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President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- The situation in Kampuchea [24]

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 24 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/608)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/42/L.1)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/42/653)

Mr. BOSLEY (Canada): Any of us could today simply give again any of our speeches from the past half-dozen debates on Kampuchea and be just as relevant today as we were then. It is depressing to realize how little change we have effected.

How then must the Khmer people feel: all that despair and death, the uplifting of apparent liberation, and now what must increasingly seem like permanent occupation by foreigners? It is true that the atrocities and crimes of the previous régime can never be justified and that we must never forget or allow a return to the sort of régime responsible for such tragedy. But none of us, and especially the Khmer people, can be expected to believe that the only viable alternative to that past is the present situation. Yet that is what the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam asks us, in effect, to accept.

What has Viet Nam gained from this military adventure? It has gained nothing but the virtually unanimous reproof of the international community; an economy in a state of catastrophe; a state of political isolation; a partial loss of its own independence. All that Viet Nam has succeeded in doing is to provoke the flight of hundreds of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees, of which the majority have found a temporary refuge in the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

(Mr. Bosley, Canada)

The Vietnamese, of all the world's peoples, must know the anguish that they are causing the Khmers. Given its own history, Viet Nam must know that a military solution imposed from the outside cannot and will not succeed and that only a political solution can work. Yet, despite the intense efforts of ASEAN and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, despite its own experiences, Viet Nam has yet to make a firm commitment to the early withdrawal of its troops.

We have sponsored the draft resolution before the Assembly. We have done so because we believe that, applied in its entirety, it would lead to a peaceful, just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchea problem. But there can be no realistic basis for a solution until Viet Nam is committed to an early withdrawal of its troops. Viet Nam must soon make such a commitment or stand convicted of the same imperialism of which it used to accuse others.

For its part, Canada continues to support ASEAN in its attempts to find the appropriate, lasting political solution, one that will bring the Khmer people what they deserve - peace and justice, prosperity and freedom, one that will avoid both occupation and atrocities.

We will continue to help the Khmer refugees in Thailand. We have given tens of millions of dollars to assist refugees in first-asylum countries. More than 100,000 refugees from the region now live in Canada and we will continue to take our fair share until more durable solutions can be found. We want both to thank the Royal Government of Thailand for giving refuge to so many Khmers and to encourage it to carry on.

But the Khmers' first choice is not a peaceful home in Canada or elsewhere; it is a home in a peaceful, just and free Kampuchea. They want what the Vietnamese used to say they wanted. This draft resolution will help get them a little closer to that dream.

Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): As the newly appointed Permanent Representative of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations, I should like to take this opportunity, Sir, to extend my personal congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am confident that with your diplomatic skills, experience and wisdom you will guide the deliberations on this important item to a successful conclusion.

May I also express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his commendable and untiring efforts in the search for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. We recognize that the role played by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, has been crucial in keeping this item on the agenda until a comprehensive political solution is found.

At the end of the second Indo-Chinese war, the people of Indo-China, and indeed those of the South-East Asian region, looked forward with great expectation, hoping that at last there was a chance of peace. Peace would give the people of Indo-China in particular, and South-East Asia in general a chance to channel their energy and resources for the economic development of the peoples. Alas, this was not to be, for Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea in 1978.

This year, 1987, is the eighth year that the United Nations has met and debated the issue of Kampuchea. For the eighth successive year the General Assembly calls upon Viet Nam to respect, with regard to the sovereign State of Kampuchea, the principles of non-interference and non-aggression enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. But, despite world condemnation, Viet Nam continues to ignore these calls.

Once again we are compelled to address this item on the situation in Kampuchea and to remind the General Assembly that foreign occupation such as has occurred

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

in Kampuchea cannot be permitted to continue. We have witnessed the sufferings that this occupation has imposed on the Kampuchean people, resulting in a large number of them fleeing to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety. It is our conviction that until Viet Nam withdraws its forces from Kampuchea the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny cannot be exercised. Viet Nam must realize that its continued presence in Kampuchea is met with growing resistance, judging by the effectiveness of the struggle waged by the coalition forces under Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and by the increasing number of deserters from the troops of the Heng Samrin régime.

My delegation has on numerous occasions expressed its position on this matter. We maintain that Viet Nam must withdraw its troops if peace and stability are to prevail not only in Kampuchea but also in the region as a whole.

Our position on this matter should not be construed as hostile. On the contrary, our position is based on our desire that peace and stability should prevail in the region. We believe that only through the peaceful coexistence of States in the region can we help each other to enhance the prosperity and economic well-being of our respective countries. Peaceful coexistence can be achieved only if all States are able to forge understanding and good-neighbourliness with each other, free from suspicion and fear of threat.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

We do not dispute Viet Nam's view that the settlement of the Kampuchean issue is crucial to peace and stability in South-East Asia. However, we are also of the opinion that a realistic solution must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea based on the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. It will not be possible to talk of genuine self-determination for the Kampuchean people as long as foreign troops remain in Kampuchea.

Brunei Darussalam welcomes the understanding achieved between Viet Nam and Indonesia, as the interlocutor of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), that an informal meeting between the Kampuchean parties would be useful as the start of a dialogue that would eventually lead to negotiations and a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. However, it must be stated clearly that the problem in Kampuchea is the result of foreign military intervention and aggression, which ASEAN views with utmost concern. Composed of countries belonging to the South-East Asian region, ASEAN is concerned with its own security and stability as well as that of Viet Nam and other Indo-Chinese countries. But Viet Nam's aggression in Kampuchea does not augur well for our view of a peaceful and stable South-East Asia. It is for this reason that ASEAN regards Viet Nam's earliest participation in the "cocktail party" as being very much part of the informal meeting. Viet Nam cannot just be a "concerned" party, when it is itself a party to the present conflict in Kampuchea.

I should like to reiterate here my delegation's full support of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk as leader of the Kampuchean people. His commitment, and that of his partners in the Coalition Government, to finding a peaceful solution to the problem that besieges Kampuchea has been instrumental in maintaining the momentum towards a negotiated political solution to the Kampuchean

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

problem, and we hope that it will be unhindered so that a genuine and enduring peace can be achieved.

We therefore call on the international community to continue to vote in favour of the ASEAN draft resolution, A/42/L.1, on the situation in Kampuchea, which has the support of a majority of the countries represented here. By continuing to support the draft resolution we will be persuading Viet Nam to respect the principles enshrined in the Charter by withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea, so that Kampuchea will once again be a sovereign State, independent, neutral and non-aligned for the sake of peace and stability in Kampuchea and the region.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): The situation in Kampuchea is one of those questions that, despite the encouraging signs of improvement in the international atmosphere, are a serious warning that the world continues to be beset by various and complex problems.

We cannot but be concerned that, almost 10 years after its outbreak, and after the broadest demands of the international community for the elimination of the situation created by foreign intervention and interference, the Kampuchean problem remains a grave hotbed of crisis with serious negative consequences.

The recently concluded general debate of the General Assembly demonstrated that there are signs of readiness to explore the possibilities for the political solution of certain sources of international tension. We have noticed that there are movements in that direction in regard to Kampuchea as well, as is stated in the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Kampuchea (A/42/608).

Ever since the outbreak of this crisis, Yugoslavia has pointed out the necessity of arriving at a political solution through negotiations. That is the position we continue to uphold. In this context we support the efforts made recently with a view to achieving a speedy political solution of the crisis. Understandably, we consider that the basic goal must be an immediate withdrawal of

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

foreign troops and the assurance of conditions in which the people of Kampuchea can decide on its fate freely and independently.

In the case of Kampuchea the international community has most resolutely rejected the attempts to legalize, by the continuation of occupation and the policy of fait accompli, the situation caused by foreign military intervention and interference. In this respect, by its nature, the Kampuchean problem has unquestionable global implications.

Bearing in mind that the small- and medium-size countries are most often the victims of foreign interference, intervention and aggression, 10 years ago, at the proposal of non-aligned countries, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States.

There is no need to point out that unfortunately even today that Declaration has lost none of its topicality and importance. The suffering of the Kampuchean people, which has lasted for 10 years, clearly demonstrates that the principle of refraining from force and intervention against sovereign and independent States must become a generally accepted rule of behaviour in relations among sovereign and independent States. After all, that is the obligation of all countries under the Charter, in the defence of which the United Nations and the international community must always be resolute and steadfast.

