



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

AGENDA ITEM 20

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

1. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the statement we made on 26 October [36th meeting] during the debate on the item concerning the situation in Central America, we stated that Honduras was affected by the geopolitical situation and interdependence and therefore concerned by the problems that disturbed its neighbours, both close and distant, particularly when they were small States, compelling it to co-operate in efforts to ensure that problems and differences in Central America and all other regions of the world found comprehensive solutions.

2. We are concerned by the item on the situation in Kampuchea because we firmly believe that in Central America, as in South-East Asia and other parts of the world, the universal, unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be maintained as the basis of relations among States.

3. Honduras believes that negotiated, just and honourable solutions must be sought to all conflicts. We must abandon recourse to force and replace it by reasonable dialogue. There must be an end to the occupation of foreign territory and to the illegal presence of troops and foreign security elements which try to change the national identity and infringe the sacred right of peoples to self-determination.

4. We therefore believe that the people of Kampuchea have every right to do everything possible to regain control of their destiny as a neutral, non-aligned country by the effective exercise of their fundamental rights as a sovereign nation and because this is necessary for the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

5. Honduras has demonstrated its concern at the persistent violation of the rights of the Kampuchean people through the denial of the free exercise of self-determination in their own territory and in a climate of peace; at the continued presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea for almost six years; at attempts to transplant foreign systems which distort the identity of the people by exerting control and pressure on those that run the machinery of State; and at the gradual introduction of more than 12,000 advisers, technicians and experts into the economic, cultural and demographic areas of life, not to mention the

increasing number of experts in the military and security sectors.

6. It is disturbing to note the confrontation, induced from outside, which has developed among Kampuchean nationals and which is tending to produce deep divisions in a people whose unity must be preserved. We deplore the massive flow of refugees which has resulted from this violent confrontation and the foreign colonization which is being used as a means of compensating for something that cannot be compensated for, with clear contempt for the national dignity of that country.

7. We have expressed this concern on many occasions, in keeping with the responsibility of Honduras as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

8. We believe that a reasonable dialogue must be fostered between the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and the Government of the country whose troops are currently on Kampuchean soil. This dialogue must not be a mere formality. It should seek to result in the early resolution of the situation in Kampuchea and to make possible the restoration of stability and security in South-East Asia.

9. Since the entire region is concerned, the assistance of member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] would be invaluable, as would be their co-operation in achieving a fair and equitable solution based on observance of the principle of legal equality, which would make possible the return of political confidence and mutual respect among all the countries of that part of the world.

10. It is to be hoped that the national reconciliation of the people of Kampuchea can be attained in a fitting atmosphere of peace, free from foreign interference, in which the Kampuchean people can determine its own destiny. In the latter regard, it should be said that this is also a universal postulate, since it is a pre-condition for peace in all parts of the world. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras said at the present session, on 9 October, all peoples "must be able freely to determine their present and future, without decisions being imposed on them, without the force or pressures of the apparatus of the State continuing to violate their right freely to decide their political, economic and social organization through the exercise of their sovereign ability to choose their leaders" [26th meeting, para. 177].

11. Accordingly, we share the conviction expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/3 that it is necessary to find a broad political settlement to the question of Kampuchea by peaceful means and that "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own

destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem”.

12. We hail the initiative taken by the countries members of ASEAN in regard to the reconvening soon of a conference in which all the States concerned will participate. Similarly, we acknowledge the importance of the good offices of the Secretary-General, as a contribution to the achievement of a broad political settlement.

13. We stand in solidarity with the humanitarian appeal for the stepping up of relief assistance to the refugees and persons displaced by this conflict. We pay a tribute to the Government of Thailand for the refuge it is offering notwithstanding the difficulties entailed for the Thai Government and people. This gesture in response to such grave human distress is fully appreciated by Honduras, which has suffered similar difficulties in the context of its region.

14. Finally, in the light of what I have just said, Honduras is a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.3, which we hope will enjoy the kind of broad support that has gradually become the pattern for previous draft resolutions of the General Assembly on this item.

15. Mr. AL-BATTASHI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly finds it once again necessary to consider the question of Kampuchea as one of the important issues confronting the international community. This question has both a political and a humanitarian aspect. In his report [A/39/576], the Secretary-General sheds light on both aspects.

