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## THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Report of the Secretary-General

1. The present report on the situation in Kampuchea is submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of its resolution 43/19 of 3 November 1988.
2. In that resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed its resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979, 35/6 of 22 October 1980, 36/5 of 21 October 1981, 37/6 of 28 October 1982, 38/3 of 27 October 1983, 39/5 of 30 October 1984, 40/7 of 5 November 1985, 41/6 of 21 October 1986 and 42/3 of 14 October 1987 and called for their full implementation. It also reiterated its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea under effective international supervision and control, the creation of an interim administering authority, the promotion of national reconciliation among all the Kampucheans under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past, the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the reaffirmation of 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, with effective guarantees, were the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.
3. In the same resolution, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea (A/CONF.109/13), authorized the Ad Hoc Committee to convene when necessary, and requested the Secretary-General to provide the Conference and the Ad Hoc Committee on a regular basis with the necessary facilities to carry out their functions. The Assembly also reaffirmed its commitment to reconvene the Conference at an appropriate time and expressed its readiness to support any other conference of an international nature under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

4. The General Assembly further requested the Secretary-General to continue to follow the situation closely and to exercise his good offices in order to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement.
5. The General Assembly also appealed for the continuation of emergency assistance to those Kampuchean who were still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the various encampments in Thailand, and requested the Secretary-General to intensify such efforts as were necessary in co-ordinating humanitarian relief assistance and in monitoring its distribution.
6. As in previous years, a number of communications relating to the situation in Kampuchea have been addressed to me by interested Governments and circulated as documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council.
7. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/19, the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea held several meetings at Headquarters this year. It also undertook a mission of consultation to Brunei Darussalam, Bangkok, Paris and Vienna, from 2 to 13 July 1989. The Committee has issued a report on these activities (A/CONF.109/15).
8. During the period under review, I have continued, in the framework of my good offices, to seek ways to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the problem. Accordingly, I and my Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, have maintained regular contacts with the parties and countries concerned. We have also followed closely the various initiatives and diplomatic exchanges that have taken place.
9. In November 1988, Mr. Ahmed travelled to Paris and Moscow. In Paris, he met separately with Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Hun Sen. While in Moscow, he had occasion to meet again with Mr. Hun Sen. In December 1988, Mr. Ahmed travelled to Beijing, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok to undertake consultations on the situation and to encourage the process of dialogue.
10. Following the second Jakarta Informal Meeting, which was held from 19 to 21 February 1989, Mr. Ahmed again travelled to the region in March 1989, visiting Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Vientiane, as well as Beijing, Tokyo and Moscow. He met with Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Beijing and with Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan, separately, in Bangkok. Consultations during this trip focused on issues related to national reconciliation. In May, Mr. Ahmed travelled to Paris to discuss the situation with officials of the Government of France, in the light of the meeting held earlier that month in Jakarta between Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen and the announcement on 5 April of Viet Nam's decision to withdraw totally its troops from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989.
11. In June, I and Mr. Ahmed further discussed the situation with the leaders of the delegations of a number of concerned States on the occasion of the International Conference on Indo-Chinese Refugees, which was held at Geneva on 13 and 14 June. Mr. Ahmed continued these discussions on my behalf with the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at their twenty-second annual Ministerial Meeting in Brunei Darussalam in early July. Also in July, he discussed preparations for the upcoming Paris Conference on Cambodia

with French officials in Geneva and in Paris. While in Paris, he held further discussions with Prince Sihanouk, in view of the Prince's planned talks with Mr. Hun Sen and the round table of the four Kampuchean parties scheduled to take place in Paris later that month.

12. At the invitation of the Government of France, I, in my capacity as Secretary-General of the United Nations, participated in the Conference on Cambodia, which was held in Paris from 30 July to 30 August. In my statement at the opening session of the Paris Conference, I pointed out, inter alia, that the creation of a credible international control mechanism, under whatever auspices, was directly contingent upon the identification of a clear and realistic mandate, the adoption of an effective decision-making process and the provision of the necessary human, logistical and financial resources. I further suggested that a precise evaluation of such resources could only be made following a visit to the area by a fact-finding mission. This suggestion was accepted by the Conference. Accordingly, I dispatched a preliminary fact-finding mission to gather on-the-spot information of a purely technical nature. The mission visited the area from 6 to 19 August 1989.

