief efforts.

*Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

We have been discussing this agenda item for eight years now. One important purpose of the debate is to ensure that the problem of Kampuchea shall not be forgotten by the international community.

Another purpose lies in the opportunity to review developments since last year, to take stock. The Secretary-General's report is, as usual, a most useful basis in this regard. We noted with particular interest his assessment that

"further efforts will be needed to bridge the significant differences which persist regarding the procedure for negotiations and the implementation of the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement." (A/41/707, para. 11)

What is needed above all in order to overcome the present impasse and make progress is a clear expression of the necessary political will to find a political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We thank the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their ongoing efforts to contribute to such a solution.

Austria, because of its own historical experience and its firm commitment to the principles I have mentioned continues to attach great importance to a political solution of the problem of Kampuchea and to contribute its share to that end. Consequently, the then Foreign Minister of Austria, Mr. Leopold Gratz, agreed to succeed Mr. Willibald Pahr as President of the International Conference on Kampuchea on 1 January 1986, when the latter resigned from this post after his election as Secretary-General of the World Tourism Organization.

In January and February 1986 the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea undertook a tour of four countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand - and also paid an official visit to Viet Nam in his capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

On the basis of his meetings, Mr. Gratz believes that, although important differences exist with regard to the elements of a political solution and the modalities to set in motion a negotiating process, there seemed to be some common ground which could be explored in further contacts. This applies for instance to the necessity for withdrawal of all foreign troops, for national reconciliation and for taking into account the security interests of all States in the region.

In July of this year Mr. Gratz received a mission from the Ad Hoc Committee in Vienna. During his talks with the mission he noted with great interest the recent diplomatic contacts and initiatives aiming at a political solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Austria and the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea will continue to use their contacts with the parties concerned with a view to promoting the comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement which has eluded the people of Kampuchea for so long.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): Almost eight years ago Vietnamese troops brutally invaded Kampuchea, thus violating the most elementary principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter. Today we are shocked to note that force still prevails over law and justice in that country. The international community cannot be indifferent to this situation, Thus, year after year, since 1979 the Assembly has felt a moral and political obligation to denounce before the entire world the terrible situation of the Khmer people, whose only wish is to live and develop in peace and establish its own Government, without foreign interference.

However, despite General Assembly resolutions adopted with the support of all delegations which represent peace-loving countries, we continue to note with amazement that the Vietnamese administration in Kampuchea, which endures only

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

because of the support of the Soviet Union, dismisses the majority opinion of the international community, an opinion which is rooted in international law and the principles of this Organization.

For small countries which are not powerful and want to live in peace and determine their own future, the situation in Kampuchea brought about by the Soviet-Vietnamese invasion is of the utmost gravity. It involves a violation of basic principles which we believe are the best guarantee of peaceful coexistence. Those principles, and above all the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force, have been flouted with impunity by Viet Nam and the Soviet Union. The international community cannot accept this situation, and in adopting draft resolution A/41/L.2, of which my delegation is a sponsor, it will demonstrate its rejection of the situation and its indignation.

At the same time, we are reaffirming our very strong support for the struggle of the Khmer people, under the leadership of President Norodom Sihanouk, against foreign occupation, and our solidarity with the thousands of refugees who have been compelled to flee their country in the face of an unbearable cruel situation that left them no alternative. We are also giving them the hope that some day - soon, we hope - Kampuchea will, like other countries, enjoy the right to be a sovereign, independent State, free from foreign aggression, seeking a better future for its people, in peace and stability.

In 1981 the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened, in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 35/6, as a first step towards the establishment of a free, independent and neutral Kampuchea which could be considered truly non-aligned. We thought then, and we continue to think, that only a comprehensive political agreement taking into account above all the interests of the Khmer people can bring peace to that tormented region.

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

That agreement must be based on the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all foreign forces, a commitment by all States not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country, the establishment of a truly representative Government and, finally, recognition of the right of the Khmer people to self-determination. Only if all those conditions are fulfilled will it be possible to put an end to the suffering the Khmer people have been experiencing for more than three decades.

The international community has the moral duty to make every effort to put an end to the agony of the people of Kampuchea.

Mr. DIATTA (Niger) (interpretation from French): It was with great sadness that my delegation learned this morning of the tragic death of Mr. Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. This is a major loss not only for Mozambique and Africa as a whole but also for all the members of the international community. The great work he accomplished in the liberation and development of the Mozambican nation will live for ever in the memory of our people. At this time of mourning we offer our heartfelt condolences and our deepest sympathy to the sister delegation of Mozambique.

