



President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 20

**The situation in Kampuchea: report of the
Secretary-General (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 40th meeting, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed at 5 p.m. today.

2. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): My delegation is speaking in support of draft resolution A/39/L.3 on the situation in Kampuchea, which was eloquently introduced at the 40th meeting by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia and of which my country, Thailand, is also a sponsor. The draft resolution seeks to reaffirm the resolutions, adopted on five previous occasions by the General Assembly, that have called for 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. The draft resolution also reiterates the call for continued emergency humanitarian assistance for those Kampuchean who are still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand.

3. We also have before us the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea [A/39/576]. My delegation is deeply appreciative of the continued active interest of the Secretary-General in this problem, which vitally affects the peace, stability and well-being of South-East Asia and its peoples. It welcomes the role being played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, in seeking to bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. My delegation is also deeply appreciative of the part being played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative who has assumed charge of the co-ordination of humanitarian relief operations for the Kampuchean people and the affected Thai villagers, Mr. Tatsu-o Kunugi. In this connection, special mention must be made of the untiring efforts and sacrifices being made by the personnel of United Nations agencies, as well as those of international relief and voluntary agencies, in the care and sustenance of the refugees and displaced persons along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Royal Thai Government will continue its close co-operation with these agencies,

for the needs remain pressing and a great deal remains to be done to meet them.

4. The situation in Kampuchea continues to be a matter of grave concern and to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The foreign occupation of that country by armed force is in clear and direct contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations that serve as the indispensable basis for the conduct of relations between States. The foreign armed intervention continues to cause tremendous suffering to the Kampuchean people, who are forced to flee their homeland in large numbers in search of food, shelter and safety. In addition, the armed hostilities in Kampuchea periodically spill across the Thai-Kampuchean border, resulting in the loss of innocent lives and severe damage to property of Thai villages.

5. We see the occupying Power brandishing the prospects of negotiations towards a settlement, but then in practice putting obstacles and conditions in the path of its realization. We are witnessing attempts to change the demographic nature and composition of the occupied territories. We have witnessed the suffering of refugees forced to flee to neighbouring countries. And all the while the suppression of national resistance fighters goes on, together with oppression of the population of the occupied areas.

6. Earlier this year armed attacks were again launched by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea against Kampuchean civilian encampments along the border as part of their annual dry-season offensive. That offensive, as in previous years, resulted in the incursion of Vietnamese troops into Thai territory in several instances and in many localities, the details of which have been communicated by my Government to the Secretary-General and the Security Council. It is with regret that we note that the attacks occurred immediately after much publicized visits to Indonesia and Australia, including a stop-over in Thailand, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. While the statements made by the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, especially in Canberra, were still being sieved for any hopeful sign of flexibility, the dry-season offensive was launched, with resulting loss of life and suffering for innocent civilians. Tens of thousands of Kampuchean were once again forced to flee into Thai territory. As the Secretary-General has rightly concluded in his report, hopes for the initiation of a more constructive dialogue between the countries concerned remain unfulfilled, and the armed incidents contributed to a renewed climate of tension in the region.

7. For over five years the members of the Association of South-East Asian States [ASEAN] and the international community have called upon Viet Nam

to join in the search for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. As has been the pattern every year prior to the convening of the General Assembly, statements emanating from various quarters in Hanoi have led to speculation about a new flexibility on the part of Viet Nam. This year, news reports quoted the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs as having agreed to the introduction of an international supervisory commission to keep the peace in Kampuchea. We regretted that the statement of the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Assembly did not reveal any flexibility or substantive change in Viet Nam's rigid position.

8. On the Kampuchean question the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 11 October, again stated [27th meeting] that his country categorically rejects the call for withdrawal of forces. He even said that the so-called Vietnamese volunteers would remain in Kampuchea for at least 5 to 10 more years, by which time, he said, "the question of Kampuchea will thus resolve itself". The question that arises is what manner and form this final solution for Kampuchea, as envisaged by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, will take within those 5 to 10 years.

9. In the mean time, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam is calling for a dialogue between the ASEAN and Indo-China countries. In making this call, he would wish us to overlook some fundamental points. First, Vietnamese troops would remain in Kampuchea. Secondly, Viet Nam is in effect asking the ASEAN States to consider the puppet régime in Phnom Penh as one of the three Indo-China parties, with a view to gaining for it the legitimacy that it does not have or deserve to have. Thirdly, dialogues between Viet Nam and individual ASEAN States have been held since the Kampuchean problem arose; indeed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam transits freely through Bangkok on most of his trips abroad. But in the numerous dialogues and meetings that have been held, the Vietnamese side has consistently adopted delaying tactics by not addressing the crux of the problem, which is the foreign armed intervention in Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, and quite often a dialogue session is followed by yet another military offensive by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Lastly, it must be recognized that in any negotiations on Kampuchea the legitimate Government of that country, namely, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, should and must be intimately involved. The legitimacy of that Government has once again been recognized by the Assembly. Viet Nam would do well to recognize this reality and to consider negotiating directly with its President on the future of Kampuchea.