16. From the political point of view, Kampuchea has been subjected to foreign occupation. From the humanitarian point of view, the Kampuchean people have become the victims of war and dispersion, after having enjoyed stability and prosperity under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the President of Democratic Kampuchea, who played a prominent and effective part in the years that preceded the deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea, a deterioration which resulted from internal and external problems. Kampuchea played a tangible and commendable role in the quest for international peace and justice. Its leader greatly contributed to the flourishing of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which he was one of the pioneers.

17. We must pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts and good offices and for the close way in which he has followed the developments in Kampuchea and the surrounding areas. We also pay a tribute to the United Nations for its efforts in extending relief assistance to Kampuchean refugees, who continue to languish in a state of depredation. We regret that this United Nations relief operation faces many difficulties.

18. We are convinced that these humanitarian operations help to alleviate the burden of the refugees and, to some extent, to mitigate the difficulties they confront each day. But such assistance cannot provide a radical solution to their problem.

19. The solution to this problem must be based first and foremost on the implementation of the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular the most recent one, resolution 38/3, which, *inter alia*: calls for the withdrawal of all

foreign forces from Kampuchea; reaffirms the need for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; also reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination; and indicates once again the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

20. As a member of the international community, Oman has a great interest in the situation in Kampuchea. That has been reflected in our co-sponsorship of and support for various United Nations resolutions adopted in this context. Oman's interest in this question is motivated primarily by our conviction of the need to respect the sovereignty of nations and the right of peoples to live in peace and choose their own political, economic and social systems, free from pressure or coercion, and by our commitment to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

21. On that basis, Oman appreciates and supports the efforts made by the States members of ASEAN to arrive at a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to bring about national unity of the Kampuchean people through the exercise of their right to self-determination, free from foreign intervention. We should like to take this opportunity to reiterate our support for the reconvening of the International Conference on Kampuchea and for the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of that conference. We appeal to the parties concerned to sit down at the negotiating table with the legitimate representatives of Kampuchea recognized by the United Nations to reach a solution to the question.

22. In his report, the Secretary-General concludes on a pessimistic note, reflecting the actual and still unsolved situation in Kampuchea. He states:

“Although the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have not, so far, led to concrete results, there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . .” [*see A/39/576, para. 16*].

23. In spite of the painful reality reflected in that paragraph, we must not give in to despair. The international community should rise to meet its responsibilities and find a solution to the problem of Kampuchea that will bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country and the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Failure to achieve such a solution will merely lead to the addition of this question to the long list of questions built up over the years and that now reappear regularly on the General Assembly's agenda. Such a failure cannot but have adverse consequences for security and stability in a world battered by the winds of war and racked by one crisis after another.

24. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is indeed regrettable that the General Assembly has been obliged since 1979 to undertake a yearly re-examination of the agenda item concerning the situation in Kampuchea. Successive resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations have remained a dead letter and the struggling people of Kampuchea continue to suffer the ravages of armed invasion and the foreign occupation of their territory. It is therefore more than ever

urgent today that the international community should assume its responsibilities so as to find a way towards a peaceful, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

25. Egypt has followed with a keen interest the development of the situation in Kampuchea and wishes once again to express its profound concern about that explosive state of affairs, one that affects the peace and security not only of South-East Asia but of the rest of the world as well.

26. Inspired by its respect for international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and with a deeply held belief in the need to guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms—foremost of which is the right of peoples to self-determination—Egypt reaffirms the legitimate rights of the people of Kampuchea and calls upon this body to intensify its efforts to find an overall, just and lasting solution to the question, based on the following principles: first, the total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from the whole of the territory of Kampuchea according to a prescribed timetable; secondly, the restoration of Kampuchean independence and sovereignty over all that country's territory; thirdly, the possibility for the people of Kampuchea to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free, general elections, carried out under the aegis of the United Nations and free from any outside interference; fourthly, the opportunity for Kampuchean refugees to return to their homes; fifthly, the obligation for all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and to respect its neutrality and its non-aligned status; and, sixthly, the guarantee of the right of all States in the region to coexist in peace.

27. Egypt had the honour of a visit by President Norodom Sihanouk in July of this year. At that time President Sihanouk was again made aware of Egypt's support for the cause of Kampuchea and for the untiring efforts of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under his wise leadership to ensure the realization of the aspirations of the struggling people of Kampuchea, who are fighting for their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Coalition Government has succeeded in gaining increased foreign support for the heroic struggle of the people of Kampuchea and we look forward to the day when that coalition will succeed in achieving its legitimate goals.