Together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia fully supports the inalienable right of every people to decide, freely and independently, on its political and social development and system. We resolutely reject attempts to impose forms of internal solutions on individual countries through foreign intervention and interference. The struggle of the people of Kampuchea to restore its national independence and sovereignty enjoys our full support and sympathy.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

We consider it high time that the suffering and destruction consequent upon a long and exhausting war were replaced by a genuine political solution to the problem. I should like to point out again that Yugoslavia will continue to support efforts aimed at achieving a political solution that would be in line with the interests and aspirations of the Kampuchean people and would lead to the elimination of the situation caused by foreign military intervention and occupation. The essential condition for that is the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean territory and the creation of the conditions necessary to enable the people of Kampuchea to decide on its future freely and independently, without pressure and foreign interference. In our opinion that is the only way to arrive at a comprehensive and just settlement of the Kampuchean problem; it is the pre-condition for more lasting stabilization of the situation in the broader area of South-East Asia.

We are firmly convinced that no solution can be successful without the most direct participation and engagement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by His Royal Highness, the esteemed Prince Norodom Sihanouk, an active participant in the creation of the policy of non-alignment. On this occasion may I recall that the General Assembly recognizes the Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the only legitimate representative of Kampuchea. We reiterate our support for the eight-point proposal of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the solution of the problem.

Yugoslavia has from the beginning pointed to the need for active efforts within the United Nations to achieve a political solution of the crisis. We consider that the United Nations has made an irreplaceable contribution to the rejection of the situation created in Kampuchea by foreign intervention. In this

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

context we fully support continuation of the efforts and contacts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in his quest for ways and means to bring about a peaceful solution of the crisis based on the General Assembly resolution and the purposes and principles of the Charter. May I also point out once again the significance of the material assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as of other international humanitarian organizations, being rendered to a large number of refugees who have been forced to leave their homeland because of foreign occupation and the consequences of the conflict.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

I should also like to reiterate Yugoslavia's principled position that there can be no lasting and stable peace and security in the region of South-East Asia without a comprehensive political solution to the problem of Kampuchea based on the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Kampuchea. Proceeding from this position, the Yugoslav delegation will vote in favour of the adoption of the draft resolution on Kampuchea this year as well.

Mr. FERM (Sweden): The suffering of the Kampuchean people has been immense. Foreign aggression pulled that once peaceful country into the Indo-Chinese war in the 1970s. Then the odious Pol Pot régime performed one of the most horrible examples of genocide known to history. That régime was followed by another foreign intervention, causing further bloodshed and convulsive internal strife.

The complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is necessary for a peaceful solution to the conflict. It is of vital importance that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea be restored and preserved. I should like to state my Government's disappointment that the rights of the Kampuchean people in this regard have been denied for so long by Viet Nam. We would have hoped that the Vietnamese would have learnt more from their own recent history.

There can be no excuse for any country to trample on the United Nations Charter and to neglect fundamental aspects of international law. There can be no excuse for attempts to deny the Kampuchean people the right to decide their own future.

Recently my Government has been encouraged by a number of diplomatic initiatives aimed at breaking the present deadlock. We have noted with appreciation the Secretary-General's constructive suggestions, as well as other efforts to solve the conflict. The Swedish Government also welcomes the

(Mr. Fern, Sweden)

initiatives taken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Viet Nam with a view to bringing about informal talks - the so-called cocktail party proposal. We hope that this process will lead to a constructive dialogue between the parties and countries directly affected by the conflict.

The massive flow of refugees stemming from the Kampuchean war has created a major burden for neighbouring countries, in particular Thailand. The United Nations has been able to provide substantial assistance to many of the victims of the protracted conflict. The Swedish Government is prepared to continue its support for the Kampuchean humanitarian programme.

Humanitarian assistance is of vital importance, but the General Assembly has another important duty. During the past several years the Assembly has confirmed - and by an overwhelming majority - that the conflict must have a political solution based on the right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people. We must do so also this year, and every year until the foreign troops are gone and the Kampuchean people are masters in their own country.

This year also my delegation intends to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. Our vote, however, 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, either are not warranted by facts or are 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.

Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The Mongolian People's Republic is firmly in favour of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation and it supports all constructive efforts to achieve this goal. We have been following with great hope recent events that

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

clearly offer hope of a political settlement of the situation in South-East Asia through the efforts of the States in the region. Three sister States in Indo-China have provided a new impetus through their efforts to improve relations with the People's Republic of China and the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and to strengthen peace and co-operation in South-East Asia.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea has been vigorously pursuing a policy of national reconciliation and has stated its readiness to meet with other Khmer leaders, with the exception of the criminal Pol Pot and his closest associates, who are guilty of the crime of genocide. There has been further movement in the attempt to make the region a nuclear-free zone. The Mongolian People's Republic, which throughout the long years of the war in Indo-China was firmly on the side of the suffering peoples of Indo-China, welcomes the victory of the Kampuchean people over the genocidal, barbaric régime of Pol Pot and the establishment of a national State on the age-old land of Kampuchea. Today, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become a fact of life. By developing relations on the basis of a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mongolia is doing its best to give assistance to the brother people of Kampuchea in restoring an economy destroyed by Pol Pot and his followers. Our people have great sympathy for the Kampuchean people in their aspirations to live in peace and harmony and to build in their country a new, just society.

In this context, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Mongolian people see the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the only correct way to achieve national unity and ensure that all Kampuchean can take part in building an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea.

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

That policy demonstrates the genuine determination of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to achieve complete normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. It is yet another example of the new approach to the settlement of international disputes and the elimination of the existing hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world. The policy of national reconciliation is designed to solve the two major, interrelated components of the Kampuchean problem: withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the prohibition of a return to power in Kampuchea by the Pol Pot régime.

Since 1982 the People's Republic of Kampuchea - demonstrating a great sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and all the Kampuchean people - has on five occasions, in agreement with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, unilaterally conducted a withdrawal of Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea. It proposes to conclude this withdrawal process by 1990.

However, if the Kampuchean issue is to be completely settled, an adequate guarantee is needed from the international community that the universally condemned Pol Pot régime will not return to power. Unfortunately, neither the resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea that have been adopted over the past eight years nor the draft resolution on this item that is submitted this year gives any such guarantee. Hence, such resolutions cannot help to achieve a political settlement of the situation in and around Kampuchea. That basic principle is also lacking from the principles for a settlement of the Kampuchean problem that are proposed in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea on its activities for the year 1986-1987.

This question might therefore be asked: Is it just for our authoritative Organization, one of whose major goals is the elimination from international

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

practice of genocide and barbarity, to insist that the genocidal régime of Pol Pot return to power under the cover of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea? We do not believe that that is just.

The Kampuchean issue can and must be solved only with the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate representative of the entire Kampuchean people on the international scene - which includes the United Nations - and with respect shown for the positions of all countries. In that connection, we welcome the good offices offered by the Secretary-General in the quest for ways and means of achieving a peaceful solution to the problem.

The Mongolian delegation agrees with the view that now the best way out of the existing impasse is action on the basis of the initiative taken by Prince Norodom Sihanouk on 18 September and the statement and declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 28 September and 8 October, respectively, as well as the agreement between Viet Nam and Indonesia, representing, respectively, the countries of Indo-China and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

It is extremely important now that both Kampuchean parties and all the interested countries should conduct negotiations, without any pre-conditions, for the achievement of a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue and the attainment of peace and stability in South-East Asia. That would be in keeping with the decisions of the seventh and eighth summit conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Mongolia believes that the agreements achieved might be guaranteed by the convening of an international conference with the participation of the two opposing sides in Kampuchea, the States of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, India, France, the United States, the United

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

Kingdom and other States that have contributed towards a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem and the strengthening of peace in South-East Asia.

The draft resolution in document A/42/L.1 does not indicate an understanding of these positive developments in South-East Asia. It is precisely for that reason that our delegation, with deep regret, will be compelled to vote against it.