10. In his address to the Assembly on 29 September last [7th meeting], Prince Norodom Sihanouk reiterated his call for national reconciliation in Kampuchea between all Kampuchean parties that would agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. My delegation firmly believes that national reconciliation, a process to be undertaken by the Khmer people themselves, including all parties, is essential for the realization of long-term peace, security and development in Kampuchea, which will contribute to the security of its neighbours, including Viet Nam.

11. In a similar vein, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand recently stated:

"We bear no inherent animosity towards Viet Nam or her people. Our opposition to Viet Nam's actions in Kampuchea is well grounded on internationally recognized legal, moral and humanitarian principles. At the same time, ASEAN remains receptive to any genuine proposal Viet Nam has to offer to resolve the Kampuchean problem and to enhance our relations."

12. The ASEAN countries have proposed several possible practical initial steps that could be taken to facilitate a comprehensive political settlement, as called for by successive United Nations resolutions and by the Declaration on Kampuchea¹ adopted in 1981 by the International Conference on Kampuchea. The joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries, entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence", which was released at Jakarta on 21 September 1983,² proposed phased troop withdrawals on a territorial basis, the establishment of safe areas for civilians, the introduction of peace-keeping observer groups to monitor the withdrawals and the cease-fire, and national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties.

13. It should be recalled in this context that there is an international machinery in existence to help find a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. This machinery is the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea under the chairmanship of Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal. The *Ad Hoc* Committee has been continuing with its worthy efforts, as we see from its report.³ The President of the International Conference, Mr. Willibald Pahr, of Austria, is undertaking similar efforts. As a first step, he has recently proposed the establishment of a safety zone around Angkor Wat, not only to preserve that ancient heritage of Khmer culture and civilization, but also as a possible starting point for Khmer national reconciliation. My delegation believes that this initiative is worth pursuing.

14. My delegation wishes once again to urge Viet Nam to respond to the sincere efforts being made by the international community to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem, and to begin a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are well aware that Viet Nam has thus far spurned the efforts of the Assembly and the relevant resolutions that have been adopted. However, we would urge Viet Nam to reconsider, in its own real interests, in the interests of the Kampuchean people and in the interests of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

15. The draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea that has been presented to the Assembly, sponsored by 54 Member States, seeks to form the basis for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and for an effective solution of the related humanitarian problems, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It looks forward to a future in which the Kampuchean people will enjoy their inalienable right of self-determination. It reiterates the hope that, following a comprehensive political solution, an intergovernmental committee will be established to consider a programme of assistance to Kampuchea for the reconstruction of its economy and for the economic

and social development of all States in the region. It expresses the conviction that, after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the countries of the region will be able to pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. My delegation, therefore, believes that the draft resolution merits the support of all justice-loving and peace-loving States.

16. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The tragic situation which faces the people of Cambodia continues, unfortunately, without real change. Australia has supported the series of resolutions adopted by the Assembly on the situation since 1979. We shall again this year vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.3.

17. Australia's commitment to the pursuit of a Cambodian settlement is well known. It is a commitment which reflects our place and our role in the Asia-Pacific region. We cannot ignore the implications of our geographical position or the desire of the Australian people to live in a region of harmony and rewarding international relationships.

18. We are directly affected if the rivalry of the great Powers threatens peace in our region. We are directly concerned if our friends and neighbours are destabilized because of continuing tensions. We also bear many of the direct consequences of tensions and losses of human rights. For these reasons, Australia's search for peace is not merely a theoretical exercise; it is a practical necessity.

19. The Australian Government has never claimed more than a modest role in the search for peace in Cambodia. We shall continue to warn of the dangers of the cycle of violence in the border warfare. There are no grounds for thinking that the pursuit of a solution by military means can be effective.

20. In pursuing a Cambodian settlement we should not lose sight of the basic right of the people of Cambodia to self-determination. We would not wish to see a formula imposed on them—however satisfactory it might appear to the interests of outside Powers—which would not give them a Government genuinely representative of their wishes. Not only would this run counter to basic rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but it could also ultimately lead to renewed instability in Cambodia and throughout the region.

21. Australia has continued to call upon the parties principal to the Cambodian problem to engage in dialogue, and we have supported the ASEAN countries in their efforts to establish a dialogue with Viet Nam. Whatever format is used, no solution can occur without negotiation, and we congratulate Indonesia on its role as the ASEAN particular point of contact with Viet Nam.

22. We have been pleased to see that there have been recent contacts between the leaders of Viet Nam and Governments in the Asian region. All these contacts can help to break down the division between the Indo-Chinese countries and the other countries of East and South-East Asia.

23. During the past year we in Australia have continued our close consultations with the ASEAN States, with Viet Nam and with other interested parties on the matter of Cambodia. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hayden, have travelled widely overseas, and Cambodia has been one of the main topics of discussion with the leaders of concerned countries. During the same period, the Prime Minis-

ter of Malaysia, Mr. Mahathir, and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Malaysia and Viet Nam have visited Australia. These visits saw the process of consultation continue.