13. More recently, I have had further discussions in New York on the situation in Kampuchea with leaders of the countries concerned who attended the beginning of the current session of the General Assembly.

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14. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/19, I have continued my efforts in co-ordinating the humanitarian relief assistance to the Kampuchean people along the Thai/Kampuchean border, within Kampuchea and within Thailand. My Special Representative for co-ordination of the programme, Mr. S. A. M. S. Kibria, has maintained close contact with the interested parties, who have been regularly informed of the needs of the programmes. The donors, both multilateral and bilateral, have also been kept informed of the details of the implementation of these programmes through quarterly meetings convened in Bangkok and New York.

15. As of the end of September 1989, there were some 291,000 Kampucheans in the evacuation sites along the border under the care of the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO). In addition, there were some 18,000 Kampuchean refugees in the Khao-I-Dang holding centre and elsewhere, under the care of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Both groups of Kampucheans continue to be completely dependent upon relief assistance provided by the international community. The introduction in the border camps of a number of new programmes, particularly those to improve education, skills training and security, has required additional financial resources. However, the increase in contributions has not matched the additional requirements and, consequently, for the first time the programmes are facing shortfalls in the order of \$5 million. I wish to appeal to the donor countries to increase their contributions sufficiently to ensure that the basic necessities are provided to the refugees and displaced persons and that the new programmes are fully funded.

16. In my last report (A/43/730), I informed the General Assembly about my concern for the security and protection of the border population and welcomed the decision of the Royal Thai Government to create a new security force, called the Displaced Persons Protection Unit (DPPU). This force has now been deployed with a total of 760 men and women serving in nine locations along the border. In addition, the services of five senior police officers from Australia, Sweden, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America have been retained to assist the camp administrators in training Khmer civilian police and establishing a system of justice. I wish to express my appreciation to the donor countries and to the Royal Thai Government for their assistance in these constructive initiatives.
17. I also wish to express my satisfaction about steps taken to ensure the safety and neutrality of the Khmer refugees in Khao-I-Dang under the care of UNHCR, a matter about which I expressed concern in my last report. I am gratified by the co-operation displayed by the Royal Thai Government, which has allowed most of the inhabitants of Khao-I-Dang to remain there and those who have been transferred to the border to remain under the mandate of UNHCR.
18. There have been reports recently that the displaced Khmers at the border may be moved inside Kampuchea without any prior arrangement or consultation. This is a matter of serious concern. Any movement of the population into Kampuchea that lacks the assurances of safety and freedom of choice cannot be supported by the United Nations. Indeed, it would make it impossible for the Organization to continue material assistance to the population or extend the necessary protection to them.
19. A positive development during recent months has been the movement into UNBRO-assisted camps of a substantial number of Khmer civilians who previously had been living in inaccessible regions at the border without the benefit of international protection or assistance. However, it is estimated that there may still be 40,000 civilians or more, mostly women and children, living in areas to which the international community has no access. The extent and seriousness of this situation was vividly demonstrated recently when more than 10,000 children were brought out from inaccessible areas in order for UNBRO to vaccinate them against epidemic diseases. In addition to the danger to which these civilians are exposed because of the ongoing military activities, they are also deprived of the most basic humanitarian aid. I wish to appeal again for the full co-operation of those concerned to enable the United Nations to fulfil its task in providing essential food and medical services to the Khmer civilian population at the border without hindrance.
20. A variety of preparatory activities in anticipation of repatriation within the context of a comprehensive settlement has been undertaken in the border encampments, including vocational skills training programmes designed to facilitate the reintegration of the potential returnees. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have given invaluable assistance to UNBRO in the design and implementation of these programmes.

21. An informal inter-agency consultative group was established in Bangkok in March 1989, under the chairmanship of Mr. Kibria. In July, I designated UNHCR as the lead agency for repatriation. A planning framework for the repatriation operation has been prepared, and UNHCR, with the assistance of the World Food Programme (WFP), has undertaken a study of the absorption capacity of the provinces to which the persons at the border are expected to wish to return. Voluntary repatriation of individual humanitarian cases continues with the co-operation of the parties concerned on a case-by-case basis.

