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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 15 November 1989, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)  
(Vice-President)

- Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations: draft resolution [158]
- The situation in Kampuchea [31]
  - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
  - (b) Draft resolution

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 158

ENHANCING INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN ALL ITS ASPECTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/44/L.38

The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it a draft resolution, issued as document A/44/L.38, entitled "Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations".

Before we proceed to take action on the draft resolution, I wish to point out that, following consultations, it has been proposed that there should be no debate on the item in the General Assembly in order to permit the broadest possible support for the draft resolution. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees not to discuss the item under consideration.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/44/L.38. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/44/L.38 was adopted (resolution 44/21).

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their position on the resolution just adopted. May I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, such explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegates from their seats.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): My delegation joined the consensus on draft resolution A/44/L.38 as an expression of its firm determination to continue working for the enhancement of international peace, security and international co-operation and to extend its full co-operation towards improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations. Moreover, my delegation heartily welcomes the spirit of co-operation expressed in the recent joint explanatory memorandum of the

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

United States and the Soviet Union that introduced the draft resolution. This is indeed a historic event, and we praise the decision of both countries to try to overcome their differences and work constructively towards our common goal.

Having said that, my delegation would like to put on record the following two observations on the resolution.

First, some of the language in the resolution remains unclear; in particular, the term "multifaceted approaches" in operative paragraph 3 needs further clarification. Also, the word "system" in the same paragraph does not have its origin in the Charter and may be subject to arbitrary interpretation. We believe that none of these words nor any part of the resolution should be interpreted as justifying undue politicization, in the name of peace and security, of United Nations issues. In our view, each item - whether political, economic or social - has its own proper forum in the United Nations and should be taken up there in an appropriate manner.

Secondly, my delegation supports enhancing the effectiveness of the role and function of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security. We understand that this particular subject has been entrusted to and discussed intensively at the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. My delegation considers, therefore, that reference should have been made to the work of that Committee and that wisdom should have been drawn from that work.

Mr. ALENCAR (Brazil): Brazil has joined the consensus in favour of the resolution just adopted. We recognize and appreciate the importance of the issues that are addressed in it. Unfortunately, time constraints have made it impossible for delegations to express fully their points of view on the text, let alone see their concerns incorporated in it.

(Mr. Alencar, Brazil)

In our opinion, the resolution just adopted lacks the proper balance between its preambular and operative parts. Even though its intention, according to the first preambular paragraph, is to strengthen further the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the solution of problems of a political, economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, operative paragraph 3 refers exclusively to the General Assembly and the Security Council as the framework for implementing the principles enshrined in the Charter. Particularly unjustified, given the scope of the first preambular paragraph, is the lack of reference in the operative part to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), whose competence over international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters is clearly stipulated in Article 62 of the Charter.

In this light, I wish to state that our joining the consensus on this resolution should not be interpreted as the acceptance of any modification in the competence of the United Nations principal organs as specified in the relevant Articles of the Charter.

The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 158.

#### AGENDA ITEM 31

##### THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/44/670)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/44/L.23)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed this afternoon at 4 p.m. May I take it that there is no objection to my proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the first speaker in the debate on this item, Her Excellency Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo of Senegal, who will speak in her capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Mrs. DIALLO: (Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): The Senegalese delegation has the now traditional honour of opening the General Assembly debate on agenda item 31, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

Senegal would like once again to avail itself of this opportunity to impart to the Assembly its thoughts on the many events that have occurred in connection with this issue over the past 12 months. In so doing, we shall be guided by the same determination we have had since 1979 to help find a comprehensive political settlement to the question of Kampuchea. Profoundly dedicated as we are to the principles of the United Nations Charter - in particular, to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the right to self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States - Senegal has always seen the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign troops not only as the major cause of the tragedy this fraternal people has been experiencing for over a decade now but also as a serious threat to the peace in the sub-region of South-East Asia. If it had been tolerated, such a situation would have set a dangerous precedent for small States and, thereby, for the stability of international relations.

(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

My country's concerns were shared by the international community - and in particular by the United Nations, which for more than 10 years has been calling for a comprehensive settlement to the Kampuchean question based on the total withdrawal of foreign troops under supervision and control of an effective international mechanism, the exercise by the Kampuchean people of its right to self-determination through free elections, the reconciliation of all sectors of the country, and the guaranteeing of an independent Kampuchea with a non-aligned, neutral status. Senegal, like the majority of the Members of the Organization, continues to believe that only the establishment of a quadripartite government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk will make the achievement of that objective possible. Similarly, this comprehensive settlement should include the basic issue of the protection of human rights.

The regional and international initiatives that have been undertaken this year on the Kampuchean question have given us a legitimate reason for hope in spite of the lack of concrete results. In this connection Senegal commends the French Government for the efforts which led to the convening in Paris in August 1989 of the international Conference on Cambodia. With its political significance and the stature of its participants, that Conference was an important stage in the peace process. Because it helped us identify even more specifically the elements for a comprehensive political settlement, the Paris Conference will be an invaluable contribution to the efforts still to be made in order to restore peace to Cambodia.

For all those reasons, my country appeals to the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of France and Indonesia, to continue and even increase their consultations with a view to reconvening that Conference as soon as possible.

(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

Senegal also pays a tribute to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for his constructive participation in, and the open-mindedness he showed at, the Paris Conference, where he headed the Cambodian National Resistance. Regrettably, this demonstration of political will met only with intransigence from the other side on certain basic points, such as the creation of an international control mechanism to verify the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia. In the absence of such a mechanism and of a comprehensive political settlement, the announcement by Viet Nam of the withdrawal of its troops on 26 September 1989 has unfortunately not entirely met our expectations.

In this regard Senegal agrees with the following opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report:

"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". (A/44/670, para. 29)

The absence of a political settlement should not, however, result in more suffering for the Cambodian people on the scene. That is why my country is particularly concerned over the intensification during the past few weeks of the hostilities in Cambodia. Everyone seems to agree that there can be no military solution to the Kampuchean problem. The international community is therefore duty bound to spare no effort, pending a final political settlement, to relieve the suffering of the Cambodian people.

Senegal for its part will continue to help in these efforts, especially through the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which it has the honour to preside.

(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

My delegation has taken note with interest of the report (A/44/670) of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea. The importance of the activities described in that document show - if that were needed - the dedication and competence with which the Secretary-General has been carrying out the delicate mission entrusted to him by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/19 of 3 November 1988. The many contacts which he has undertaken himself or which have been undertaken by his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, have discreetly, but effectively, overcome some barriers of misunderstanding and mistrust between the parties concerned. The Secretary-General's contribution to the Paris Conference was particularly outstanding. In this regard I would emphasize the dispatch to Cambodia, on his proposal, of a mission of inquiry to assess the human, logistical and financial resources necessary for the establishment of an effective international control mechanism. The circumstances in which this mission was established and the work it has been able to do in an extremely short time reflect well on the wealth of experience of the United Nations and its unequalled abilities in this sphere.

Finally, United Nations humanitarian assistance continues to be absolutely necessary to the Cambodian people. We should all support the Secretary-General's efforts in this area.

This year the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea has, for its part, conducted consultations with certain interested Governments, in keeping with the mandate entrusted to it by the international Conference. The purpose of these consultations was to emphasize the international community's constant concern over the situation in Kampuchea and arouse the broadest possible support for the efforts to settling this problem. I should like here, on behalf of my country and on behalf of the members of the Committee, to express appreciation



(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

for the support and encouragement that the members of the delegation which I led and I personally received in the countries we visited.

Senegal has always emphasized the importance of regional initiatives in the quest for a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. The Jakarta Informal Meetings and the bilateral consultations between the countries of South-East Asia reinforce our conviction that a political settlement of the Kampuchean question should take its regional dimension into account.

I take this opportunity, on behalf of my country and of the Ad Hoc Committee, to pay a tribute to the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for their tireless efforts in seeking a political settlement in Cambodia.