24. Australia is committed to an active role in the humanitarian efforts of the international community, aimed at resolving the problems arising from the Cambodian situation. As a major resettlement country for displaced Cambodians and other Indo-Chinese peoples, we shall continue to participate in resettlement efforts, while cautioning against proposals not helpful to permanent solutions. We consider that other efforts should include genuine repatriation inside Cambodia.

25. We shall not hesitate to condemn any attempts to exploit the plight of displaced Cambodians for political or military ends. We shall continue the balance between the aid we give in the Thai-Cambodian border area in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs and the aid we give inside Cambodia through such bodies as UNICEF, UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. The aims of aid given inside Cambodia are to alleviate suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Cambodians to remain in their country, and displaced Cambodians to consider returning.

26. We have noted the current expressions of interest by a number of countries in an international effort to restore the Angkor temple complex in Cambodia. We are currently investigating ways in which this can be carried forward without accentuating existing political differences. It is our hope that the international community will be able to assist in the preservation of the Cambodian people's ancient cultural heritage and national identity.

27. Australia also sees dangers in the continued isolation of Viet Nam from the economic and political life of our region. That does not mean that we condone the behaviour on Viet Nam's part which led to its isolation. We condemned Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia when it occurred and we continue to condemn it. There must be a negotiated settlement acceptable to all the parties to the dispute, and Viet Nam should withdraw.

28. We shall, however, continue to develop our bilateral relationship with Viet Nam. A more productive relationship with Viet Nam enables us to pursue some important Australian objectives. These include the effective operation of our bilateral orderly departure programme, efforts to reduce illegal departures from Viet Nam and representations on human rights matters which are of concern to many people in Australia.

29. That relationship has also made it possible for us to have contact with Viet Nam on the Cambodian problem, just as we have with the ASEAN countries and interested outside parties, including China and the United States. We do not claim to have seen Viet Nam's position on the Cambodian issue change appreciably, but substantive compromises on the part of any party can be expected only as the outcome of negotiations. We believe that all sides, Viet Nam included, share a desire to resolve the problems of Cambodia and that this should be built upon in the quest for dialogue. It would be a tragedy for our region, for the international community and, above all, for the Cambodian people if any opportunity to reach a just settlement were lost.

30. Let us not forget that it is the Cambodian people who daily suffer the consequences of a conflict which the international community remains so far unable to resolve.

31. The draft resolution before the Assembly is a result of the continuing efforts of the ASEAN countries to achieve a peaceful solution in Cambodia. Australia warmly commends these efforts and this draft resolution.

32. Mr. HAJI OMAR (Brunei Darussalam): Sir, as this is my first statement in plenary meeting, allow me to join those who have spoken previously in offering you sincere felicitations on your election as President of the General Assembly for the thirty-ninth session. In view of your background and vast experience in international diplomacy, I am sure you will guide the deliberations at this session to a successful conclusion.

33. There are many problems confronting the world today. Each one is equally pressing and urgent. A solution must be found to each if we are to make this world a better place for everyone. We are happy that through the General Assembly we are all able to address ourselves to the issues before us and to debate them, in the hope that we may come to some kind of agreement on what we can do to solve the problems. It is by no means an easy task, as each State has its own variation in its approach to the problems. However, it is hoped that the views of the majority will prevail over the others and be regarded as a logical step to the solution of the problems. Unfortunately, however, this world assembly has year after year witnessed various United Nations resolutions being disregarded by some Member States and a display of arrogance with regard to the decisions of the Organization. This is indeed a trend that disturbs all of us, especially Brunei Darussalam, whose fortress is the United Nations itself.

34. Brunei Darussalam is a small, militarily weak country. We cannot fight aggression with other acts of aggression. Our shield and our weapon have always been the principles that we hold so dear. We do not want confrontation, particularly with our neighbours, with which we hope to maintain cordial and friendly relations. We believe that we all live in an interdependent world, that we need each other. It is in this context that we see the situation in Kampuchea as a very disturbing one. It is an example of intervention that Brunei Darussalam strongly deplores. The military invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. It is also an example of complete disregard of General Assembly resolutions. Since the thirty-fourth session, Viet Nam has repeatedly ignored General Assembly resolutions calling upon it to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. By its act of defiance, Viet Nam has indeed displayed its disrespect for the Charter, to which it is a party, and its insensitivity to the wishes of the Kampuchean people for self-determination.

35. As we are ourselves in the region, we are concerned that this action of Viet Nam will have repercussions affecting the peace and stability of South-East Asia. Therefore we consider it most urgent that we add our voice to the voices of many others that support the United Nations resolutions

calling for the withdrawal of Viet Nam from Kampuchea. Brunei Darussalam does not mean to belittle the security interests of Viet Nam in the whole Kampuchean question. We believe in a solution that would take into account not only Viet Nam's security interests but also the security interests of all States in the region. That has been spelt out by the countries members of ASEAN in their proposal to Viet Nam. However, Viet Nam has to understand that it must withdraw its forces from Kampuchea before we can all sit down and negotiate. ASEAN has been flexible in demanding not an immediate, total and complete withdrawal but a phased withdrawal leading to a total withdrawal, so that Viet Nam may be assured that the intentions of ASEAN are well meaning. Viet Nam for its part must show its genuine intention to withdraw and must recognize that the wishes of the Kampuchean people themselves are basic to the problem and therefore must be considered first. That is the reason for the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs' appeal of 21 September 1983² for Kampuchean independence. That appeal contains the most appropriate and practical steps for reaching a comprehensive political settlement and in it the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs call on Viet Nam to support national reconciliation.

