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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 2 November 1988, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina)  
later: Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President) (Cyprus)  
later: Mr. ESSY (Vice-President) (Côte d'Ivoire)

- The situation in Kampuchea [23] (continued)

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

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 23 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/730)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/43/L.12)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/43/766)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken this morning, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at 4 p.m. I request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names as soon as possible.

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): The current positive trends in international relations undoubtedly have a favourable impact on the deepening of the process of détente and the peaceful settlement of controversial issues. Every effort should be exerted now to make the initiated turn for the better irreversible world-wide. In this endeavour great importance attaches to what is being done to remove the sources of tension and hotbeds of conflict which are straining the international atmosphere and endangering peace around the world.

The German Democratic Republic advocates the resolving of disputes, however complicated they may be, and the settling of conflicts, regardless of their gravity and duration, at the negotiating table. Today, constructive dialogue and the joint search for ways of making peace secure reflect responsible political conduct. The United Nations is actively involved in this process.

We are convinced that the problems in the South-East Asian region also can be solved by exclusively peaceful means if all the parties involved muster the requisite political will. As we are aware, the situation around Kampuchea, caused by certain forces, has for years exercised a negative influence on developments in

(Mr. Zachmann, German  
Democratic Republic)

the region and beyond. That conflict has strained peace and security in Asia as well as relations between many States. The debates held and resolutions adopted at the United Nations on this agenda item have not in any way helped to relax tensions in South-East Asia.

Since last year there has been movement on the question of Kampuchea, notably thanks to the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea. That course, the constructive policy of the States of Indo-China and the realistic attitude of other sides directly or indirectly involved in the conflict have begun to bear fruit. The informal meeting held in Bogor last July, for the holding and results of which Indonesia and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas had exerted great and welcome efforts, was a major step on the way to a political solution of the question of Kampuchea. It was noted with satisfaction that the parties to the conflict concurred in the need for a political solution. At the same time the meeting made a contribution to the continued growth of dialogue in the region with a view to introducing such measures as would take account of the vital interests of the Kampuchean people and all its neighbours and serve the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

The German Democratic Republic hails and supports this trend, which is in full harmony with the interests of all peoples of South-East Asia and their endeavour to achieve peace, stability and co-operation in the region. Eventually a peaceful settlement of that problem will have a salutary effect on the overall situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

All this could also lend fresh momentum to efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia and to turn that region into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

(Mr. Zachmann, German  
Democratic Republic)

We consider it imperative to refrain from any action that might jeopardize the laboriously achieved commencement of negotiations. No interruptions must be allowed to occur in the process of settling the situation that has arisen around Kampuchea.

Several States have put forward constructive proposals and undertaken useful activities on this issue. Special mention should be made of the decision of the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the withdrawal from Kampuchea during the remainder of this year of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers and on their complete pull-out by 1990 at the latest. However, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces must be accompanied by measures to prevent the re-establishment of the Pol Pot régime and by the cessation of foreign aid to the Pol Pot grouping.

Worthy of attention are the principles on ways of resolving the Kampuchea problem by peaceful means, introduced into the discussion on behalf of the People's Republic of Kampuchea by Chairman Hun Sen on 25 July 1988. Those principles have the full backing of my delegation. Likewise, my country welcomes the most recent activities of the Non-Aligned Movement to ensure the continued pursuit of the process of resolving the question of Kampuchea and, beyond that, to secure peace in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Zachmann, German  
Democratic Republic)

A settlement of the Kampuchean problem by political means should also be stimulated by the United Nations, which should use its extensive potential to this end. This means, in the first place, that the debate we are conducting here and the draft resolution to be adopted on this agenda item must be adapted to the new needs, the changed conditions and the hopes of the peoples of South-East Asia; in other words, account must be taken of the situation as it really is. More than ever before, what is needed now in dealing with this agenda item is readiness for dialogue, constructiveness and a sense of realism. This would be in the interest of the Kampuchean people and all States in the region and in the interest of peace and understanding around the world.

Deplorably, draft resolution A/43/L.12, submitted for adoption by the General Assembly, does not as yet reflect the spirit of dialogue and co-operation as it was manifested at the informal meeting in Bogor. Unwarranted reproofs are being reiterated, and again the attempt is made to impose the views of one side on the other. The German Democratic Republic, therefore, regrets that it is unable to support that draft resolution.

What it will continue to back, however, is all initiatives and constructive efforts that seek to achieve a political solution acceptable to all sides. The German Democratic Republic is ready to join in this search to the best of its ability. It hopes that in the near future conditions will emerge under which a consensus among the international community will be found on this issue also.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Many delegations speaking at this session have noted that movement towards settlement of certain conflict situations is symptomatic of the present international situation. Experience accumulated by the international community

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attests to the fact that existing conflicts, even the most complicated and long-standing, must be dealt with by a political settlement based on the principle of ensuring a balance of the interests of all sides and on a search for constructive, mutually acceptable solutions to all aspects of the dispute.

This is fully applicable to the Kampuchean problem. The Soviet Union shares the concern of the international community regarding the continuing unsettled situation around Kampuchea. We are convinced that this conflict cannot be resolved through confrontation. We have to seek non-confrontational approaches in keeping with the basic interests of the Kampuchean people and the need to ensure the security and peaceful, independent development of all States in the region. We are profoundly convinced that a just settlement is possible on this basis.

This year there have been some positive developments in the situation in South-East Asia resulting from the efforts of the countries of Indo-China, Indonesia and other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). We regard these as the product of the growing understanding by the countries of the region that the Kampuchean problem can and must be solved exclusively by peaceful means by the Kampuchean people itself, on the basis of national reconciliation and through negotiations between all the parties involved in the conflict. The unfolding processes give us hope that the countries of South-East Asia will be able to find a solution to the question of Kampuchea and related questions which will meet the interests of the Kampuchean people and of peace and stability in that part of Asia.

The informal meeting of the parties concerned in Jakarta this summer was a major event of the year. The proposals advanced at the meeting by the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are extremely important as they embody a

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concrete programme for unblocking the situation around the country. The initiatives put forward at the meeting by the Lao People's Democratic Republic are flexible and constructive and are aimed at eliminating confrontation and tensions in South-East Asia and at establishing relations of peace and co-operation in the region.

The Jakarta meeting was special and represented a sort of psychological breakthrough in that the representatives of the four Kampuchean parties gathered together for the first time, thus setting in motion a direct dialogue for the purpose of working out mutually acceptable compromises and creating the conditions for the solution of the internal problems of Kampuchea by the Kampuchean people themselves. The working group set up at the meeting held a session recently and preparations were made for another Jakarta meeting in the near future. In our view, all these steps are in the right direction. The Soviet Union welcomes the process initiated in Jakarta and considers it to be the development of regional dialogue designed to find solutions that meet the aspirations of the Kampuchean people and promote the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

We regard the meetings between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk as part of the consistent implementation of the policy of national reconciliation in Kampuchea and hope that the resultant positive changes in favour of bringing the positions of the sides closer together will be consolidated at another meeting which is to begin, as announced, in a few days' time in Paris.

In this context, it is particularly important to encourage the tendency towards realism to gain strength, and to support efforts to restore peace and achieve national reconciliation in Kampuchea. In so doing we must avoid actions and steps that could frustrate the unfolding process of harmonizing the interests

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of the Kampuchean parties and the other States concerned. We must take every opportunity to expand the area of understanding and common ground with regard to the Kampuchean problem.

We know that the informal meeting in Jakarta resulted in an understanding that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the prevention of the recurrence in the future of the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime, and the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the key interrelated points in solving the Kampuchean problem.



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In the past few years, several partial withdrawals of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea have been effected. Last May the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea declared their decision to withdraw 50,000 Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea by 1988 - in other words, one half of the military contingent of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that is deployed in that country. The relevant statement on the matter said that, in the monitoring of the partial withdrawal this year, Viet Nam and Kampuchea would welcome the participation of representatives of Governments and international organizations and all others having an interest in the Kampuchean problem. That decision is a major constructive contribution to the settlement of the conflict and the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. It is obvious that the underlying motive of the decision is concern for the true interests of the Kampuchean people and regard for the balance of interests of all States in the region. Thus, the Government of Viet Nam has been consistently implementing its stated intent to withdraw all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea by 1990.

We should like to hope that this step will be duly noted by all who sincerely wish to settle the conflict. There can also be no doubt that this initiative creates conditions favourable to the further development of the dialogue between all Kampuchean parties.

However, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is but a component of a solution to the Kampuchean problem. Its other aspect is the barring of the Pol Pot group from regaining power in Kampuchea; this acquires special significance in the present conditions. This question has recently been in the focus of the attention of the world community, which is increasingly concerned over the possibility that the genocide régime may be restored in Kampuchea. Mankind cannot and will not allow the reappearance in Kampuchea of new "killing fields". The inclusion in the

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draft resolution on Kampuchea of the provision regarding the non-return in that country of the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past is a reflection of that concern.

The evolution of events in South-East Asia has made it possible for the Secretary-General to note in his report on the work of the Organization that "the prospects for peace in South-East Asia have also improved, through the initiation of a dialogue between the Kampuchean parties and other concerned countries". (A/43/1, p. 3)

We support that point of view and share the hope expressed by the Secretary-General that

"concrete progress will soon be achieved on the main substantive issues".

(ibid.)

We welcome the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General and his Representative to promote the dialogue and the search for political solutions to problems affecting South-East Asia. We also hope that the increased participation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in promoting the Kampuchean settlement - participation that was manifested in the establishment of the Committee on Kampuchea - will have a positive effect on the situation around Kampuchea.

It is worth giving some thought to the idea of convening an international conference on the drawing up of guarantees to implement the agreements achieved and ensure the national independence of Kampuchea and peace in South-East Asia.

We welcome the fact that the new, positive trends in the development of the situation around Kampuchea have been reflected to a certain degree in the draft resolution submitted to this session of the Assembly. At the same time, we are disappointed that the text still contains confrontational and biased provisions that do not permit us to agree with the draft resolution as a whole. It would be

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useful if the General Assembly, acting in the spirit of mutual interest in the speedy termination of the conflict, adopted the line of strengthening and promoting those positive and rational developments that have emerged in the situation in South-East Asia.

The Soviet Union, in its turn, has already stated at the highest level that it will be prepared to do all it can to promote solutions to the Kampuchean problem and to take part, along with other permanent members of the Security Council, in the guaranteeing of agreements that may be reached by the Kampuchean parties.

If realism and foresight are exercised in practice, it will be possible, in our view, to bring closer the day when the Kampuchean problem will be referred to only in the past tense. The task is to consolidate positive elements in the search for a Kampuchean settlement, to permit the development of new thinking and non-confrontationalism, which are increasingly making their way into the system of international relations and becoming realities of the day.

Mr. TEEHANKEE (Philippines): You are presiding, Sir, over the forty-third session of the General Assembly at a time of renewed hope. There is indeed reason to nurture the hope that the vision which the founders of the United Nations had of a better and wiser world, sheltered from the scourge of war, may yet be fulfilled. There is a global warming of the political climate, bringing with it the light and favourable winds that have helped the Secretary-General - to borrow his metaphor - steer the small boat in which all the peoples of the Earth are gathered closer to shore. As he aptly described it in his report of last September on the work of the Organization, the vessel, with careful and patient navigation, has come within sight of large sections of the shore of peace.

In the same report, however, we are cautioned against falling into complacency about troubled regions where dark clouds of danger still loom over the horizon.

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

Much remains to be done, though the first step may have been taken. Complex problems do not permit of easy solutions. Perseverance through genuine dialogue and negotiation, coupled with the political will and determination to forge ahead despite seemingly intractable difficulties, is needed as parties in conflict traverse the arduous, and sometimes narrow, path to peace.

(Mr. Teehankee, Philippines)

In South-East Asia, the General Assembly is called upon to deal with one such situation, a tragedy - that of the Kampuchean nation and the Khmer people. In December 1978, foreign armed forces, under the guise of liberation troops, invaded and occupied Kampuchea, in violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The noble principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention in their internal affairs, non-recourse to the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes were trampled upon as the foreign armed troops marched in and took over the capital of Phnom Penh.

The foreign occupation troops came and they stayed. They set up a régime of people who would enforce their rule, and normalcy never returned to Kampuchea. Today, nearly a decade later, hostilities continue between the brave Kampuchean fighting to free their country, under their acknowledged leader, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the foreign forces and their installed régime. The struggle goes on. The guns have not yet fallen silent.

As in every conflict, innocent civilians are not spared. Kampuchean, numbering hundreds of thousands, fled hearth and home. The camps along the Thai-Kampuchean border, which have been set up through the generosity of Thailand and the compassion and understanding of the community of nations, and on whom the Kampuchean have been compelled to depend for their daily survival, serve as sad reminders that the problem of Kampuchea is still unresolved. The much-awaited day when the Khmer people can return to their country in safety and rebuild their shattered lives has not yet come.

It is for this reason that the General Assembly is once again meeting to consider the situation in Kampuchea. That is why the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has once again initiated a draft resolution, revised,

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but whose thrust remains unchanged. It deplores the continued foreign armed intervention and occupation, and calls for the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from that once gentle land. It calls for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as its neutral and non-aligned status. It reaffirms the sacred and inviolable right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. It urges all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It encourages the efforts of the Secretary-General, the International Conference on Kampuchea and its Ad Hoc Committee, as well as others, in the quest for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Each year since 1979, the General Assembly has adopted by an ever-increasing majority the draft resolutions on Kampuchea. The international community has never accepted the foreign armed occupation of Kampuchea. It has not wavered in its determination to see freedom restored to that land. This resolve of the international community now bears witness to the unfolding of events that have given rise to other valid concerns. Revisions have thus been made to update the draft resolution under debate and provide for measures that would bring lasting peace for Kampuchea under the principles of the United Nations Charter.

One significant development was the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), held last July. It was a significant breakthrough in the decade-long conflict, for it provided the framework for informal discussions for the first time among the parties directly involved and other concerned countries. All came - the four Kampuchean factions, Viet Nam, Laos and we, the ASEAN countries. We were heartened by such participation, co-operation and dialogue.

There are also new elements which are deemed necessary for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean question. These elements have come to assume

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greater relevance as announcements were made by Viet Nam at the JIM, which the Philippines welcomed, of a timetable for the withdrawal of all its armed forces from Kampuchea by December 1989 or, at the latest, during the first quarter of 1990. The new elements incorporated in this year's draft resolution include the effective international supervision of the withdrawal of all foreign forces, the creation of an interim administering authority, the promotion of national reconciliation among all Kampuchean factions, and the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past. It is important that Kampuchea should not be abandoned by the international community. Chaos must not befall Kampuchea if and when the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces becomes a reality.

Thus, as clarified in the ASEAN explanatory note on the draft resolution regarding the question, circulated as document A/43/733 on 21 October, such withdrawal of all foreign forces should be under effective international supervision and control. The primary object is the promotion of national reconciliation among all Kampucheans. The note stresses that:

"Following the conflict, it is evident that peace can only come about through a process of national reconciliation among all the Kampuchean factions. To exclude any of the Kampuchean factions would be disastrous as it would mean the prolongation of the conflict." (A/43/733, para. 4 (c) (iv))

The resolution provides for effective guarantees providing for the:

"non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past,"

which, the note explains, equally refers

"to all universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past in Kampuchea, including the atrocities committed between 1975 and 1978" - the

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genocidal policies - "and all other human rights violations committed since then." (A/43/733, para. 4 (c) (v))

The Kampuchean conflict constitutes a serious obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia. It has hindered the full development of mutually beneficial relations between Viet Nam, Laos and ASEAN, and the rest of the international community. That is why we in ASEAN have continued, under the aegis of the United Nations, to persevere in our efforts in the common quest for peace in Kampuchea. The overwhelming support of the international community each year continues to provide us with the impetus to overcome the difficulties which come with the complex issues. This year, encouraged by the recent developments just referred to, we remain determined to see a just and lasting solution to the issue of Kampuchea. We remain firm in our resolve to help bring peace to Kampuchea and to South-East Asia, a region which has been in turmoil for generations.