I should also like to emphasize how useful the members of the Committee found the conversations they had with His Excellency Mr. Alois Mock, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the new President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and with his predecessor in that post, His Excellency Mr. Leopold Gratz.

(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

I should now like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the annual report of the Ad Hoc Committee, especially paragraphs 25 and 26, which say the following:

"The Committee welcomes the progress achieved by the Paris Conference .. in elaborating the elements necessary for achieving a comprehensive political settlement to the problem. The Committee notes that those elements are consistent with the principles contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea ...

"The Committee remains convinced that the long-term interests of all parties to the conflict lie in a negotiated settlement leading to the establishment of a sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. Accordingly, the Committee is determined to continue its consultations and to consider all appropriate measures within the context of its mandate, with a view to gaining further understanding and support for the principles and objectives set out by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the General Assembly". (A/CONF.109/15, paras. 25 and 26)

Kampuchea is at the crossroads. Now is the time for the international community and the various parties to the conflict to redouble their efforts so that the hopes born of the positive developments this year are not dashed. In this regard we appeal urgently to the various parties to the conflict, who, in the final analysis, can bring about a comprehensive political settlement. It is up to them to show political courage by agreeing to the compromises necessary for a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean question.

(Mrs. Diallo, Chairman, Ad Hoc  
Committee of the International  
Conference on Kampuchea)

It is in order to help in the realization of this objective that my country has agreed to join with 77 other countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/44/L.23, which we should like most earnestly to recommend for adoption by the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, His Excellency Mr. Son Sann, who has expressed the wish to make a statement on the item under consideration.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. SON SANN (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): I have the great honour and privilege to read out to the Assembly the message addressed to it by His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Leader of the Cambodian National Resistance and President of Democratic Kampuchea, on agenda item 31, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", as follows:

"After almost 11 years of a hard-fought and multifaceted struggle waged by the Cambodian people and their national resistance forces with the support of all peace- and justice-loving countries and peoples, the so-called problem of Kampuchea has reached a crucial stage marking the failure of Viet Nam's efforts to conquer Cambodia by military means, and the urgent necessity agreed upon by all to find a comprehensive political solution to that problem. The question is that of restoring Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-alignment by compelling the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to put an end to its invasion and occupation, and to respect the United Nations Charter and international law.

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Kampuchea)

"During these past 10 years this august Assembly has adopted, at each session and with increasingly overwhelming majorities, a resolution calling for a comprehensive political solution which includes necessarily two essential and inseparable elements, namely:

"First, the total and definitive withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia; and

"Secondly, the exercise by the Cambodian people of their inalienable right to self-determination.

"These resolutions, together with the resolute struggle of the Cambodian people actively supported by all peace- and justice-loving countries, have compelled Viet Nam to sit at the negotiating table in Paris and to give up its claim that the situation in Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia was irreversible.

"The Conference on Cambodia, held in Paris from 30 July to 30 August last, unanimously decided that the solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea should be a comprehensive one. Without such a comprehensive political solution, it would be impossible to restore to Cambodia a durable peace in independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity and, consequently, for the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination; similarly, it would be impossible to try to ensure peace, security and stability in the whole of South-East Asia. This decision by the Conference is a setback for Viet Nam in its manoeuvring aimed at dividing the problem into two so-called aspects, an external aspect and an internal aspect, with the obvious purpose of extricating itself from its responsibility while compelling the world community to accept the fait accompli of its invasion and occupation of Cambodia and to legalize the Vietnamese-installed régime in Phnom Penh.

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"More than anyone else, the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea are deeply affected by the misfortunes, sufferings and humiliations of Cambodia and its people, victims of Vietnamese invasion and occupation. More than anyone else, they want a speedy political solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea so as to put an end as soon as possible to the cruel and tragic trials which have lasted too long and to restore to Cambodia a genuine peace in independence, territorial integrity and national honour.

"In my 28 September message to this august Assembly, I said that I had put forward a five-point peace plan for a comprehensive, just and fair solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The modalities of implementation of this plan were laid down in detail and in all their aspects at the Paris Conference.

"In my capacity as Leader of the Cambodian National Resistance and President of Democratic Kampuchea, I deem it very important that this Assembly and, in particular, all the representatives of peace- and justice-loving countries be informed of the modalities of implementation of that peace plan, as in the case of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia.

"A comprehensive, just and durable solution must necessarily include effective and efficient measures to resolve two key issues.

"The first and most urgent key issue is the total and definitive withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces and all Vietnamese settlers from Cambodia under the effective verification and supervision of an international control mechanism, under the auspices of the United Nations, to be assisted by a United Nations peace-keeping force.

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"The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia is composed of the following elements: first, regular troops in uniforms of the Vietnamese People's Army; secondly, Khmer-speaking Vietnamese officers and soldiers disguised as Cambodian officers and soldiers of the Phnom Penh régime's army; thirdly, Khmer-speaking Vietnamese officers and soldiers disguised as civilians married to Cambodian women, who live among the Cambodian population but in fact pull the strings of the administrative apparatus of the Phnom Penh régime, from the top down to the village level; fourthly, armed forces concealed among the Vietnamese settlers and actually playing the role of militiamen; and, fifthly, Vietnamese settlers systematically sent to Cambodia by Viet Nam, the occupying Power, in violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. Those settlers do not have the status of illegal immigrants or refugees and even less of foreign residents in Cambodia. They have been sent by the Hanoi leaders within the framework of the plan of Vietnamization of Cambodia in all fields. They belong to clandestine organizations conducting political and military activities in Cambodia. A great number of them have already been granted Cambodian citizenship by the illegal Phnom Penh régime. They are what Vietnamologists call soldier-peasants, who helped conquer the Islamic Kingdom of Champa, today's central Viet Nam, and Lower Cambodia, today's South Viet Nam.

"The total number of regular, disguised or concealed Vietnamese forces currently in Cambodia, after their so-called total withdrawal, is more than 100,000 men. The total number of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia is estimated at about a million, living among fewer than 7 million Cambodians.

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All of those Vietnamese elements must be withdrawn from Cambodia.

"Their withdrawal must be supervised and verified by an international control mechanism, which should be effective and credible. The objective would be not only to witness the withdrawal of all those Vietnamese elements but also, and above all, to ensure that not a single one remained in Cambodia and that no new Vietnamese forces came back in any form. Furthermore, the mandate of the international control mechanism would be to control and verify, inter alia, the cease-fire, the cessation of foreign military aid to the Cambodian forces and the disarming of those forces to prevent any possible attempt by any one of the Cambodian parties to monopolize power to the detriment of others, and to supervise general elections.

"The United Nations fact-finding mission sent to Cambodia in the first two weeks of August to assess the possible needs of the international control mechanism has concluded that the topography of Cambodia, the state of its infrastructure devastated by war and the inadequate means of communication make it very difficult and complex for the international control mechanism to carry out its activities in implementation of its mandate. It is therefore essential for the international control mechanism to have substantial strength to be deployed and stationed in Cambodia in many critical check-points for movement of troops and the transport of arms and ammunition.

"Everyone - except, of course, Viet Nam and its allies - agrees that only the United Nations has the competence, experience and human, material and financial resources necessary to carry out these various operations. That is why we have been asking that the international control mechanism be placed under United Nations auspices, to be assisted in its mandate by a substantial United Nations peace-keeping force. The United Nations international control

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mechanism should, within the framework of its mandate, have free access to all parts of Cambodian territory and have its own means of transportation and communications. It should be able to act upon any complaint, whatever the source. In the exercise of its mandate the United Nations international control mechanism should be assisted by representatives of the four Cambodian parties whose role - a very important one - should be to help on the one hand to differentiate the Cambodians from the Vietnamese and on the other hand to uncover disguised or concealed Vietnamese forces, as well as Vietnamese caches of arms and war matériel in Cambodia.

"Having respect for human rights and opposed to racial discrimination, the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have clearly specified that all Vietnamese who can justify their status as legal residents of Cambodia prior to 18 March 1970 will be authorized to remain in the country.