Our delegation calls on the members of the international community to adopt a responsible and realistic approach in response to the united efforts of the States of South-East Asia and for the sake of the fate of Kampuchean people themselves. We are convinced that a speedy political settlement of the Kampuchean problem will not only establish favourable prospects for ensuring peace and stability in South-East Asia, but also help to establish reliable and equal security the world over. We hope, too, that the current session of the General Assembly will make its contribution to this noble cause.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): As we meet once again to review the situation in Kampuchea, it is only natural for us to think of the brave Khmer people, who continue to suffer great hardship and humiliation under foreign military occupation of their land. We admire their determined defiance of alien domination and their heroic struggle to regain their freedom, peace and dignity. Nine long years of bitter struggle have, if anything, proved that peace in Kampuchea cannot be restored without the withdrawal of foreign troops and the restitution of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. It has also clearly exposed the nature of that conflict, which the Phnom Penh régime still tries to portray as a civil war.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

But a civil war is not what the problem in Kampuchea is all about, neither today nor when the attention of the world community was first drawn to that country, following Viet Nam's invasion in December of 1978. Now, as then, the basic question in Kampuchea is not whether this or that faction should exercise political power in the name of the Kampuchean people. Now, as then, the fundamental issue is to end foreign intervention and all its attendant manifestations. On that there is neither any doubt, nor ambiguity, as is evident from the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly year after year.

As a small, peace-loving country that has always taken, and will always take, a firm, unequivocal and principled stand whenever or wherever the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in inter-State relations is trampled underfoot, Nepal feels privileged to reiterate its position from this rostrum today while co-sponsoring draft resolution A/42/L.1.

Nepal shares the hope that the long delayed resolution of the Kampuchean problem will not be held up for much longer. In our considered opinion, the long-term interests of all concerned parties to the conflict in Kampuchea lie in a negotiated settlement on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly of which draft resolution A/42/L.1, just introduced, is the latest.

On this occasion, Nepal reiterates its firm support for the eight-point proposal put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986, which is based on relevant United Nations resolutions. We believe this proposal offers a plan for peace in which there is neither victor nor vanquished and which permits the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam to live in peace and harmony, side by side. We believe, further, that this proposal is in the interest of all peace-loving peoples and would make a substantial contribution to securing peace and stability in the South-East Asian and Asia-Pacific regions.

Lately, there have been some pronouncements regarding a process of so-called

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

national reconciliation in Kampuchea, within the framework of the Phnom Penh régime. In this context, we are of the view that this can be realized only after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea - the root cause of the current problems.

Nepal therefore supports the proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for national reconciliation after the first phase of the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, within the framework of an arrangement to be concluded between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the total withdrawal of those Vietnamese forces, within a definite time frame, under United Nations supervision.

On behalf of my delegation I should like to assure all that Nepal will fully support any move to establish genuine self-determination for the Kampuchean people, including that achieved through a referendum carried out under international supervision. In this context, my delegation appreciates the Secretary-General's continuing efforts to bring about a speedy and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. My delegation also believes that there is merit in the Indonesian proposal to initiate indirect talks between all concerned parties with a view to beginning a dialogue for the resolution of the problem.

Nepal will back any endeavour that will fully respect the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination and paves the way for a Kampuchea that is an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. It is for this reason that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution before the General Assembly and it is our hope that it will be adopted by an even larger majority than in the past.

Finally, Nepal would like to record its appreciation of the Kingdom of Thailand for having so splendidly borne the burden imposed by the presence of more than 260,000 Kampuchean refugees on its soil. Similarly, I should like to express appreciation to all international humanitarian and relief

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

organizations - including those under the auspices of the United Nations - for their generous assistance in an essential humanitarian cause.

Mr. ESZTERGALYOS (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation has requested to participate in the discussion of the agenda item before the plenary meeting of the General Assembly in order to express its profound interest in the lessening of tension in the South-East Asian region. For our part, we view the situation in Kampuchea in a much wider context than the title of the item suggests. There can be no doubt that the search for a peaceful settlement of the issue of Kampuchea, on the one hand, and the strengthening of peace and stability in the region, on the other, are closely interrelated. Neither of them can be resolved in isolation. Before embarking upon specific observations on the latest developments aimed at a lasting settlement of the outstanding issues, I should like to put on record our position in general terms.

The Hungarian People's Republic strives for mutually advantageous relations with the countries of South-East Asia, irrespective of their economic and social systems. Consequently it cannot remain indifferent to the developments in the region. It is our deep conviction that the time has come for a serious and constructive approach to be taken to negotiating on all the questions which still divide the interested parties.

Hungary is very much interested in the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia. In this regard, we cannot fail to lend support to the proposals of the countries of Indo-China and to those initiatives of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which could promote understanding and reconciliation among the peoples of the region.

The Hungarian delegation wholeheartedly agrees with the views expressed in our debate that the past few months have seen really new developments in the political search for the settlement of the issue of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

We welcome these all the more since they have a direct bearing on the peace and stability of the region as a whole.

We have in mind three developments in particular. On 27 August 1987 the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea put forward a policy of reconciliation, unequivocally stating its readiness to meet with the other groups of Khmers and their leaders, except the genocidal Pol Pot and his close associates, in order to conduct discussions on national reconciliation. We concur with the view that this is a fundamental long-term policy aimed at uniting all Kampuchean in building an independent, peace-loving, non-aligned Kampuchea.

Another important event occurred at the end of July, when Viet Nam and Indonesia, in their efforts to conduct a fruitful dialogue, came to an understanding at their Foreign Ministers' meeting in Hanoi. We welcome the proposal of Indonesia for the holding of a "cocktail party", on the understanding that it would be an informal meeting of the two Kampuchean sides on an equal footing. This understanding reached at Hanoi deserves our closest attention and support.

The third major development occurred just a few days ago when, on 8 October, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea offered in its statement new and far-reaching proposals for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem. We welcome these proposals and support them. In our view, the 8 October statement should be seriously considered by the General Assembly.

My delegation believes that the United Nations, instead of repeating past mistakes, should promote the efforts towards a political settlement of the Kampuchea question. By doing so our Organization would be living up to the provisions of its Charter, in particular concerning the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations among

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

nations based on respect for the principle of equality and the right to self-determination of peoples.

Unfortunately, draft resolution A/42/L.1 does not contribute to the efforts currently being undertaken in the search for the solution of the Kampuchean question, and therefore my delegation will vote against it.

In summing up our position regarding the item under discussion, we wish to reiterate the following.

The Hungarian People's Republic supports all efforts at the genuine lessening of tension in the region of South-East Asia. The question of Kampuchea can be resolved only on the basis of full respect for the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. The settlement of this question should be achieved by political means and with the participation of all interested States, taking into account the realities existing in the region.

We, for our part, are more than ready to contribute our share to this process.

Mr. YUSOF (Malaysia): For eight consecutive years the United Nations has debated this item. Year after year since 1979 the world community has urged Viet Nam to get out of Kampuchea and leave the people of that country to determine their own destiny and to live in peace and harmony with their neighbours, free from any form of external interference. This universal call is just and reasonable; it is in complete accord with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. My delegation associates itself fully with the United Nations decisions in this regard.

Viet Nam's disregard of United Nations decisions has again made it necessary for us to re-examine the situation in Kampuchea.

Throughout 1976 there had been armed clashes in the border areas between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, with each side blaming the other for them. In the fall of

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

that year, the fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam adopted a resolution calling for solidarity with the people of Kampuchea

"as a strategic necessity in order to safeguard the security and development of the socialist revolution in Viet Nam".

It was a most significant decision and a telling statement about Viet Nam's intentions towards Cambodia in particular and the region of South-East Asia in general.

Two years later, in the fall of 1978, Vietnamese soldiers invaded Cambodia, a country whose people were already suffering and unsettled. That invasion was first presented as punitive action against an errant Democratic Kampuchea, but against the backdrop of the Congress resolution it was a flimsy excuse, one which is not in accord with the United Nations Charter. It has since been called an act of self-defence, an excuse which on the face of it seems to conform with the letter, but not the spirit, of the Charter. But was it self-defence when the invading forces brought along and installed a puppet régime in Phnom Penh and pushed the legitimate Government to the fringes of Cambodia? With this emplacement of the puppet régime, even the slightest semblance of good intentions was negated. Through it, the laws of Cambodia were changed to give a cloak of legitimacy to that occupation and all that the régime has been doing in the last few years. It has also served to create doubts and suspicions in the minds of the peoples of the region.

Since 1979 the situation in Cambodia has been characterized by the following: the boundaries between Viet Nam and Cambodia have been changed as Viet Nam had wanted before the occupation; thousands of Vietnamese people have entered Cambodia to settle in that country; thousands of Cambodians have been displaced and have taken refuge in foreign lands or in border areas, in deprivation and without a

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

future; the wealth and treasury of Cambodia have diminished; and an occupation force of some 150,000 Vietnamese soldiers supports a puppet Government in Phnom Penh. All this has been done in the name of Vietnamese security and development.