28. We listened with great interest to President Sihanouk's statement at the present session [7th meeting], in which he reviewed the development of events in his country and gave details of the tragedy of the Kampuchean people. In that connection, we should like to state that Egypt welcomes the two proposals made by President Sihanouk, first, that following the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces, general elections be held under United Nations patronage with the participation of all political groupings and parties, including that of Heng Samrin; and, secondly, that a Government of national reconciliation be formed to include all the parties in Kampuchea that have agreed to work together in building an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. That Government of national reconciliation would become a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, with the status of a neutral, non-aligned State.

29. It is very regrettable that this sincere desire for peace should be ignored and rejected and that the situation of Kampuchea should be deteriorating from day to day.

30. President Sihanouk ended that part of his statement with the announcement of a peace initiative, offering to establish with Viet Nam, if it withdrew its forces from Kampuchean territory, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, namely, equality, mutual respect and common interests.

31. The Egyptian delegation, like others, has taken note of the Secretary-General's report [A/39/576]. We support his efforts and the use of his good offices to contribute to finding a comprehensive political solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

32. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, have spared no effort in their contacts with all the interested parties to realize that long sought-after objective and in their mission in connection with the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance to the people of Kampuchea.

33. We believe there is no alternative to a comprehensive political solution, based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which can be applied only through negotiation and mutual understanding. Therefore, we add our voice to that of the Secretary-General in inviting all those concerned to become involved in negotiations as soon as possible, not only to achieve the objectives of the people of Kampuchea but to defend the interests of all neighbouring peoples.

34. Egypt also appreciates and supports the untiring efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, under Mr. Massamba Sarré. We have examined its report¹ and welcome the results of the Committee's negotiations with the Governments concerned. We join other peace-loving countries in urging the Committee to continue its efforts, enter into negotiations and implement the Declaration on Kampuchea,² adopted in 1981 by the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as all United Nations resolutions on the matter, beginning with resolution 34/22.

35. In conclusion, we express our appreciation of the constructive role of the countries of South-East Asia in seeking to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem of Kampuchea and are ready and willing to support their efforts. Egypt expresses its complete support for draft resolution A/39/L.3, which contains provisions that could constitute a just and equitable basis for a peaceful, comprehensive, lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

36. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): One swallow does not make a summer. We are here once again to discuss the situation in Kampuchea, which has already gone on for six years. However, the bases for a solution existed as long ago as 1979, when General Assembly resolution 34/22 called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Since then, four other resolutions have been adopted, unfortunately without effect, or with almost no effect, and soon there will be a fifth. These resolutions have had no effect because the country mainly concerned has simply ignored them.

37. It is almost a challenge, because that country has adhered to the Charter of the United Nations, which involves among other things respect for the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the right of each people to choose the path of development that seems to it best suited to meet its aspirations and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Those principles of the Charter governing good relations between States and peoples implies that each Member State has rights and obligations that should guarantee the peace and security of all.

38. My delegation is unhappy to have to reproach for actions that smack of colonialism a country that not long ago demonstrated to the whole world its deep attachment to peace and freedom, at the cost of the blood of its sons, in defying some of the great Powers. It succeeded because it was fighting for a just cause, with the faith and courage of its sons.

39. How can such a country undermine the sovereignty of another by aggression extending to actual occupation? It must know that Democratic Kampuchea is an Asian country and that the Khmers are Asians. The courage, tenacity and self-sacrifice of the Asian people are not to be found on one side alone. Reason must prevail to end the fighting and restore Kampuchea to a normal situation. Otherwise, the tragedy will last for a long time and no one will gain.

40. The Niger, my country, whose philosophy is based on peaceful coexistence—particularly with its neighbours—and non-alignment, appeals to the protagonists in this matter to listen to the mother who is weeping over her son and to respond to the tears of the widow whose husband has disappeared and the cry of the baby whose mother has just been cut down by a stray shot. Let them think of the stateless people who are forced to emigrate to avoid humiliation and death. All these matters are contrary to the principles of the United Nations.

41. The Niger, which scrupulously observes the principles of the United Nations, has always condemned, condemns today and will condemn tomorrow all aggression and occupation, no matter who carries it out—even if the perpetrator is one of our friends.

42. That is why the Niger unreservedly condemns the illegal occupation of Kampuchea and, as has the Secretary-General, calls for the implementation of all the relevant General Assembly resolutions and, specifically: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of its right to decide its own future; and the commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

43. Six years is enough. The Khmers are in danger of becoming the “new” Palestinians: homeless, wandering from here to there, ending up perhaps in a refugee camp or country of asylum.