36. We stand firm in our support for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk rather than the present régime, because the latter was installed through aggression by a foreign Power. We believe the Kampuchean people should decide for themselves who shall form the Government. ASEAN and Brunei Darussalam have no designs at all in this Kampuchean problem apart from an interest in seeing that the national independence and national unity of Kampuchea are restored and that long-term peace, security, stability and development are realized in Kampuchea, thus contributing to the security of all its neighbours, including Viet Nam.

37. ASEAN remains committed to seeing that this region enjoys political and economic stability, peaceful coexistence with its neighbours and continued economic growth and development. Viet Nam's actions and attitude with regard to the Kampuchean problem are undermining peace, security and stability in this region and hampering economic growth and development. We therefore call on Viet Nam to cease hostile activities in Kampuchea so that we all can pool our energy and resources in order to make this region a prosperous and stable entity.

38. We also wish to emphasize the importance of continued international support in our search for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea. We hope more countries will put pressure on Viet Nam to respect the desire of the Kampuchean people for self-determination and for the national reconciliation of all the Kampuchean people. We appeal to all countries represented here to support the ASEAN draft resolution before the General Assembly in order to show commitment to the principles of self-determination and non-interference.

39. Mr. CAÑETE (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again the General Assembly has before it the question of Kampuchea. Five years have elapsed since, in a surprise move, the Vietnamese army invaded that country and imposed a *de facto* Government in Phnom Penh. Since then the people of Kampuchea, which had undergone indescribable trials under the notorious Pol Pot régime, have been

striving for the definitive resolution of their problems without any visible results.

40. The setting-up of the Coalition Government under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk was a significant step forward. Since its inception it has attempted to achieve, in conformity with the objectives and procedures recommended by the International Conference on Kampuchea when it met in New York in July 1981, the withdrawal of the foreign troops occupying the country, the neutrality of Kampuchea and the establishment—through free elections supervised by the United Nations—of a Government that authentically represents the people's aspirations.

41. The achievement of peace in Kampuchea is not something that interests that country alone. Its immediate neighbours in South-East Asia see the stability and security of the subregion threatened. The observance of the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence is also at stake.

42. For all of these reasons my country is a sponsor of the draft resolution before the Assembly, which in our opinion contains all the elements that can lead us to a speedy, just settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. Further, it addresses an appeal to Member States to adopt and observe it.

43. We regret that despite the good offices of the Secretary-General it has not been possible, mainly because of the intransigence of the occupying Power, to set in motion a stable and permanent negotiating process among all the parties concerned in the conflict.

44. Similarly, my delegation wishes to place on record its recognition of and support for the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and requests that Committee to continue its work until the Conference is convened again.

45. My delegation also believes that assistance to the Kampuchean people for the improvement of the living conditions of those Kampucheans who are refugees or who have been displaced by the foreign invaders should be continued.

46. We wish to conclude our statement by appealing to the parties to agree without delay on the establishment of an appropriate negotiating body. Any delay in this regard contributes to increasing the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and aggravating that conflict.

47. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is the sixth time that the General Assembly has considered the question of Kampuchea. I wish to take this opportunity to make a few observations on the issue.

48. We all know that had Viet Nam not invaded Kampuchea, the Kampuchean question would never have arisen.

49. Had Viet Nam already withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea, it would no longer be necessary for us to consider the question of Kampuchea here today.

50. Regrettably, however, despite the adoption by the General Assembly of one resolution after another demanding the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, Vietnamese troops continue to hang on there, refusing to clear out, and the Kampuchean people are still subjected to devastation and massacre year after year. This has compelled the General Assembly to include the Kampuchean question in its

agenda and consider the situation in Kampuchea time and again. It has been doing so not only out of deep concern over the fate of the Kampuchean nation, but also in the interest of upholding the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms governing international relations. If we tolerated any violation of the universally accepted basic principles of national self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States or allowed any mockery of the will of the overwhelming majority of the States Member of the United Nations as reflected in the General Assembly resolutions, we should fail to live up to our responsibility for upholding international justice and safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of small countries.

51. First, speaking of the situation in Kampuchea, I believe that no one can give a more truthful description of the situation there or a fuller expression to the aspirations of the Kampuchean people than Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. In his statement on 25 September last [*7th meeting*], he denounced with convincing facts and evidence the crimes committed by the foreign aggressor troops in Kampuchea and exposed the Vietnamese authorities' scheme to enforce the Vietnamization of Kampuchea. Today, as we are seated in this peaceful hall, the aggressors are still playing the tyrant in the land of Kampuchea, the innocent Kampucheans are bleeding, the areas along the Kampuchean-Thai border are under incessant harassment and peace in South-East Asia continues to be threatened. Amidst the rumble and roar of Vietnamese planes, tanks and guns, sweet words like "troop withdrawal" or "dialogue" can be heard coming from Viet Nam.