The armed intervention and continuing occupation of its territory by foreign troops has drawn Kampuchea into a vicious circle of suffering in the form of savage oppression and economic privation of all kinds, and has caused hundreds of thousands of its people to flee to neighbouring countries to escape death or captivity. This tragedy which the Kampuchean people has been experiencing for eight years threatens not only the survival of that nation and its age-old civilization, but its policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment.

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

The sufferings of that peaceful and hardworking people profoundly attached to peaceful coexistence and friendship with all the peoples of the world have been deeply felt, as was stated by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the important statement he made during the general debate at this forty-first session.

This year we are once again dealing with this distressing problem because the situation has not improved. The Kampuchean people is still deprived of its independence and freedom and its right to decide without any constraints its future under the leadership of the Government of its choice.

The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by a Member State of our Organization constitutes a violation of the ideals and principles of our Charter, particularly those affirming respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of every State, the non-use of force and the need to refrain from the use or threat of force, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

This flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter has led to a breach of the internal peace of the Kampuchean territory and has created a situation of instability in that region of South-East Asia. The United Nations can no longer accept the status quo. It should spare no effort to ensure that the sacred principles of our Charter may once again triumph.

In that connection it may be useful to recall that seven times in a row our General Assembly has adopted, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution setting forth the conditions for the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country; the right of the Kampuchean people to decide its future; and a commitment by all States not to intervene in the internal affairs of

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

Kampuchea. Unfortunately we must perforce note that despite the adoption of those resolutions we still face deadlock regarding this problem.

Yet there has been a great deal of goodwill regarding the establishment of sustained and constructive dialogue between the parties concerned, dialogue that would be the foundation of mutual trust and the creation of conditions for the comprehensive settlement of the question. We should like to mention here the efforts that have been made since the beginning of the conflict by the Secretary-General, countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Ad Hoc Committee on the International Conference on Kampuchea to reduce the differences of view that continue to separate the parties concerned, particularly with regard to the negotiation and establishment of the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. My delegation welcomes all of those efforts and missions of good offices and hopes that they will continue with the same determination, for we hope to see Kampuchea and that region of South-East Asia recover the peace and stability to which its populations aspire.

The eight-point proposal made on 17 March last by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in our view also constitutes the appropriate platform for a political settlement of the Kampuchea problem, since that proposal is not only in keeping with relevant resolutions of the United Nations but also advocates a policy of national reconciliation, which is an indispensable factor for maintenance of the unity and very survival of that country.

In this International Year of Peace my delegation would urge all parties concerned to take this new opportunity for peace and respond constructively to the appeals and statements of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations, which have asked that negotiations be pursued to arrive at a comprehensive political settlement in order to restore the independence and sovereignty of the Kampuchean nation.

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

In conclusion we should like to hail the tenacity and determination of the Kampuchean people in continuing its patriotic struggle to rid itself of foreign domination, a struggle it is conducting under the leadership of the forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The rallying at its side of the nationalist resistance and the support it has received from the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations truly show that the Coalition Government indeed represents the profound aspirations of the Kampuchean people.

Niger, which is a staunch champion of respect for the sovereignty of nations and the right of peoples to live in peace and freely choose their economic and social systems, will continue to support it until the final victory is attained. This is why this year again we are sponsoring draft resolution A/41/L.2, which once again reaffirms the bases for the settlement of this issue, and we hope that once again it will be supported by the great majority of Member States.

Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): On behalf of the people and Government of the Philippines I wish to convey to the people and Government of Mozambique our sincere condolences on the tragic and untimely death of President Samora Machel and 38 other officials of that front-line State. As a freedom fighter and as head of FRELIMO, President Machel led his country and people to independence and espoused the cause of other peoples in southern Africa seeking to exercise the right of self-determination and independence. The people of the Philippines share with the people of Mozambique their sense of national bereavement over the grievous loss of an eminent citizen and founding father of Mozambique.

At the end of the Viet Nam war, in 1975, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) reached out and extended a hand of friendship to Viet Nam. The members of ASEAN shared the fervent hope that at long last there would be enduring peace and stability in a region which had been in turmoil for generations. We had

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

a vision of the countries of the region harnessing their resources and energies for reconstruction and development in a co-operative effort to promote the prosperity and well-being of their peoples.