44. The international community must quickly find an effective way of bringing the situation in Kampuchea back to normal. The credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

45. The time is propitious. The first ray of light can undoubtedly be seen in certain statements by the protagonists, in the peace-making efforts of eminent individuals, in the initiatives, both informal and official, of the Secretary-General—who deserves our praise and appreciation—and in the tireless efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

46. For its part, the Niger, and particularly its head of State, Mr. Seyni Kountché, will co-operate with the United Nations and all who work sincerely and with good will for a resolution of the situation in Kampuchea.

47. We hope that the next resolution on Kampuchea that we will adopt and that we support will be the last, and that it will lead to the establishment of friendly and fruitful co-operation between these warring brother countries.

48. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The item under consideration today has been a concern of the international community for nearly six years. Indeed, for six years the situation in Kampuchea has been the subject of lengthy debates in the General Assembly.

49. The many resolutions adopted by this body and the various proposals individually or jointly put forward have not yet made it possible to find even the beginning of a solution to the situation in Kampuchea, which, unfortunately, remains fraught with uncertainties.

50. This situation cannot be a matter of indifference to States which, like Chad, are carrying out a stubborn, resolute struggle against foreign occupation.

51. During this session's general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad said:

“Another subject causing anxiety and concern, because it results from the use of armed force, is the continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea. It is encouraging to note that the people of Kampuchea has not stood idly by, as is shown by the military and diplomatic successes achieved under the leadership of the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.” [27th meeting, para. 262.]

52. Since the Kampuchean people raised the alarm following the invasion of its territory, it has enjoyed the unceasing support of the international community. However, despite that support, the occupation continues. This people has already suffered too much, and the delegation of Chad believes that the time has come to answer its call with actions likely to make the aggressor see reason. We pay a tribute to all those from near or far that have fought to bring this about. It would be difficult to list all the efforts made to enable the Kampuchean people to regain the right to independence and sovereignty, of which it has been deprived, and the territorial integrity of its country, which has been violated. We must, however, particularly emphasize the efforts of the Secretary-General.

53. The report of the Secretary-General, submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of resolution 38/3, speaks of his efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, to bring about a return to normal conditions in Kampuchea. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's view that:

“Although the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have not, so far, led to concrete results, there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and can only be reached through a process of genuine negotiations

and mutual accommodation.” [See A/39/576, para. 16.]

54. We can only commend the intention demonstrated on all sides to resort to the diplomatic process for settlement of the conflict. In my delegation's view, negotiations must take place between the Vietnamese Government and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was formed following the Kuala Lumpur Declaration³ of 22 June 1982 and is led by Norodom Sihanouk. It is not realistic to ignore this Coalition Government, which is the rallying point for all patriotic Kampuchean fighting for the liberation of their homeland. However, the Hanoi authorities are deliberately ignoring the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and do not want it to take part in meetings on the question of Kampuchea.

55. Like many other delegations, we wonder how a conference on Kampuchea can resolve the problem of that country if the legal representatives of its people, nation and State—that is, the three elements in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea—are excluded.

56. None of the highly commendable efforts of the international community have yet met the expectations of the suffering people of Kampuchea. They have been doomed to failure, because Viet Nam—with a population 10 times that of Kampuchea, where it maintains an army of occupation of more than 200,000 men equipped with sophisticated Soviet weapons—continues to ignore the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

57. Numerous reported facts show that the invader intends not only to maintain its occupation of Kampuchea but ultimately to colonize that country. We are thus witnessing the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, a country that has its own identity, and this attitude of the occupier will never be welcomed by a people desirous, like the people of Chad, of preserving its independence and the territorial integrity of its country.

58. Despite the seriousness of the situation, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has put forward constructive proposals for a solution to the problem. In the domestic sphere, it has proposed the creation of a Government of national reconciliation with the inclusion of all the other parties that agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea so as to make possible the reconstruction of this war-torn country.

59. At the present session the Coalition Government, in the person of its President, declared as regards Viet Nam:

“If the adversary can heed the voice of reason, we propose to end this age-old hostility. If it withdraws from our territory, we offer to develop with it and its allies of the moment, and with all countries of the world, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence in equality, mutual respect and common interest.” [See 7th meeting, para. 204.]