We believe that with perseverance, genuine dialogue and unflinching co-operation, and the firm resolve of the General Assembly, a resounding vote may finally bring about the peace desired by all.

At the end of the Viet Nam war in 1975, ASEAN extended its hand of friendship to neighbouring Viet Nam, whose generations, during their own long valiant struggle for liberation, freedom and unification, lived from day to day and never knew what it was to live without being at war. We were full of hope that peace and prosperity would at long last come to South-East Asia. That hand of friendship still reaches out, for we are all in that same vessel navigated by the Secretary-General, pursuing the path to a better world. We all stand to benefit when it finally casts anchor on the not-too-distant shore of peace.



Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): our examination of the situation in Kampuchea calls for two major comments from the delegation of Zaire: first, that the Kampuchean people are determined to begin a dialogue among all the political factions represented by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann, Mr. Khieu Samphan and others, with the aim of finding grounds for understanding and reconciliation among them; and, secondly, that there is no specific timetable for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from that country.

The recent thaw in the international situation, thanks to the settlement of many conflicts throughout the world, seems to be affecting the situation in Kampuchea, as we note from the Jakarta Informal Meeting held in Bogor from 25 to 28 July 1986, although we cannot see any cause for immediate optimism as a result.

In fact, as the report of the Secretary-General indicates, on 1 October 1988 there were some 292,000 Kampuchean in the evacuation sites along the Thai-Kampuchean border still under the care of the United Nations Border Relief Operation. The many violent crimes committed in those evacuation sites remain a major concern for the international community. Likewise, the large number of Vietnamese forces that have been occupying Democratic Kampuchea for almost 10 years now has finally aroused the indignation of the international community, as a result of the unspeakable devastation and suffering they inflict on the peaceful populations of Democratic Kampuchea.

The régime of Heng Samrin, installed by those Vietnamese forces two months after their invasion of that independent, neutral and non-aligned State, a Member of the United Nations, has never been recognized by the international community, as we can see from the vote in the plenary Assembly on 25 October last in favour of the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Those foreign forces have deprived the people of Kampuchea of their right to self-determination, have brought ruin on the nation and people of Kampuchea and continue to threaten peace, security and stability in South-East Asia.

At a time when the Soviet forces are being withdrawn from Afghanistan, Viet Nam should follow the example of that act of goodwill and order the immediate withdrawal of all its forces from Kampuchea, with the aim of fostering national reconciliation among all the political factions in that country.

The Provisional Quadripartite Government alone will be entrusted with organizing direct and free general elections under international supervision to elect a constituent assembly which will prepare a new constitution for that country. It is only after such an agreement that an international conference to guarantee the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Kampuchea will be convened, in which all the countries concerned in the conflict, the five permanent members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations will participate.

Therefore my delegation considers that the main factors in any just and lasting settlement of the problem of Kampuchea are as follows: first, the immediate and total withdrawal of all the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea under effective international supervision and control; secondly, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, that is to say, the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own future; and, thirdly, the commitment by all States not to interfere or to intervene in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea.

The promotion of national reconciliation among all Kampuchean, under the enlightened leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, should be encouraged by all

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Member States of our Organization, both before and after the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country.

With regard to the new initiatives set forth in draft resolution A/43/L.12, concerning, on the one hand, the establishment of an interim administering authority and, on the other, the establishment of the condition that there will be no return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past, my delegation wishes to stress that they are certainly relevant to the present phase of consultations now under way but that we can in no case link them with the total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from that country, in view of the fact that those are internal issues that are subject to the sovereignty of that country and will be dealt with after the evacuation of the Vietnamese troops.

That is the attitude that lies behind the affirmative vote that my delegation will cast on this draft resolution, although we feel we cannot entirely support these two new proposals, for the reasons I have just mentioned.

In the light of the talks that the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Rafeuddin Ahmed, has held with various authorities in South-East Asia, the Secretary-General has made some constructive suggestions with the aim of facilitating the preparation of a framework for the overall political settlement of the problem. He has co-ordinated the humanitarian assistance for the Kampuchean people. He has established a training programme for 2,000 teachers and teacher trainers, and he has instructed the specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as UNICEF, the World Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross to ensure the greater part

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

of the humanitarian relief assistance in Kampuchea in the areas of food-crop production, irrigation, health services and the resettlement of the population.

The signs of movement to be discerned in the consultations among the various Kampuchean parties and the other countries concerned in this conflict should lead us to believe that the situation of prolonged and sterile confrontation is at the point of being replaced by a comprehensive political settlement plan that would be compatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. That is what peace in Kampuchea requires.

Mr. TILLET (Belize): Ten years ago one of the greatest tragedies in the life of South-East Asia occurred. The sovereign independent nation of Kampuchea was brutally assaulted, invaded and occupied by a sister State. By this universally condemned action Viet Nam isolated itself from the international community, assumed an unbearable economic burden on its own people, tarnished the significance of its own victorious struggle for freedom, and violated six of the seven principles of the United Nations Charter recorded in Chapter I, Article 2.

For the past nine years the Assembly has urged Viet Nam to adhere to the principles of our Charter which, by virtue of its membership, it is committed to uphold. Belize has been in the forefront of co-sponsoring and supporting these resolutions, which recognize the invasion and occupation by Vietnamese troops as the problem and call for their withdrawal as the solution, and we continue to support such resolutions.

In this regard, I must express my delegation's appreciation to the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for their consistent and persistent pursuit of a solution to this problem. Year after year these States have provided the leadership on this issue, which has successfully piloted draft resolutions through the Assembly and protected the rights of the people of Kampuchea, ensuring them of the support of the international community. For championing the cause of the people of Kampuchea, the Assembly owes the States members of ASEAN a debt of gratitude.

My delegation also wishes to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his staff for their commitment to a resolution of the situation in Kampuchea. The Secretary-General's report (A/43/730) conveys very clearly the continuous efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff; and my delegation urges them to continue in their endeavour to bring peace to the region.

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

We also believe that the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea must be cited for its outstanding work in seeking a resolution of the situation in Kampuchea.

The forty-third session of the General Assembly opened in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation, in an atmosphere of hope. In such a euphoric state we must guard against the danger of transposing positive developments in one arena and forcing them to fit into another. We must be constantly aware that peace does not come by osmosis. It is the decision of Governments that brings peace and Viet Nam does not yet appear to be ready to make that peaceful decision.

While, as the Secretary-General's report points out, a process of dialogue has been initiated, my delegation has no evidence that the occupying forces are preparing to leave Kampuchea. The guns of war are still blazing away in Kampuchea. The occupying forces are still destroying the nation, and the invading nation still shows no remorse for its actions.

The Assembly must continue to make its voice heard loud and clear. We must continue to point out that the issue here is the universally condemned policies and practices of the invading State and the occupying forces. We must continue to uphold the right of the people of Kampuchea to be free from external aggression and to exercise their sovereignty and independence, assured of non-intervention and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Over the past few years we have come to understand, and the General Assembly has adopted, what are considered to be the components of a lasting settlement in Kampuchea. In this regard, I wish to quote from paragraph 12 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea on its activities during 1987 and 1988, which states, inter alia:

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

"The mission expressed the view that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem must be based on the following principles: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, national reconciliation, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea. It also reiterated the conviction that such a settlement should take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, including a commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea."

(A/CONF.109/13, para. 12)

The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Kampuchea also states, inter alia, that the General Assembly:

"also reiterated its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea were the principle components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem."

(A/43/730, para. 2)

My delegation is of the view that the above-mentioned reports contain the necessary components of a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Furthermore, when my delegation speaks of all foreign forces or all occupying forces in Kampuchea, we mean both the military and the civilian forces - all must be withdrawn.\*

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

(Mr. Tillett, Belize)

If the General Assembly is to convey to Viet Nam and other nations that invasion of another country is not profitable, we must insist on making invasion unattractive.

During these 10 years we have seen raw aggression to promote foreign policy. Viet Nam has used its illegal occupation of Kampuchea to transfer many of its own citizens to Kampuchea. One estimate puts it at approximately one million Vietnamese citizens now living in Kampuchea. These Vietnamese have displaced Kampuchean in their jobs and on their land and would form the proverbial Trojan horse in Kampuchea if they were allowed to stay. We believe they form a potent civilian foreign occupying force which will interfere and intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The civilian forces of Viet Nam must accompany the military forces in their simultaneous and immediate withdrawal.

Ten years have now gone by since this great tragedy in Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people have held their heads high in the struggle to be free. They have looked to us for support in their struggle and support of the principles of the United Nations Charter on their behalf. For 10 years the Assembly has held high the rights of the Kampuchean people. We have not grown weary of the problem. We have made it clear that the issue in Kampuchea is the invasion and occupation by foreign troops. Another issue in Kampuchea is the right of a sovereign, independent, non-aligned Kampuchean people to decide for themselves.

Finally, Goldsworthy Dickinson once wrote:

"To the man who has the religion of peace, the supreme value is love. To the man who has the religion of war, the supreme value is strife."

My delegation urges the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to demonstrate to the General Assembly and to the world community at large that it has the religion of peace.



Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): Ten years ago the people of Kampuchea became the victims of a colossal tragedy when, in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter and all recognized norms of inter-State conduct, their country was invaded by Vietnamese forces, trampling its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and its national independence. A decade has now elapsed without the return of peace and tranquillity to that tormented land. As the foreign military occupation of Kampuchea continues, so does the suffering of its patriotic people, who have ever since waged a ceaseless struggle to regain their independence.

Those who had harboured the illusion that the Phnom Penh régime, bolstered and sustained by foreign forces, would improve the situation in Kampuchea were gravely mistaken. The wounds inflicted on Kampuchea continue to fester, its people remain deprived of their national rights, and peace and security in the region remain threatened. The repeated condemnation of the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea by the overwhelming majority of the international community should make it abundantly clear that armed intervention will not go unchallenged and that the international community will not acquiesce in the violation of sacrosanct principles. The time has come for the aggressor to draw the right lessons and to put an end urgently to its intervention in Kampuchea so that the futile shedding of the blood of the people of Kampuchea can stop. In this year of hope, when the spirit of peace seems to be in the ascendant, it is to be hoped that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will pay heed to the calls of the international community and end the long night of suffering which it has imposed on the Kampuchean people.

In his latest report on the situation in Kampuchea, the Secretary-General has rightly observed that

(Mr. Kamal, Pakistan)

"A comprehensive settlement plan must be consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and must adequately protect the fundamental interests of the parties concerned, and, above all, of the Kampuchean people". (A/43/730, para. 24)

We share the belief of the international community that such a comprehensive settlement should be based on the early withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The draft resolution before us this year reiterates these principles, and, if adopted, would, we hope, provide an impetus to a process of genuine negotiations. It is also our earnest hope that the current propitious international climate will lend further momentum to the efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative, Under-Secretary-General Rafeeuddin Ahmed, whose perseverance and dedication we all commend, in their intensive search for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The occupying forces in Kampuchea had earlier tried to justify their military intervention by invoking the pretext of the human rights issue in that country. The international community rejected such justification. The international community cannot be expected to acquiesce in linkages which some may seek to establish between the essential withdrawal of foreign troops and an internal political situation in Kampuchea, which the people of Kampuchea alone can decide upon. Such a linkage would be fraught with danger and could easily be used as an excuse and a temptation to legitimise the continuing military occupation of Kampuchea. The fundamental premise of a comprehensive settlement must remain the

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total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. At the same time, the process of national reconciliation should aim at creating conditions which can enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise their right of self-determination, free from outside intervention. Such a process should obviously not be misused to manipulate the internal aspects of the situation in Kampuchea.

Pakistan welcomed the proposal made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 25 June 1988 to seek a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of, first, the phased withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in accordance with a definite timetable, under international supervision; secondly, the formation of a provisional quadripartite Government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk; thirdly, free and direct general elections, under international supervision, for a constituent assembly; and, fourthly, an international conference, with the participation of the countries concerned, the five permanent members of the Security Council, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to guarantee the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

Pakistan also welcomed the proposal made by China to provide international guarantees for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, and hopes that the remaining permanent members of the Security Council will follow this lead.

It is our earnest hope that a political settlement of the conflict would also lead to an early solution of the serious humanitarian problem of the Kampuchean refugees. It is heartening to note that in the mean time the international community has responded generously to the Kampuchean assistance programme. My delegation commends the United Nations agencies, particularly the United Nations Border Relief Operation and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), for their sustained efforts in providing relief assistance to the

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Kampuchean refugees. The Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programme has been a unique effort by the international community in channelling over \$1 billion to the Kampuchean people. The successful efforts of UNHCR to resettle the Kampuchean refugees in third countries also merit our deep appreciation. The Government of Pakistan, despite its resource constraints, has fully associated itself with the efforts of the international community to mitigate the suffering of the Kampuchean people and will continue to make its modest contribution to the United Nations humanitarian relief programmes for as long as it is required to do so.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our full support for, and appreciation of, the untiring efforts and creative proposals made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk for national reconciliation within Kampuchea. We have full faith in his endeavours to bring about the restoration of peace to his war-ravaged land. We all look forward to a sovereign and independent Kampuchea, strong in its unity and territorial integrity, inviolate in its sovereignty and independence, and capable, once again, of playing the role of a cultural and spiritual catalyst in the region.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): As we come to the tenth year of the debate on the situation in Kampuchea it may be worth noting that the issue first emerged as agenda item 123 at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. At that session the Malaysian delegation had the privilege of beginning the debate and introducing the draft resolution sponsored by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and 25 other countries. That draft resolution was subsequently adopted as resolution 34/22 by a majority of the members of the Assembly. Its adoption upheld fundamental principles and clearly manifested strong disapproval of their violation. Viet Nam had violated those principles, and the international community called on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops completely from Kampuchea and respect Kampuchean sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

Coincidentally, it is also in the records that earlier in that year, in January 1979, non-aligned members of the Security Council submitted a draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. In March of the same year ASEAN countries had submitted a similar resolution to the Security Council. On both occasions the draft resolutions received strong support from Security Council members, but, regrettably, were vetoed.

Ten years later we are still considering the issue, as we have done every year. The question of the complete withdrawal of foreign forces is still before us. At the beginning of the discussion at the forty-third session of the General Assembly we are aware that Kampuchea has been the subject of high-level talks by major countries. We are also following with interest - some of us are actively involved - efforts and developments in that region and elsewhere to effect an early solution of the issue. Against the general backdrop of the optimism that is the high point of this session, and given that the interests of all parties concerned coincide, it is possible to contemplate a final solution to the Kampuchean question.

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

At this crucial juncture, therefore, the issue needs to be seen in clear perspective and in its entirety. A comprehensive political settlement has to be achieved under effective guarantees. The total withdrawal of foreign forces must be effected in accordance with an agreed timetable. The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea has to be restored. The international community must reaffirm the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. At the same time the concern of the international community about the horrors of the recent past has to be addressed. The turbulence and deep divisions within Kampuchea, largely inflamed by the continued occupation of foreign forces, have to give way to the process of national reconciliation. Provision will need to be made in terms of international peace-keeping and supervision to ensure the implementation of the various processes.

In the course of 10 years the Kampuchean issue has become multifaceted. No single, simplistic approach would further the solution to the problem. The matters I have mentioned have become intertwined in the issue. It is now incumbent on the United Nations to regard the issue as a complex whole. This is the basic thrust of the draft resolution before us at this session. It needs to be stated, though, that, no matter how complex the factors may be, no one can accept that any conditionality be attached to the question of the withdrawal of foreign forces. If this is being attempted, it has to be rejected very strongly. For all these years the international community has decried and deplored the invasion and the continuing presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. It is inexcusable that those forces are still there, casting doubts on Viet Nam and delaying the promise of an early solution. It must be patently clear to Viet Nam that a military solution is impossible. The cost of maintaining those forces in Kampuchea critically depletes the resources of Viet Nam and denies its people the long-awaited fruits of reconstruction and peace.