"Viet Nam has categorically rejected the auspices of the United Nations and insisted that the control mechanism be placed under the auspices of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia and that it carry out its activities based on respect for the sovereignty of Cambodia, in other words, on the prior agreement by the Cambodian authorities - that is the puppet Phnom Penh régime - and on the unanimity of the representatives of the States members of the international control mechanism. Viet Nam has rejected any measure aimed at repatriating its settlers installed in Cambodia and has even denied the very existence of the problem.

"The Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea can by no means accept that kind of control mechanism based on working procedures which remove all its real effectiveness. It is



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evident that such a mechanism would not be able to control and verify the presence of Vietnamese forces in Cambodia if it were first to require the unanimity of its members and then to obtain the agreement of the Cambodian authorities installed and manipulated by Viet Nam - that is, the agreement by Viet Nam itself. It should be recalled that it was because of those working procedures that the International Control Commission resulting from the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos was unable to prevent Viet Nam from violating with impunity the neutrality of Laos, which it had solemnly pledged in writing to respect, and from building up throughout the eastern part of Laos the notorious Ho Chi Minh trail along which Viet Nam had a million of its troops stationed in order to dispatch from North Viet Nam hundreds of thousands of others, together with substantial military matériel, for the conquest of South Viet Nam and Laos. Likewise, the International Commission of Control and Supervision which resulted from the 1973 Paris Agreements on Viet Nam failed to prevent North Viet Nam from launching in 1975 its final assault on South Viet Nam.

"It is obvious that by refusing to place the international control mechanism under the auspices of the United Nations and to discuss the problem of its settlers Viet Nam actually wants to maintain in Cambodia a substantial number of its disguised or concealed forces, in order to continue to grant all-out support to the illegal Phnom Penh régime and to perpetuate, under the cover of that régime, the occupation of Cambodia within the framework of its 'Indochina Federation'.

"The second key element to be resolved within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the so-called problem of Kampuchea

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is the exercise by the sovereign Cambodian people of their inalienable right to self-determination.

"It is undeniable that that right can be genuinely exercised only in a climate of peace, security and stability. To that end, besides measures to ensure the total, real and definitive withdrawal of Vietnamese occupying forces from Cambodia, additional measures should be taken not only to restore but also, and in particular, to maintain peace, security, stability and order in Cambodia. It is necessary to avoid, as has been pointed out by many speakers from this rostrum, the repetition of the Afghanistan situation in Cambodia. To that end, it is essential to establish a balance of all Cambodian forces within the framework of a genuine national reconciliation among all Cambodians, irrespective of their past or of their political tendencies. In that spirit I have proposed the formation of a provisional quadripartite government, a provisional quadripartite administration and a provisional quadripartite army comprising the three parties of our Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, as well as the party installed by Viet Nam in Phnom Penh. It goes without saying that, if the Cambodian people are to exercise genuinely and freely their right to self-determination without any pressure or coercion, the elections must be impartial and therefore must be held outside the framework of the illegal Phnom Penh régime and also of the legal State of Democratic Kampuchea.

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"I should like to stress the following:

"First, national reconciliation can be genuine only if all parties are included and not a single one of them is treated in a discriminatory way vis-à-vis the others.

"Secondly, the quadripartite system I have proposed is in no way a 'sharing of the pie', as claimed by Viet Nam. Cambodia does not belong to any Cambodian party but, rather, to the Cambodian people, who alone have the right to choose their own leaders and decide for themselves the political, economic and social system under which they want to live. This quadripartite system is a vital necessity in ensuring the peace, security and stability so essential for the Cambodian people's free and fair expression.

"Thirdly, the primary task of this provisional quadripartite system is to organize free and general elections under the supervision of the United Nations. If there were no such quadripartite system, and if it were up to one party - in this case, the administration set up in Phnom Penh by Viet Nam - to organize these important elections, that party would surely falsify the census operations by giving voter cards to the Vietnamese settlers to whom it has already granted Cambodian citizenship and not to the genuinely Cambodian patriots who have participated in the struggle side by side with the three forces of the Cambodian National Resistance. In that case, these elections would not be just and fair. They would be nothing but a totally unacceptable farce.

"In addition to the setting up of this provisional quadripartite system, and out of a concern to prevent any one of the four Cambodian parties from misusing its forces and monopolizing power for itself, I have also proposed:

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"First, the assistance of the United Nations international control mechanism to supervise the elections, and the presence of a substantial United Nations peace-keeping force with a five-year renewable mandate.

"Secondly, the total disarming of the armed forces of the four Cambodian parties, or - if not that - the reduction of their strength to 10,000 men for each party, and their restriction to barracks.

"All the proposals I have just put before the Assembly are also those of the three parties of the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Their magnanimous nature is obvious:

"First, we ask Viet Nam, the aggressor, for nothing that belongs to it. We do not even ask it to pay any war damage in compensation for the boundless human suffering inflicted on our people and in reparation for the immense destruction and ruin brought on our country. The only thing we ask is that it leave Cambodia and restore to it and its people what belongs to them. We even propose to Viet Nam the restoration of good, friendly and neighbourly relations. To that end, we stand ready to conclude with it a treaty of peace and friendship, based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, for the well-being of our two peoples, who are bound to live side by side until the end of time. This is a solution in which there is neither winner nor loser and which enables Viet Nam to put an end to its Cambodian venture without losing face.

"Secondly, to all those people installed in Phnom Penh by Viet Nam, we extend a fraternal hand of national reconciliation and invite them, disregarding the past and in the higher interest of the survival of our nation and people, to participate on an equal footing in a provisional quadripartite Government, administration and army, with a view to preparing and organizing

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together general and free elections which will pave the way for a stable peace in our country and for the prosperity of our people in a Cambodia again truly independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, and with a liberal democratic régime that respects human rights. For all these provisional quadripartite institutions to be accepted by all, we even propose placing them not only outside the framework of the illegal Phnom Penh régime but also outside that of the legal State of Democratic Kampuchea.

"Never in history have States victims of foreign aggression displayed such generosity towards the aggressors and their collaborators. The fate reserved for Nazi war criminals and their Quislings and Livals is revealing testimony to this.

"Our proposals attest to our political will and sincerity in the search for a genuinely comprehensive and lasting solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea - a solution that is just and fair to all: to Cambodia and its people as well as to Viet Nam and its people. They testify to our sense of responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of peace, security and stability, not only in Cambodia but also in South-East Asia, because reconciliation between Cambodia and Viet Nam would pave the way for the establishment of that zone of peace, freedom and neutrality earnestly called for by our friends in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

"However, in spite of our political will and steadfast efforts, Viet Nam has thus far rejected all our proposals, however magnanimous. Such a negative position on the part of Viet Nam only reveals its will to pursue at all costs its 'Indochina Federation' policy. It shows that as far as Viet Nam is concerned diplomacy and peace negotiations serve only to obtain what it has

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failed to conquer by force of arms, and thus to fulfil its expansionist ambitions.

"Viet Nam claims that on 28 September last it withdrew all its armed forces and civilian advisers from Cambodia. But its refusal to place this so-called total withdrawal under the control of the United Nations only reveals its bad faith. It only confirms that Viet Nam in fact has major schemes and tricks to hide in Cambodia - in particular its many disguised and concealed forces. In fact, today the forces of the Cambodian National Resistance continue to fight against Vietnamese forces - including, among others, Division No. 339 in Pursat province, north-west of Phnom Penh; Divisions Nos. 309 and 330 in the western region; Divisions Nos. 5, 302, 307 and 315 in the northern region; and Division No. 2 in Stung Treng province, north-east of Cambodia. Furthermore, two weeks ago Viet Nam dispatched to Battambang more than 3,000 fresh troops - in uniform - of the army of the Phnom Penh régime. That régime has not even dared to deny that fact. I should like to pay a tribute here to all those peace- and justice-loving countries that have rejected the Vietnamese subterfuge of a so-called total withdrawal.