In our view, this is a sincere appeal to which Viet Nam can with honour respond.

60. Draft resolution A/39/L.3, of which my country is a sponsor, reflects the position of my Government on this question. We have always maintained that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status of that

country and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, without outside interference, are the decisive factors in the normalization of the situation in Kampuchea. Besides constituting a guarantee of the return of peace to that country and thus to the region, they will make it possible to solve the acute problems of refugees and displaced persons.

61. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, my delegation is most grateful and happy at the excellent and efficient manner in which this session has been conducted and guided by you. I hope this body will be guided by the same spirit and make appropriate, effective decisions in the interest not only of the Kampuchean people but of the peoples of the world, so that all can live in peace and harmony.

62. Since the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea in 1978 and despite the successive calls of the General Assembly for a comprehensive political settlement, the alarming situation in Kampuchea has remained unchanged. Moreover, the recent armed conflict along the Thai-Kampuchean border cannot but further exacerbate tension in the region.

63. Above all, it is the people of Kampuchea who are the tragic victims of a situation imposed by a foreign Government whose actions have clearly demonstrated its lack of respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. The Papua New Guinea Government has strongly condemned and will continue strongly to condemn the Vietnamese invasion and the subsequent occupational policies imposed upon the Kampuchean people through the installation of a puppet régime. We reiterate our strong support for the principles of the Declaration on Kampuchea² adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. In this context, the Papua New Guinea Government firmly believes that, in the first instance, the withdrawal of all foreign forces is imperative. This would then lay the groundwork for genuine dialogue among all the parties concerned in order to work towards a comprehensive political settlement of the situation.

65. Because of our geographical location, our concern regarding the Kampuchean problem and its immediate resolution is both genuine and very important. Because of the interdependence of international relations, my Government would like to see peace and stability restored in the Asia-Pacific region so that we could address more important questions such as the betterment of our peoples' lives, especially of the people of Kampuchea.

66. In this regard, and as a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.3, the Papua New Guinea Government wishes to commend the relentless efforts of the six member States of ASEAN in their noble endeavours to attain a political solution through the process of mutual accommodation among all parties concerned, including Viet Nam. The ASEAN States, with the support of the international community, stand ready and willing to accommodate genuine dialogue and proposals from the Hanoi Government.

67. During the last five years, the international community has repeatedly voiced its grave concern at the plight of the Kampuchean people, who have suffered and continue to suffer today in untold numbers. We wish to reiterate to the international community our appreciation of the continued humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people and of the work of UNHCR.

68. However, we remain steadfast in our conviction that a just and comprehensive political settlement can only be brought about through the exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from outside interference. Viet Nam should and must take the first genuine step towards such a settlement by withdrawing all its forces without any pre-conditions.

69. My Government would also like to place on record its full support for the Coalition Government, led by President Norodom Sihanouk, which continues to be effective and to enjoy wide international recognition.

70. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): The extent of the human tragedy and suffering that has befallen Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people over the last decade and a half is difficult to describe in words. First caught in the cross-currents of revolutionary war and upheaval in Indo-China, over which they had little say and even less control, the Kampuchean people subsequently had to endure the excesses of a singularly harsh and regressive régime. This in turn was followed by armed intervention in and military occupation of their country by Viet Nam, thus raising the agony and suffering of the people to an unparalleled degree.

71. Ever since this tragic situation was first brought before the General Assembly, the Organization has emphatically reaffirmed the inadmissibility of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and upheld its people's right to self-determination, while pointing the way towards a peaceful solution to the conflict. But the resolutions to this effect adopted for five successive years and endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Member States have remained unheeded.

72. In 1981, the International Conference on Kampuchea outlined a balanced and equitable framework as well as the pertinent elements for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. These too, however, were rejected by Viet Nam.

73. Thus Kampuchea today remains a country under foreign occupation, where its people are denied their inalienable right to determine their own destiny under a Government of their own choice. It is a country where unceasing conflict and war have exacted a horrendous toll in human lives and property. It is a country of unresolved tensions and strife, posing a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

74. In justified response, the Kampuchean people have launched a determined struggle to liberate their country from foreign domination. Rallying to the patriotic forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspiring leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the national resistance of the Kampuchean people is constantly growing in strength and effectiveness. Theirs is a just struggle for the restoration of national independence and sovereignty and indeed for their very survival as a nation. It is a struggle which deserves the full support of all freedom-loving nations of the world.