On the other hand, Democratic Kampuchea has been transformed into the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with Prince Norodom Sihanouk as its President; a Government which enjoys the recognition of the United Nations and has now pledged unqualified support for the Organization.

The occupation of Cambodia has shattered trust and confidence in Viet Nam. The cause of peace for the whole region and the expectation of peaceful coexistence and co-operation have been threatened and compromised. Prospects for long-term stability and prosperity on the basis of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality have been severely damaged. The situation which prevails in Cambodia today has reopened major-Power rivalries in South-East Asia. The longer it lingers, the greater the danger of regional States becoming pawns in this rivalry; and that would include Viet Nam.

We hope Viet Nam will not ignore the consequences of its actions. The Vietnamese people themselves are hungry for unity and development. They, too, want peace and not hegemony in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

Viet Nam has given repeated assurances that it will withdraw its forces from Cambodia by 1990. On each occasion it has promised much but delivered little. What were claimed as withdrawals were in reality troop rotations, often involving the upgrading of men and matériel. It is significant that announcements of withdrawals have been timed for dramatic impact, for example on the eve of this debate.

Recently some countries, including my own, have been invited by Viet Nam to witness yet another so-called partial withdrawal. I should like to state categorically here that Malaysia is willing to support and ready to observe a genuine Vietnamese withdrawal in the context of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. But Viet Nam has failed to convince us that this proposed withdrawal is to serve such a purpose. It is regrettable that once again Viet Nam is treating this crucial principle of self-determination in such a casual fashion.

In all seriousness therefore, we cannot participate in the contemplated exercise. At the same time we renew our call on Viet Nam to initiate a credible withdrawal of troops as part of a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. My country is ready to observe such an exercise together with others, including the United Nations. There is a great deal to be said for a troop withdrawal under United Nations supervision. Such a move would be regarded with dignity and would at the same time be in accord with the objectives of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in South-East Asia. It is up to Viet Nam to demonstrate its genuine intentions for peaceful coexistence and regional co-operation. We welcome such a change on its part, which would be in keeping with the trend in the world, to which Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien adverted in his statement yesterday.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

Viet Nam has also widely canvassed for support of a national reconciliation in Cambodia through dialogue among all concerned parties. However there is a serious flaw in the Vietnamese proposal which makes it non-credible. That flaw is in the demand that national reconciliation be based upon the régime it has installed by force in Phnom Penh. Viet Nam has rebuked the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and members of this body for supporting national reconciliation on the basis of the internationally recognized and legitimate Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with the participation of the authorities in Phnom Penh. We believe that national reconciliation is an act of free choice by Cambodians which could be undertaken only without the coercive or dominating presence of Vietnamese forces.

Malaysia stated at the outset of this debate in 1979 that the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces threatened the stability of South-East Asia in general, and the security of our country in particular. It is for this reason that we insist on a durable solution to the problem in all its manifestations. This durability can ideally be attained through the auspices of the United Nations. We would not feel secure with a solution that is inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter. It is to this body in the final analysis that we have entrusted the safeguard of our national integrity and security. We believe that Viet Nam made a similar commitment when it joined the United Nations in 1976. So have the other small nations of the world. Our mutual observance of the Charter is our best guarantee for national security and development. If we moved outside it, as Viet Nam has done in Cambodia, conditions favourable to peaceful coexistence would diminish, as would the efficacy of the United Nations in settling the problems of the world.

My delegation would therefore urge Viet Nam to take one more serious look at our region and decide in all honesty whether the time has not come to make peace in

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

Cambodia and with its immediate neighbours in the region, and not drag them into a misguided adventure in Cambodia. If the answer is yes, the path is clear. It should simultaneously seek dialogue with all the people of Cambodia and initiate an honourable withdrawal from that country. The "cocktail party" proposed by the ASEAN interlocutor offers promise for such a dialogue to develop around the pivotal role of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We want Viet Nam to pursue it very seriously and consider all the permutations, and not put obstacles in the way.

Members of ASEAN believe, like all peoples of the world, that peace is indivisible. Such is our view of peace in South-East Asia. If peace is breached in Cambodia by Viet Nam, it is breached for all. If peace is re-established in that country, it will be peace for all South-East Asia. But peace is durable and conducive to development, as envisaged by the Congress in Viet Nam in 1976, only if it is established with the free consent of the peoples of our countries, in particular those in Cambodia. There is no path more honourable for this purpose than that laid down by the United Nations Charter.

It is in this same spirit that my delegation has welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, in the search for ways to achieve a political solution to the problem of Cambodia. We thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report in document A/42/608. We are also deeply indebted to Mr. Leopold Gratz of Austria for his significant role as President of the International Conference on Kampuchea. But especially we are grateful to Ambassador Massamba Sarré of Senegal who, as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, has travelled to almost every corner of the globe as a messenger of peace to bring the United Nations resolution on Cambodia to the attention of all peace-loving peoples and Governments. All these efforts have but one objective: to bring about a political settlement to the Cambodian problem.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

Today it is the same message we have for the Governments and the peoples of the world, as contained in draft resolution A/42/L.1, which my delegation is proud to co-sponsor. We call upon Member States, especially those that have now come to realize that there is a new situation and that this world body must have more of a say in the solution of international conflicts, to support this draft resolution. It is the only way to enable the people of Cambodia to exercise their fundamental rights and to play a more responsible role in South-East Asia and in this family of nations.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet Union has been advocating an active search for ways of resolving the outstanding issues related to Kampuchea and normalizing the situation in South-East Asia. We want to see peace and good-neighbourliness, trust and understanding in relations among the States of South-East Asia, a region that plays an increasingly greater role in international affairs. The solution to this problem is in keeping with the interests of the peoples and the States of that region, as well as those of strengthening peace and security in the entire Asian and Pacific region.

Our approach to the problems of South-East Asia is based as well on the understanding that the tensions, threats and concerns can be alleviated only through joint efforts. The Soviet leadership has recently held quite a few useful meetings with representatives from countries of the Asian and Pacific region, including those of South-East Asia.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Soviet Union believes that there are no problems in the region that could not be resolved by political means at the negotiating table, on the basis of the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual accommodation of each other's legitimate interests.

It is our firm belief that the continuation and build-up of constructive efforts for the purpose of working out a mutually acceptable political solution to the problems concerning Kampuchea have crucial significance for peace and stability in the region. Interested countries situated outside the region could make their contribution to finding such a political solution.

It is no secret - and the current discussion in the General Assembly proves this - that there exist different points of view regarding the assessment of the situation in South-East Asia. That does not, however, at all mean that this is a stalemate situation, that there are no possibilities of settling the Kampuchean conflict. We believe that the States of Indo-China and the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have their own traditions, political experience and political wisdom which could help in finding solutions to the problems concerning Kampuchea in the interests of the Kampuchean people who, as is well-known, have gone through a terrible ordeal in the past.

It is important to see the situation as it really is. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is a political reality of today's world. Over the almost nine years of its existence it has risen from the ruins. It would be impermissible to drag Kampuchea back to its tragic past.

An early settlement of the situation around Kampuchea would contribute to improving the atmosphere in South-East Asia.

The Soviet Union believes that the basis for such a settlement is contained in the well-known foreign policy documents of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Soviet side shares and supports the approach of the three countries of Indo-China to this question. The peace initiatives of the countries of Indo-China deserve the closest attention of all those who are truly interested in eliminating the regional conflict in South-East Asia.

Those initiatives and some of the proposals made by the ASEAN countries, as well as the ideas expressed at various times by the other States, could in our view provide a good basis for stimulating the search to find a way out of the existing situation. It is important to look at those proposals in terms of new political thinking and to abandon those which are known to be unacceptable or which could lead only to the restoration of the former régime in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union will support any positive initiative to that effect as forming part of the creation of a new political climate in the region. The world community has every right to expect common sense and political will to prevail over confrontation.

It is our view that favourable prospects now exist for making progress towards a Kampuchean settlement. That conclusion is based on the fact that there is emerging an increasingly distinct outline of a trend in South-East Asia towards dialogue with a view to settling disputes. The growing awareness that the Kampuchean problem can be settled only through political means, taking into the account the interests of all the parties concerned and the realities existing in the region, is also conducive to such a settlement. The right of the Kampuchean people to independence and sovereignty, the right to manage their own affairs without outside interference, is now widely recognized. The conviction is growing stronger that those guilty of genocide have no place in the process of a Kampuchean settlement.