"In order to divert the international community from this subterfuge, Viet Nam continues to brandish the threat of the return of the Khmer Rouge to power, notwithstanding all the assurances solemnly given and the concrete measures proposed by the latter to eliminate this threat. What is more, it continues to reject all effective and impartial measures to supervise its so-called total withdrawal, and continues to maintain at all costs the régime it has installed in Phnom Penh. I have on many occasions stressed that if the Khmer Rouge were to be put on trial and condemned, the Hanoi leaders would

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also have to be put on trial and condemned for their crimes against humanity, as illustrated by their invasion and occupation of Cambodia, and in particular by the all-out Vietnamization of Cambodia and its people. The leaders of the régime installed in Phnom Penh should also be condemned for the heinous crimes they continue to commit against the Cambodian people and for their brutal violations of human rights, as evidenced by many reports of Amnesty International; by the edifying book entitled The Bamboo Wall, by Dr. Esmeralda Luciulli, who worked for 18 months - from 1984 to 1986 - for the French Red Cross in Cambodia; and also by many research studies carried out by the French Centre for Scientific Research on the crimes of ethnocide committed by Viet Nam in Cambodia. The Hanoi leaders claim that they are endowed with great mercy and respect the Cambodian people's human rights, while they are not even able to provide their own people with a decent life. And we are aware of the sad fate of hundreds of thousands of 'boat people', who prefer to face the risk of death on the high seas rather than investing their future in their own country. Had Viet Nam been really sincere in the search for a comprehensive political solution, and if it had wished to prevent the return to power of solely the Khmer Rouge, it would have accepted my peace plan and put to the test the measures presented by the Khmer Rouge itself.

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"Viet Nam continues to claim that it is not responsible for the situation created by its invasion of Cambodia and that it is for the Cambodians themselves to settle their internal affairs without any foreign interference. Once again, I make the following clarifications.

"First, the so-called problem of Kampuchea is not an inter-Cambodian problem but a problem between Viet Nam and Cambodia.

"Secondly, a provisional Government in the framework of the illegal Phnom Penh régime is unacceptable because acceptance of it would be tantamount to condemning Cambodia and its people to being absorbed by Vietnamese expansionism and encouraging Viet Nam to pursue its thrust into the whole of South-East Asia.

"Thirdly, the talks that I and the three parties of the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have had with the Phnom Penh régime should be interpreted not as a recognition of the existence of a so-called internal aspect of the problem but rather as a magnanimous concession and an effort to bring about national reconciliation which we have made towards those who have served the cause of the Vietnamese occupiers against our motherland.

"Fourthly, whatever the amendments made to the so-called constitution of the Phnom Penh régime and whatever the results of so-called elections organized by that régime, the régime is and will remain a mere creation and creature of Viet Nam.

"The war in Cambodia has been waged and is being waged today only between Viet Nam, the aggressor, and Cambodia, the victim. Contrary to the claims by Viet Nam and some others, there has not been and there is no civil war in Cambodia. In order to put an end to the confusion deliberately fostered by



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Viet Nam concerning the true nature of the so-called problem of Kampuchea, I would point out that there will not be any new rounds of meetings or talks exclusively between, on the one hand, myself, the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and, on the other hand, the Phnom Penh régime. We stand ready to participate in international conferences such as the Paris International Conference on Cambodia, where the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is present as a party to the conflict.

"Viet Nam interprets our magnanimous peace proposals as a sign of weakness. This is indeed a grave mistake on its part because the Cambodian National Resistance, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and I, together with the entire Cambodian people, will not cease our patriotic struggle until Viet Nam sincerely accepts a comprehensive, just and lasting political solution comprising the two key elements I have just had the honour to present to the Assembly. The negative and obstinate position of Viet Nam leaves us with no other path to salvation, because what is at stake is the very survival of our nation and people. The struggle can cease in Cambodia only in the framework of this comprehensive political solution.

"We have done everything in our power and shall continue to do so in order to restore peace to Cambodia, a peace with full independence, territorial integrity and honour. A peace in which the Cambodian people cannot enjoy fully their freedom and all their rights, in which Viet Nam actually remains the master of the country, in which the Phnom Penh régime continues to serve the interests of Viet Nam and its Indochina Federation - such a peace is unacceptable.

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"The Soviet Union could help us greatly in attaining this objective, which is also the profound aspiration of our people. Indeed, while declaring that it is necessary to reach a comprehensive political solution, the Soviet Union continues in fact to give political and military support and assistance to Viet Nam and the Phnom Penh régime, as evidenced by the positions it took at the recent Paris Conference and the considerable increase in the already very substantial supplies of arms and heavy war materials it has provided to the Phnom Penh régime. Such a stand only encourages Viet Nam to continue its war of invasion and occupation in Cambodia and goes against the insistent call of all peace-loving and justice-loving countries and peoples for a quick comprehensive political solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea.

"Every year, prior to the debates in our Assembly on 'The situation in Kampuchea', Viet Nam actively carries out manoeuvres aimed at sowing confusion in order to weaken support for the draft resolution submitted at the end of each debate. However, every year the result of the vote constitutes a setback for Viet Nam.

"This year I should like to make a vibrant appeal to all peace-loving and justice-loving countries to support draft resolution A/44/L.23, submitted by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and sponsored by 78 Member States.

"The massive support given this year to the draft resolution will be of particular value because it will make it clear to Viet Nam that it must cease mocking with impunity the will for peace of the international community and the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Such support, expressed at a crucial stage of the long and hard-fought patriotic struggle waged by the Cambodian people, the Cambodian National Resistance and

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the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, will give a major incentive to the ongoing search for a comprehensive, just and lasting political solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea.

"To the ASEAN countries, which have never failed to grant us their noble and invaluable support, to the People's Republic of China, which has always assured us unconditionally of its sincere and multifaceted support and assistance, to all the peace-loving and justice-loving countries which have given steadfast and increasing support to our struggle and are ready to do so once again by voting in favour of this draft resolution, I wish to express, on behalf of the entire Cambodian people, the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on my own behalf, our most profound gratitude.

"May I also reiterate to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to his colleagues our sincerest congratulations and our gratitude for their noble efforts and dedication in fulfilling the mandate entrusted to them by the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Assembly.

"Lastly, to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Alois Mock, to his predecessor, Mr. Leopold Gratz, and to all the members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference, including its President, Ambassador Absa Claude Diallo, I should like to reiterate our very deep appreciation and our warmest thanks for their noble and valuable contribution to the development of our struggle.

"To all, the Cambodian people, through me, would like to declare that they will never forget this priceless and vital support for the survival of

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Cambodia, our nation, and will continue to do their utmost always to deserve and strengthen it.

"I should like to express my warmest thanks for the Assembly's kind attention to this message."

That is the end of the message from His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Leader of the Cambodian National Resistance and President of Democratic Kampuchea.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea for his statement.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Indonesia, who in the course of his statement will introduce draft resolution A/44/L.23.

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

Ever since this tragic situation was brought before the Organization the General Assembly has emphatically reaffirmed the inadmissibility of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Cambodia and upheld its people's right to self-determination, while pointing the way towards a peaceful solution of the conflict. But successive resolutions to this effect endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Member States have remained unheeded. Consequently, Cambodia today remains a country whose people are denied their inalienable right to determine their own future, under a Government of their choice. It is a country in which unceasing conflict has exacted a horrendous toll in human lives and destroyed its economy and other infrastructures. It is a country of unresolved tensions and strife, thus posing a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

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

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interpretations. Moreover, after more than four decades of independence my Government is more than ever convinced that its priority attention should continue to be directed towards ensuring regional peace and harmony in our region, which in the past has been characterized by internecine conflict. Indonesia's policy, therefore, reflects the determination to see our region transformed into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Indeed, the peoples of South-East Asia share a strong interest in peace and stability, good neighbourliness and co-prosperity.