75. In his eloquent address on 25 September [7th meeting], and again yesterday [40th meeting], Prince Norodom Sihanouk not only showed his determination to restore the sovereignty, territorial integrity and cultural identity of his nation, but also displayed the breadth of vision and compassion that characterize his qualities of statesmanship. Indonesia wel-

comes his idea of national reconciliation among all the Kampuchean groups, which is indeed essential if any political settlement is to endure. We support his efforts to establish a broadly based Government through the inclusion of all Kampuchean factions that are committed to an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. We believe that, if there is one national leader in whom the Kampuchean people could repose unquestionable confidence, who could heal the wounds of conflict and bring the people together again, it is Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The legitimacy and authenticity of his Coalition Government has been reaffirmed once again by the Assembly. It is time, therefore, that Viet Nam and all other parties directly involved recognized this fact and realized that in any negotiations to resolve the Kampuchean problem there can be no substitute for dealing directly with the President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

76. From the beginning of the Kampuchean conflict, Indonesia has based its stand not upon animosity towards any State or group of States but on internationally recognized principles. The principles of the equality of States, the self-determination of peoples and peaceful coexistence are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and are held sacred by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a State for any reason or under any pretext cannot be condoned. These principles should allow no exceptions or any casuistic interpretations.

77. It is in the context of this position of principle that my delegation views the question of Kampuchea. Hence our actions have always been motivated by a positive desire to contribute to a just and durable solution, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. Our approach is based on these fundamental elements: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; thirdly, national reconciliation and general elections under international supervision; and, fourthly, the re-establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea free from foreign intervention and from manipulation from outside, at peace with its neighbours and posing no threat to any of them.

78. While Indonesia and other ASEAN members have been firm on these elements for a solution, we have nevertheless shown our flexibility as regards the framework and modalities within which to achieve them. In the joint statement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of ASEAN⁴ of 21 September 1983, ASEAN put forward a series of initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive settlement, including a cease-fire, the partial withdrawal of foreign troops, the establishment of safe areas and the introduction of supervisory or peace-keeping forces. Further, in the joint statement of the ASEAN member States [A/39/352, annex], issued at Jakarta on 9 July last, ASEAN endorsed efforts to achieve national reconciliation in Kampuchea and urged Viet Nam also to make such efforts. Clearly, these proposals were never offered as the only basis for negotiations. Yet even this approach continues to be spurned.

79. Viet Nam, on the other hand, has made much of its professed readiness to enter into dialogue and discussion with ASEAN, without, however, making clear what the precise issues on the agenda would be.

Its proposals, such as those contained in the Vientiane declaration,⁵ appear to be designed to obfuscate the core issues of the problem and submerge them in other extraneous issues. My delegation wishes to reaffirm that Indonesia and ASEAN continue to be prepared to enter into discussions or dialogue with Viet Nam at any time and at any level. In fact, such dialogues have already been taking place for a long time. We see no point, however, in having a dialogue which evades the core of the Kampuchean problem and submits it to unrealistic demands amounting to pre-conditions. Nor should we forget that the Kampuchean problem is not a dispute between ASEAN and Viet Nam or the Indo-Chinese States but basically one between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam. ASEAN's role, therefore, cannot be and should never be more than to contribute towards a just solution acceptable to all the parties concerned.

80. As the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/576] underscores, there is no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement based on the fundamental principles of the Charter and reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation. The fact that the initiatives undertaken so far have not led to concrete results should not deter us from continuing our efforts.

81. Apart from the political aspects, urgent as they may be, the humanitarian dimension of the Kampuchean problem should also not be forgotten. The plight of thousands of Kampuchean refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand demands the continued concern and generous support of the international community. My delegation joins others in expressing our deep appreciation to donor countries, to the various United Nations agencies and the many voluntary humanitarian relief organizations which have been active in providing emergency aid and sustenance to the Kampuchean people in their present ordeal. The Royal Thai Government deserves our commendation for its steadfast humanitarian commitment despite the already heavy economic burden it has to bear in these difficult times.

82. On this occasion, I wish to register my delegation's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his unremitting efforts to ensure peace and justice in the region, as well as to his able and dedicated associate, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia, and to Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Co-ordination of Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programmes. I should also like to seize this opportunity to pay tribute to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Willibald Pahr, to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Sarré, and the other members of the Committee, for their continuing commitment to achieving a negotiated solution to the conflict. In this context I would like to refer to Mr. Pahr's recent proposals, particularly those concerned with the restoration and preservation of the Angkor Wat monument, which ASEAN has endorsed. This worthy initiative, if realized, would not only serve to protect Kampuchea's ancient cultural heritage but may well constitute a starting point for national reconciliation.