52. Indeed, the Vietnamese authorities have spoken a lot of high-sounding words on the crucial matter of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. Yet a simple analysis will readily show that, in spite of all their fine rhetoric, they have so far failed to make any commitment whatsoever to troop withdrawal. For instance, at one time they declared that they had "partially withdrawn" their troops, and at another they said that they would "withdraw most Vietnamese troops in five to ten years". Everybody knows that Viet Nam's "partial withdrawal" is but a farce, a rotation of troops. Even the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, himself admitted in public that the stationing of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea was to "protect the process of recovery of the régime in Phnom Penh" and "frustrate the scheme of forcing Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea". His words thoroughly gave away Viet Nam's true aim, that total withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea was never its intention. As for "withdrawal of most troops" and "in five to ten years", these are tantamount to indicating that Viet Nam does not feel its six-year armed occupation of Kampuchea long enough and so will continue its occupation till the last years of this century. In other words, only after it realizes its plan for the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, according to its wishful thinking, will Viet Nam deem it unnecessary to station troops in Kampuchea. If Viet Nam really has sincere intentions of troop withdrawal, why does it not declare straightforwardly that it is ready to pull out its occupation troops completely and unconditionally in the shortest period possible?

53. Secondly, as for Viet Nam's so-called new proposals for holding a "dialogue" and an "international conference", we might as well take a close look and see what is behind them. Recently, Viet Nam put forward a proposal for a prompt "dialogue" between the member countries of ASEAN and the "three Indo-Chinese countries", which was followed by another proposal for an "international conference" on the question of Kampuchea with the participation of the "three Indo-Chinese countries". Is Viet Nam really keen on a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean question? Indeed, it has no sincerity but rather a desire for conspiracy. As is well known, a political solution will be reached on the Kampuchean issue sooner or later, just like any other international issue. However, any political solution to the Kampuchean problem must be predicated on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. This has long been provided for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and in the Declaration on Kampuchea¹ adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. It is precisely on this crucial issue that Viet Nam has to this day refused to undertake any commitment. We should like to ask: since Viet Nam has turned a deaf ear and refused to accept the reasonable demand of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States, including the ASEAN countries, will it then regard an international conference of any other scope as having any binding force on it? Furthermore, dialogue or negotiations on the Kampuchean question should logically be held first of all with the victimized party of Kampuchea and not exclusively with the ASEAN countries. Viet Nam not only refuses to undertake any commitment to withdraw its troops, but attempts to by-pass the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The "dialogue", "negotiations" and "international conferences" as proposed by Viet Nam are designed solely for the purpose of imposing the *fait accompli* of its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea on the international community and legitimizing the puppet régime in Phnom Penh. People who wish to seek a reasonable solution to the Kampuchean problem will never be fooled by such a trick.

54. Thirdly, the Vietnamese authorities have also made their troop withdrawal from Kampuchea conditional upon the exclusion of one of the Kampuchean resistance forces. This is as absurd as a burglar breaking into a house and insisting that he will not leave unless the owner is "excluded". It is known to all that the three resistance forces in Kampuchea are, as pointed out by Samdech Sihanouk, all outstanding patriots. It is their close unity and resolute struggle that make it impossible for the aggressors to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea. Therefore, the exclusion of any of the three resistance forces would be, in essence, an attempt to split the united patriotic forces of Kampuchea, disarm the victims of aggression and thus weaken and eventually extinguish the struggle of the Kampuchean people against Vietnamese aggression.

55. In the final analysis, the so-called new proposals by the Vietnamese authorities indicate no "flexibility" at all on the critical issues of total troop withdrawal from Kampuchea or self-determination by the Kampuchean people. These "new proposals" only show that the Vietnamese authorities have to turn to political tricks to get what they have failed to achieve militarily, as they have been unable to wipe

out the Kampuchean resistance forces on the battlefield.

56. Fourthly, in order to seek an excuse for its refusal to withdraw its troops and persistence in aggression, Viet Nam continues to repeat its platitude of the so-called China threat. But lies will never become truths no matter how many times they are repeated. To invade and occupy a neighbouring country on the pretext of its own security being threatened is by no means a new invention of the Vietnamese authorities; the same excuse has been used both by Israel, that has invaded and seized Arab territories, and by South Africa, that has invaded Angola and forcibly occupied Namibia. Viet Nam's allegation that China has waged a war of aggression from the south-west through Democratic Kampuchea is an outright fabrication. It is true that in the past China supported Democratic Kampuchea, but China never encouraged or supported it in opposing Viet Nam. China only hoped that the two countries would live in harmony on the basis of equality. Now China supports Democratic Kampuchea, proceeding as it does from the consistent, just position of the Chinese Government of assisting peoples subjected to aggression in their fight to win national independence and safeguard State sovereignty, just as China over long years rendered selfless assistance to Viet Nam in its struggle for national liberation. We do not want to see the Kampuchean and the Vietnamese at war. The war in Kampuchea was not provoked by China; it is the sole making of Viet Nam. China sincerely hopes to see Kampuchea maintain peaceful, friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam.