The evolution of the situation in South-East Asia has enabled the Secretary-General to note in his report on the work of the organization some signs of

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

movement which he hopes will develop in the right direction. We fully support that standpoint and share the Secretary-General's view that there are opportunities for strengthening peace in South-East Asia.

Some of the Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn from Kampuchea over the last five years. As has been declared, the next withdrawal is to take place this year, and for the first time foreign observers will be invited to witness it. A specific date has been set for completing the pull-out of the Vietnamese forces, namely the year 1990, and we are certain that it will be met. It is important to understand that the withdrawal of the troops is not a pre-condition for talks but an integral component of the solution to the problem.

The main sign of a possibility of a Kampuchean settlement is in our view the fact that the idea of national conciliation and the unification of all the patriotic forces in Kampuchea has been gaining ground. As is well known, last August the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, guided by goodwill and a lofty sense of responsibility for the destinies of the country and of the Kampuchean people, issued a statement on the policy of national reconciliation. The Government expressed its readiness to meet and discuss ways of national reconciliation in Kampuchea with the opposing Khmer groups and their leaders, with the exception of course of Pol Pot and some of his closest associates, who had besmirched themselves with crimes against their own people.

The statement on a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem made in Phnom Penh on 8 October this year is a further confirmation of the constructive approach taken by the People's Republic of Kampuchea to create conditions leading to national reconciliation in that country. The statement outlines concrete ways of bringing about a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea which would maintain friendly relations with all its neighbours.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Soviet Union associates itself with the course being pursued by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the accomplishment of which would meet the vital interests of the Kampuchean people and their right to shape their own destiny. We are firmly convinced that the implementation of the programme advanced, including the proposal for solving the problem of Kampuchean refugees with the participation of international organizations and other parties concerned, will create favourable conditions for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and for normalizing the situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Of course, Kampuchea's internal problems must be solved by the Kampucheans themselves, and this implies the need for a dialogue between the conflicting Khmer parties. It is with this in mind that the Soviet delegation takes a positive view of the decision of the Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam and Indonesia last July to propose an informal meeting between representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and of the Kampuchean opposition groups, with other parties concerned, including Viet Nam, attending the meeting at a later stage. This is a true example of a mutually acceptable compromise solution. If the proposal should meet with the necessary understanding of the States involved in the conflict, it could become a practical step towards national reconciliation and a political settlement in Kampuchea.

On 28 September of this year the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea issued a statement in which it welcomed the initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk concerning a meeting between the various Kampuchean parties and indicated its readiness to participate in it. This is a further specific manifestation of a truly broad approach and respect for the other side's position. In our view, the international community should support the holding of such a meeting, with all participants on a footing of equality and without pre-conditions.

We welcome the constructive efforts of the countries concerned, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote dialogue and seek a political solution to the problems of South-East Asia. It is essential to encourage the growing sentiment in favour of such a settlement and help to find compromise solutions, rather than follow the line of those that try to foist fruitless confrontational polemics on the General Assembly. Some signs of movement that have become evident in the situation around Kampuchea make it necessary that we all take a sympathetic attitude and renounce actions that could hinder or reverse progress towards national reconciliation in Kampuchea. We should foster the first

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

hopeful signs of new political thinking in the region and help them to gain strength.

The development of the situation in Kampuchea is now such that it is imperative to consolidate and give an impetus to everything positive that has emerged recently. It is on this that efforts to bring the sides closer together should be focused. In our view, movement towards a mutually acceptable solution should be reciprocal and should not jeopardize the interests of any party. Mutual understanding rather than confrontation, confidence rather than suspicion, respect for the opponent's view rather than accusations - this is the only way to resolve the complicated situation around Kampuchea. We believe that the efforts of the international community should be directed accordingly.

The Soviet Union, for its part, as has already been stated at the highest level, is ready to give the utmost support to this effort and to ensuring a constructive dialogue. The USSR reaffirms its readiness to participate, together with the other permanent members of the Security Council, in guaranteeing agreements that may be reached in the future on the Kampuchean problem.

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian):

Czechoslovakia supports the efforts of the United Nations, its competent bodies and, especially, the Secretary-General to bring about the settlement of international conflict situations by means that are in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter.

When speaking in the general debate at the forty-second session of the General Assembly we noted with gratitude the efforts of the Secretary-General to ensure the ending of the senseless war between Iraq and Iran. We expressed our appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations and the Secretary-General to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus and of the steps taken to hasten the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

We should also welcome, of course, any action by the Organization that might promote national reconciliation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The steps taken by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to strengthen national unity in the country are also intended to strengthen peace in the region. It is therefore not surprising that they enjoy the support not only of the Kampuchean people but of other friendly neighbouring States.

In its statement in the general debate Czechoslovakia stated the following:

"We welcome the fact that the idea of national consonance and harmony is gaining ground also in Kampuchea. We fully support the recent Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which shows a realistic move towards genuine reconciliation and should therefore not remain unanswered." (A/42/PV.28, p. 63)

Unfortunately, the inclusion of the item on the situation in Kampuchea in the agenda of the General Assembly has nothing to do with this. The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution that does not take into account either the Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea or to the latest constructive steps taken to give effect to the proposal for national reconciliation in Kampuchea.

We are convinced that everyone in this Hall acknowledges the fact that there can be no serious attempt to settle this issue without the participation of the representatives of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has already done a great deal to solve the tragic problems that it inherited and therefore enjoys well-deserved acceptance of its authority. The acts of genocide and attempts to eliminate the national intelligentsia have been ended, the network of schools and hospitals has been restored, and national cultural monuments, including Buddhist pagodas, are now respected and preserved.

There has been a new development of agriculture, which has helped to end the huge death rate caused by malnutrition.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

There has been a successful development of crops and reforestation. One out of four Kampuchean now goes to school, and there has been a reopening of institutions of higher learning, where 2,500 students are now studying. In comparison with 1979 there has been a twofold increase in the number of medical personnel, and there are eight times as many doctors. A constitution has been adopted and the organs of State power, both central and local, are functioning successfully. We should appreciate and welcome everything which has been done by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in this regard.

The same objectives are inherent in the proposals made by the Government of Kampuchea to achieve national reconciliation. They deserve our full support here in the General Assembly. This is our stance on this agenda item.

In this context, we understand the inclusion of this item on our agenda as an attempt to undermine the positive steps taken by the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its allies. Hence Czechoslovakia and the other countries of the socialist community have clearly stated our position on the credentials of the delegation of so-called Democratic Kampuchea. We are convinced that dictating conditions for national reconciliation - something the authors of document A/42/616 are in fact trying to do - does not reflect either political realism or a desire for true national reconciliation in Kampuchea. Quite the contrary, it is in flagrant contradiction with the Secretary-General's current proposals for a solution, which are supported by the authors of documents A/42/622 and A/42/626.

The Government of Czechoslovakia highly values the efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at settling the political and humanitarian problems which have arisen in Kampuchea and which are exploited as a result of tensions whipped up from abroad. In our view, the Secretary-General's efforts will be successful if all

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

parties bear in mind the self-determination of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Material and political support for illegal armed forces, as well as the consideration of political situations arising out of the absence of legitimate representatives of States, are not in keeping with the United Nations Charter and cannot help in finding a solution.

If such a situation continues, then there is the threat - even with the best intentions - of humanitarian assistance being used unscrupulously by various individuals and by the forces of reaction. A deliberate continuation of such a situation is nothing but the profligate, wasteful use of United Nations resources.

We feel that it is unproductive at plenary meetings of the General Assembly - where a spirit of rationalism and conciliation should prevail - for irrationality and confrontation to take over when considering such an agenda item. This does not help the search for a real solution to the situation in Kampuchea, nor does it create an atmosphere conducive to positive results. We believe that the most effective way would be to delete this item from the General Assembly's agenda and use the resources thus saved to enable the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to work towards a real solution to this problem.

Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): On behalf of the Government of Japan I should like first of all to express my appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Gratz, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Massamba Sarré, and to 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. Also, I wish to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, as well as his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, and their staff, for having worked tirelessly this past year.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

to achieve a peaceful solution of this pressing international issue. We are deeply grateful to them. Japan strongly hopes that they will persevere in their efforts, and we assure them of our full support.

The deplorable situation in Kampuchea has persisted for almost nine years. While the Vietnamese continue to occupy the country, recent reports indicate that they are facing strong resistance from the Kampuchean people, which demonstrates that a military solution to the problem of Kampuchea is neither acceptable nor possible.