It is with these considerations in mind that Indonesia has endeavoured to explore all possible avenues that could realistically and effectively lead to a viable solution of the Cambodian tragedy and would also contribute to strengthening the larger framework for peace and stability in South-East Asia. My Government has always been particularly aware of the implications and dangers of a prolonged stalemate in resolving this issue; hence, the understanding reached in Ho Chi Minh city in July 1987 between Indonesia, acting as interlocutor for the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Viet Nam on the holding of an informal meeting between the political factions of the Cambodian people, to be joined at a later stage by other concerned countries, gave us cause for measured hope. Subsequently, with the explicit encouragement of his colleagues in ASEAN, my Foreign Minister convened the Jakarta Informal Meetings, which provided a unique opportunity for direct dialogue in order to identify possible areas of common ground and the real obstacles in the search for a solution.

It is to be recalled that the first Jakarta Informal Meeting, held in July 1988, achieved understanding and agreement on several basic approaches, foremost among which was that a solution should be sought through negotiations and dialogue and not through force of arms and military means. Of no less importance was the recognition that any settlement, to be durable, must be conceived within

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the broader framework of establishing the conditions necessary to restore tranquillity in the region. With these two overriding goals agreed upon, it was further acknowledged that the ultimate objective was the creation of an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia on the basis of national reconciliation and self-determination.

Building on this progress, the second Jakarta Informal Meeting, which was convened last February, broke new ground and resulted in an extensive and detailed exchange of views involving both the internal and the external aspects or elements of a comprehensive solution. Thus, the talks centred on the modalities, including an international control mechanism and general elections, as well as the possibility of convening an international conference. In this way, the Meeting not only broadened the framework but also enlarged the scope of the discussions on a political settlement. On all these issues, however, there was a wide divergence of views as regards details and practical modalities that still needed further negotiation.

It soon became apparent that there were certain aspects of an internal nature that impinged exclusively on the Cambodian people and therefore should be addressed by the Cambodian parties themselves. In the inter-Cambodian talks subsequently held in Jakarta last May and in Paris last July, agreement was reached to participate in an international conference to talk about an international control machinery and its terms of reference. It was indeed heartening that the talks moved a long way towards discussion of changes in the Constitution and other basic issues that in the past were a bone of contention between them.

We realize that the Jakarta Informal Meetings and the inter-Cambodian talks are not the only valid approaches to the settlement of the problem as other initiatives and parallel efforts are being undertaken by others. In this regard, we express our appreciation to our Secretary-General and his Special

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Representative, as well as the members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Cambodia, in trying to devise a viable political solution of the problem. Likewise, Indonesia welcomed the initiative of the Movement of the Non-Aligned countries bringing to bear its moral weight and trying to facilitate an acceptable settlement. Indonesia and ASEAN remain fully supportive of Prince Sihanouk, who, with his pre-eminent stature as a genuine Cambodian patriot, continues to play a pivotal role and can heal the wounds of conflict and lead the process of national reconciliation.

Although the political aspects are serious and compelling, the humanitarian dimensions of the Cambodian problem should remain of equal concern to us. The magnitude of the suffering of the Cambodian people, and especially the plight of the refugees along the Thai-Cambodian border, within Cambodia and within Thailand, call for the continued attention and generous support of the international community. My delegation joins others in expressing our sincere appreciation to donor countries, the various United Nations agencies and the many voluntary humanitarian relief organizations which have been generous in providing emergency aid and assistance to the Cambodians in their ordeal.

We all recognize the complexities of the Cambodian problem in many of its dimensions as well as in its regional and international ramifications. Indonesia and ASEAN have from the outset believed that a comprehensive solution of the problem, especially in its extraregional aspects, can be achieved only through an international conference, with the participation of the parties directly concerned, the countries of the region, the major Powers and other interested States. With a view to building upon the framework and progress already achieved through the regional process of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, members of ASEAN agreed to participate in the Conference on Cambodia, which was convened in Paris last summer



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on the initiative of the Government of France and of which the co-Presidents were France and Indonesia.

While those efforts to resolve outstanding issues and achieve a comprehensive settlement encountered serious obstacles, much useful work was accomplished in elaborating the detailed aspects of various elements of a solution. It is noteworthy that the participants achieved a near consensus on the inclusion of all the four Cambodian factions during the transitional phase and on the role that the United Nations should play in peacekeeping, verification of foreign troop withdrawal and the organization of elections.

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Further, the statement issued at the conclusion of the Conference gave a broad mandate to the two co-Presidents to lend their good offices and initiate consultations within six months to reconvene the Conference as appropriate. In this regard, Indonesia continues to contact the parties involved and the countries concerned to reinvigorate the ongoing process of dialogue.

However, the Conference did not resolve crucial questions concerning the role of one of the Cambodian parties in an interim Government and the auspices under which an international control mechanism would operate, as some of the participants did not engage in serious and purposeful negotiations. Indeed, thinly veiled attempts were made to obfuscate the core issues of the problem by opting for a partial solution and the preservation of the status quo, which we all know will only perpetuate violence and bloodshed. From the very beginning of its efforts Indonesia has emphasized two lines of conduct: first, to refrain from pointing a finger or adopting an accusatory attitude towards any of the parties directly involved; and, secondly, to call upon them to eschew the military option and to forgo the temptation to project their respective military strength to influence the negotiations or dictate the terms of a settlement.

More than any other State in the region, Viet Nam knows the costs and implications of continuing conflict and polarization in South-East Asia, which bring in their wake only heightened tensions and greater sacrifices. We view this prospect with deep concern as we believe that such a course would not be in the interests of any single country in our region. We call especially on Viet Nam, with which Indonesia has always had historical ties of friendship and co-operation, to recognize in its own interests that there is no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement and active and constructive participation in the continuing efforts to arrive at mutually acceptable terms of settlement.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

My delegation expects the reconvened Conference to play a decisive role in determining the future status of Cambodia and in ensuring its independence, sovereignty and neutrality. To facilitate this process, we envisage the establishment of an international control mechanism to supervise the implementation of the agreements reached, including, inter alia, the modalities of a cease-fire; non-interference, including the termination of external arms supplies; and the establishment of a Government of national reconciliation. This would require a commitment by the parties involved to marshal the necessary political will and demonstrate a spirit of compromise and accommodation in the higher interests of their nation, for to a very large degree it is the Cambodians themselves who can translate into action their cherished hopes for and aspirations to a new and dynamic era for Cambodia.

It is in this overall context that I now introduce, on behalf of the 75 sponsors listed in document A/44/L.23 and four others, namely, the Bahamas, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria and Zambia, the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea which is now before the Assembly. Neither its tone nor its intent can be regarded as being confrontational or condemnatory, as we in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) cannot believe that the goal of a Cambodia at peace with itself and with its neighbours should give cause for contention. In fact, it is forward-looking and realistic.

Specifically, the draft resolution addresses two important aspects. First, the fearful possibility of a return to power by the clique which terrorized that hapless nation is of intense concern, especially to ASEAN. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, some of whose family members fell victim to the genocidal policy of the Khmer Rouge in the past, has none the less adopted a magnanimous attitude and called for its inclusion in a quadripartite provisional Government until the people of Cambodia can exercise the right to determine their own future. To allay

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misgivings and suspicions concerning its future intentions, the Khmer Rouge, in a statement issued on 2 October 1989, committed itself to abiding by the verdict of the people, and this could be reinforced by iron-clad international guarantees. Given the necessary conditions and safeguards, we believe the Cambodian people will be able to decide in free and fair elections what they want to do with the Khmer Rouge. Hence, we endorse the call for the inclusion of all Cambodian parties in a broad-based transitional authority.

Secondly, a major objective of ASEAN has been Viet Nam's withdrawal of its forces from Cambodia, which has now taken place. While it is a positive development, none the less it cannot be deemed final, since the claim of a total withdrawal lacks credibility in the absence of supervision and control by the United Nations. Any other position would be tantamount to accepting a fait accompli and, worse still, to ignoring the residual, albeit crucial, problems left in its wake. Only through an international control mechanism with unrestricted access to all parts of the country will it be possible to verify the absence of foreign forces. Also, we cannot fail to note that the withdrawal did not take place within the framework and in conjunction with all the other key elements of a comprehensive settlement.

Finally, the draft resolution reflects the international consensus that only the United Nations has the necessary status and expertise to oversee and administer an effective, impartial and credible international control mechanism such as is needed in Cambodia.