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

The presence of Vietnamese forces constitutes the single factor that has disturbed regional stability, posing serious impediments to the early realization of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Vietnamese people, as refugees and illegal immigrants, continue to leave in large numbers, taxing the compassion of countries and adding onerous responsibilities for ASEAN countries. ASEAN hopes that in the renewed climate of rationality and construction this issue, too, will be resolved at an early date through an international conference. ASEAN is equally mindful of the thousands of Kampuchians who have fled Kampuchea, running from turmoil and foreign occupation and seeking shelter in camps along the border. These hapless victims must be ensured a safe return, given a comprehensive solution.

The horrors perpetrated in Kampuchea have rightly been the subject of the concern of the international community for many years. The international community is determined to ensure that this dark period shall never recur. Kampuchea is a country steeped in a proud civilization and culture. Angkor Wat stands as a magnificent symbol of the age-old search for spiritual sublimation. The killing-fields of the recent past and other human rights violations since then blemish such a history. The international community must ensure, by collective efforts, as well as through the process of self-determination, that in the future such a visitation will not again be visited on Kampuchea. This stand should not be misinterpreted as an intrusion in the internal affairs of a country, given the scale and magnitude of the violations of human rights.

In the process of national reconciliation being effected in Kampuchea through the coming together of various factions, the one continuous definitive factor is Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Contemporary history will confirm that up to 1970 it was he who ensured the cohesion and single entity of Kampuchea. The complicity in actions that led to the removal of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in 1970 was a cruel infliction upon a nation which desperately needed its leader. As the various

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factions now try to knit together again the fabric of a nation, it is inevitable that they should turn to Sihanouk. ASEAN supports all the efforts now being undertaken by Sihanouk and we keenly await the results of his forthcoming meeting in Paris.

In this connection it is hoped that all factions will participate fully in the Paris meeting. Further, it is hoped that the régime in Phnom Penh will no longer persist in its impossible demands. It is very clear that the format of national reconciliation will come together around the person of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and none other.

The efforts of the ASEAN countries recently, through the convening of the Jakarta Informal Meeting are part of the continuing regional initiative of ASEAN to help achieve an early solution. ASEAN will not stop there but will continue, both at the working level and at higher levels, to draw positive results from the significant breakthrough achieved at the Jakarta Informal Meeting last July.



(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Our efforts are not exclusive; they link up with complementary efforts undertaken at the non-aligned level. They are at tangent neither with the constructive discussions being undertaken among certain major countries nor with Sihanouk's own initiatives.

The overall question of the self-determination of Kampuchea through supervised elections and the establishment of a freely elected Government will, hopefully, proceed following the establishment of the quadripartite coalition Government. At that point the international community and certain major Powers will be needed to guarantee the independent, non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

The foregoing in essence would constitute the future steps on Kampuchea. The signs are propitious. It would be in the interest of all countries to work towards this objective. The final solution in Kampuchea would, it is to be hoped, completely remove all security concerns and residual suspicions between and among the countries of the region. It would presage the phasing in of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

The draft resolution before us takes into account all the points I have mentioned. It is certainly more comprehensive than past resolutions, but there has been no abandonment. The elements of past resolutions that have found resounding support in the last nine years continue to be strongly enunciated in this year's draft resolution. The principal thrust of this year's draft resolution remains the need collectively to deplore the continuing presence of foreign forces and demand their complete withdrawal without conditions. This year's draft resolution further contains a reference that enjoins the continuation of the laudable efforts of the International Conference on Kampuchea entrusted to the Ad Hoc Committee on Kampuchea, even if efforts in future may bring about the convening of an

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international conference built on premises related to initiatives of the Secretary-General and other parties.

This draft resolution does not merely restate principles. Given the important stage now reached on the Kampuchean issue, this draft resolution will directly contribute towards promoting an early solution. What this draft resolution requires is the maximum, if not total, support of all Members of the United Nations in order to deliver a powerful message emanating from various regions of the globe. At this stage the United Nations cannot afford to be faint-hearted or to be mired in abstract principles, agonizing over the limits of actions it can take. The United Nations should be part of that catalyst to effect a solution on Kampuchea.

The Kampucheans need the support of the international community at this critical hour. We need to remind ourselves that it has been a long and terrible road for that unhappy country. The Geneva Agreements of 1954, after the first Indo-Chinese war, at best only provided an illusion of peace followed by further turmoil in the 1960s and 1970s, as all Indo-China raged in war. The lessons of 1954 must be learned and the mistakes made then rectified now. The Kampucheans must be allowed to regain their independent, neutral and non-aligned status.

I recommend this draft resolution for the approbation and support of all.

Mr. LI LUYE (China) (interpretation from Chinese): A decade ago the Vietnamese authorities flagrantly launched an armed invasion into Kampuchea and fostered the Heng Samrin puppet régime there in gross violation of the Charter and the norms governing international relations. That act, which has brought untold suffering to the Kampuchean people, has aroused strong opposition and universal condemnation in the international community. As an act of upholding justice, the General Assembly has adopted, at nine consecutive sessions, resolutions calling for

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the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and self-determination by the Kampuchean people. The Chinese Government highly appreciates the efforts made by the international community in general, and by the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in particular, in seeking a solution to the Kampuchean question.

The Chinese Government has all along been in favour of a political solution to the Kampuchean question and supported all efforts and attempts aimed at a just and reasonable settlement. It has put forward constructive proposals to promote an early solution. China's position on this matter has been further elaborated by the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China on 1 July and the remarks made by Zhao Ziyang, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, on 26 August. In his statement at the current session of the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen outlined China's stand and propositions on the Kampuchean question in the following five points:

First, a complete withdrawal by Viet Nam of its troops from Kampuchea is the key to a settlement of the Kampuchean question. The Vietnamese side should produce as soon as possible a timetable for its troop withdrawal from Kampuchea within a short period of time.

Secondly, we favour the establishment, with Prince Norodom Sihanouk in charge, of a provisional quadripartite coalition Government in Kampuchea as Viet Nam withdraws its troops from that country. Each faction's candidates for the provisional Government should be proposed by the faction itself but should be acceptable to the other parties concerned. We stand for a quadripartite coalition in Kampuchea. We are against the exclusion of any of the four factions from it or the exercise of power by any one faction alone.

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Thirdly, upon the establishment of the provisional quadripartite coalition Government of Kampuchea, a freeze should be imposed on the activities of the Kampuchean armed forces of all factions. They should refrain from getting involved in politics and interfering in the general election so that the Kampuchean people may conduct a free election in the absence of outside interference and threat of force. To prevent a civil war in Kampuchea, the existing armed forces of all factions may be disbanded to facilitate the creation of a unified national defence force composed of an equal number of officers and men from each of the four factions under a unified command.

Fourthly, practical and effective international supervision should be instituted over Viet Nam's troop withdrawal, the maintenance of peace in Kampuchea and the conduct of free elections there. To this end the Chinese Government supports the proposition for sending to Kampuchea an international peace-keeping force and an international control committee.

Fifthly, when the parties concerned reach agreement on a political settlement of the Kampuchean question, China will be ready to join other countries in an international guarantee for the independent, neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

As the Kampuchean question came into being as a result of Viet Nam's invasion, the key to its settlement lies in the prompt withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops. This is the only way to end foreign invasion and occupation and to create fair conditions for national reconciliation in Kampuchea. By linking the question of troop withdrawal with the internal problems of Kampuchea and other questions, the Vietnamese authorities aim at delaying their troop withdrawal and obstructing the efforts to achieve a just political settlement of the Kampuchean question.

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National reconciliation among the Kampuchean should be based on the quadripartite coalition, with no single faction holding power alone and with no faction being excluded. The only realistic approach is one that takes into consideration the interests of all parties concerned. No solution will bring peace and stability to the Kampuchean people which allows one faction alone to hold power by dint of its military strength, or sets pre-conditions that exclude one faction, in an attempt to legalize the result of the foreign aggression.

As for the internal problems in Kampuchea, they should be resolved by the Kampuchean people through their own choice in free elections, without outside interference or the threat of force. No foreign country is entitled to interfere. The process of a just settlement of the Kampuchean question can be truly facilitated only when the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination is fully respected and outside interference is removed.

China has no self-interest on the Kampuchean question; nor has it ever intended to establish its own sphere of influence. We are ready to work with all countries willing to help promote a political settlement of the Kampuchean question and make positive contributions to the early elimination of this hot spot, which is a threat to peace in South-East Asia.

Post-war history shows that no country, however powerful militarily, can conquer a smaller and weaker country by force. Global or regional hegemonism should long have been repudiated. It is deplorable that the Vietnamese authorities have as yet failed to come to their senses. In total disregard of the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the strong demand of the international community, the Vietnamese authorities still cling to their policy of aggression and expansion, delaying their troop withdrawal from Kampuchea and placing all kinds of obstacles in the way of a political settlement.

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With regard to the key issue of complete troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities, under the pressure of international public opinion, have of late indicated their willingness to withdraw in 1990, and have stated pretentiously that the withdrawal could come earlier if progress were made in the process of political settlement. Yet they have remained reluctant to come up with a definite timetable acceptable to all sides and have also rejected the idea of effective international supervision and verification. It is still fresh in the memory of all that the partial withdrawals announced by Viet Nam on many occasions in the past all turned out to be mere troop rotations in disguise. In spite of Viet Nam's declarations year after year about troop withdrawals, there has not been a perceivable decline in the number of Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea. Even its latest commitment to pull out 50,000 troops by the end of this year has not been honoured in earnest. People have every reason to suspect that the alleged softening and flexibility of Viet Nam's position on the question of troop withdrawals are no more than gimmicks designed to deceive world opinion and confuse the public. The Vietnamese authorities and their propaganda machine are trying hard to create the false impression that the problem of Vietnamese troop withdrawals no longer exists; but in reality this problem not only exists but is miles away from a genuine solution. To this very day the Vietnamese forces, over 100,000 strong, are still hanging on in Kampuchea, and the status of foreign occupation of Kampuchea remains unchanged.

In order to prolong their occupation of Kampuchea the Vietnamese authorities have asked to trade their troop withdrawal against the cessation of outside assistance to Kampuchean resistance forces. They have even gone as far as to demand a timetable for such cessation. We all know that it is the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea that constitutes a grave threat to peace and stability

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in South-East Asia. It is entirely right and proper for all countries that uphold justice to extend sympathy, support and aid to the Kampuchean resistance in whatever way they choose. It goes without saying that the question of international assistance to the Kampuchean resistance will disappear when Viet Nam stops its aggression and pulls all its forces out of Kampuchea under strict and effective international supervision. By demanding the cessation of outside assistance to the Kampuchean resistance, while continuing their armed occupation, the Vietnamese authorities are only making excuses for their continued occupation of Kampuchea and for delaying their troop withdrawal. This is unacceptable to the international community.

Another delaying tactic of the Vietnamese side is to cash in on the concern of the international community regarding the return of the Khmer Rouge and try its best to link the withdrawal of its troops to the exclusion of the Khmer Rouge by making the latter the pre-condition of the former and of national reconciliation in Kampuchea. One can see clearly that this proposition of the Vietnamese authorities is aimed at getting what they have failed to get on the battlefield through the hands of others and conferring legitimacy on continued rule by the Heng Samrin puppet régime. The question of the Khmer Rouge is, after all, an internal problem which can be resolved only by the Kampuchean people themselves. At any rate it must not become the justification for Viet Nam's launching the armed invasion in 1978 and for its refusing to withdraw its troops now; otherwise, what is the point of talking about norms governing international relations in the world today? Viet Nam's insistence on linking its troop withdrawal to the exclusion of the Khmer Rouge is but an attempt to confuse the fundamental distinction between the aggressor and its victim, to hide its aggressive acts behind the fallacy of

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justifiable aggression and obstruct the efforts to seek a just settlement of the Kampuchean question.

While talking glibly about favouring national reconciliation in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese side is in reality opposed to a genuine quadripartite coalition. Viet Nam's Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thack, has openly and categorically rejected the proposal to set up a quadripartite coalition Government in Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, dismissing it as an illogical demand. In the meantime, Viet Nam has gone out of its way to advocate maintenance of the status quo in Kampuchea; rejected the simultaneous dissolution of the Phnom Penh puppet régime and Democratic Kampuchea; reinforced the puppet régime in Phnom Penh by stepping up the expansion of its armed forces; and opposed the idea of sending an international control committee and an international peace-keeping force to Kampuchea. Both Viet Nam and the Phnom Penh régime are saying that the cake of Kampuchea must not be divided into four pieces. It is not difficult for people to see from these words and deeds that the Vietnamese authorities are still trying to maintain the monopoly of power by the Heng Samrin-Hun Sen faction under the de facto control of Viet Nam, and to compel the international community to accept the fait accompli of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. This is precisely the greater and more immediate danger facing Kampuchea right now, which calls for heightened vigilance on the part of the international community.



(Mr. Li Luye, China)

At present, dialogue in place of confrontation has become the trend of the times, and the tendency towards peaceful settlement of regional conflicts is growing. Since the Soviet Union started to pull its troops out of Afghanistan the international community has demanded ever more strongly that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and end its war of aggression. The achievement of a political settlement of the Kampuchean question is now on the agenda of the international community. The Vietnamese authorities should understand that a speedy and complete withdrawal of their troops from Kampuchea and an early settlement of the Kampuchean question are not only conducive to the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia, but also beneficial to the people of both Viet Nam and Kampuchea. Delay in bringing about this situation can only prolong Viet Nam's own predicament domestically and externally. It is time that the Vietnamese authorities made up their minds on the right choice.

As we are discussing the question of Kampuchea in this solemn Assembly, the people of that country, who have been subjected to foreign domination for 10 long years, eagerly look to us to uphold justice for them, condemn foreign aggression and occupation and continue to make efforts to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean question. We must not let them down. It is the hope of the Chinese delegation that the debate at this session of the United Nations General Assembly will help promote a better understanding of the nature of the Kampuchean question, bring undiminished pressure to bear on the aggressor and speed up the just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Ms. KNUDSEN (Norway): For the tenth consecutive year the General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. Despite the many efforts that have been made to bring about a peaceful, just and comprehensive political solution, and despite the overwhelming and

(Ms. Knudsen, Norway)

increasing majority in the General Assembly in support of relevant United Nations resolutions, the Vietnamese forces remain in Kampuchea in clear violation of the United Nations Charter. This reflects the sad state of affairs for the international community, for the region of South-East Asia and, most of all, for the people of Kampuchea, who have suffered so much in the past.

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

The Norwegian delegation shares the view that an essential first step towards a comprehensive solution to the current situation in Kampuchea must be a firm commitment by the occupying Power to cease all hostilities and withdraw its forces, thus paving the way for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In our view, the draft resolution before us, of which Norway is a sponsor, incorporates the elements of a comprehensive political settlement: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, under effective international supervision and control; secondly, the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past; and, thirdly, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny.

(Ms. Knudsen, Norway)

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

Over the last year the world has witnessed some signs of change that will, it is hoped, develop in the right direction. This summer, for the first time, all the parties directly involved and other parties concerned gathered in Jakarta for an informal meeting, a fact which augurs well for a political solution to the conflict. A political settlement can only be achieved through a process of genuine negotiations without pre-conditions. In this connection, my Government would like to express support for the efforts undertaken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

It is a sad fact that more than a quarter of a million Kampuchean still remain in the evacuation sites in the Thai-Kampuchean border area. In addition, the question of the security and protection of the border population and of respect for their basic human rights is a matter of highest priority for the international community. That makes it all the more important for the United Nations and other agencies to get unhindered access to all the camps in order to carry out their task of providing food and services to the civilian population.

My Government is concerned by the reported human rights violations in the refugee camps controlled by the Khmer Rouge. Access to these camps by the United Nations and other international agencies is necessary for them to undertake satisfactory registration of the individual refugees. A proper registration procedure would not only grant a certain protection against involuntary disappearances; it is also a prerequisite for a future orderly repatriation programme.