It is also universally recognized that at the core of the Kampuchean problem lies the fact that the Kampuchean people have been denied the right to self-determination due to foreign military intervention. In his statement in the General Assembly Hall last month our Prime Minister, Mr. Nakasone, addressed this issue, asserting that all foreign military forces should be withdrawn from Kampuchea completely and without delay.

Vigorous diplomatic efforts have recently been undertaken to find a way out of the current impasse. In particular, my Government has taken careful note of the "cocktail party", or informal meeting, proposal made by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Professor Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, which seeks to establish a dialogue between the parties concerned. Japan regards the proposal to be worthy of serious consideration, while maintaining that the participation of Viet Nam in such a dialogue is absolutely essential. I sincerely hope that this positive momentum towards dialogue will be maintained and lead to concrete results.

Japan, for its part, has been actively engaged in discussions with the Governments concerned, including the Vietnamese Government and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with a view to creating an atmosphere conducive to the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

We consider this as part of Japan's efforts to play a political role befitting its international position, particularly in the context of seeking the settlement of disputes and conflicts in Asia.

As Prime Minister Nakasone stated in his recent speech at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Japan is resolved to continue its support of the peace efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and to contribute positively towards the promotion of dialogue between the parties concerned, an early withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces, and the realization of the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people.

Looking towards the future, Japan believes that only a free, democratic, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea will enable lasting peace in the region to be achieved. In this context, it attaches particular importance to the role to be played by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in achieving a political settlement for the restoration of peace and the reunification of this troubled nation.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

Japan is fully aware of the suffering of the nearly 300,000 Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons in Thailand, as well as the thousands of Thai people also affected, and that this tragic situation is placing an enormous burden on the Government of Thailand. That country's courageous determination to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees within its borders has gained our genuine admiration and support. We are deeply grateful for the selfless devotion of all those who are engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance activities of the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO), the World Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of voluntary agencies.

In his recent report Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar appealed "for the co-operation of all concerned to provide full and unqualified support to the efforts to create a secure and humane environment for the Kampuchean population at the border." (A/42/608, para. 16)

My Government, for its part, has extended a considerable amount of assistance for the relief of refugees and displaced persons as well as Thai villagers affected by the situation. Japan will continue to contribute to the alleviation of the problem to the best of its ability. Japan calls upon all other countries in a position to do so to continue and strengthen their assistance as well.

Japan supports, and has joined the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - as it has in the case of similar resolutions in previous years - in sponsoring draft resolution A/42/L.1. We have seen that there is a possibility of making progress based on the recent initiatives. It is now all the more important that all Member States which respect international peace and justice continue to show their determination to achieve a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. For this reason, we urge all those Member States to support the draft resolution.

Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): My delegation wishes to express its strong support for the efforts of the United Nations to promote the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and national unity. It is one of the great tragedies of our time that the people of Kampuchea, who have already undergone unimaginable suffering, should continue to be subjected to the hardships and indignities of an illegal occupation and an ongoing armed conflict.

A further cause for deep concern by Member States is the report that demographic changes are being made in Kampuchea by the occupying Power. The settlement of persons of Vietnamese origin and the displacement of the local population would without a doubt be a grave violation of international law and of the human rights of the people of Kampuchea.

The state of endemic conflict and turmoil which has persisted in and around Kampuchea for so many years is particularly deplorable because there is no lack of reasonable and balanced proposals for a peaceful settlement of the problems of the country and of the region. The world community has welcomed the diplomatic initiatives of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) aimed at bringing peace and stability to the region. United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea over the past eight years, together with the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, provide an equitable and practical framework for negotiating the necessary comprehensive political solution. The offer of the peace-making and peace-keeping services of the world Organization is, in our view, a valuable element in that framework.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has rightly received wide international support in its struggle against the forces of foreign occupation. Somalia believes that the eight-point proposal made last year by the Coalition Government is a highly significant contribution to the search for reconciliation and peace, since it

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

represents an effort by Kampucheans to solve their national problems. We particularly welcome the fact that the eight-point proposal assigns to the United Nations an important role in the peace process and in the establishment of an independent and unified Kampuchea. The endorsement of the proposal by ASEAN gives it added weight and we strongly hope that it will be seriously considered by all the parties concerned.

In adding its voice to the appeal for an end to hostilities in Kampuchea, Somalia is particularly sensitive to the plight of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. From our own experience with mass refugee flows we know the tragic situation of those who have to seek refuge, because of compelling circumstances, outside their country; we know the economic and other burdens that are borne by the host country and we fully appreciate the fact that the solution of humanitarian problems depends in the ultimate analysis on the achievement of political solutions.

My delegation joins whole-heartedly in requesting the United Nations system and the donor community to continue to provide generous humanitarian assistance to Kampuchean refugees, particularly those along the border with Thailand. At the same time, we wish to emphasize the importance and urgency of the need for a political solution - a need underlined by the dangerous situation in the border area. The bombardment of this area with artillery fire, the laying of mines and the armed attacks on refugee camps must be universally condemned. These inhuman actions obviously cause great suffering, they prevent Kampuchean refugees from exercising their inalienable right to return home safely if they so desire, and, furthermore, they violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

It is abundantly clear that the illegal occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam and the resulting conflict in the country and on its borders continue to pose a grave threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia and to endanger international peace and security. Efforts to bring peace to the region must be pursued with renewed vigour and determination.

In this regard, Somalia hopes that the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea will be strongly supported in its task of promoting the principles and objectives established by that Conference. We trust also that the valuable diplomatic initiatives of the United Nations Secretary-General aimed at bridging differences on the elements for a political settlement will in future receive the co-operation of all the parties concerned. We note that at the present time there are signs of an improvement in the climate for peace. We hope that this represents a genuine desire for a just and comprehensive solution. It must be emphasized, however, that an equitable and enduring settlement demands the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, so that its people can exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference. Furthermore, Kampuchea's independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status must be restored and preserved. My delegation will join the vast majority of States in calling for the implementation of these essential provisions of the General Assembly's resolutions on Kampuchea.

We hope that these political objectives can be speedily achieved so that Kampuchea and other States of the region can devote their full attention to the tasks of reconstruction and development. The United Nations has committed itself to supporting them in these tasks and in their aspiration to establish a zone of neutrality, freedom and peace. Somalia believes that these commitments must be reaffirmed and that practical steps must be taken in preparation for carrying them out.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

In conclusion I wish to point out that in Kampuchea, as in other troubled areas of the world, a just, comprehensive and lasting solution can be achieved if all States adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular those principles pertaining to respect for national independence and sovereignty, the right of peoples to self-determination and to shape their political future, non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

It is our sincere hope and conviction that international pressure will continue to be exerted on the occupying forces and their supporters so that the people of Kampuchea may be left to determine their political future peacefully and without external interference.

Mr. TILLET (Belize): It is with a great degree of sadness that I approach this subject today: sadness because many of our friends are dying in South-East Asia; sadness because a great culture is being destroyed; sadness because another Member of this Organization is breaching our Charter; and sadness because a small, non-aligned nation, having been freed after years of brutal struggle, turns its energies on a smaller nation to colonize and enslave it.

What a waste! The Vietnamese people must be tired of war. They gave their sons and their daughters in defence of their homeland. Now their homeland is secure. What is it that the leaders of Viet Nam want now? Are we to believe that the people of Viet Nam are not happy if they are not engaged in war? I cannot believe that. And it is all this that makes Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea so completely unacceptable.

Here at the United Nations the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development has only recently completed its work. I wonder how the people of Viet Nam would feel, and I wonder what Viet Nam's address to the

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

forty-third session of the General Assembly would be like, if by the end of this year, 1987, Viet Nam were to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia and use its war budget for the development of its people and its nation.

The picture I see is that of more than 100,000 young men and women going home to a great Vietnamese welcome; husbands and wives seeing each other again; fathers and mothers seeing their children again; children having someone they call "Daddy" at home. I see the worry and fear on the faces of Vietnamese mothers changing to smiles and happiness and the young people dancing for joy in the streets of Hanoi and other cities and in villages, happy in a life of peace. With the military budget then being assigned to civilian development programmes, I see the sick getting better medical care, the hungry getting food and a heroic people and nation emerging from the ashes of war to demonstrate to the world, and to become a showcase of, the relationship between disarmament and development.