83. After nearly 40 years of independence, my Government is more than ever convinced that its priority attention should continue to be directed

towards ensuring regional peace and harmony. Indonesia's foreign policy, therefore, is an expression of our profound aspiration to see our region transformed into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Indeed, the peoples of South-East Asia share a strong interest for peace and stability, good neighbourliness and common prosperity.

84. It is equally in support of these wider goals that draft resolution A/39/L.3, sponsored by 55 Member States, is presented.

85. My delegation is convinced that implementation of this resolution will not only bring peace and justice to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea, but will also open the way towards restoring harmony, stability and common progress in the entire region of South-East Asia. My delegation, therefore, strongly commends its adoption by the General Assembly.

86. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Vanuatu who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

87. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): Once again my delegation has listened attentively to the remarks made both in the general debate and during the debate on this specific item on the agenda. We have also studied in great detail draft resolution A/39/L.3 and the report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*]. We have also weighed and carefully considered the historical circumstances and social context of the present situation in Kampuchea. There is no doubt that the people of that troubled land have suffered one of mankind's great tragedies.

88. Most of us must struggle to comprehend the depths of this tragedy and its roots. Most of us also struggle to find a solution and probe for ways to assure that such a calamity does not befall any other nation in any other way, on any other day.

89. Almost 40 years ago, our predecessors thought that the Charter of the United Nations would provide one such assurance. Unfortunately, we, the nations of the world, are still far too selective in our application of the principles of this noble Organization. Far too often expediency and what is called "reality" sublimate ideals and principles of this body. All around us there are examples of small nations and defenceless peoples being coveted, conquered or coerced. The coveters, the conquerors and the coercers appear in many guises and offer lengthy and glib rationalizations. Some cynically accept the rationalizations and turn a deaf ear to the pleas for justice, equality and dignity uttered by the victims.

90. We cannot speak with any degree of competence on what is best for the people of Kampuchea. In this respect we are not at all alone. We share this inability with everyone else in the world except for the people of Kampuchea themselves. Only they are competent to speak on the direction of their future. We, like others, would like to see an end to their ordeal and to see peace and stability in the region. We believe that the nations of Indo-China and our neighbours in ASEAN have much more in common than they do in conflict. We believe that together they can achieve much for their respective peoples. Therefore, the Government of Vanuatu will continue to support dialogue, negotiations and a comprehensive political settlement of the problems of Kampuchea and the entire region.

91. On the instructions of the Government of Vanuatu, my delegation will abstain in the voting on

the draft resolution now before us. However, we have been instructed to continue to support and endorse the efforts of the Secretary-General and the humanitarian provisions of the draft resolution.

92. In abstaining on this item, however, the Government of Vanuatu goes on record as disapproving of certain remarks made in the plenary meeting on 25 September [7th meeting]. On the afternoon of that day, one speaker referred to the Vietnamese people as "a warlike, expansionist, ambitious race". The Government of Vanuatu hopes that those remarks were not intended to have the character and meaning which they unfortunately had. We feel that such remarks have no place in the deliberations of the United Nations. We also feel that such remarks must be repudiated whenever they are uttered. Reasonable men and women may differ as to the policies of a given State, but none of us can or should assign certain negative ethnic characteristics to any group of people. This is not only a morally abhorrent practice, it is also a scientifically flawed practice, as we should all know by now that we all belong to one race: the human race. Let us have differences of opinion, and let us respect each other for those differences, but let us respect our common humanity.

93. The PRESIDENT: We shall now begin the voting process. The General Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.3. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution will be found in document A/39/617. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Finland, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico,

Mozambique, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Zimbabwe.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to 22, with 18 abstentions (resolution 39/5).

94. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

95. Mr. FERM (Sweden): My delegation voted for the resolution just adopted on the situation in Kampuchea, just as we have voted for similar resolutions in previous years, because it confirms important principles of international law on which any lasting settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea must be built. Such principles are the rejection of armed intervention, respect for territorial integrity and the right to self-determination. Another important element in the text is the support it expresses for the Secretary-General's efforts to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement.

96. Our vote for the resolution should not, however, be interpreted as approval of every formulation in it. There are elements in the text which in our view are either not warranted by the facts or not likely to facilitate a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea.

97. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): Ireland voted in favour of the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. We did so because, as in previous years, we are in agreement with the general thrust of the resolution. I wish to make it clear, however, that the fact that we have voted in favour of a resolution containing the wording of the fourth preambular paragraph does not imply any change in Ireland's position regarding Kampuchean representation. The records of the Assembly clearly show that when that question was last raised formally in the context of the presentation of the report of the Credentials Committee to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Ireland, as in previous years, abstained.

98. Miss MONCADA BERMÚDEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would have supported a resolution on the situation in Kampuchea that took seriously into account the positions adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, in particular, the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October last, which, *inter alia*, reiterates the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny, free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion and urges States in the area to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of their differences and the establishment of lasting peace and stability in the area.

99. My Government rejects any measures designed to support in any way the vestiges of a bloody régime abolished in the past by the Kampuchean people. Similarly, my Government recognizes as the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as an objective reality. Accordingly, my delegation voted against draft resolution A/39/L.3.

100. Mr. ATEPOR (Ghana): My delegation voted for the resolution because it agrees with its general thrust. In particular, we believe that it is necessary to find a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem that will provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and

ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny.

101. In this regard, we believe the United Nations has an important role to play in creating an atmosphere favourable to negotiations in which representatives of the various factions can take part. We also believe that the international community should continue to extend relief assistance to the refugees and the other victims of the conflict.

102. Our vote, however, should not be interpreted as support for every expression in the resolution. In particular, we should like to put on record our reservation on the fourth paragraph of the preamble, which has connotations to which my delegation does not subscribe.

103. Mr. MAGALHÃES (Brazil): Brazil voted in favour of the resolution which was just adopted. My delegation wishes nevertheless to put on record its reservations with regard to the language used in the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

104. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the situation in Kampuchea [A/39/576] that a solution can be found only through a process of negotiation taking into account the fundamental principles of the Organization and we support his decision to continue to lend his good offices with a view to contributing to a broad political settlement of the question.

105. Hence, we supported the resolution just adopted because it is based on lofty principles of the Charter that must be respected by all States. Nevertheless, my delegation expresses reservations with regard to the fourth paragraph of the preamble, because it states as a fact something that has not been established. Any qualification in this regard is solely within the province of the Kampuchean people.

106. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): We have just concluded the debate on the situation in Kampuchea and the General Assembly has given its judgement on the meaning it wishes to give to that debate. My delegation did not feel it necessary to take part in the debate because we felt that at this stage the international community's role should be to allay rather than to exacerbate the tensions in the region. Our role in this body is hardly to add fuel to the fire. Hence, all our action must be frank and moderate.

107. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution which was just adopted. In line with what I have just said, we wish that vote to be understood as having no meaning other than the one that Burkina Faso, my country, gives it—that is, that we deeply respect the fundamental principles contained in the Charter and recognized and defended by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity.

108. My delegation has adopted this position in conformity with the policy upheld and scrupulously applied by the National Revolutionary Council—a policy advocating respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

109. We continue to believe that the truth must be spoken and that one must have the courage of one's opinions. By our vote, we wish to demonstrate to the international community our determination to see justice done to all the peoples of the world, which are as dear to us as our own people. This vote does not involve the taking of a position in favour of one or another of the parties concerned in the conflict nor is it designed to feed any kind of propaganda. Burkina Faso does have some reservations on the draft resolution just adopted. It undoubtedly could have been improved; this is true of certain paragraphs in particular. Its main aim should have been based solely on the international community's concern that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations should be respected. We are obliged to note that this aim has not been fulfilled and my delegation has serious reservations, particularly about the fourth and eleventh paragraphs of the preamble.

110. Nevertheless, the resolution as a whole reflects our determination to struggle against all foreign occupation and therefore removes the doubts we expressed in the Fifth Committee by abstaining from the vote on some aspects of this matter.

111. We dare to express the sincere hope that all the parties concerned in this question will be receptive to this message by the international community and that Kampuchea will soon find again the peace and unity so necessary to the well being and development of its people. That will be possible if, and only if, the Kampuchean people decide to seek a Kampuchean solution to their problem, without any foreign interference. We have faith in their creative spirit, and we are convinced that they will have the strength to act in that way.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹A/CONF. 109/8.

²*Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

³*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/15252.

⁴*Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

⁵*Ibid.*, *Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15626, annexes I and II.