(Ms. Knudsen, Norway)

My own Government has in the past year contributed approximately \$US 1 million to the United Nations Border Relief Operation, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the International Committee of the Red Cross and various non-governmental humanitarian organizations assisting Kampuchean refugees. For as long as the search for a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea goes on there will be a need for assistance to the refugees in the border area. My Government will also in the future assume its fair share of the costs involved in this humanitarian effort.

Dame Ann HERCUS (New Zealand): In participating in this annual debate, New Zealand has consistently sought to minimize divisiveness and to encourage dialogue as a basis for a peaceful political settlement in Cambodia. We are pleased to note that this year, partly as a consequence of success elsewhere in reducing international tensions, the situation in Cambodia has come to appear rather less intractable than it did 12 months ago. My delegation is under no illusions that a durable political settlement will be achieved easily or soon. There are many interests to reconcile and several layers of conflict to unravel. But developments during 1988, particularly the Jakarta Informal Meeting, Prince Sihanouk's continued efforts to promote a dialogue and the evidence of greater interest on the part of influential external Powers in securing a settlement, suggest that some guarded optimism about the situation may not be misplaced. We also welcome the work of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative.

The issue of Cambodia is a complex tapestry. To single out particular aspects of the issue is to find that these elements are closely interwoven. My delegation nevertheless wishes, without oversimplifying the question, to focus on two major concerns.

Our principal concern is, as it always has been, the invasion and occupation of Cambodia by Viet Nam. It is nearly 10 years since Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia, in violation of the fundamental principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. Each year since then the General Assembly has overwhelmingly adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia and for the negotiation of a political settlement. Despite Viet Nam's excuses of provocation and despite its claim to have rescued the Cambodian people from the genocidal tyranny of Pol Pot, that invasion and its legacy cannot be condoned. The Assembly has rightly emphasized Viet Nam's

(Dame Ann Hercus, New Zealand)

violation of the United Nations Charter. There can be no settlement until Viet Nam withdraws its troops from Cambodia. That remains a fundamental objective.

The second concern of my delegation is the responsibility of the international community not merely to acknowledge the evils of the Pol Pot era but to ensure that, as a political settlement emerges, the Khmer Rouge are never again able to impose themselves on the people of Cambodia. This is not a new concern, but it has been given added urgency by the prospect of a political settlement, including the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. In 1988, the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the genocide Convention, we must insist on a settlement that will prevent the Khmer Rouge from regaining power.

All New Zealanders are united in the utter repugnance they feel at the inhuman, brutal and indeed genocidal way in which the Pol Pot Government of Democratic Kampuchea treated its own people. Its authoritarian approach continues today in the camps which it controls along the Thai-Cambodia border. Furthermore, despite rumours from time to time, a change in the leadership of the Khmer Rouge has yet to come about. Ten years ago the international community was slow to accept the evidence of genocidal practices by the Pol Pot Government and reluctant to act against it. Member countries and organizations of the United Nations system have been dealing with the consequences ever since.

The true nature of the Khmer Rouge is well known. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to provide that the acceptable Khmer Rouge element is included within the framework of any future political settlement. Clearly it should not be able to reimpose its authority by armed force or by frustrating the will of the Cambodian people. What we ask for is detailed reassurance on how this potential threat will be handled. For, so long as the Khmer Rouge appears not to have changed its ways or its leadership, its presence in our view provides grounds for serious concern. It would be a rich and tragic irony if that were to detract from the strong and

(Dame Ann Hercus, New Zealand)

almost universal message from the international community for Viet Nam to withdraw. That is why in our view any political settlement must provide for international supervision and appropriate means, such as an international peace-keeping force, to safeguard against a Khmer Rouge return.

Recognition of that concern is among the elements which distinguishes the draft resolution on this item from those of preceding years. New Zealand has consistently cosponsored these draft resolutions and we are doing so again this year. We consider that the principles that the present draft resolution expounds provide the framework for a comprehensive political settlement that will bring peace and stability to South-East Asia and guarantee self-determination for the Cambodian people. Such a political settlement is long overdue.

New Zealand continues to believe that it would not be wise to limit the ways in which a political settlement can be approached. What is important is that we should keep constantly in view the consistent goal of the General Assembly - an independent and sovereign Cambodia under a representative Government that would be guaranteed against threats from its neighbours and would not itself be a threat to those neighbours. That goal remains as valid today as it was eight years ago. In the search for a settlement New Zealand continues to attach particular importance to Prince Sihanouk's role. He has been a pivotal figure throughout the modern history of Cambodia. We believe he has a central role to play in reconciling the parties in conflict and arriving at a lasting settlement. Negotiations to that end must take place in an atmosphere of confidence. In that respect we continue to look for broad agreement among the major Powers that Cambodia must be restored to full independence - with appropriate international guarantees.

The draft resolution before us offers a framework for the continuation of efforts to bring peace in Indo-China and for the people of Cambodia. It deserves the support of all Members of the United Nations.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): When we recall that it is for the tenth time now that we are discussing the situation in Kampuchea, we realize that the immense suffering of the Kampuchean people has been going on unabated for far more than a decade. Throughout these years, which represent a considerable part of the life-span of any individual, the fate of the Kampuchean people has been marked by gross violations of human rights and by internal warfare which has caused the death of a significant percentage of the population, economic destruction, massive flows of refugees and all the inconceivable hardship for the individual that such a development entails.

The large-scale humanitarian assistance programmes, to which, of course, my country has also contributed, may have mitigated to a certain extent the adverse consequences for some especially vulnerable groups, mainly the refugees. But we should always bear in mind that no effective solution to the humanitarian problems can be achieved without a comprehensive political settlement.

After many years of stalemate, 1988, fortunately, has brought some progress in the search for a political solution. At the Jakarta Informal Meeting, for the first time, all parties directly involved and other countries concerned met and held informal discussions. In our view, this amounts to a breakthrough, because the participation in a negotiating process of all four Kampuchean factions and the countries concerned seems to be a prerequisite for establishing a durable peace in Kampuchea, which, in turn, would have positive consequences for the security of the region. We therefore regret all the more that one faction did not attend the first session of the working group. We indeed hope that at subsequent sessions all the parties invited will be represented, otherwise the negotiating process initiated in Bogor might lose momentum.



(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

Austria is strongly convinced that direct negotiations are conducive to a political solution. Therefore my Government also welcomes the talks between Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen. Here again we share the opinion that these contacts would be more promising if the leaders of the other two factions would also take part. These talks and other events within the last few months have proved Prince Sihanouk to be a national leader accepted by all parties to the conflict. This augurs well, as a solution will certainly be facilitated by the existence of a focal personality capable of integrating the various forces.

Another encouraging fact is the introduction of new proposals and peace plans during the past year. These testify to a sincere willingness on all sides to solve this regional conflict through negotiations. When we compare the new proposals with each other and also with previous ones, we clearly see a process of convergence. Most of the crucial elements of a comprehensive and peaceful settlement now appear to be basically acceptable to all sides; let me just mention a few.

The total withdrawal of foreign troops is universally regarded as a primordial necessity. Viet Nam has committed itself to the withdrawal of its armed forces. All proposals refer to some sort of participation by all four factions in political life before the elections. Furthermore, they foresee free and fair elections under international observation. All parties concerned agree upon disbanding the military forces of the four Kampuchean factions and creating a new, unified national army. This process, as well as the total withdrawal of foreign troops, ought to be controlled by an international force. Finally, in all proposals we find the suggestion that, subsequent to an internal agreement, which must come first, an international conference ought to be held that would guarantee the

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

maintenance of an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea at peace with itself and its neighbouring countries.

I have tried to illustrate that a remarkable convergence of views has indeed taken place since the General Assembly debated the situation in Kampuchea last year. At the same time, we are painfully aware of the still prevailing lack of convergence in some critical areas. But, even when agreement on all major elements of a solution is reached, the formidable task of hammering out the details still lies ahead. We know that there are numerous stumbling blocks on the long and winding road towards a peaceful settlement. We can, however, for the first time discern a road in the darkness that until now has continuously overshadowed this regional conflict.

Some of the elements of convergence I have mentioned involve the participation of the international community. In a year that has highlighted the unique contribution of the United Nations to peace-making and peace-keeping, it is certainly opportune to dwell on the possibilities of our world Organization in the context of a solution of the Kampuchean conflict. For our part, we cannot think of another political organism with representative membership that disposes of the know-how and machinery to organize observation of elections and control of military activities. It is hard to imagine other structures that are capable of designing, co-ordinating, financing and implementing a programme of assistance to Kampuchea for the reconstruction of its economy and to all States in the region for their economic and social development. And many problems that might arise in convening an international conference on Kampuchea outside the United Nations framework could be easily avoided by using the United Nations structure.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

My Government is convinced that the United Nations can play an even more helpful role than hitherto in the quest for a peaceful solution, if Member States so wish.

I would like to seize this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Under-Secretary-General Ahmed, Austria's sincere appreciation of their efforts.

The international community could also make better use of the potential of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The President of the Austrian National Assembly, Leopold Gratz, who exercises the function of President of that Conference, recently visited New York, where he met with Foreign Ministers and other high-ranking representatives of interested Member States, the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea. These talks revealed in an impressive way the considerable increase in common ground and the necessity vigorously to continue and broaden the negotiating process already initiated.

At this crucial stage it is for the parties concerned either to grasp the historic chance or to prolong the immense suffering of the Kampuchean people. We fervently hope that they will join in negotiations that will succeed in bringing about a settlement. The Austrian Government and the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea will exert their best efforts with a view to promoting an early, comprehensive, just and lasting political solution.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): It is, to say the least, regrettable that the Assembly should once again this year have to consider the question entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" and to do so in the absence of the authentic representative of the martyred Kampuchean people. As in past years, the real sponsors of the draft resolution have, by their subtle manoeuvres and by clumsy reliance on their calculations of a majority vote in the Assembly, tried to force a solution to a problem which concerns first and foremost the more than 7 million citizens of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, without giving those citizens the slightest chance to express their views. This is nothing but a form of interference in the internal affairs of the glorious People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent and sovereign country whose seat in our Organization has been unjustly usurped by the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

We talk a great deal about the sufferings that the unfortunate people of Kampuchea have endured for more than 10 years, and still endure. It is true that there is suffering, and it is not insignificant, but let us be more realistic in our judgement. The people of Kampuchea are suffering because they have been persecuted by the executioners of an inhuman régime which practised a policy of genocide against them. More than 3 million Kampuchean perished under that régime, either because they were cruelly killed or because they were deprived by force of food and medical care. If Kampuchean still suffer today in their own country, it is in the first place because of the trauma of the heritage of the Pol Pot régime of Democratic Kampuchea. It is also because they continue to be haunted by the horrors of that national tragedy and are still afraid of the possibility of a return to power of those executioners, who continue to this day to enjoy the assistance and support of certain countries and foreign circles whose selfish

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nationalist interests, although they differ, have promoted the maintenance of this legal fiction in our Organization.

We also talk with a great deal of concern, and with reason, of the sufferings of Kampuchians in the border areas with Thailand and in the refugee camps. We must admit that there too, according to impartial observers and representatives of humanitarian organizations, they are the victims of the nefarious activities of their own masters, who impose their own law in the camps and practise against those people terror, extortion and forced recruitment, so as to make them commit crimes of sabotage and murder against their own compatriots in those same "killing-fields" of the recent past.

While, on the one hand, we see only this gloomy and tragic picture, we must admit, on the other hand, that under the aegis of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea the heroic people of Kampuchea, now numbering more than 7 million, have devoted themselves with fervour to the colossal task of national recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction. From what their kith and kin have left them in the abandoned ghost towns, we see emerging everywhere, thanks to the disinterested assistance of brotherly and friendly countries and international humanitarian organizations, child-care centres, orphanages, schools and hospitals. Pagodas and mosques are reappearing. Markets are open again. Life has returned to normal. All State institutions are established on a sound basis. The Government controls the whole territory of the country. The martyred Kampuchean people are being reborn and once again enjoy to the full their elementary right to life. The international community should welcome this fact. It would be a flagrant injustice to disregard this reality. Any attempt on the part of the international community to impose a solution for the problem of Kampuchea on this glorious martyred people to its detriment would only exacerbate an already tense situation in South-East

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Asia. So long as the threat of a return to power by the genocidal régime hangs over their heads, to whom can they turn, these unfortunate and still traumatized 7 million Kampuchean, for a guarantee of their security and their survival? They need a firm, sure and unambiguous guarantee because it is a question of life or death for them.

In this regard, Mr. Hun Sen, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, did not beat about the bush when he stated the seven-point position of his Government at the Jakarta Informal Meeting in July, aimed at bringing a peaceful resolution of the problem through the process of national reconciliation and making Kampuchea a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned country. He proposed, among other things, the following:

"2. Towards December 1989, or at the latest in the first quarter of 1990, all the remaining Vietnamese volunteers would be completely withdrawn from Kampuchea, and this must occur simultaneously with the cessation of foreign assistance and the non-use of sanctuaries in foreign territory that have been provided to the Pol Pot clique, the authors of the genocide, and to the other Khmer opposition forces, the non-use of persons in refugee camps against the Kampuchean people and the cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

"3. The internal problem of Kampuchea must be resolved by the Kampuchean parties, on the basis of national reconciliation, of the elimination of the leaders of the genocidal Pol Pot régime that was responsible for so many crimes, and of the rejection of the armed forces of the Khmer Rouge."

Prime Minister Hun Sen further advocated the maintenance of the present status quo in Kampuchea until a national assembly and a coalition Government can be

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formed through general elections; the creation of a council of national reconciliation that would be headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and entrusted with the organization of those general elections; the establishment of an international supervisory commission; and the convening of an international conference to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The Indonesian Government is to be commended for having organized in July the Jakarta Informal Meeting, to which I have just made reference, which gathered together at one table for the first time in 10 years all the parties concerned in the Kampuchean conflict, namely, the representatives of the four Kampuchean factions themselves and those of all countries directly concerned in South-East Asia, that is to say, the countries of Indo-China and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

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Although that meeting was informal in character, as its name indicates, it nevertheless produced tangible results, as even its most stubborn detractors are obliged to admit. The main ideas contained in the final statement by the President of the conference, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, faithfully reflect the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people and the other peoples directly concerned in the region.

That statement reads, in part, as follows:

"During the discussions there was a common understanding on the urgent need to end the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and to work towards the establishment of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea on the basis of self-determination and national reconciliation.

"All participants shared the view that the two key issues of the Kampuchean problem, which are interlinked, are the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution, and the prevention of the recurrence of the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime, and to ensure the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces. They also saw the need to set definite timetables and to provide an effective international presence to supervise these processes." (A/43/493, Annex I, paras. 5, 6)

Nothing is more heartening than to see the Jakarta process already showing promise, since it opens up a real prospect of a possible solution to the Kampuchean problem that would be final, just and acceptable to all parties concerned, in both its national and international aspects. In this regard the international community has paid a just tribute to the Indonesian Government for its assiduous efforts to



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achieve these results, although they are only preliminary at the present stage. It must therefore fully support those efforts and encourage this process until its culmination by defeating all attempts at sabotage, because in South-East Asia, as elsewhere, there is no lack of those who fish in troubled waters. Indeed I can assure the Assembly that, particularly in our region, there are some who are real champions at this, and we, the three countries of Indo-China, have often been their victims.

Since the second Jakarta Informal Meeting is scheduled for the third week of January 1989 we may now express the hope that the parties concerned will spare no effort to set up the machinery for the final settlement of the conflict on the basis of the results of the first meeting, thus proving to the world that with the assistance and encouragement of the international community the countries of the region will be able to settle their own disputes among themselves.

My delegation also wishes to pay a just tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his closest collaborators, among them Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, his Special Representative for humanitarian affairs, for their tireless efforts, and the particular interest they have shown in the quest for an overall, just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem that is acceptable to all the parties concerned.