I can only dream of it. The leaders of Viet Nam can make it come true. Their people, the international community and history itself would applaud them for taking such a course of action. The Belize delegation appeals to Viet Nam to heed the words of Isaiah as inscribed on the wall of the Ralph Bunche Park just across the street from this Assembly Hall. Isaiah said:

"they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (The Holy Bible, Isaiah 2:4)

Peace in South-East Asia is essential and critical if the historical and cultural heritage of the region is to be given the opportunity to blossom and develop and if the great peoples of that region are to exercise the influence on the world community that centuries of history and culture have given them in abundance the right to do.

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

Viet Nam is the key to that peace and Democratic Kampuchea is the door.

Viet Nam has locked itself inside Democratic Kampuchea and is finding it difficult to get out. But the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has opened the door with its eight-point peace proposal. All Viet Nam has to do is walk through that door, out of Cambodia and back into Viet Nam.

Commenting on the eight-point peace proposal in his address to the forty-first session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Belize, Mr. Dean Barrow, said:

"We appeal to all sides to accept the recent proposal for a phased withdrawal of foreign troops, a cease-fire, and participatory elections under United Nations supervision. 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)

(Mr. Tillet, Belize)

My delegation wants to make it clear that Belize is firm in its support for the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea and for their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, as well as their right to territorial integrity - all of which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

To demonstrate our support, Belize has co-sponsored draft resolution A/42/L.1, "The situation in Kampuchea", and we urge all Member States to support it.

In our view, there is no Indo-China federation that includes Democratic Kampuchea and, as a sovereign State, Democratic Kampuchea can become part of such a federation only by its own choice. In our view, there is no civil war in Cambodia. There is aggression by Viet Nam. There is invasion by Viet Nam. There is occupation by Viet Nam. In our view, there is interference in the domestic affairs of Cambodia by Viet Nam. All of that is contrary to the Charter.

Belize is a beautiful, peaceful, Caribbean nation in Central America. We are far removed from the ravages of war in South-East Asia. Belize has not known war on its own territory since 1798, when the baymen of Belize along with British settlers defeated our enemies at the Battle of St. George's Caye. Our nation is moving forward in freedom under new leadership.

But the principles of international law which have come under attack in South-East Asia and the fraternal feelings of the brotherhood of man have solidified our support for the Government and the people of Democratic Kampuchea. These principles are: first, the right to self-determination; secondly, the right to independence; thirdly, the right to sovereignty; fourthly, the right to territorial integrity; and fifthly, the illegality of the use or the threat of the use of force in the settlement of international disputes. These principles of international law which provide the basis for the Charter of the United Nations and

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

that of the Non-Aligned Movement are as important and applicable today as they were in 1945. They are as important and critical to Belize as they are to Democratic Kampuchea. If they fail to work in Cambodia, then nations great and small alike are threatened and the existence and usefulness of this Organization itself is threatened.

I therefore appeal once again to Viet Nam to walk through the door of the eight-point peace proposal, walk back into Viet Nam, respect the rights of the people of Democratic Kampuchea, and show the forty-third session of the General Assembly, and indeed the world, the true and practical meaning of the relationship between disarmament and development. And the peoples and the nations of the world will all rejoice.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): 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 with 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 that 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 that 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.

At the Eighth Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Harare last year, the Heads of State or Government expressed grave concern over the continuing conflict and tension in that region, particularly since many of its

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

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 over into a wider area. They were convinced of the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea.

The Heads of State or Government further reaffirmed in Harare 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 them and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of the involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers. In that 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 to this problem should be based on those principles and framework accepted by the eighth non-aligned Summit Conference.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

We have read with interest the report (A/42/608) of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea. We have noted the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General with a view to achieving progress towards a peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean problem. The Secretary-General has been "exploring some ideas, with a view to elaborating a scenario" (A/42/608, para. 22) for the eventual implementation of elements which, as he reported to the forty-first session of the Assembly, seemed to have been "generally acceptable as a basis for promoting a settlement" (A/42/608, para. 21). We note that the Secretary-General has indicated that he is

"determined to pursue this process, once the implications of the recent initiatives and diplomatic exchanges have been clarified" and that he has felt that these developments have indicated

"a more active interest in achieving a settlement of this issue through dialogue and negotiations". (A/42/608, para. 22)

The concerns of my delegation on the question of Kampuchea are twofold.

First, 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 Khmer Rouge 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 at reconstruction and development. These efforts have also received the support of the international community and the co-operation of various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The report of the Secretary-General details the implementation of the programmes of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people.

Our second concern is to seek ways and means to see that durable peace returns to the Indo-China peninsula in particular and the South-East Asian region in general. We do not think that recourse to any inflexible position or attempts to bring about the restoration of the status quo ante would create the conditions in which a peaceful and lasting solution could be found. There can be no military solution to this problem. Interference and military pressures will be counter-productive. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries in the region and the elimination of all outside interference. In this context, we support the various initiatives to foster negotiation and dialogue.

The General Assembly yesterday discussed the report of the Credentials Committee in document A/42/630. 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 rightful place in the United Nations. We fail to see what would come out of the discussion of a situation in this region without the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

India is prepared to support any constructive action which will defuse tension and promote a viable political solution. However, we do not believe that the approach embodied in draft resolution A/42/L.1 will bring about the desired result. Besides, the text does not reflect the recent positive developments and initiatives to which the Secretary-General has referred in his report. My delegation, therefore, will abstain on this resolution.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The item under consideration today, "The situation in Kampuchea", deals with a very important question relating to the principles of the United Nations and is directly linked to its purposes as enshrined in the Charter. Foremost among those principles are those concerning the right of peoples to self-determination, and to choose their social, economic and political system and non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State, on any pretext, and especially with the use of armed force.

The situation in Kampuchea has remained in a state of turmoil since the early 1970s. The Kampuchean people have been denied peace and stability ever since that time. The Arab Republic of Egypt is fully and clearly aware of the complexities of the situation in the South-East Asian region and of the conflict of regional and international interests in that vitally important part of the world. And the victim of all this is Kampuchea's people - its children, its women, the young, the old; all have suffered continuously from this situation throughout the long years that have passed.

There appears to be a glimmer of hope that such suffering is about to end. We all listened in this Hall to the statement of the Prime Minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Son Sann, which was in the form of a message from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Through that detailed analysis we have learned the extent of the suffering afflicting the Kampuchean people. We have also come to appreciate the efforts of the international community through pledges of humanitarian assistance, especially during the Pledging Conference of the group of donor countries at the beginning of September.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

However, the question is not one of humanitarian assistance or relief. This will not solve the problem even though it may alleviate some of the suffering of some of the people in the encampments along the border or within Kampuchea. Rather, it is vitally necessary that we all close ranks behind the constructive proposals set out in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, of which I should like to quote the following.

First, Vietnamese forces should be withdrawn in two phases within a fixed time-frame, and under United Nations supervision. Secondly, before Vietnamese forces have been completely withdrawn a quadripartite coalition Government would be set up which would be representative of all parties among the Kampuchean people. Thirdly, all Powers would recognize Kampuchea's independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status, and no foreign bases would be allowed on its soil. This would be guaranteed by the United Nations. Fourthly, relations would be established between Viet Nam and Kampuchea in various fields and would include the signing of an agreement on non-aggression and peaceful coexistence.

My delegation feels that those proposals are positive and constructive and, if adopted, would serve the interests of all the conflicting parties in a land whose people were pioneers in becoming members of the United Nations and developing the principles of non-alignment and the peaceful coexistence of peoples. Those proposals, if accepted by all the parties, would restore peace and stability to that part of the developing world, so that its peoples could channel their energies into forging a better future. This, in turn, could lead to the establishment of a zone of peace at the international level by extinguishing a hotbed of tension.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

My delegation has followed with keen interest international developments with regard to South-East Asia and the contacts taking place between the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Viet Nam concerning Kampuchea, as well as the proposals for a "cocktail party" for the purpose of establishing a dialogue between the various factions in Kampuchea, with Viet Nam participating at a later stage, and Viet Nam's statement on its readiness to withdraw from Kampuchea by 1990.