57. To bring about such good-neighbourly relations, it is, above all, necessary for Viet Nam to pull back its troops from Kampuchea so as to remove the real "threat" to Kampuchea. Evidently, Viet Nam cannot justify its procrastination in troop withdrawal by using the so-called China threat as a pretext.

58. China is resolutely opposed to Viet Nam's aggression and all its political schemes, and sincerely hopes that the Kampuchean question can be settled in a fair and reasonable way. China's support for the resistance forces of Democratic Kampuchea does not in the least imply that China would like to see any one of the three factions claim all the power to itself in the future. In our view, the key to the settlement of the Kampuchean question lies in Viet Nam's withdrawal of all its troops from Kampuchea. After the troop withdrawal, the political system and government structure of Kampuchea as well as the destiny of its people should be determined by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from outside interference. We are in favour of the holding of a free general election, under United Nations supervision, by the political forces of Kampuchea after the completion of this troop withdrawal. We hope to see Kampuchea become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State after the liberation of the entire country.

59. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that the current session of the General Assembly will adhere to the resolutions adopted at the previous sessions on the question of the situation in Kampuchea, uphold justice and human dignity and make new contributions to safeguarding the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms governing international relations. We support the draft resolution submitted jointly by the six ASEAN and other

countries and appeal to the Member States of the United Nations to give it their support.

60. Mr. KURODA (Japan): The problem of Kampuchea remains unresolved and the prospects for a peaceful solution are not brighter than they were last year. The Kampuchean people continue to be denied their right of self-determination, and large numbers of them have been forced to seek food, shelter and safety in neighbouring Thailand and in the area along the Thai-Kampuchean border. In fact, according to a report of the United Nations Border Relief Operation [UNBRO] dated 4 September 1984, nearly 250,000 people are encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The very survival of these people depends on the humanitarian assistance extended by the international community. Despite repeated appeals for a halt to the armed attacks against the civilian refugee camps, Viet Nam's military offensives during the dry season in March and April of this year once again even included attacks against refugee encampments. They are reported to have caused 82,500 Kampucheans to seek refuge in Thailand, where 54,500 of them still remain. The UNBRO report states that this massive influx of refugees and displaced persons into Thailand has directly affected Thai villagers in the border area and imposed heavy social and economic strains on that country. The task of the international relief operation has thus become more difficult.

61. In spite of efforts by the international community for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, a solution to the problem through negotiations is not in sight and foreign forces remain in Kampuchea. Japan, with the international community, will continue to maintain that a military solution to the problem of Kampuchea is neither acceptable nor realistic.

62. I wish at this time to outline the position of the Government of Japan on the Kampuchean problem.

63. Military intervention by one country into the affairs of another country and the obstruction of that country's right of self-determination violate principles of international law and must not be condoned. The Kampuchean people must be ensured the right to choose their own political future without outside interference.

64. Japan believes that at the present impasse it is important to continue to explore various means for finding an opening to a solution to the problem, while maintaining our basic position. From this point of view, we highly appreciate the joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries, entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence", which was released at Jakarta on 21 September 1983.² Japan is convinced that this appeal was made in good faith, with a realistic appreciation of the situation and with due consideration for the security interests of Viet Nam. We earnestly hope that Viet Nam will accept the thrust of this appeal. Toward a political solution of the Kampuchean problem, Japan intends to co-operate to the extent of its ability. With this view in mind, at the ministerial meeting between ASEAN and its dialogue partners in July, Japan announced a three-point proposal in an effort to reinforce and strengthen the ASEAN appeal.

65. I would like to introduce the proposal briefly: the first point is financial co-operation for peace-keeping activities in the event that last September's

ASEAN appeal is to be implemented with the consent of all countries concerned; the second is co-operation such as the dispatching of personnel when free elections are to be held in the whole of Kampuchea under international supervision; and the third is our co-operation for reconstruction in Indo-Chinese countries when peace has been restored to Kampuchea.

66. While fully aware of the many difficulties on the road to peace in Kampuchea, Japan earnestly hopes that a common ground for starting a productive dialogue will be found between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam and we stand ready to co-operate in creating a climate conducive to such a dialogue.

67. As a part of such efforts, Japan intends to continue its dialogue with the ASEAN countries as well as with the other countries concerned, including Viet Nam.

68. From this basic position, we invited to Japan Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We hope that Democratic Kampuchea will further widen and consolidate its base of support under his presidency.

69. I should also like to refer to the visit to Japan of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, earlier this month. He and Japan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abe, conducted frank and extensive discussions, and both sides, while acknowledging the differences in their basic positions, shared the view that both ASEAN and Viet Nam needed to make every effort to find common ground for productive dialogue.

70. The Government of Japan wishes to express its thanks to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, and the other officers of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their continuing efforts to promote a process of negotiation towards a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. We also express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, and staff for their efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean problem. We request that they continue working for the peaceful resolution of this pressing international issue.