With regard to draft resolution A/43/L.12, which is now before the Assembly, my delegation sees nothing new therein that could contribute to the just and equitable solution of the Kampuchean problem. Its principal sponsors, in an effort at compromise, they say, have remodelled the usual form by inserting some new elements without thereby changing its content.

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While the draft resolution has the merit of including an important phrase taken from the Secretary-General's 1985 report, namely, "the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past", its authors have tried, on the other hand, in a separate explanatory note (A/43/733), to establish that this phrase can refer also to the atrocities which, according to them, have been committed since 1978, that is to say, under the régime of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is an over-simplistic and highly erroneous way of judging the history of a martyred people by putting the victims and their executioners on an equal footing.

There is reference also, in the preamble, to the Jakarta Informal Meeting last July as simply a significant development as though it were already an affair of the past. This negative assessment of the future of the Jakarta process is a dangerous corroboration of the attitude, in evidence at a recent meeting of the Working Group in this city, of a certain delegation whose only goal is to block this process and thus prolong the Kampuchean tragedy for its own ends.

The sponsors of the draft resolution, finally, have added a phrase about their readiness "to support any other conference of an international nature", as if that were a generous concession on their part, although the idea has already been widely accepted, for the purpose of resolving the international aspect of the problem.

Because of its clearly partisan description of events, the present draft resolution, if adopted, would only hinder the already promising Jakarta process. By getting it adopted by the Assembly, its principal sponsors are trying to impose their views on those who are directly concerned but have not had a chance to express their views. Those sponsors are also seeking to put the blame on and condemn those who saved and protected the lives of millions of traumatized human

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beings who are still haunted by the memory of the recent past. The text of the draft resolution does not reflect the real situation in Kampuchea and is aimed mainly at dismantling the whole State system of an independent, sovereign country, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose people it would be very wrong to think of as a tribe of nomads.

My delegation cannot but vote against such a draft resolution.\*

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\*Mr. Essy (Côte d'Ivoire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In an atmosphere of general improvement in the international situation, the idea of new political thinking is becoming increasingly attractive. There is a clearer intention on the part of many countries in various parts of the world to look for ways to ensure security and regional stability, first of all by political means, by refraining from an approach based on military strength. As we see it, this trend can also be detected in the South-East Asia region. In his statement in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Vladimir Kravets, pointed out:

"Serious progress has been made in resolving the situation around Kampuchea. It is based on realistic, specific proposals made by the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Republic and Indonesia and other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, proposals that are aimed at a political settlement of the conflict in the spirit of national reconciliation. In this context, recognition of the Kampuchean people's right to a free social and political choice is of fundamental significance. It is incumbent on all States to promote a favourable political climate for the continuation and fruitful completion of the negotiating process on this issue." (A/43/PV.22, p. 47)

There is no doubt that an important positive aspect of the development of events is the systematic withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea. The development of events on this question was deeply affected by the holding, towards the end of July this year in Jakarta, of the so-called informal meeting of the Kampuchean sides in which the representatives of Viet Nam, Laos and member nations of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) also took part. As a result, consultations were launched to find a way of unravelling the Kampuchean

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knot on the basis of a balance of interests. That very meeting has demonstrated, from our point of view, that the parties involved in the conflict realize that there is no alternative to a political solution to the problem.

Efforts to unblock the conflict include two rounds of dialogue between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in the course of which the two Khmer parties set out the most important principles for settlement - the political way and negotiations between the Khmer parties on independence, sovereignty, mutualism, the democratic character and non-aligned nature of a future Kampuchea and international guarantees.

We likewise have every right to include in the search for a solution to this problem the influential international force that is the movement of the non-aligned, which has set up its own committee on Kampuchea.

We should also like to mention the important contribution of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Alatas.

The Ukrainian SSR, together with many other countries, stands in solidarity with the constructive actions of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at the establishment of an atmosphere of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness in South-East Asia. We support the agreement reached at Jakarta to the effect that the interrelated and key questions for the settlement of the situation are the elimination of the threat of the restoration of a Pol Pot régime of genocide after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops and the cessation of any foreign interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It is no accident that it is precisely these questions that were at the centre of attention at the meeting of the working group which met in Jakarta recently, from 17 to 20 October this year.

It is difficult not to agree with the conclusion contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea (A/43/730):

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"I am convinced, however, that with the good will and active co-operation of all the parties concerned, it should be possible to bring peace to Kampuchea within a reasonable time frame, and thus to put an end to the intense suffering that has been the tragic lot of the peoples of the region for so long and to enable them to look to a more stable and prosperous future."

(A/43/730, para. 25)

In our opinion, it is now important to retain what has been achieved on the way to settlement and not lose those valuable elements that have been found in Indonesia. At the same time it is necessary to develop the Jakarta process further. Here a positive and peace-keeping role could be played not only by all involved in the conflict but also by other Members of the United Nations. It is quite clear that the purpose of our present discussion is to contribute to further progress in the search for methods of achieving settlement, for otherwise our discussion will not be productive. Our efforts should be aimed at inspiring the Kampuchean groups, which have taken their first steps towards each other, to go further, and we should help them clear the way for such movement. It is necessary to refrain from stereotypical approaches. Emphasis on existing divergences in such a major undertaking, especially during its early phases, is bound to be detrimental to the process.

The Kampuchean problem has proceeded from discussion of the need for its settlement to efforts to specifically identify means of regulating problems and determining which of them require priority treatment. There is no doubt that we consider the solution of internal problems to be the inalienable and exclusive right of the Kampuchean parties. Therein resides national reconciliation, and therefore we wish to emphasize the importance of the Jakarta formula, which has been agreed to by the Kampuchean representatives themselves, and that part of the agreement which speaks of the prevention of a repetition of the policy and practice

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of genocide of the Pol Pot régime, as well as the cessation of any kind of external interference in the internal affairs of that country. It is our profound conviction that therein is the key to the solution of the problem, namely in not allowing those who stand condemned by the international community for crimes against their own people to have power in the country. We are led to this conviction by the victims of the Pol Pot régime, by humanitarianism, and by the moral essence of human civilization.

The relevance of this is all the greater because in October this year the Khmer Rouge representatives failed to attend a meeting of the working group for the preparation of a new informal meeting of the Khmer parties. The question arises: is this not evidence of their unwillingness to take part in the settlement on the basis agreed to at the first informal meeting, which has been supported by the majority of the international community?

In this connection we could have expected more from the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/43/L.12. It indeed contains certain attempts to take account of the changes in the Kampuchean problem we are witnessing today. At the same time we must state quite frankly that the text contains elements of the approaches taken in previous years and outdated values. As we see it, in its political and psychological content the draft resolution lags behind the spirit and level of the understandings reached at the informal meetings in Indonesia - in other words, the definitions and measures defined by the Khmer parties themselves.

The practice of holding discussions on this question without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Khmer people - the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea - is also not in keeping with the spirit of the time.

If this draft resolution is put to the vote in its present form, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against it.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The General Assembly is capable of contributing significantly to the development and strengthening of positive elements in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem that open up new possibilities for the improvement of the political climate in the South-East Asian region.

It is important to deepen the growing understanding of the fact that the Kampuchean problem must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means by the Kampuchean people themselves through negotiations among all the parties involved in the conflict. The General Assembly is called upon to contribute to the development of the negotiating process so that the policy of national reconciliation may triumph. We support the idea expressed by many that an international conference should be convened to elaborate guarantees for achieving agreement on the national independence of Kampuchea and peace in South-East Asia. This would be in keeping with the interests of all countries of the region and contribute to the establishment of genuine good-neighbourly relations between the States of South-East Asia.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): The improved climate in international relations which is reflected in the current session of the General Assembly has also contributed to the initiation of processes for the political solution of some hotbeds of tension that have for years burdened the overall atmosphere in the world. This is also becoming noticeable in relation to Kampuchea which, because of the situation created by military intervention and interference in its internal affairs, has for many years been one of the most dangerous sources of instability and mistrust in the broader region of South-East Asia. I am referring to initiatives within the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and particularly by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), aimed at finding a basis by which to open a process for a political solution with the participation of all directly interested parties.



(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

We believe that the enhanced diplomatic activities manifested in the holding of the Jakarta Informal Meeting at Bogor, in which all the directly interested parties took part for the first time, were the result of the realization by those who caused the existing situation in Kampuchea that open conflicts among States, however complex, cannot be solved by the use of military might and through intervention.

Ever since the outbreak of the crisis, Yugoslavia has pointed out that it is necessary to reach a political solution through dialogue and negotiations. It is therefore understandable that we should have followed with great attention the efforts being made in the quest for the broadest acceptable framework and basis for such a solution. Of course, these efforts can be successful only if they are aimed at bringing about the restoration of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, full independence and non-aligned status of Kampuchea under the leadership, in our opinion, of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the most prominent leader of the Khmer people and one of the founding fathers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

In this context, we subscribe to the position taken in the report of the Secretary-General which states:

"A comprehensive settlement plan must be consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and must adequately protect the fundamental interests of the parties concerned and, above all, of the Kampuchean people." (A/43/730, para. 24)

Today, as in the past, we should like to point out that the essential prerequisite for a lasting solution is the urgent and immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchean territory and the creation of conditions that would enable the people of that country to decide freely and independently on its internal development and foreign policy orientation without pressure and outside interference. I should like to emphasize that it is possible to achieve that only

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

with the equitable participation of all principal Kampuchean political groupings and forces, the exclusion of any one of which would cause the continuation of the conflict.

Attempts from outside to impose an internal solution in Kampuchea have been rejected resolutely by the Kampuchean people in their ten-year struggle and resistance to foreign intervention and occupation. Similarly, most members of the international community, through the United Nations, by its request for solutions through political means and for the withdrawal of foreign troops, has resolutely rejected the attempts to legalize the situation created by foreign intervention and interference.

Yugoslavia will continue to support all initiatives and efforts conducive to the solution of the problem based on respect for the authentic interests and aspirations of the people of Kampuchea freely and independently to decide on their destiny without outside pressure. In this context, we should like to reiterate our full support for the continuation of the efforts and contacts of the Secretary-General with all directly interested parties on factors concerning Kampuchea in a search for ways and means to reach a speedy solution of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of the General Assembly resolutions and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

I avail myself of this opportunity to draw attention also to the serious humanitarian problems resulting from the continuation of the Kampuchean crisis. Over 300,000 refugees from Kampuchea were forced to leave their country because of the war. We should like to express our appreciation for the efforts being made to house them. Particularly important in this context is the material assistance rendered by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and individual humanitarian organizations.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate Yugoslavia's principled position that a comprehensive and just solution to the Kampuchean problem, based on the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, is the prerequisite for lasting stability and conditions of peace and security in the broader area of South-east Asia. Proceeding from that position, the Yugoslav delegation this year will again vote in favour of the draft resolution on Kampuchea.

Mr. ABDOUN (Sudan): My delegation considers that the Kampuchean question is essentially an issue of foreign occupation and alien aggression against a sovereign and independent State Member of the United Nations. Hence my delegation does not sympathize with any arguments for the perpetuation of such flagrant foreign occupation. The withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchean soil should be absolutely unconditional.

Since early last year, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has shown some positive responses to the universal demands for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. A tentative programme for the military withdrawal was even formulated by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

(Mr. Abdoun, Sudan)

The world community, therefore, rejoiced for some time that the Kampuchean problem was on its way to a peaceful solution in the same manner and atmosphere as dominated the positive breakthrough witnessed elsewhere in areas of hot spots and armed conflicts around the world.

The second important aspect of the Kampuchean problem is well pinpointed by the Secretary-General in his report, when he states that

"A comprehensive settlement plan must be consistent with the basic ... principles of the Charter of the United Nations and must adequately protect the fundamental interests of the parties concerned and, above all, of the Kampuchean people." (A/43/730, para. 24)

In our view the interests of the Kampuchean people can be protected only through genuine national reconciliation, without discrimination between the various Kampuchean factions. The General Assembly is not the most suitable forum to condemn or deplore any of the Kampuchean factions.

The third important aspect of the Kampuchean problem, in the view of my delegation, is the necessity of continuing to utilize the auspices of the United Nations, the International Conference on Kampuchea and its Ad Hoc Committee in our continuous search for a solution to the problem. At this juncture in the Kampuchean strife it is the sacred duty of this Assembly to ensure first that the foreign aggression is terminated.

My delegation avails itself of this opportunity to pay a special tribute to Mr. Raffueeddin Ahmed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for the strenuous efforts he is exerting in the process of the United Nations search for a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. My delegation asserts its full confidence in Mr. Ahmed's efforts and wishes him every success.

The fact that the International Conference on Kampuchea has not been convened since 1981 should not discourage us; nor should it distract our attention from the

(Mr. Abdoun, Sudan)

fact that, given the international political will, the International Conference, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Leopold Gratz, is the best forum so far to tackle the Kampuchean problem.

The fourth important aspect of the Kampuchean problem that commands the attention of my delegation is the plight of the Kampuchean refugees, who are the victims of the war and aggression inside Kampuchea. It is apparent that their suffering will have no end until the Kampuchean war is stopped and they are allowed to return to their homes. My delegation is glad to note that the Secretary-General reports that the prospects of voluntary repatriation appear to have improved, especially for those repatriated on humanitarian grounds. However, we express our deep concern at the obstacles faced by the United Nations in delivering relief assistance and supplies to some refugee camps on and around the Kampuchean border.

The Sudan, as one of the world's major countries of asylum for refugees, expresses its sympathy with and full support for the Royal Government of Thailand in the light of the burden it is shouldering by accommodating vast numbers of Kampuchean refugees. Countries of asylum for refugees are suffering and paying out much more than the donors are delivering. The economies and infrastructures of the countries of asylum are adversely affected by the prolonged presence of refugees within their territories.

Mr. COSTELLO (Australia): This is the tenth consecutive year that the tragic circumstances in which the people of Cambodia find themselves have come before the General Assembly. That the problem has been before us for so long attests to the very great complexities and difficulties of the situation that is faced in Cambodia. But this year we find ourselves in a situation that has changed from previous years, changed in some ways that give us more hope that a just and long-term solution of Cambodia's devastating problems is coming within sight.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

We have seen, for example, the beginning of a dialogue process involving all the parties directly involved and other parties concerned - the Cambodian factions, Viet Nam, the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Laos - at the Jakarta Informal Meeting held in Indonesia in July, a process that is continuing.

We have seen a dialogue between Prince Sihanouk, Hun Sen and others, which began nearly a year ago and which we are about to see enter its third round in Paris in a few days' time.

We have seen a reaffirmation of Viet Nam's commitment to withdraw its troops from Cambodia by the end of 1990 and an announcement, on 26 May this year, that 50,000 of these troops would return to Viet Nam by the end of this year.

We have seen a concern to engage in consultations on the problems of Cambodia by China and the Soviet Union, which met to discuss the issue for the first time at a high level some months ago.

We have seen an improvement in the atmosphere in the wider international arena, which has seen the United States and the Soviet Union work together towards moving the resolution of regional conflicts higher on the international agenda.

And, finally, we have seen the report of the Secretary-General indicating continuing contacts among the parties involved and the offer to continue his good offices and any other approaches that might foster current diplomatic exchanges and hasten the prospects of a just and lasting solution to the problem.

This lessening of the rigidities of the past offers the chance of a just and long-term solution to the problems of Cambodia being reached in the foreseeable future. For Australia, as for others, the search for peace in Cambodia is a practical necessity. We, of course, are concerned for the stability and security of our part of the world; but, even more, we believe that the Khmer people, who have suffered to a degree that is remarkable even for the turbulent post-war

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

period, should at last be left in peace and should no longer be the victims of the concerns and interests of others.