All these moves are positive and are appreciated by Egypt, but we call on all the parties to intensify their efforts to bring about the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean territory so that the suffering of the Kampuchean people can be ended and Kampuchea may again become, as it always was in the past, an independent, neutral, non-aligned country in which the rights of its people are restored and they can choose their political system and Government freely and without any foreign interference or pressure.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

My delegation has carefully read the report of the Secretary-General in document A/42/608 on the situation in Kampuchea. We acknowledge the intense efforts he is making to alleviate the suffering of the Kampuchean people, in which regard my country wishes to thank him and his personal representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed. They have spared no effort in contacting all concerned parties to co-ordinate efforts to render humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people.

The Arab Republic of Egypt supports the efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee on the International Conference on Kampuchea, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Massamba Sarré, the Permanent Representative of Senegal, and we hope that their endeavours will be crowned with success.

In conclusion, we wish to place on record our full support of the draft resolution that has been put before the General Assembly (A/42/L.1), which we believe provides a sound and constructive basis on which to build a peaceful, comprehensive and durable solution of the Kampuchean question.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): The Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros is a country deeply devoted to the principles enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, and therefore to peace and freedom for all peoples and for all States. The Comoros has always been, and always will be, concerned when the fundamental principles of the Charter to which we whole-heartedly adhere are ignored, when the sovereignty of a State is jeopardized and when the fundamental rights of a people are trampled on. The principles of the Charter of this Organization are very clear and non-intervention in the affairs of other States is one of the cardinal pillars of those principles.

Small States such as ours are very jealous of their independence and, having no military power to safeguard that independence, they tend to rely heavily on the principles of the United Nations Charter to safeguard their right to existence and

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

guarantee their territorial integrity. 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.

That is why my delegation is very sad, indeed very sad, that eight years have passed, eight resolutions have been adopted and eight times the General Assembly has debated the issue, and yet this unfortunate situation created by Viet Nam does not show any sign of finding an immediate solution.

Indeed, it is a very sad situation because this time a third world country is on the bench of the accused, a State member of the Non-Aligned Movement, a movement whose cardinal principles are the self-determination of peoples, the sovereign equality of States, non-aggression, non-interference and peaceful coexistence among its members. The Vietnamese military intervention in the affairs of its neighbour, Kampuchea, is a flagrant violation of these cardinal principles that govern our movement and therefore inadmissible.

Much as we cherish the friendship that happily exists between Viet Nam and my country, in this instance we cannot but join those who have since 1979 called upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. We ask Viet Nam to heed the international appeals and to adhere to the eight General Assembly resolutions demanding that it withdraw its forces from Kampuchea.

As a small country, the Comoros cannot acquiesce in or condone the action of any country, big or small, that sends troops, for any reason whatsoever, into the territory of its neighbour.

We have great sympathy for the valiant people of Viet Nam, but too much is too much. The people of Kampuchea have had more than enough of their share of suffering and it is inhuman for any country to continue inflicting further suffering on that unfortunate people. Consequently, Viet Nam must and should

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

withdraw its forces from Kampuchea so that the people of that country can determine their own future free from all outside interference. In the name of third world solidarity, we appeal to Viet Nam not to perpetuate this problem by ignoring our appeals and the resolutions of this Assembly.

We are of the view that an acceptable and durable solution to this question is possible if all parties concerned adhere to the eight-point proposal introduced by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was announced by its President, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, on 17 March 1986. The eight-point proposal already enjoys enormous support from the international community because it comprehensively addresses the central issue of the Kampuchean problem. Among other things, it calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam to discuss the process of withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. 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 flexibility on the part of Democratic Kampuchea, which attaches importance to the national reconciliation of all the Kampuchean people.

My delegation is convinced that only strict adherence to the eight-point proposal will lead to a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem and thus alleviate the untold suffering of its people and at the same time relieve Thailand of the great refugee burden it carries.

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): Legend has it that long ago a prince from deltaic Bengal left his country and journeyed eastward. He settled down and carved out a new kingdom in a land that came to be known as Kampuchea. But the contentment and harmony that prevailed in that realm were overtaken by conflict and war. However, the linkages between that country and ours remain. That is why the pains of the Kampuchean people bear the soul of the Bangladeshis.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

Kampuchea is a tragedy that has gone on far too long. It is time that the stage be cleared for a new beginning, one that send a message of hope and peace. It is for that very purpose that we are now gathered here.

Past attempts of this house in this respect have not succeeded. The price of failure increases every year. Time, therefore, is of the essence.

All Member States are committed to the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter. It calls for, among other things, respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference and non-intervention by States in the internal affairs of others, non-recourse to the threat or use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Is it therefore not the bounden duty of all of us to conform to these sacred principles? What justification can there then be for the vast presence of foreign troops on Kampuchean soil? The sooner they withdraw, the better for us all. Kampucheans must be allowed the right to self-determination, free from outside interference. This withdrawal and commitment to the principles I have just enumerated must comprise the main components of any just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem.

My delegation appreciates the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea on its activities during 1986 and 1987. We urge the Committee to continue its work pending the reconvening of the Conference, which should be done at an appropriate time. The Secretary-General and his staff deserve praise for their efforts on this issue. It is our hope that they will continue, leading and contributing to a comprehensive political settlement.

One silver lining in the dark clouds of despair in Kampuchea is the sense of humanitarianism it has generated in the region and in the world. The refugees that have fled to the Thai-Kampuchean border and to various camps in Thailand have

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

received support and succour from many sources without which their distress would have increased manifold.

For this the United Nations, its agencies and other donors are deserving of thanks. The global community is deeply debted to Thailand. This assistance must continue, for we must do all we can to reduce the pain of those teeming masses of innocent men, women and children.

Bangladesh has time and again unequivocally stated its position on the Kampuchean problem. Our external expression is shaped by certain fundamental beliefs and principles. These criteria have moulded our posture and position on this and other global issues. Our commitment to the United Nations Charter is firm and unflinching. It is our faith that the solution to the problem lies in the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on this issue. This is what has led us to co-sponsor draft resolution A/42/L.1, which is in line with past resolutions on the subject.

As Bangladeshis share the agony of the Kampuchean, they share also a belief in human destiny that our road of travails will ultimately lead to happiness.

Just as our people shared an empathy with that Prince of the legend, we do so again now with another Prince of the present time. I refer to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government, in whose leadership qualities we have great trust.

It is our fervent prayer that strife will end soon in that embattled region. Out of this turmoil should emerge a structure of perpetual peace, freedom and neutrality that would enduringly advance global harmony.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): When we examine the essential content of the principle of non-recourse to the use or threat of force, we see that it in fact refers to the civilized norms of conduct that are expected

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

to be observed as elementary behaviour between sovereign and independent States inhabited by honourable people who are masters of their fate.

That principle obviously enshrines the conviction forged through the centuries that the need for dialogue and non-recourse to the use of force in relations between peoples and States must be respected.

It has been many years, nearly a decade, since Vietnamese troops trod upon the soil of Kampuchea, brutally crushing its people in defiance of all norms of coexistence and reason, assisted by that past master of violence, high-handedness and totalitarianism: the Soviet Union. That treacherous blow, that closed fist thrust into the body of the Kampuchean people, has not yet been withdrawn. What is more, it continues to torment the Kampuchean people, as a living example of injustice and agony.

This year we must, once again, denounce before the world this constant and persistent outrage that disregards the General Assembly resolutions in whose elaboration all the peaceful peoples on earth were at one in their opposition to the illegitimate and arbitrary Vietnamese administration in Kampuchea.

We wish here to reiterate our support for the cause and the struggle of the Khmer people, guided by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea.

We could not endorse by guilty silence a cruel situation that will go down in the annals of infamy. Thousands of refugees of that long-suffering people and their descendants will some day find in these words evidence of the Chilean people's consistent support.

We are overwhelmed with a feeling of frustration when we are forced to conclude that for nearly a decade it has not been possible to put a definitive end to the tragedy of the Kampuchean people. That is hard to acknowledge, but it is a

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

demonstration of the inability of the United Nations to enforce among its own Members one of the principles that constitutes the moral foundation of the Organization.

We must ask ourselves: How can the United Nations survive if it cannot expect its Members to comply absolutely and unequivocally with the commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force, as prohibited by the Charter? Who can uphold the validity and the ultimate commitment of this Organization when it has been unable to bring an end to the sad lot suffered today by the Kampuchean people?

Kampuchea has the right to be a free and sovereign State, and it must achieve that status after all foreign troops have been withdrawn and after the commitment by all States not to intervene in that country's internal affairs has been fulfilled and a representative Government established.

My delegation has co-sponsored, and fully supports, draft resolution A/42/L.1, now before the Assembly for its consideration.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.