But even as ASEAN issued a declaration of concord and envisaged the emergence of the region as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, Viet Nam embarked on another plan. On 25 December 1978 Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea. On the pretense of liberating the Kampuchean people from an oppressive régime Vietnamese troops occupied Kampuchea and installed a puppet régime in Phnom Penh. Two months after the invasion, Viet Nam, seeking to consolidate and legalize its presence, signed what it called a friendship treaty with the new régime. That was eight years ago. To this day Kampuchea remains under Vietnamese occupation and domination.

Viet Nam's intransigence has belied our hopes for lasting peace and stability. A state of continuing violence and insecurity persists. Misery and deprivation is the bitter lot of the people of Kampuchea.

During the past seven years the General Assembly has condemned Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea. In resolution after resolution the overwhelming majority of Member States has deplored this gross violation of the United Nations Charter and of international law. But Viet Nam is adamant. It considers the United Nations resolutions erroneous, based on what it describes as distortions of the reality in Kampuchea. Thus Viet Nam by its armed intervention in Kampuchea continues to defy the judgement and to violate the conscience of mankind.

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

Most of the world is indeed outraged by this defiance of the United Nations and the international legal order. Our peoples are appalled at what is happening to Kampuchea and its hapless people. Much violence has been done to the national dignity and honour of Kampuchea. Its sovereignty and territorial integrity have been violated. Its people have been deprived of the right to chart their own destiny. Their affairs are controlled by alien hands. They are being crushed by the grip of a new colonialism.

The human dimensions of the situation are no less appalling. There is deprivation and misery. There is malnutrition, poverty and disease. There are gross violations of basic human rights. Tens of thousands of Kampuchean have been forced to flee their homes and cross the border into Thailand. Their arduous exodus ended, they then face the constant threat of Vietnamese armed attacks and exploding land-mines, which number in the thousands and are scattered around the area. The toll in deaths and injuries has been heavy.

Of no other nation can it be said more truly that its destiny is shrouded in the mists of uncertainty. Something must be done to free Kampuchea from this morass of despair.

We in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - are gravely concerned over this situation. It adversely affects the stability of our region. It casts a dark cloud over the future of our peoples by subjecting that future to the pressure of super-Power politics.

In 1981, the International Conference on Kampuchea called for negotiations on a comprehensive political approach to the problem. ASEAN has called for proximity talks between the coalition Government of Kampuchea and Viet Nam, with Heng Samrin forming part of the Vietnamese delegation. And most recently, the coalition

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

Government, which sits in the General Assembly as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, has presented an eight-point proposal. The proposal calls for negotiations to resolve the conflict and presents a plan of action. The peace plan calls upon the Coalition Government and Viet Nam to discuss the phased withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and United Nations supervision of the withdrawal and ceasefire. It seeks negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to set up a four-party coalition Government representative of all elements of the Kampuchean people, in a spirit of national unity and reconciliation. It provides for free elections held under the supervision of a United Nations observer group. The final objective is to restore an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea under a liberal democratic régime, enjoying a United Nations guarantee of its neutrality. The reconstruction of Kampuchea would be undertaken forthwith. A treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence would be concluded between Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

ASEAN endorses this peace plan. It is a viable proposal coming from the Kampuchean people. It reaffirms the principle which ASEAN strongly supports, that the Kampuchean problem must be resolved by the Kampuchean people themselves. It provides a constructive basis for negotiations. We therefore urge Viet Nam to reconsider its position and respond positively to the proposal.

The draft resolution (A/41/L.2), which we have before us strikes at the heart of the problem. It is the eighth resolution on this item. A total of 60 Member States are sponsoring it. We have had widespread support for it in the past seven years, and we are certain that the concerned world community would feel greatly reassured by its overwhelming approval at this meeting.

But we want more than a resolution resoundingly approved. We want to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation

(Mr. Lopez, Philippines)

of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the reinstatement of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; and the commitment of all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. In sum, we want the Kampuchean people to be free and their honour and dignity to be restored.

The forty-first session opened in the shadow of a financial crisis which threatens the very existence of this Organization. We all want to save it from collapse. It is not enough, however, for us to succeed in so doing by effecting financial and administrative reforms. After all, the success or failure of the United Nations depends primarily on the commitment and determination of its Members to observe faithfully the purposes and principles which brought it into being. Words alone will not suffice: deeds will have to match them. Only then shall we reap the fruits of that peace which we all seek. Only then shall we be able to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

From this rostrum, as the Assembly will recall, the President of the Philippines said, on 22 September,

"...the United Nations cannot go faster than its most reluctant Member towards its stated goals of peace, freedom and dignity for the peoples of all nations." (A/41/PV.5, pp. 9-10)

Today, we ask leave to call on one such reluctant Member. We urge Viet Nam to come to the negotiating table and start a genuine and sincere process of dialogue in order to resolve the problem of Kampuchea. Together, we must try to fashion a comprehensive political settlement, in the firm conviction that the problem cannot and must not be resolved by other than peaceful means. This is the only way to remove a grave threat to the peace and stability of our region. We want this, not just for ourselves, but for the peace and stability of the world.