Since 1983 Australia has not joined in sponsoring the draft resolution on Cambodia put forward by its ASEAN friends. This year we have rejoined as sponsors. We have done so because this draft resolution deals for the first time with both essential elements of a solution. Those elements are simple: first, Viet Nam must leave; secondly, Pol Pot must not return.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

A fundamental condition for settlement has always been the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. As a matter of principle, Australia has not accepted any country's claim to a right unilaterally to enter the sovereign territory of its neighbours without their agreement. We cannot and do not accept any contention that Viet Nam was justified in unilaterally intervening in Cambodia on the grounds of needing to assist in ousting Pol Pot because of the atrocities he was inflicting. That was not the way to solve the problem. It was not a justification for a military invasion. If military intervention could be condoned on the pretext of improving the complexion of a neighbouring Government, the established principles of international law would be eroded and ultimately destroyed. The result would be global anarchy in which the security of smaller and weaker States would be at the mercy of more powerful neighbours.

But Viet Nam has now indicated that it will withdraw all of its troops from Cambodia by the end of 1990. Viet Nam has indicated that 50,000 of its troops will be withdrawn by the end of this year. We welcome that commitment on the part of the Vietnamese Government and commend it for that commitment, and we would urge Viet Nam to fulfil it by that date, and preferably earlier. But surely the responsibilities of the international community do not end there. If Viet Nam were to leave tomorrow, does anybody here have any doubt what would happen? The Khmer Rouge, with the Pol Pot leadership in place, would very soon be back in power. There should be no doubt about that.

We have heard much talk of the right of the Khmer people to self-determination. Does anybody here really believe that if Pol Pot returns the Khmer people will have any chance at all to exercise that right?

We all recall the atrocities the Pol Pot Government perpetrated against its own people. The deaths of 1 million people - maybe more - can be directly attributed to the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime, through



(Mr. Costello, Australia)

direct executions, forced labour policies in which Cambodian people were literally worked to death, and other policies that made it impossible for people to survive.

Let no one doubt that the leadership which perpetrated this genocide in the past would take up where it left off. The killing fields of Cambodia would once again run with blood. The actions of Pol Pot, which will ring in infamy, must disqualify all those who led them from ever again exercising effective authority and power over the Cambodian people. It is for that reason that we see the vote on the draft resolution as being a referendum on Pol Pot and a referendum on the right of the Khmer people to be able in practice to determine their own future, free not only of Vietnamese occupation but also of the terror and murder inflicted upon them by Pol Pot. That is why we consider it so important that the international community join together to demonstrate to all the overwhelming strength of international feeling that any solution that does not prevent the return of the policies and practices of Pol Pot is no solution at all but a potential disaster for the long-suffering Cambodian people.

In addition to the enormous political problems to be addressed there are compelling humanitarian aspects which remain urgent and significant, despite the most valuable efforts of international relief agencies and non-governmental organizations to which the Secretary-General refers in his report. As the prospects for an eventual settlement come to appear more achievable, the international community will need to focus increasing attention on how best to assist Cambodians and resettle Cambodian refugees. As a major resettlement country for Indo-Chinese refugees, including Cambodians, Australia will continue to participate in resettlement efforts while cautioning against proposals which are unlikely to advance a permanent solution. It remains crucial to a solution that efforts include the voluntary repatriation of displaced Cambodians under guarantees that, should they return, human rights would be respected. It is encouraging

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

to read in the Secretary-General's report that prospects for voluntary repatriations to Cambodia appear to have improved.

International agencies have continued to provide assistance in the Thai-Cambodian border area, in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs. Australia will remain a firm supporter of such activities and efforts to enhance a secure environment for the populations of the border camps. Moreover, Australian aid directed to humanitarian needs inside Cambodia will continue to be provided through such bodies as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and non-governmental organizations. Our aim will continue to be to alleviate human suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Cambodians to remain in their country and displaced Cambodians to consider returning.

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

At this moment Australia believes that one of the best contributions Member States can make to encourage progress to a peaceful and long-term settlement in Cambodia is to support the ASEAN draft resolution now before the Assembly. Embodying the two essential and fundamental principles, it is the result of continuing efforts by the Association of South-East Asian Nations States and others to find a just, well-balanced and lasting solution that will bring peace to the suffering Khmer people. I commend the draft resolution to all delegations and ask them to vote in favour of it.

Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): It is now nearly a decade since the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign forces. The invasion and the present occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam has been universally and rightly condemned as a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, of the rights of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State. Besides the violations of these universal principles, to which we all adhere, the occupation of Kampuchea has caused untold suffering and widespread hardship to the people of Kampuchea. We are all aware of the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchians who, as a result of the occupation of their country, have become either refugees or displaced persons. As a result also, an intolerable burden has been placed upon neighbouring countries of first asylum, particularly Thailand.

My delegation is also concerned about the repeated incursions by foreign forces into Thai territory, which have heightened tension and generated security risks in the region.

The claim that the intervention in Kampuchea was motivated by the desire to free the Kampuchean people from a genocidal régime is incompatible with a decade of brutal use of force, resulting in untold suffering, death and destruction since the invasion and illegal occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces. Military invasion and subsequent occupation have no place in today's world. Small countries like the Gambia - and indeed the whole international community - cannot remain complacent or acquiesce in the face of massive and blatant violations of internationally acceptable principles, regardless of the pretext and its origin, otherwise, a dangerous precedent will be created that will allow some States arbitrarily to arrogate to themselves the right to intervene and occupy other States, with no compunction or with little regard for the basic tenets of universally acceptable norms of interstate relations.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

The tragic situation in Kampuchea is therefore yet another example, if any were needed, of the need for the international community to reaffirm its commitment to the unacceptability of the use of force or the threat of use of force in the conduct of inter-State relations. This is the main principle, apart from the obvious humanitarian factors, that has compelled the Gambia to support the search for a just and peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem. It is becoming increasingly urgent in today's world for the international community to take the firm stand that no country can with impunity define its security in a way that creates insecurity for others. The occupation of Kampuchea causes not only suffering but also very severe security problems for the neighbouring States.

Over the past nine years my delegation has repeatedly called for a more determined and active search for a fair and just settlement of the Kampuchean problem, which, if achieved, would undoubtedly lead to the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, an area that has suffered enough. This is in accordance with the expressed views of the vast majority of the international community as reflected in the successive resolutions adopted by the Assembly, and the general trend of events in today's world to words easing international tension and promoting the elimination of regional hotbeds of conflict.

Notwithstanding the new climate of conciliation and mutual accommodation that appears to be evident in all parts of the world, my delegation cannot but emphasize that basic fundamental principles are at stake. The Gambia's firm opposition to aggression and the occupation of one State by another, regardless of the pretext, and its respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and, above all, the non-use of force in international disputes, are the foundation on which my

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

delegation has all along based its total support for the efforts to bring about a just and durable political solution of the Kampuchean problem.

But progress towards this objective is contingent upon the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea as soon as possible, under the supervision of the United Nations. This is the key to the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty. Needless to say, such a course of action will end the unnecessary sufferings and hardships of the Kampuchean people and also enhance the full security of the countries in the whole region.

Despite our geographical separation from the region, we in the Gambia have been following with great interest the efforts to bring about a fundamental change in the situation in Kampuchea. There is no shortage of initiatives and proposals. However, the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which resulted in the Jakarta Informal Meeting, are of major significance. The international community must continue to extend its full support to this regional peace initiative. In our view, the Jakarta Informal Meeting is based on a realistic assessment of the situation in Kampuchea in particular and in South-East Asia in general. Given the complexities of the Kampuchean problem and the sometimes wide divergencies of view of the regional and non-regional parties to the conflict, it is imperative that some sort of machinery exist that could set in motion a preliminary phase of informal discussions before proceeding to formal negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations.

This should have the desired effect of creating conditions conducive to the attainment of a common understanding on the ultimate form of political solution, as well as laying the groundwork for a future international conference that will include all the interested parties. We are certain that the Jakarta Informal Meeting has created the right atmosphere.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

In fact, we are convinced that the Jakarta Informal Meeting is an important step in the efforts of ASEAN to do away with armed conflict and confrontation and shift the emphasis to political dialogue and genuine negotiations in the best interest of all concerned. The Jakarta Informal Meeting was also very significant in that, for the first time, all parties directly involved, as well as the countries directly concerned in the region, were able to assemble for the purpose of taking confidence-building measures and removing all possible obstacles in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem. This in itself is a remarkable achievement that deserves our congratulations and full support. Even more admirable is the common understanding reached on the ultimate form of solution to the Kampuchean problem, namely, the establishment of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and on the basis of self-determination and national reconciliation.

In addition to the laudable efforts of ASEAN and the Jakarta Informal Meeting, other initiatives and parallel efforts have been undertaken. Here we have in mind the indefatigable efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar. At this juncture, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their commendable efforts in the search for a comprehensive and durable settlement of the Kampuchean problem, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

As in other regional conflicts dotted around the world, the United Nations has an important and constructive role to play in the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Besides its political role, the United Nations system is currently engaged in a massive effort in ensuring the safety and well-being of Kampuchean civilians who have sought shelter along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

We hope that the humanitarian assistance of the United Nations and various countries will be continued in order to prevent any further aggravation of the existing major humanitarian problems.

I would be failing in my duty, mindful of the importance that the Gambia attaches to the principles of human rights and their protection wherever they are violated, if I did not state categorically that our responsibilities transcend the narrow limits of self-interest and political expediency. Our task is to uphold and promote the rights of humanity wherever they may be violated, threatened or otherwise compromised. This sacred trust must not be sacrificed on the altar of partisan politics; nor must a situation whose mere appearance in one region can produce decisive collective action persist elsewhere for years uncondemned. The human rights of all Kampuchians must always be protected.

Finally, my delegation, as in the past, stands ready to provide support for all genuine initiatives and proposals that can bring about a constructive dialogue between the parties to this conflict. The draft resolution submitted under this item, of which my delegation is proud to be a sponsor after careful and thoughtful reflection, is compatible with the principles I have cited. It also reaffirms previous General Assembly resolutions which have been consistently supported by the vast majority of the international community.

The draft resolution reaffirms the commitment of the co-sponsors to achieving a joint, comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Its endorsement by the Assembly would reaffirm the common commitment of the entire international community to a peaceful process of solving the problem, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and for the enhancement of international peace and security. It therefore merits the support of all members of the Assembly.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The process of dialogue and political negotiations that is developing in the world today has not bypassed South-East Asia, including the problem of Kampuchea.

The efforts of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Indonesia and other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) resulted in the convening in Indonesia in July this year of the Informal Meeting of representatives of the four sides in Kampuchea and representatives of other countries in South-East Asia to deal with the problem of Kampuchea. We share the view that the Jakarta Informal Meeting put an end to the confrontation that had lasted for so long, and led to the initiation of regional dialogue on this important issue. It also opened up prospects for the working out of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. The seven-point proposal that was put forward at the Jakarta Informal Meeting by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea was to a large extent responsible for the positive outcome and made the Meeting an effective negotiating forum.

In the joint proposal of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam we find specific measures for achieving a settlement of the international aspects of the Kampuchean problem, as set forth at the recent meeting of the Working Group established at the Jakarta Meeting. As can be seen from the outcome of the Informal Meeting, underlying any settlement must be agreement between all the parties to the Meeting on the need to solve two key issues that are very closely interrelated - namely, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, which will be carried out against the background of a general political settlement; and accompanying guarantees to the interested parties that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge - guilty of the horrible crime of genocide - must never be allowed to come back to power in Kampuchea and must not be given any military technology whatsoever.



(Mr. Digersuren, Mongolia)

In this connection, the proposal to convene an international conference, with the participation of the parties directly concerned, the permanent members of the Security Council, the countries that served as host to the sixth, seventh and eighth conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and the United Nations Secretary-General, is very important. This would be a meeting to resolve the question relating to guarantees of the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea and its status as a non-aligned country, following the achievement of a political settlement.

Positive developments in the region have been possible thanks primarily to the policy of national reconciliation pursued actively by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. An important role, designed to strengthen peace and security in South-East Asia, has been played also by the Governments of the three Indochinese countries. This can be seen once again in the initiative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic put forward at the Jakarta Meeting.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported these efforts by the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to ensure a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

We greatly appreciate the good offices of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative in providing assistance in the quest for ways and means of achieving a political settlement of this problem, in accordance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the legitimate interests of the parties concerned - primarily the Kampuchean people.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

We support also the initiative of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries designed to promote the process of a political settlement of this problem.

Our delegation believes it necessary to use all channels that could promote a speedy settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It is against that background that we view the dialogue between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on this problem, and also the forthcoming meeting between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk.

The international community supports the process that has been initiated with a view to achieving a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. A very clear example of this is the communiqué of the conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries that was held in Nicosia early in September. At that conference the foreign ministers welcomed the Jakarta Informal Meeting and expressed support for the initiatives taken there.

The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Kampuchea reflects the hope that, with the goodwill and active co-operation of all the parties concerned, it should be possible to restore peace to Kampuchea within a reasonable time-frame. Convincing proof of the goodwill of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is the fact that about two thirds of the Vietnamese troops have already been withdrawn from Kampuchea. The desire of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to achieve a swift settlement of the Kampuchean problem is set forth in the letter of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, dated 4 October this year and addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The letter, inter alia, confirms that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is willing that the remaining Vietnamese troops should begin withdrawing in late 1989 or early 1990, within the context of an acceptable political settlement.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

In the light of those developments, world public opinion was justified in expecting that the United Nations would support the process begun in Jakarta and that this session of the General Assembly would take steps to maintain and develop this forward movement. It was also natural to expect that all the countries of South-East Asia would be guided in their activities in the United Nations by the spirit of the Jakarta Meeting.

However, the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea is far from living up to such expectations. It does not take account of the actual situation in the region and quite clearly departs from an objective evaluation of developments there. In fact, it once again attempts to justify the illegal representation of the Kampuchean people in the United Nations. Hence, this document cannot help the General Assembly take steps to promote and bring about the first movement towards the attainment of a political settlement of this complicated situation in South-East Asia, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Moreover, the proposed draft resolution is based on the old position which casts a doubt on the very existence of the sovereign Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which enjoys the support of the Kampuchean people and exercises full and effective control over the entire territory of the country. The adoption of such a resolution could thus play into the hands of forces that are not interested in having a settlement of the problem in the true interests of the Kampuchean people and of peace and security in the region.

Accordingly, the Mongolian delegation will find itself obliged to vote against the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/43/L.12.

Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): The recent history of Kampuchea is a record of suffering, bravery and perseverance by a proud people in the face of extreme adversity. That the people of Kampuchea have refused to succumb to the victimization and oppression of an invading tyrant is a tribute to their remarkable spirit and resilience, as well as to their undiminishable hope for a better life poignantly described by Mr. Son Sann this morning. The undaunted vigour of Prince Sihanouk and the abiding commitment of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), together with their many other international supporters has kept the situation in Kampuchea at the forefront of the world conscience.

Once more, and for the tenth successive year, this Assembly is debating the situation in Kampuchea. This is more than a mere ritual; the General Assembly is fulfilling one of its most sacred duties, that is, on the basis of fundamental principles, to uphold the inalienable rights of oppressed peoples to self-determination and freedom.

Since Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea in 1978, the international community has repeatedly called for a negotiated settlement. The main elements of such a settlement were elaborated as long ago as the July 1981 International Conference on

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

Kampuchea and include the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

The tenacity of the ASEAN countries and the refusal of the international community to let the matter rest has prevented the illegal situation in Kampuchea from becoming a fait accompli. The conflict continues seriously to jeopardize peace and stability in South-East Asia and constitutes a potent destabilizing threat internationally. In the context of the widening and accelerating moves towards peace in every other conflict situation in the world today, the situation in Kampuchea cannot be allowed to persist.

Even after many years of intense campaigning, Viet Nam's considerable military might has not been able to subdue the Kampuchean people. Kampuchean resistance forces have continued to hold their own, and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea remains firmly supported by Kampucheans and universally recognized by the international community. The conflict has not only devastated Kampuchea but has also pauperized Viet Nam itself. Viet Nam should have learned from its own recent turbulent past instead of taking on the role of an invader and inflicting on the innocent people of Kampuchea the suffering that its own people endured.