22. In August, a seminar was organized in Bangkok to provide an opportunity for voluntary agencies and international organizations working on both sides of the border to exchange views. This was a constructive step in harmonizing their activities in preparation for an eventual repatriation operation.

23. Within Kampuchea, the humanitarian assistance of the international community continues to be provided through the United Nations and the voluntary agencies represented in Phnom Penh. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is engaged in relief efforts for mothers and children. WFP provides food assistance. UNHCR is responsible for relief assistance to returnees. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) supplies agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, insecticides and spare parts for irrigation purposes. Recently, a new FAO project to provide vaccines for farm animals has been funded. This will help rebuild the stock of draught animals depleted during the past decade. Also, funds have been provided for trucks to improve the distribution capacity for international food aid.

24. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and five national Red Cross societies are involved in medical and other relief work in the interior of Kampuchea. The assistance provided by 20 non-governmental organizations in the fields of food production, irrigation, health services and rehabilitation continues to be one of the main sources of international support for the fragile economy of the country.

25. Recent reports indicate that, for the second year in a row, the food situation in Kampuchea may show an improvement. Although a final analysis of the situation must await the results of the December harvest, there is the welcome prospect that the food-supply deficit may be reduced to less than 50,000 tons of rice. However, with the long-term effects of the 1987 drought still being felt in drought-prone provinces, the food situation remains tenuous.

26. I wish to reiterate my deep appreciation to the international community for the generous support extended to these humanitarian assistance programmes over the past decade and to express the hope that this support will continue at the level necessary to match the growing needs of the programmes. I would also like to pay a special tribute to all those dedicated workers of the United Nations and other international agencies and non-governmental organizations who have carried out the programmes so efficiently and successfully in circumstances that are often difficult and hazardous.

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27. Since the beginning of the year, the process of dialogue and negotiations on Kampuchea has gathered unprecedented momentum. The regional initiatives and numerous diplomatic exchanges that took place during the first part of the year culminated in the convening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, at the initiative of the Government of France. While, regrettably, peace has thus far remained elusive, it is of the utmost importance that the momentum created by the intense diplomatic activity of the past months not be lost.

28. The Paris Conference brought together all the directly concerned parties and other interested countries, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. It was able to address the various aspects of the problem and to achieve significant progress towards the elaboration of a comprehensive political settlement. However, continuing differences over a few complex and sensitive issues ultimately prevented the Conference from reaching this goal.

29. Since the suspension of the Paris Conference, there have been two main developments. First, I have been informed by Viet Nam that it withdrew all of its troops from Kampuchea between 21 and 26 September. It is generally agreed that the total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, verified by an effective international control mechanism, would constitute an important element, among others, of a comprehensive political settlement. However, a verification mechanism acceptable to all concerned has yet to materialize.

30. Secondly, according to various reports, there have been increased hostilities in Kampuchea during the past few weeks and it is feared that fighting may further escalate with the onset of the dry season. I strongly believe that there can be no military solution and that every effort should be made to spare the Kampuchean people from further bloodshed and suffering. Indeed, I remain convinced that the only constructive course of action is the early resumption of the negotiating process. It is my understanding that consultations are being conducted to this end, and I hope that they will reach fruition in the near future.

31. The most important outstanding issue is national reconciliation, which must begin with the definition of viable administrative arrangements for the transitional period leading to the holding of free, fair and internationally-supervised elections. At the same time, attention should be focused on the modalities of a cease-fire, especially with respect to the disposition of the armed forces of the parties, on the adoption of measures to ensure the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the 1975-1978 period, as well as on the mandate and modus operandi of an effective international control mechanism for all the elements of a comprehensive political settlement. I believe that the establishment of a firm basis for negotiations will require a genuine spirit of compromise and a readiness to engage in mutual concessions. It is only in this way that it will be possible to prepare the ground for the conclusion of the comprehensive agreement necessary to establish a durable peace in Kampuchea and to put an end to two decades of war, destruction and intense suffering.

32. I appeal to all parties to work towards such an agreement with renewed vigour and a sense of urgency. I wish to assure them that I intend to continue the efforts I have made in the exercise of my good offices and to do whatever I can to further the negotiating process and to steer it towards a successful outcome. In the final analysis, however, success will depend on whether the parties most directly concerned can muster the will to face the challenge of peace and to recognize that peace can only be more rewarding than the prolongation of a sterile and fratricidal war.

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