Mr. TILLET (Belize): Just last month in Harare, Zimbabwe, President Samora Machel of Mozambique addressed the eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in his usual flamboyant and vibrant manner. Today, we grieve his death. I was shocked and saddened this morning by the tragic accident that took the life of President Samora Machel and other members of his Government. On behalf of the Government and people of Belize, I extend to the Government, people and delegation of Mozambique and to the bereaved families our most sincere condolences and hope they will find solace in this time of bereavement.

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

On a happier note I am pleased to offer congratulations to the Secretary-General on his unanimous re-appointment to that post.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar is to be commended for his wide and varied efforts on behalf of this Organization. We welcome him to a second term and assure him of the co-operation of the Belize delegation in the years ahead.

The Belize delegation co-sponsored draft resolution A/41/L.2 on the situation in Kampuchea. We did so because of our intense desire to see this situation come to a speedy and peaceful solution, and the Kampuchean people to be able to live and work in peace without fear in their own sovereign, independent and non-aligned nation.

The history of the struggle of the people of Viet Nam for their own sovereignty goes back as far as 1941 when they fought to liberate themselves from colonial rule. That is before many younger nations here were born. During that struggle, Vietnamese gave their lives by the hundreds of thousands for their sovereignty.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is now a sovereign State. It should be basking in its victories, building its economy, and binding its own people together in peace and prosperity. Instead, Viet Nam finds itself embroiled in a hopeless war with Kampuchea. Its victory over colonialism has made it a victim of the same evils against which it has fought so long and hard. Its guns for freedom have turned into guns for invasion, and the former colony has now become the colonizer.

Having gone through these many years of sacrifice and struggle, Viet Nam could now be enjoying the status of being a symbol for liberation movements throughout the world. Its invasion of Kampuchea, however, has robbed it of this great honour and has placed it in great international disfavour.

Having thoroughly assessed this situation, with a view to discovering the cause for Viet Nam's invasion and consequent occupation of Kampuchea, the Belize delegation can find no logical explanation. Still there has to be a reason.

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

Such a reason may be found in article 12 of Chapter III of the Manifesto and Platform of the Viet Nam Workers' Party issued in February 1951:

"The people of Viet Nam are willing to enter into long-term co-operation with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, with a view to bringing about an independent, free, strong and prosperous federation of the States of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia."

The Belize delegation is convinced that such a federation must be the reason for Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea. The problem is that this is not acceptable international behaviour in the 1970s or 1980s or, it is hoped, ever again. For such a federation to exist, it must have the consent of its members. That consent is not to be given under the use or threat of use of force.

Democratic Kampuchea has chosen to be a free, independent, sovereign, non-aligned nation. Viet Nam, along with other members of the international community, must accept the wishes of Democratic Kampuchea.

So we must find a peaceful solution to return Democratic Kampuchea to the people of Democratic Kampuchea, and to transform the disregard for human life and conditions to an era of peaceful co-existence and prosperity in South-East Asia.

This Assembly has on many occasions reiterated the components needed for a peaceful solution. The Secretary-General in his report (A/41/707) on the situation in Kampuchea listed these as follows:

"... the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea" (A/41/707, para. 1)

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

With a view to fulfilling these principal components, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, on 17 March 1986, submitted an eight-point proposal for a political settlement to the problem of Kampuchea. These proposals embody the principal components mentioned in the Secretary-General's report.

When His Excellency, the Honourable Dean Barrow, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belize, addressed this Assembly on 30 September 1986, he drew attention to this eight-point proposal and then he said:

"A more workable solution to the problem is unlikely to be found, and we urge Viet Nam to show its commitment to peace in the region by acting on this proposal." (A/41/PV.16, p. 86)

We congratulate the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for making these proposals. They demonstrate wisdom, statesmanship, insight into the future, and a willingness to negotiate. Furthermore, they demonstrate concern even for the invader, and a strong desire for peace.

The Belize delegation supports these proposals, supports this draft resolution and we commend it to this Assembly; we urge the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to heed the call of the international community to act on them, and contribute to the establishment of peace and security in South-East Asia.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.