The invasion caused dislocation, turmoil and suffering over a wide area and more than a quarter million Kampucheans fled the country. Most of them are refugees in Thailand, imposing a heavy burden on that country and on others who have provided sanctuary.

Contrary to specific provisions of the United Nations Charter, a deliberate policy of transmigration to change the demography of certain parts of Kampuchea has

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

also been perpetrated by Viet Nam. This practice has been thoroughly condemned by the international community.

The eight-point plan put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in March 1986 received wide endorsement and support. Last August that Government put forward a proposal for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea, again confirming its genuine willingness and determination to search for a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem.

We commend and support the initiative and continuing efforts of the members of ASEAN to find a just and lasting solution. We welcome the outcome of the July Jakarta Informal Meeting at which progress was made to work towards establishing an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, based on self-determination and national reconciliation. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have also been active in searching for a way to facilitate the peace process. We join others in urging that these efforts be continued and intensified, in the hope that a solution can soon be found to end the suffering of the Kampuchean people and to restore the rightful Government in the country.

The overwhelming majority of the international community wishes for a just and durable settlement in Kampuchea. The present draft resolution, which has been amended to reflect current realities, contains all the elements essential for such a settlement. Fiji is pleased to be one of the sponsors, and we urge all delegations to support this worthy resolution and in the process take one more step towards peace in Kampuchea.

Mr. ZAPOTOKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): Hopes for the restoration of peace and the settlement of many hotbeds of tension, including the one in South-East Asia, have undoubtedly increased considerably in recent years. Czechoslovakia has been glad to see the glimmers of progress in moving

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

towards a solution to the Kampuchean conflict. We welcomed the beginning of the political dialogue between the political parties to the conflict and the two rounds of talks between the Head of Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Hun Sen, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which were held last year in France, and we also welcomed their decision to continue the talks.

One milestone - indeed, it was a kind of breakthrough in the process of finding a settlement to the Kampuchean situation - was the Jakarta Informal Meeting, in which all four Kampuchean political parties participated and representatives from other countries of Indo-China and the States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) also participated. After 10 years of confrontation, it was possible to begin a true dialogue on a settlement of all aspects of the Kampuchean situation, internal and international. The success of the meeting was a victory for the forces that sought mutual understanding and respect for the interests of all participating parties and primarily the legitimate interests of the Kampuchean people. The agreements reached emphasized that the Kampuchean problem must be settled by political means and that, along with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers, it would also be necessary to establish guarantees that would exclude any return of the inhuman Pol Pot régime to political life in Kampuchea.

We thus feel this provides a good basis for further talks on a settlement of the Kampuchean problem and the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

This outcome would not have been possible without the good political will of all participating parties. Czechoslovakia appreciates the responsible and constructive approach of the countries of Indo-China to a settlement of the Kampuchean problem and an improvement of the situation in South-East Asia as a whole. We regard the decision on the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers by the end of this year as a step to meet the other side - and an important step. This, incidentally, is the seventh reduction of troops since 1982. Two thirds of the original units in Kampuchea have already been withdrawn. Also all the high command of the Vietnamese troops has returned to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and the remaining Vietnamese units there are under the command of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The decision by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for a complete cessation of the Vietnamese military presence in Kampuchea by the end of 1990 is still valid. A political settlement of the Kampuchean problem would simply speed up the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops.

This question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is only one aspect of the problem and it has to be considered in the general context of a settlement of the overall Kampuchean situation. The world community cannot countenance the return of the Pol Pot régime, which brought nothing but suffering and grief to Kampuchea during the years it was in power there. Along with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, it is also necessary to end outside support of the political parties in Kampuchea. There must be strict respect for the fundamental national rights of the Kampuchean people, primarily for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and peace-loving, neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea. Avoiding these issues would in fact mean revising the agreed principles for a Kampuchean settlement contained in the communiqué of the Jakarta Meeting and would have unforeseeable consequences for the future of the Kampuchean people.



(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

The people of Kampuchea need peace, a lasting and just peace. We fully agree that the Kampuchean people must themselves settle the question of their political, economic and social system in accordance with their traditions and aspirations and without any outside interference, through free and democratic elections under international supervision. All countries must fully respect this process. A peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem would help to introduce a new set of relations between all States in South-East Asia and would help to make that region a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship and co-operation.

The countries of Indo-China have for a long time been trying to establish in South-East Asia a new era of co-operation that would be effective, based on equality and mutual benefit in all areas, economic, scientific, technological and cultural. This policy is in the basic interests of every country and every people living in the region.

At the recent meeting of the working group established at the Jakarta Meeting the delegations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic introduced a new, comprehensive proposal for a settlement of the international aspects of the Kampuchean problem. Czechoslovakia regards that five-point proposal as an important and constructive one. It not only reflects the realities of the situation in Kampuchea but also takes account of the interests of all participating parties. It is a good basis for discussion and for a search for a just political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

This item, "The situation in Kampuchea", is on the agenda of the General Assembly for the ninth time. The decisions taken so far have not promoted a settlement of the conflict. On the contrary, because they have been so one-sided, they have simply escalated confrontation between the countries of South-East Asia and between the political parties in Kampuchea. The present developments, we feel,

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

are creating favourable conditions for finding a way out of this deadlock in which the Kampuchean conflict has been stagnating for so many years. The entire world community must do its utmost to ensure that this opportunity is not lost. A feeling of political realism and responsibility prompts us not to lose this opportunity. At this time, when we have heard so many favourable appraisals of the role of the United Nations in settling regional conflicts, our Organization must make full use of the opportunity presented to it and increase its participation in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem as well. We believe that this is the time to change the old tired stereotypes used in the discussion of the Kampuchean problem. We need a realistic basis for further movement ahead in the solution of this problem. However, the draft resolution in document A/43/L.12 does not in fact fulfil our legitimate aspirations, and it is one-sided. That being the case, we cannot support it.

Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSE (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): When we met here last year we were aware that certain events were taking place in South-East Asia in general and in Kampuchea in particular which provided grounds for optimism and led us to think that the correct approach had been adopted towards finding a peaceful negotiated solution to the Kampuchean problem. In the past few months real possibilities have emerged for the attainment of a negotiated solution, and thus, after many years of tension and confrontation, for the first time negotiations have taken place between the countries of the region and between the parties in Kampuchea.

Thus it was logical to believe that this new situation would be reflected in the United Nations and that this debate would move towards promoting greater agreement among the parties and supporting the initiatives directed towards promoting dialogue and regional co-operation and respect for the legitimate interests of the people of Kampuchea. Unfortunately, that has not been the case,

(Mr. Velasco San José, Cuba)

as there are still certain positions which tend to ignore recent positive events that should arouse hopes for the achievement of a political settlement of the situation in Kampuchea. The same positions have led to a situation wherein the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly for consideration, instead of strengthening the consensus reached recently at the Jakarta Informal Meeting, weakens it, as it contains elements that lean towards confrontation and not towards détente and co-operation, thus ignoring or minimizing the process of negotiation and dialogue which took place there among all parties.

(Mr. Velazco San José, Cuba)

Everyone is aware that the results of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, the agreement between President Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk to meet again in Paris to continue discussion of the internal issues concerning Kampuchea in a spirit of national reconciliation, and the initiatives of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, which complement and strengthen the results attained in Jakarta, not only broke the stalemate on the Kampuchean question but also created a favourable climate for reaching an early solution to the Kampuchean problem. Central to this is the recognition by the countries of the region that are directly involved of the two key interrelated issues, that is, the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the non-return to the country of the Pol Pot régime with its universally condemned genocidal policies and practices.

The international community should not remain aloof to the events that have taken place in South-East Asia, nor should it ignore the political will of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, as expressed through the process of national reconciliation which is taking place in Kampuchea, and the steps already taken by Viet Nam to bring about a complete withdrawal of its forces from Kampuchea by 1990, in particular the withdrawal of 50,000 troops between June and December of this year, all of which constitute activities which foster improved understanding and confidence in the region and promote peace and stability there.

In this atmosphere of détente and the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Movement meeting in Nicosia from 5 to 9 September

"welcomed the Jakarta Informal Meeting, held from 25 to 28 July 1988, and urged all parties concerned to intensify their efforts to achieve a speedy solution to the problem; considered important the initiative of the Chairman of the Movement to explore the possibilities and prospects for the Movement

(Mr. Velazco San José, Cuba)

to contribute to the search for a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question; and agreed that this initiative and the Jakarta Informal Meeting were complementary, mutually supportive processes, and that the Movement would give its valuable support to the regional initiative taken at the Jakarta Informal Meeting".

At the regional level, the first steps have already been taken to bring about an easing of tensions in the South-East Asian region, and the words "dialogue", "goodwill" and "national reconciliation" have taken form and will finally replace the war vocabulary that has existed so far. It is now up to the United Nations to provide a favourable framework for negotiation and dialogue, and thus to foster a just agreement acceptable to all the parties that will bring about peace and stability in the region, which is so essential to building a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, in keeping with the wishes of us all.

Mr. ZEFOS (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

The problem of Cambodia has been before the international community for over nine years. A return to peace and stability in South-East Asia is contingent upon a solution to this problem, which is the result of a foreign armed intervention and occupation in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

The overwhelming majority of the international community, despite differences in political ideology, has repeatedly taken a clear stance on the continuing violations of Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The General Assembly has consistently called for a withdrawal of the Vietnamese occupying forces. Last year, the draft resolution on Cambodia was supported by

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

117 countries, including the 12 States members of the European Community. This vote in favour of the draft resolution, the largest ever, should make Viet Nam understand the strength of world-wide opposition to its unlawful and oppressive policy.

The Twelve have constantly supported the inalienable right of the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny without outside interference. The present régime in Phnom Penh, which owes its existence to the presence of Vietnamese forces, has no claim to legitimacy. The Cambodian people must be given the opportunity to preserve their culture and national identity and to establish a pluralistic society, involving respect for human rights and promotion of social justice.

There can be no return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past. I wish to emphasize in this connection that the Twelve have no intention whatsoever of contributing to the restoration of the abhorrent Pol Pot régime in Cambodia. We share the collective outrage felt by the world community at the terrible abuses inflicted on the Cambodian people under that régime. But this cannot justify Viet Nam's illegal occupation and its imposition of an illegitimate régime.

Since the last General Assembly there has been much constructive diplomatic activity. In particular, the start of a dialogue between the parties directly involved and other concerned countries has given rise to hopes that prospects for a negotiated settlement have improved. In this connection, the process begun at the Jakarta Informal Meeting, which took place on 27 and 28 July of this year, was an encouraging step towards a political solution of the conflict. We reiterate our firm support for the constructive efforts made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) aimed at enabling the Cambodian people freely to decide their own future. Nothing short of internationally supervised general and free elections

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

can satisfy the genuine aspirations of the Cambodian people to self-determination and independence.

We also wish to stress our full support for the central role that Prince Norodom Sihanouk is playing in the search for a negotiated political settlement. It is clear that he will have an essential role in a new independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia.

The aim of the General Assembly must be to give impetus to efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement, not one imposed by force of arms. The decisive step towards a settlement is the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign occupation troops from Cambodia under effective international supervision and control, as well as guarantees that Vietnamese forces will not re-enter Cambodia after their withdrawal. While noting the announcement by Viet Nam of its intention to pull out 50,000 troops by the end of this year, we believe that partial withdrawal is incompatible with the repeated resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. The Twelve urge Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia and to abide by successive United Nations resolutions. We call upon all concerned to pursue their efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive solution in accordance with these resolutions and the principles adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The situation within Cambodia and in the Thai border area remains virtually unchanged. Within Cambodia the war continues to take its toll of the civilian population. The Cambodian resistance continues to struggle against the occupying troops. Another matter of concern is the reports of demographic changes imposed in Cambodia by the occupation forces. The prolonged Vietnamese occupation is increasingly acquiring colonial overtones.

It is important not to overlook the humanitarian aspects of the problem. In the last 12 months even more Cambodians have been forced by the continued fighting and instability in their country to flee to the Thai-Cambodian border. Once again the Twelve urge Viet Nam to cease its cross-border incursions into Thailand and its artillery attacks. Such acts are clear violations of international law and only add to the suffering of the population in the refugee camps. We share the concern expressed by the Secretary-General about the security and protection of the border population and the need to respect their basic human rights. As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, it is essential that regular and unhindered access be provided to all the evacuation sites.

The presence of over a quarter of a million refugees in encampments in Thailand places a heavy burden on that country. No humanitarian efforts should be spared by the international community for the relief of the refugees. The Twelve want once more to pay a tribute to the Government of Thailand for its humanitarian efforts. They reiterate the commitment of the European Community and its member States to continue to support the relief effort, including programmes co-ordinated by the United Nations Border Relief Operation. In so doing, we do not forget the excellent role played by voluntary organizations comprising nationals of the member countries of the European Community. However, despite the humanitarian efforts of the international community, there can be no end to the suffering of the Cambodian people without a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. There is no



(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

doubt that the full withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the re-establishment of a genuine peace in Cambodia would open the way to international co-operation for the reconstruction of the region.

In conclusion, the Twelve wish to reiterate once again their full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General, his representatives and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Cambodia aimed at paving the way to a just and peaceful solution of the tragic situation in Cambodia. The Twelve will give their full support to the draft resolution tabled by the ASEAN countries, as they have to similar draft resolutions in the past.

No country professing adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations can escape its duty also to do so.

Mr. STROMHDIM (Sweden): Once again the agenda item concerning the tragic situation in Kampuchea is before the General Assembly. The people of Kampuchea have for many years now been subject to immense suffering. The country has been deprived of its right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The historical facts are all well known: the Indo-Chinese conflict, which drew Kampuchea into war; the atrocious acts of genocide carried out systematically by the Pol Pot régime; the subsequent intervention of foreign armed forces, entailing further bloodshed, suffering and convulsive internal confrontation - in short, a country tormented and in turmoil.

It is indeed imperative that a peaceful solution to the conflict now be reached. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea must be restored and preserved. The Kampuchean people must be allowed freely to exercise its right to self-determination. In this connection we find it necessary to point out that the Swedish position remains that in the present circumstances no Government can be regarded as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

(Mr. Stromholm, Sweden)

Needless to say, the basic element of a peaceful settlement is the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory. The continued Vietnamese military presence constitutes a blatant violation of the United Nations Charter and of fundamental principles of international law. It can in no circumstances be condoned.

My Foreign Minister has just completed a visit to the region. He had a strong impression from his various talks that the parties involved are eager to see a speedy solution to the problem. Viet Nam maintains that its troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea by the end of 1990, and perhaps in 1989. There are, of course, many other problems which remain to be solved, therefore the timing is important.

In the past year we have witnessed an encouraging trend of dialogue and movement towards a peaceful solution of the conflict. I have in mind, inter alia, the Jakarta Informal Meeting last July and the subsequent discussions in the working group created by that meeting. This process has made possible necessary direct contacts and exchanges of views between all parties concerned in the region. Furthermore, discussions are taking place between Prince Sihanouk and the Phnom Penh Government. Viet Nam, for its part, has expressed readiness to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea.

My Government welcomes these developments. It is essential that all parties concerned now pursue their efforts in a spirit of good faith and determination in order that a comprehensive peaceful settlement may be reached without delay. The Swedish Government supports the work of the Secretary-General in seeking ways to facilitate such a solution.

Until peace and normal conditions have been restored in Kampuchea a continuing heavy burden rests on neighbouring countries, particularly Thailand. International assistance to the Kampuchean refugees is still needed. Sweden, for its part, is

(Mr. Stromholm, Sweden)

prepared to continue to support the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programme. In the event of a political settlement of the conflict, Sweden would view favourably appeals for assistance to a joint United Nations programme for all affected Kampuchians.