71. Japan recognizes the seriousness of the situation surrounding the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, and the enormous burden that is being shouldered by the Government of Thailand. We are deeply grateful for the selfless devotion of all those who are engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance programmes of UNBRO, WFP, UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of voluntary agencies.

72. For its part, my Government has contributed positively to those activities, both for humanitarian reasons and also in the hope of alleviating the burden borne by Thailand, and it will continue its efforts to the best of its ability. Japan calls on all countries in a position to do so also to continue and further strengthen their present assistance to the refugees who are still in need, especially those along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to the affected Thai villagers.

73. In closing, I wish to confirm that Japan fully supports and has joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/39/L.3. We urge all

Member States that respect international justice and seek world peace to support this draft resolution, recognizing that armed intervention in another country must be categorically rejected and that the right of self-determination must be restored to the Kampuchean people.

74. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again debating the situation in Kampuchea, and once again facing the need to consider the continuing suffering of the Kampuchean people, which results basically from the aggression and invasion to which they, their territories and their sovereignty have been subjected. Although the Assembly has discussed the question in previous years, none of the efforts to find a solution in accordance with United Nations resolutions have had the necessary positive results, and all the hopes pinned on the Assembly have been disappointed. There is no doubt that the continuance of the problem will ultimately complicate the existing difficulties in the region.

75. The question of Kampuchea is not the cause of the Kampuchean people alone, in spite of the ravages they have suffered for so long; it is not the cause of the peoples of South-East Asia alone, in spite of the negative consequences for them; it is first and foremost a cause that is organically linked to the principles that govern relations between the members of the international community, in the light of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and norms and especially the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States and the non-use of force to resolve conflicts.

76. Therefore, the Kampuchean question continues increasingly to polarize international attention. It has become one in a long list of chronic problems facing the international community that result from certain practices and policies which violate international instruments, threaten the security and independence of countries and peoples and restrict the possibilities of co-operation between countries of different political, economic and social systems. This explains the Sudan's great interest in the question of Kampuchea and developments there, as illustrated by its participation in and support for international efforts to find a just, peaceful settlement of the question, including its support for the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at previous sessions and its participation in the International Conference on Kampuchea and the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the question.

77. My country has followed political developments before and since the establishment of a coalition in Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with a view to giving an impetus to international efforts to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of the question.

78. The Sudanese attitude is based on its firm conviction of the need to respect the basic principles that govern co-operation between countries within the framework of the Charter, including those concerning the sovereignty and independence of countries and non-intervention in their internal affairs. This is a firm commitment that cannot be abrogated in Kampuchea, the Middle East or Afghanistan.

79. Perhaps a ray of hope can be seen in the fact that the international community has roundly condemned what has happened to Kampuchea, just as it has condemned what has befallen Afghanistan and

the Palestinian people. The response to the will of the international community continues to be the critical element here in preserving international norms and rules as well as in achieving the purposes of the Charter.

80. In this connection, we wish to commend the efforts of the countries members of ASEAN to achieve a peaceful settlement of this question. In the light of statements made by the parties concerned, we hope that those efforts will lead to a peaceful settlement which will preserve the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and safeguard the interests and the security of all the countries of the region, within the framework of the United Nations and its resolutions.

81. We wish to reaffirm that the question of Kampuchea can be solved only if all hostilities immediately cease and if all foreign forces are immediately withdrawn from that country's territory. That is essential so that the Kampuchean people can exercise its right of self-determination, free from outside intervention or coercion. It is necessary too to ensure full respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea through a comprehensive settlement, putting an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

82. I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Kampuchea [A/39/576] and for his efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, in treating with all the parties concerned in the search for a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean question on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly. We hope that all parties concerned will co-operate with the Secretary-General so that he may pursue his mission of good offices and contribute to the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement of this question.

83. Finally, I wish to state that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.3; that vote will be a reflection of our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, of our respect for the principles of the independence and sovereignty of peoples and non-intervention in their internal affairs, and of our belief in strengthening the principle of the non-use of force or threat of the use of force in international relations and of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

84. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): The events affecting international peace and security in the region of South-East Asia, which is in our neighbourhood, are a cause of deep concern for us. On 17 October, during the consideration of the first report of the Credentials Committee [32nd meeting], my delegation had occasion to reiterate that India recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh as the legal legitimate Government representing the people of Kampuchea, and that the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be enabled to take its rightful place in the United Nations. We fail to see what good could come out of a discussion of the situation in this region without the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

85. It will be recalled that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, decided to leave the Kampuchean seat in the Movement vacant. That decision was taken after a lengthy

debate on the question of representation of Kampuchea which clearly indicated a lack of consensus on the issue.

86. At that Conference,

“Reviewing the situation in South-East Asia, the Heads of State or Government expressed grave concern over the continuing conflicts and tensions in the region, particularly as many of the States are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. They warned that there was a real danger of the tensions in and around Kampuchea escalating over a wider area. They were convinced of the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea.

“The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion and expressed the hope that through a process of negotiations and mutual understanding a climate conducive to the exercise of that right would be created. They also agreed that the humanitarian problems resulting from the conflicts in the region required urgent measures which called for the active co-operation of all the parties concerned. They urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside powers. In this context, they noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called upon all States to give those efforts their fullest support.”⁴

87. It is our earnest expectation that any solution of this problem will be based on the above principles and framework accepted by the Seventh Conference, and reaffirmed by the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [see A/39/560, annex].