It is precisely those basic elements of a just and lasting settlement that constitute the essence of the draft resolution. By endorsing it Member States will contribute positively towards the peaceful resolution of the Cambodian conflict and

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bolster the current initiatives and efforts to proceed within a consistent framework towards our ultimate purpose, which is a comprehensive political settlement.

Mr. TRINH XUAN LANG (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): This year, the General Assembly is again taking up the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea". The delegation of Viet Nam takes part in this debate on the assumption that, in line with the general trend towards the political settlement of regional conflicts, the discussion should encourage the efforts being made and give an impetus to the positive developments during the past year in contributing to the search for a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem that is acceptable to all parties concerned and will bring peace and stability to South-East Asia.

The Cambodian question goes back to the extermination in the "killing fields" of 3 million Cambodians at the hands of the Pol Pot régime, known as Democratic Kampuchea, during its three-year genocidal rule between 1975 and 1978. At that time, the international community expressed its deep concern that if matters were left to take their own course, it was hardly possible that the Cambodian nation could survive more than a few years.

In those same years the Pol Pot régime unleashed armed attacks against all its neighbours - Thailand, Laos and Viet Nam - the brunt of those attacks being borne by Viet Nam. In 1978 Viet Nam requested the assistance of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Security Council of the United Nations in trying to persuade Democratic Kampuchea to agree to talks with it to settle contentious issues in their bilateral relations. But Democratic Kampuchea flatly refused all talks and continued its crimes and armed hostilities.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lanq, Viet Nam)

There was a crescendo of world-wide indignation at the genocide. Public opinion and many statesmen joined in recommending that troops of the third world should be urgently dispatched to overthrow Pol Pot's genocidal régime and save the Cambodian people, as had been done in the case of certain other brutal régimes.

In 1979, Vietnamese volunteer troops were sent to Cambodia to fight alongside the Cambodian people against the genocidal clique, just as the armed forces of the allied nations had acted in self-defence and fought Hitlerite fascism in Europe. Three years later, as the rebirth of the Cambodian people was making progress, Viet Nam started withdrawing part of its forces on a yearly basis until they were totally withdrawn, by 26 September 1989. Now that Viet Nam has pulled out all its troops, the issue that remains to be addressed is how to prevent the return of the genocidal Pol Pot régime to Cambodia.

The Jakarta Informal Meetings, with the participation of the two opposing Cambodian forces and the two groups of States in South-East Asia, have reached consensus conclusions on the two interlinked, key issues of a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian problem, namely, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the prevention of the return of the genocidal Pol Pot régime to Cambodia, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops to be linked with the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to all the Cambodian parties, and with preventing the Pol Pot clique from pursuing their civil war and re-establishing their genocidal régime. The talks between Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk have made a significant contribution to the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The above-mentioned developments have paved the way for the convening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. Despite some differences, related mainly to a power-sharing arrangement including the Khmer Rouge, the Paris Conference has identified important areas of agreement, laying the foundation for the early attainment of a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian problem. A continued impulse should be given to these encouraging results.

At the Paris Conference, the delegation of Viet Nam affirmed its commitment to an overall political solution of the Cambodian issue that could bring about lasting peace and stability to Cambodia and South-East Asia as a whole. However, in view of the complexity of the Cambodian question, we hold that, while a comprehensive settlement cannot yet be achieved in the immediate future, the countries and parties involved should get together to tackle first what can more readily be tackled, and thus proceed eventually towards a comprehensive solution. We believe this to be the most realistic and constructive approach.

Following the Paris Conference, as announced in the 5 April 1989 joint declaration by the State of Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the last Vietnamese contingents were withdrawn between 21 and 26 September last. That last stage of the total withdrawal was observed by government representatives of 17 countries, including 11 non-aligned countries, by three foreign parliamentary delegations, including two from countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), by representatives of six international organizations and by more than 400 foreign journalists, mostly from the United States, Japan and Western Europe. Therefore, as of 27 September 1989, not a single member of the Vietnamese armed forces remains in Cambodia, not one soldier, military adviser or any other military personnel in any form.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

That reality has been widely recognized and welcomed by international opinion; recently, recognition of that fact has also been expressed by authoritative representatives from a number of countries, including countries which are not wont to lean towards Viet Nam or that do not even have diplomatic relations with it. Only a few people have deliberately tried to distort the truth, sow doubts and mislead public opinion to serve their own disreputable designs. One such attempt ended in appalling failure, when 250 outraged correspondents and journalists travelled in vain to the Thai-Cambodian border to attend an abortive press conference that was supposed to present the five Vietnamese prisoners of war captured after Viet Nam's announced total withdrawal.

After the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, the genocidal Pol Pot clique and other opposing forces intensified their armed activities in an attempt to reverse the present political and military situation in Cambodia. The recrudescence of fighting along the Thai-Cambodian border is a source of widespread concern. There is fear that the fighting will continue unabated and intensify beyond control, and fear especially of the possible return of the Pol Pot régime. The need to put an end to the hostilities has become an urgent imperative.

In this connection, we welcome the proposal put forward on 23 September last by the Prime Minister of Thailand, His Excellency Mr. Chatichai Choonhavan, regarding a cease-fire between the Cambodian parties and the convening of an informal meeting to discuss the establishment of an international control and verification mechanism within the process towards the achievement of a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian question.



(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

We also welcome the joint statement of 23 September 1989 of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and the Secretary of State of the United States, which states:

"At this stage, they feel it is most important to make efforts to avert intensification of the civil war and the return of the Pol Pot régime to power. The sides declare their readiness to announce, together with other States, a moratorium on military assistance to all Cambodian factions as part of a comprehensive settlement". (A/44/578, p. 7)

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia has resolved one of the two interlinked key issues of a comprehensive settlement. The remaining key issue is the need to prevent the Pol Pot clique from waging civil war and re-establishing its genocidal régime in Cambodia. However, some of those who had previously accepted the conclusions of the Jakarta Informal Meetings now want to absolve the genocidal Pol Pot clique of its crimes and to legitimize it both politically and militarily, regardless of the Cambodian people's wishes and of the international Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. They insist on including the perpetrators of genocide in power-sharing by arguing that only thus can these perpetrators be controlled. They consider that Pol Pot and his associates have changed and that to satisfy oneself of this, one should put them to the test. They demand that Democratic Kampuchea, which includes the Khmer Rouge - or, may one say, is dominated by the Khmer Rouge - be given three quarters of the power, when that entity does not control any part of Cambodia's territory. In fact, what they want amounts to a reversal of the real political situation at present, to the eradication of the State of Cambodia, which controls the whole country.

One cannot but wonder about such demands. Let us ask ourselves whether anyone is able to monitor the way the Khmer Rouge administers the Khmer refugee camps along the Thai-Cambodian border. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations and known to many people here, wrote in The Washington Post on 13 October 1989:

"The Vietnamese army, which was the only important obstacle to the Khmer Rouge return to power, has been removed. The Cambodian people are now confronted with re-establishment of the genocide that symbolized Pol Pot's rule.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

"The Khmer Rouge say they will behave differently should they return to power. They say they have revised their beliefs and goals and changed their leadership. But refugees report that in the border communities controlled by the Khmer Rouge, they rule as they ruled in Cambodia - by terror - and that no matter who has the title, Pol Pot still has the power." (The Washington Post, 13 October 1989, p. A19)

The question of an interim authority during the transitional period between the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the general elections falls within Cambodia's internal affairs and, as such, must be decided by the Cambodian people, free from interference by foreign countries or their imposition of anything whatever on that people. Nobody has the right to force the Cambodian people to share power with the perpetrators of genocide and to take the risk of testing coexistence with them.