In his report this year on the situation in Kampuchea the Secretary-General has once again expressed concern at the lack of regular and unhindered access to certain evacuation sites in the area. In fact, the situation seems to have deteriorated further in past months. These developments are highly deplorable and must be corrected. Thus it is imperative that all necessary measures be taken by the parties concerned to enable the United Nations to carry out its important humanitarian task of providing food and services to, and protection for, the civilian population.

The draft resolution submitted for our consideration contains the principal components of a peaceful solution of the conflict. This year new elements have been introduced which reflect recent developments.

(Mr. Stromholm, Sweden)

The conviction is also expressed that any just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem must provide for the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past. As in previous years, the resolution clearly spells out Kampuchea's right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It also emphasizes the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination free from outside interference. It appeals to the international community to continue to provide emergency assistance to those Kampuchians who are still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the various encampments in Thailand. This year Sweden has become a sponsor of the resolution, which we have found to be balanced in its reflection of new developments.

This year we have also witnessed the way in which the United Nations can help parties in resolving regional conflicts. For its part, Sweden has always closely followed developments in the region and stands ready and willing to assist in any way possible the achievement of a peaceful solution.

Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): The current session of the General Assembly began on a note of considerable optimism because of the great progress achieved on several of the world's most intense conflicts, most of which had been on the agenda of the General Assembly for many years without our making any progress towards a solution. These events have significantly enhanced the international prestige of the United Nations and have led to greater recognition of the outstanding role of the Secretary-General and some of his most outstanding staff, as well as that of the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations, which received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1988.

As the General Assembly has progressed, the perhaps excessive optimism of the first few days concerning an end to the so-called regional conflicts has diminished somewhat, although our hopes still stand and we are continuing our efforts. Our

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

attempts to change the possibilities into realities have shown up their complexity. There still remain certain of the factors that were central to the conflict, and we have seen underlying problems come to the surface, which has once again made a solution appear difficult.

All of those facts are relevant to the case of Kampuchea. In May, Viet Nam announced that it intended to withdraw 50,000 troops during the course of the year, and that once a political solution had been reached it would reduce the remaining number of troops and pull them all out in 1990. The first Jakarta Informal Meeting, which took place in July, indicated the possibilities of an agreement, as there was general understanding of the urgent need to put an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people and to work towards the restoration of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, on the basis of the self-determination and the national reconciliation of Kampucheans, even though no agreement had been reached on the means by which that would be done. Such significant steps have had repercussions on the annual efforts of the General Assembly to show its solidarity with the cause of Kampuchean independence and the withdrawal of foreign troops. We have witnessed the divergent views which have surfaced within the movement supporting Kampuchea, which had stood as a solid bloc before. Nonetheless, as we conduct our debate there is one incontestable fact that should guide the action of the General Assembly. The situation is the same as it has been since 1978. Vietnamese troops continue to occupy Kampuchea. This country has not yet been liberated. In the light of that fact, the position of the General Assembly cannot change. In 1988, as in each of the past sessions in the past decade, the General Assembly has had before it a resolution calling for the withdrawal of occupation forces and reiterating our support for the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future without foreign interference.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

Acknowledgement of the progress made recently compels us, however, to address a new topic, the future of Kampuchea after the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. My delegation is of the view that a stand must be taken on this matter and that it should be considered an essential part of the international community's commitment. The situation in Kampuchea is not a domestic conflict. It arose from the invasion of foreign forces which set up an occupation régime. For 10 years this Assembly has insisted that, upon the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, there should be an independent, sovereign, neutral, peaceful, non-aligned Kampuchea. As we draw closer to the withdrawal of the occupation forces, it is only natural that we should seek to go into greater detail, and that as the resolution calls for, we should seek the creation of an interim administering authority, the promotion of national reconciliation among all Kampuchean, and the non-return to the universally condemned practices of the recent past.

Almost 20 years ago John F. Kennedy, in his inaugural address, laid down a rule for situations such as this when he said that a form of colonial control could disappear only to give way to a more iron-fisted tyranny. The international concern with regard to the situation in Kampuchea cannot end with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese. It must contribute to the setting up of a régime in which true peace and harmony would prevail in the liberated country. It is therefore essential that we be specific, as we have been in the draft resolution submitted.

I would not wish to end my statement without paying a well-deserved tribute to the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and to the great leader of the Kampuchean, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In this matter the ASEAN countries have shown a true example of subregional co-operation. The interest and knowledge of the subject that they have shown, the untiring way in which they have been prepared to explore each and every possibility of a negotiated

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

settlement, the moral leadership that they have exercised within the Assembly - all these factors have proved an influential spur to action for small and medium-sized countries, as it makes it possible for them to have a greater impact on the solution of global problems.

For the Government of Costa Rica, to follow the position of the ASEAN group is the logical consequence of its view that the countries directly involved, and those of the surrounding region, have the greatest in-depth knowledge of the situation there. They can therefore point the way to the rest of the international community when they act within the community's principles.

Prince Sihanouk has played a central and key role in the struggle for liberation of his country. He has placed himself above internal division and focussed on national duty. One cannot therefore conceive of the process of a return to independence for Kampuchea without his leadership.

(Mr. Gutierrez, Costa Rica)

In joining in sponsoring draft resolution A/43/L.12 the delegation of Costa Rica continues the support that it gave to past resolutions. We are confident that if the Assembly maintains a firm position it will enhance the prestige of our Organization and lead to the true, effective independence of Kampuchea.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The United Nations Charter, which is a compendium of the views of the community of man, sets forth in the form of basic norms the guiding principles through which we seek to develop relations between States. Perhaps the principle that most clearly reveals the level of evolution and the capacity for rational thinking of the human race is that prohibiting the use of force or the threat of force in relations between nations.

It was, indeed, a long and difficult road that we had to travel to establish and codify this universal law, which is today recognized and supported by all civilized peoples. Man has had to undergo much suffering and perhaps it was this that enabled him to moderate his conduct and move towards understanding, avoiding or excluding force as a course of action. Man's aggression has not been unaffected by this slow process, although it still exists and takes different forms in his social conduct.

Noble sentiments, the product of the altruistic spirit distilled from the wisdom of the ages, meant that understanding finally prevailed over violence as a means of resolving disputes through a balanced response that rejected the imposition of the law of the strongest and the subjugation of the vanquished.

Any regression in the conduct of nations that in any way involves a return to a more primitive level of coexistence must be a matter of concern and be rejected by the organized international community.



(Mr. Daza, Chile)

The invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops is a tragic issue of concern to this Assembly, as it has been for almost a decade now, since the Security Council became aware of the tragic situation affecting that nation. With the support of the Soviet Union, the armies of Viet Nam crossed the Kampuchean border, thus carrying out an act of barbarism that continues to have many extremely serious consequences.

The United Nations has frequently stated that all occupying forces must be withdrawn from the territory that is illegally occupied. Once this initial objective has been achieved, there should be free elections under the supervision of this Organization. My country shares the widely held view that Prince Norodom Sihanouk has a fundamental, central role to play in finding a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. It is the fact that he is the undisputed leader of the Khmer people that puts him in a position of such importance that he must be a fundamental component of the present and future of his country.

Once again we feel it is our duty to come to this Assembly to condemn the continuance of this trampling of the Kampuchean nation. As people who love peace, we have over the years maintained that Viet Nam's actions must not continue, for it is imperative that the Organization come out clearly and strongly in support of ending the tragedy of Kampuchea. The Secretary-General has indicated in his reports that the principal elements of the conflict must be brought together so as to achieve a just and lasting peace.

At a time when the international community sees with growing optimism progress being made in various crises as the central role of this Organization is enhanced, we are faced with the contrast of the tragic situation of the Kampuchean people, who are being crushed and trampled and are suffering every day in a thousand different ways from the arbitrary actions of the invaders.

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

For these reasons last year my country joined in sponsoring a draft resolution deploring the armed intervention and occupation of Kampuchea by foreign troops, which have not yet withdrawn from the territory. Today we find ourselves in a similar position.

Mr. FENAIOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again Colombia wishes to state its position with regard to the Kampuchean situation, which has been a matter of concern to us from the outset and on which we have commented quite clearly in the past. Our country complies without any restrictions or limitations with the basic principles of international law and the norms enshrined in the Charter. For this reason we have always condemned the invasion of Kampuchea, and we shall do so in every similar case, since freedom and the self-determination of peoples are fundamental to my country.

Whenever there is an invasion of the territory of any nation in the world, Colombia will speak out to reject and condemn that unacceptable situation.

We are genuinely pleased to observe the success achieved in the mediation talks aimed at ensuring withdrawal of the troops that at present occupy Kampuchea. We very much hope, and indeed are convinced, that the agreements reached will be implemented and that the invaders will withdraw, thus allowing the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny freely and independently.

With regard to the Kampuchean issue, Colombia maintains that it is important to listen to the proposals of the countries of the region. As we see it, no one is in a better position to assess the alternatives available and the possibilities of a solution. For these reasons we consider the efforts of the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to be particularly worthy of recognition.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

In highlighting once again the contribution of the United Nations to the process of dialogue and the search for an appropriate solution to the Kampuchean issue, we reiterate that the occupation must end as a prerequisite to a viable political and global solution to this problem.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): For nine successive years now, the General Assembly has adopted resolutions seeking a just solution to the problem of Kampuchea. That problem touches upon the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It involves the principle of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in inter-State relations. It involves the inalienable right of a people to determine its own future and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Those principles have been the basis of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea and the General Assembly resolutions adopted each year by an overwhelming majority.

Reaffirmation of those fundamental principles has highlighted the political aspect of the situation in Kampuchea. The international community is also painfully aware of the human dimension of the problem. The Kampuchean people have undergone tremendous sufferings and deprivation. We cannot but admire their heroic defiance of alien domination and their tenacity in continuing the struggle to regain freedom, sovereignty, peace and dignity.

In this context, we appreciate the valuable assistance extended by the United Nations agencies, Governments and non-governmental organizations to meet the humanitarian needs of the Khmer people. We particularly admire the Royal Government of Thailand for the refuge and the assistance provided to thousands of displaced Kampuchean, despite the financial burden and the political risks.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

While the establishment of durable peace in Kampuchea, as in any other country, depends on several factors, no one here needs to be reminded that the General Assembly was seized of the problem of Kampuchea not because of a civil war but because of Viet Nam's invasion in December 1978. The essential first step towards the return of normalcy to Kampuchea must therefore be the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of occupation. The continued presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea is an insult to the ideals of the United Nations and an affront to international law governing relations between States.

This has been the consistent position of Nepal since the question of Kampuchea came before the General Assembly nine years ago. Non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States constitute the very fabric of civilized inter-State relations. Such interventions can take the form of an application of brute force or a cunning stratagem designed to mislead international public opinion. In Kampuchea we have witnessed a unique combination of both. We can never support what has been termed a tutorial aggression. If we condoned the use of force on the pretext of improving the record of a neighbouring Government it would lead to an irreversible erosion of the established norms of international law. The only result of such a negative development would be global anarchy, in which the security of smaller and weaker countries would be at the mercy of their more powerful neighbours.

It was because of those considerations that Nepal strongly supported and co-sponsored the resolutions on Kampuchea over the past several years. We would have liked to do the same this year as well. However, that was not possible because of some new elements introduced into the draft text. My delegation feels - but I hope we are wrong - that those elements could give the impression of making the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea conditional upon an internal

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

settlement. We would like to believe that the changes in the text will not be used as a justification for foreign intervention and an excuse for continued occupation of Kampuchea. Should that happen, the efforts of the international community and the sacrifices of the Kampuchean people over all these years will have been in vain.

With that reservation, my delegation is in agreement with the provisions of draft resolution A/43/L.12, now under consideration, and will vote in favour of it. We shall do so because of our genuine interest in peace and reconciliation in Kampuchea and also because we feel encouraged by some positive trends on the question in the recent past.

In this context my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the determination of the Secretary-General to facilitate a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea. We note with appreciation the continuing efforts of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, and the valuable work of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea in the search for a peaceful solution.

Recently there have been some interesting and hopeful developments. The renewed initiative of the Association of South-East Asian Nations which led to the Jakarta Informal Meeting is of particular significance. Nepal welcomes the high-level talks between China and the Soviet Union on the situation in Kampuchea and we also support the initiative of the non-aligned countries.

As in many trouble spots around the globe there is today greater hope for the settlement of the Kampuchean question. We earnestly hope that the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces will lead to national reconciliation under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and to the establishment of an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea, a settlement that will promote peace and stability throughout South-East Asia and the Asian-Pacific region.

Mr. NOWOSPITA (Poland): During the past year we have seen some encouraging developments in and around Kampuchea which have improved the prospects for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem and for peace and stability in South-East Asia. I have in mind the initiation of a dialogue between the Kampuchean parties and other concerned countries which promises to bring to an end the long sufferings of the Kampuchean people and to restore peace to Kampuchea and South-East Asia.

The good news came first from Fère-en-Tardenois in France, where President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Hun Sen, and Prince Sihanouk, met on 2 to 4 December 1987 and issued a joint communiqué, according to which:

"The problem of Kampuchea should be settled politically and by the Kampuchean people themselves, on the basis of national reconciliation and the building of a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea."

It was followed by the Jakarta Informal Meeting, with the participation of the four Kampuchean parties and the countries of South-East Asia, on 25 to 28 July 1988. As the Chairman of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, summarized the discussions at the meeting,

"All the participants agreed on the need to solve the Kampuchean problem through political means and thereby contribute to the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia". (A/43/493, para. 4)

The significance of the Jakarta Informal Meeting consists in identifying the two key interlinked issues of the Kampuchean problem, namely the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution and the prevention of the recurrence of policies and practices of the Khmer Rouge régime, while at the same time ensuring the cessation of all foreign

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces. Thus, the Jakarta Informal Meeting has laid down the framework for a political solution of the Kampuchean question and set in motion negotiations between the Kampuchean parties and between the countries of the region. It should be noted that the proceedings at the Jakarta Informal Meeting were based on the understanding and modalities derived from the organizational structure and approach of the Ho Chi Minh City understanding, namely that the internal aspect of the Kampuchean problem should be settled by the Kampuchean parties themselves, while the international aspect of the Kampuchean problem should be settled by the countries of the region and the Kampuchean parties.

We highly appreciate the Jakarta understanding, which we view as a valuable regional initiative consistent with Article 52 of the United Nations Charter concerning "regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action".

We also take note of the support lent to the process of negotiations started at the Jakarta Informal Meeting by the non-aligned countries, as evidenced from paragraphs 114 to 116 of the Final Document of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Nicosia on 5 to 9 September 1988.

As a follow-up action of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, a Working Group of senior officials of participants in the Meeting met in Jakarta on 17 to 20 October 1988. It discussed the concrete issues of the international aspect of the Kampuchean question and it decided to continue its work at its next meeting "to examine" - according to a press statement issued at Jakarta on 22 October 1988 - elements of a political solution of the Kampuchean problem". Also, in November

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk will meet in Paris to continue their negotiations. Those meetings should facilitate the reconciliation of divergent views and the conclusion of the peace agreement to the benefit of the Kampuchean people.

The United Nations should promote and encourage the ongoing process of dialogue among the Kampuchean parties and among the countries of South-East Asia and thus assist the South-East Asian nations in solving the pending problems in the spirit of dialogue and co-operation. Unfortunately the draft resolution in document A/43/L.12 does not reflect the progress achieved and fails to live up to the expectations of the international community vested in the efforts of the South-East Asian countries and the Kampuchean parties towards a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean question.

Poland, for its part, supports all the efforts aimed at the political solution of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of national reconciliation. In particular, it noted with interest the important Declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 27 August 1987 on the policy of national reconciliation and its seven-point position on a political solution of the Kampuchean problem of 25 July 1988.

We are of the opinion that it is possible to solve all disputes by peaceful means through political dialogue between concerned parties, taking into account the legitimate interests of the countries of the region which should make a contribution to such a solution. Poland will work in the United Nations to achieve a political solution to the existing problems of South-East Asia, the Kampuchean issue included, which would meet the aspirations of all peoples in that part of the world for lasting peace and security.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.