88. In addressing the question of Kampuchea, my delegation has two major preoccupations. In the first place our concern is directed at the alleviation of the effects upon the people of Kampuchea of the terrible situation brought about in so calculated and deliberate a manner by the Pol Pot régime. The people of Kampuchea are only now beginning to emerge from the after-effects of the despicable policies pursued by the Pol Pot régime. Under the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the people of Kampuchea are currently engaged in a massive effort at economic and social reconstruction. This effort has received the support of the international community and the co-operation of the various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea. The Secretary-General's report [A/39/576] gives us useful information regarding the implementation of the programmes of humanitarian assistance to the Kam-

puchean people. We appreciate the tireless efforts made by the agencies in the United Nations system as well as by the many non-governmental organizations, whose officials have worked selflessly in the discharge of their duties in order to bring an entire people back from the brink of desperation to a modicum of hope and security. India has continued its modest bilateral effort to ameliorate the conditions in Kampuchea despite our own problems and pressing needs. My delegation would like to stress that the international community should make further efforts to extend all possible material, financial and economic assistance to Kampuchea to enable it to speed up its economic recovery.

89. Our second concern is about the tension still prevailing in the region of South-East Asia. We believe that recourse to any hard positions and the demand for the restoration of the *status quo ante* cannot help to resolve the problems of the region. It is our firm conviction that dialogue among the parties concerned alone can create the conditions in which a peaceful and lasting political solution can be found. The urgent need of the hour is to promote an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence in which such consultations can proceed with a view to bringing about the desired results. There can be no military solution to this question; what is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries of the region and eliminates outside interference. We urge that the process of dialogue be maintained and that all proposals be discussed with a view to finding a political solution.

90. India has consistently extended support and assistance to efforts to find a peaceful solution of the problems of the region. We have close ties of friendship, going back into history, with all the countries of the region. We continue to be prepared to support any constructive action that would lead to the defusing of tensions and a viable political solution. We believe, however, that the approach embodied in draft resolution A/39/L.3 is not directed towards such an end. We shall, therefore, abstain in the voting on the draft resolution as we have during the past few years when similar draft resolutions have been put forward.

91. Mr. TURBAY-TURBAY (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The international community must redouble its efforts to find a peaceful, lasting solution that will give South-East Asia the peace to which it is entitled, the stability it is calling for and the prosperity that, with the support of all the States of the world, it is demanding and will certainly achieve in the near future.

92. The fundamental principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, which the Assembly has repeatedly endorsed, should be the beacon of our survival, the guidelines governing the peaceful solution for which we must continue to strive without cease.

93. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for the unfettered self-determination of peoples, the non-use of force in international relations and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means are tenets that Colombia has sought scrupulously to observe and the criteria that determine its foreign policy.

94. Any violation of these is a challenge to the international rule of law and requires that the community of nations confront and remedy it, as a problem of supranational responsibility.

95. Colombia rejects all such violations, no matter which State is the aggressor, and will offer or provide assistance in the use of good offices for the purpose of finding peaceful solutions on the basis of the Charter.

96. Faithful to that historical tradition, we do not hesitate to reiterate our concern over the external military presence in Kampuchea, and we support its people's claim freely to exercise its inalienable sovereign rights. Therefore, we appeal to the community of nations to support unreservedly recognition of Kampuchea's right to sovereignty, to determine freely its own destiny, to be the creator of its own wealth, the architect of its own progress and the master of its own cultural identity, to choose democratically the social, economic and political system it desires and to seek autonomously the road to its future—in brief, the rights to which every State is entitled.

97. The troops and military advisers should return to their home bases. We call for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, as an indispensable step towards a return to normal conditions.

98. My country is guided by precepts of the purest humanism. As is well known, Colombia has never taken up weapons except for the defence of its integrity. Therefore, we believe we can speak with authority in rejecting military intervention or interference by one country in the affairs of another.

99. We affirm our support for all initiatives designed to assist and provide relief to Kampuchean refugees in Thailand.

100. In expressing our appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General in connection with these devel-

opments, which are of such importance for countries like Colombia, we make an urgent appeal to all the States directly concerned to comply with the General Assembly resolutions, which are based on the cardinal principles of the Charter signed at San Francisco.

101. We believe that it is possible, if there is the sincere, firm political will, to achieve solutions that will meet the legitimate concerns of all the parties to the conflict.

102. The efforts of the Contadora Group, undertaken with the help of the international community, to assist the Central American and Caribbean countries provide striking proof of the effectiveness of dialogue in paving the way to peace and development for all the countries of the region.

103. Peace through dialogue should be a universal formula for the achievement of understanding and harmony among peoples.

104. In conclusion, allow me to affirm that in every latitude of the world, it is the language of peace that in every case provides a sure way to the survival of mankind.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹*Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

²*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

³A/CONF.109/8.

⁴See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, sect. I, paras. 112 and 113.