On the other hand, if the power struggle in Cambodia were merely to be left to the Cambodian parties to resolve among themselves while foreign countries continued to supply all the parties with military aid and to oppose each other over the question of Cambodia's internal affairs, that would be dangerous and might turn Cambodia's internal dispute into an international conflict. In our view the best option would be to encourage the Cambodian parties to sit down together and settle their internal affairs while ensuring that the settlement would not be detrimental to any country and that any future Cambodian Government would pursue a policy of neutrality and friendly relations with all countries. That would be completely in keeping with the principle of respect for Cambodia's sovereignty, with the long-term peace and security interests of Cambodia as well as the other countries in the region, and with the agreements reached at the Jakarta Informal Meetings, the Paris Conference and the non-aligned summit meeting.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

In the quest for a fair and reasonable solution to the Cambodian question the Non-Aligned Movement has, from the outset, taken a constructive approach, refraining from siding with one party against the other. It has left Cambodia's seat vacant and adopted resolutions fostering dialogue between the Cambodian parties and the South-East Asian countries concerned, in order to find a solution to the Cambodian issue and to restore peace, stability, friendship and co-operation to the region. The draft resolutions on the situation in South-East Asia - including the Cambodian issue - based on consensus between Viet Nam and Laos, on the one hand, and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) that are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, on the other, were readily adopted by the seventh, eighth and ninth non-aligned summit meetings. The Movement has also set up a non-aligned committee on Cambodia to support the initiatives taken by the countries in the region and the parties concerned.

Regrettably, such an approach has not been espoused in this forum.

A point needs to be spelled out here. We do not object to - we would even welcome - a United Nations role in a Cambodian settlement and in an international control mechanism in Cambodia, provided however that the United Nations adopts a fair and impartial attitude towards the Cambodian issue. We have repeatedly expressed our deep appreciation of the personal efforts by the Secretary-General of the Organization and his able assistants to encourage dialogue aimed at reaching a political settlement of the Cambodian issue. At the Paris Conference, the State of Cambodia and Viet Nam approved from the very outset the Secretary-General's proposal to dispatch to Cambodia a United Nations fact-finding mission; but the Khmer Rouge stubbornly opposed the proposal, relenting only after pressure had been exerted by a foreign country.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

It cannot be said however that a fair attitude has been adopted at the United Nations on the Cambodian issue over the past 10 years. It is not by pure chance that this issue began to be, and will continue to be, settled in the framework of the Paris international Conference on Cambodia and not within the United Nations. This can be easily understood if we put ourselves in the position of the Cambodian people, who are at present living in Cambodian territory directly under the threatening shadow of the genocidal Pol Pot forces. How can they be expected to accept a United Nations role and an international control mechanism under United Nations auspices when resolutions have been repeatedly adopted here, which recognize the Pol Pot régime and consider the Cambodian people's genuine representatives - the very ones who are defending them against the threat of that sinister régime - to be illegitimate, and which only demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, without providing for effective measures to prevent the return of Pol Pot's rule and the continued supply of foreign military aid to the Khmer Rouge.

We are convinced that the United Nations will play a major role if it adopts resolutions in keeping with the positive developments embodied in the Jakarta Informal Meetings, the talks between Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk, the Paris international Conference on Cambodia, and the non-aligned summit meetings.

In this respect I should like to make some comments on the draft resolution on Cambodia submitted by ASEAN at the current session of the General Assembly.

We must point out first of all that this draft still clings to the old views and positions and still provides a shield for the genocidal Pol Pot group. It does not reflect in any complete and substantive way the points of agreement and the positive developments on the Cambodian issue resulting from the Jakarta Informal

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

Meetings and the Hun Sen-Sihanouk talks. It in fact reveals the dual policy pursued by the ASEAN countries: at the Jakarta Informal Meetings and the Paris Conference they recognized the existence of the two opposing forces in Cambodia and of the two interlinked key issues of a comprehensive political settlement on Cambodia; and yet in this forum they recognize only Democratic Kampuchea and reject the State of Cambodia outright.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

They demand that Viet Nam withdraw its forces, but oppose the exclusion of genocidal Pol Pot régime. It is clear that the ASEAN countries are trying to take advantage of the United Nations to modify the settlement of the Cambodian issue proposed at the Paris Conference to their advantage.

The dual policy of the ASEAN countries and their draft resolution in no way promote a solution of the Cambodian problem or create favourable conditions for a United Nations role in this respect. On the contrary, they hamper the search for an appropriate solution and block the possibility of the United Nations in playing a worthwhile part in any solution.

For all the reasons just stated, Viet Nam will vote against the ASEAN draft resolution. We appeal earnestly to other countries to take a sensible attitude that will encourage continued efforts to reach a fair and reasonable solution to the Cambodian question and open the way for the United Nations to play its part. In light of the positive developments on the Cambodian issue that have been taking place for more than a year, the time has come for the international community no longer to allow the United Nations to be taken advantage of for the purpose of exerting pressure on one side in the Cambodian crisis and interfering in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people.

More than 10 years have elapsed, but the horror of genocide committed by the Pol Pot régime against the Cambodian people is still vividly remembered by the world community. To this day the brutal nature of the Khmer Rouge has not changed in any way. Pol Pot still holds the reins of power. His armed forces are being fully maintained and equipped, and poised to repeat their crimes. At the present time, as the Pol Pot forces intensify the civil war, the spectre of new "killing fields" is becoming an increasingly obvious threat to the Cambodian people.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The States Members of the United Nations, especially the permanent members of the Security Council and the countries that participated in the Paris Conference on Cambodia, are morally bound to ensure for the Cambodian people a solution whereby Pol Pot's genocidal régime will be definitively excluded. This a matter for the sense of responsibility and the conscience of all Member States of this vast international Organization.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): For more than a decade the situation in Kampuchea has been a focus of discussion at this body. Unfortunately, a solution to the problem continues to elude us; economic deprivation and political instability continue to plague the Kampuchean people and precious lives are lost every day in sporadic fighting. Nevertheless, thanks to the vigorous efforts which the countries concerned have been making since early this year, some progress has been achieved and prospects for a solution now look brighter.

Early this year the second Jakarta Informal Meeting was held. Although it was not able to resolve the issues, in spite of the efforts of the countries concerned, it prepared the way for the next stage of negotiations, that is, the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

The month-long Paris Conference held this summer was truly a historic event in that the parties directly involved, together with other interested countries, gathered to discuss and negotiate on all the issues concerned. While the Conference did not result in a comprehensive political settlement, there were a number of significant developments. The dispatch of a fact-finding mission to Kampuchea at the suggestion of the Secretary-General is particularly noteworthy. Also, understanding of certain issues was clarified, including the identification of various guidelines on the reconstruction of Kampuchea and the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons after a comprehensive settlement is achieved.



(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

Among recent events was the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in September, which all of us watched with great interest. This may contribute to further progress in the peace process. However, it is regrettable that the withdrawal was conducted without an effective and internationally recognized international control mechanism.

In the light of these developments, we are now at a crucial stage. I believe that we are surely making progress towards a comprehensive political settlement. But, as in a marathon, the closer we come to our goal, the greater the hardships we have to overcome. But whatever difficulties lie ahead, my Government is determined to co-operate with the other countries concerned and to continue its steadfast efforts to contribute to the attainment of a comprehensive political settlement.

It has always been the position of the Japanese Government that a comprehensive settlement can be achieved only on the basis of the following four elements: first, the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, which must be verified by an effective and internationally recognized international control mechanism, and at the same time the prevention of a return to the inhuman policies of the Pol Pot régime; secondly, the establishment of an effective and internationally recognized international control mechanism and its introduction into Kampuchea; thirdly, the holding of free and fair elections enabling the Khmer people to exercise their right to self-determination; and, fourthly, the repatriation of the 300,000 displaced Khmer people who have taken refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and the post-settlement reconstruction of Kampuchea.

I would also emphasize that any comprehensive settlement must address the issue of the security of neighbouring countries as well as Kampuchean internal security.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

The importance of an effective international control mechanism can never be over-emphasized. This mechanism should ensure the internal security of Kampuchea and prevent military conflict in Kampuchea by monitoring the cease-fire and the cessation of foreign assistance to the Khmer factions. Each of these measures may be expected to help prevent any return to the past inhuman policies of the Pol Pot régime, which must never be forgotten.

In addition to these tasks, the international control mechanism will be called upon to supervise the holding of free and fair elections. Indeed, it will be charged with tremendous responsibilities at every stage of the peace process. Therefore it is essential that the mechanism for international control be truly universal and fair; possess a wide range of experience and expertise; and have the support of and access to a broad range of human and financial resources. Accordingly, the international control mechanism must be established within the framework of the United Nations.

Here I would like to recall the statement of our Foreign Minister, Mr. Nakayama, in the general debate last September, in which he confirmed Japan's intention seriously to consider providing the necessary financial co-operation, personnel, and repatriation assistance to the refugees and displaced persons, and other support for the establishment of the international control mechanism.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

As for the question of a general election, a provisional political arrangement must be arrived at to ensure that it is properly prepared for and carried out. Inasmuch as the holding of a free and fair election is the single most important condition for the attainment of peace in Kampuchea, there will be no comprehensive settlement unless such an arrangement is worked out. I hope most ardently that the four Khmer factions will make every effort towards that end.

Lastly, I would like to reiterate that the issue of the 300,000 displaced Kampucheans along the Thai-Kampuchean border and the closely related issue of the post-settlement reconstruction of Kampuchea should be considered within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

The participants in the Paris Conference identified some basic principles regarding repatriation. One which is of particular importance is that repatriation efforts must respect the safety, security and dignity of the displaced Khmer people. In this regard we share the concern the Secretary-General has expressed regarding the return of a number of Khmer people to their homeland without any prior arrangements or consultations having been undertaken.

Also at the Conference Japan proposed that an international committee on the reconstruction of Cambodia be established to provide the international framework for Kampuchea's recovery once peace has been restored. I am pleased to note that this proposal was welcomed by the other participants in the Paris Conference. Japan is ready to join with the countries concerned to work out the details when the time is ripe for the establishment of the committee.

In his report the Secretary-General discussed the financial problems besetting the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes. I would like to reaffirm my Government's intention to strengthen its co-operation with the programmes and to emphasize the need for all Member States to respond likewise to these problems.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

We must never forget our debt of gratitude to the selfless devotion of all those who are engaged in humanitarian refugee assistance activities. In particular we pay a high tribute to Thailand for its courageous determination to ease the plight of the Khmer people within its borders.

Before concluding my remarks today I should like on behalf of my Government to thank the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Dr. Alois Mock, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Absa Claude Diallo of Senegal, and the other officers of the Ad Hoc Committee for their valuable contributions towards achieving a comprehensive settlement. We appreciate also the wisdom and dedication which Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, and his staff have demonstrated in their efforts to advance the peace process.

I should now like to call on all Member States to reinforce the progress that has been made so far by extending their support to the draft resolution (A/44/L.23) Japan is co-sponsoring with its neighbours in the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

Mr. DAMM (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): Last week the representative of an important world Power, referring to another agenda item, stated:

"The outstanding feature of the current scene is the profound qualitative shift away from confrontation towards building a new world, free from violence, inequality and oppression, with full respect for universal human values. In this new political thinking, which is becoming firmly established in the world, a key role is played by the concept of freedom of social and political choice - a concept that will become a universal norm in international life. In turn, this means that the behaviour of Governments

(Mr. Damm, Chile)

must be brought into line with the realities of our interdependent world, in international affairs and within their own countries, with regard to their own citizens and with respect for the human dignity. Moral outrage at violence is becoming a characteristic feature of civilization and is perceived as an urgent necessity." (A/44/PV.49, p. 31)

My delegation supports and attaches great importance to the statement I have just quoted, and we consider it completely valid and applicable to our present consideration of the situation in Kampuchea.

For many years now Chile has been expressing its concern about this subject, and it does so again today. We condemn the persistent violations committed against the Kampuchean nation and repeat that the invasion cannot go on. Our Organization must not delay in finding a solution. We believe that circumstances are now very favourable, especially as the international community is witnessing with growing interest the advances made day after day in the world, where crises and situations that seemed to be frozen in time are being resolved and where reason and dialogue are replacing force and oppression.

Any backsliding in the conduct of nations which might in some way undermine the style of coexistence which is asserting itself, in which moderation and understanding prevail over or replace the use or threat of use of force, warrants the concern and rejection of the entire international community.

The principles of non-intervention and the non-use or threat of use of force are basic pillars of Chile's foreign policy. We know from experience how important but difficult it is to defend these principles; hence we firmly believe that Kampuchea must enjoy its right to be a free and sovereign state, where there is no place for policies and practices of the past that have been universally condemned.

(Mr. Damm, Chile)

Against that background, our delegation associates itself with the demand made by the United Nations that all the occupying forces that are subjugating the valiant people of Kampuchea be withdrawn, under the supervision, control and verification of the United Nations.

We support the urgent appeal for a comprehensive political solution to the problem of Kampuchea through the establishment of a provisional administering authority and the promotion of national reconciliation, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

We welcome the progress achieved at the Paris Conference on Cambodia held in July and August this year, and hope that in the near future a comprehensive solution will be found in the spirit of our day.

My delegation cannot conclude this statement without expressing its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to resolve the problem. We would encourage him to continue those endeavours and wish him success in his appeal to the parties to work more energetically and zealously for the much-desired agreement. We also join in the special tribute he pays in his report to the dedicated workers of the United Nations and other international agencies and non-governmental organizations who have carried out the humanitarian assistance programmes in Kampuchea, as he says, so efficiently and successfully in circumstances that are often difficult and hazardous.

Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): The fact that I am standing here again at the podium to speak on the item "The situation in Kampuchea" not long after the international Conference held in Paris from 30 July to 30 August this year, testifies to the intricate nature of the Kampuchean problem. The inability of the Paris Conference to reach a comprehensive political settlement has necessitated another debate on the item. Since it has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for the last 10 years, we could be forgiven for wanting to move rapidly to end the conflict and hail the emergence of a new Kampuchea that is independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned.

Given the prevailing climate of détente and the desire of all parties concerned to end the conflict and find a lasting solution to the problem, Brunei Darussalam was optimistic that at long last we would be embarking on a sincere effort by all concerned to negotiate for a comprehensive political settlement that would bring peace and stability to Kampuchea and the region as whole. We were further encouraged by the significant presence of the five permanent members of the Security Council, bringing their weight to bear on the parties concerned in the Kampuchean conflict.

The Conference achieved progress only in drawing up a wide variety of elements necessary for the reaching of a comprehensive political settlement. Peace is still as elusive as before, because the parties concerned obviously hardened their position on certain crucial issues and, as my Foreign Minister remarked in his address to the Assembly:

"At the Paris Conference the parties concerned did not speak the language of reconciliation". (A/44/PV.9, page 68)

Instead of achieving the long-awaited settlement, the parties to the conflict are now engaged in another bloody war, adding more misery to the life of the long-suffering Kampuchean people. For that reason, my delegation had hoped that

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

the recent Paris Conference would produce a comprehensive political solution that would not only end the conflict among the parties but also allow them to share power under a quadripartite interim authority. My delegation supports Prince Norodom Sihanouk's position that all parties must be allowed to participate in the provisional quadripartite government while allowing the future government to be determined by the final outcome of the democratic process of a free and fair election under international supervision. No one but the Kampuchean themselves has the right to choose its future government.

We welcome any dialogue process that will bring about a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. In this regard, we fully support the dialogue processes, such as the Jakarta Informal Meetings, which led the way to the achievement of several basic understandings and approaches and identified some broad elements of a solution and the way those elements were linked. We hope that this momentum can be maintained, with a view to making further progress. We should not engage in futile wishful thinking or in an exercise that will only exacerbate what is already a difficult and complex situation. We appeal for sincerity from all sides in this matter.

Brunei Darussalam remains convinced that the Kampuchean conflict can be resolved only through a comprehensive political settlement. That would entail the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops under effective international control and supervision, which only the United Nations has the required mechanism and expertise to provide. It is regrettable, however, that the announced Vietnamese withdrawal on 26 September this year was not supervised internationally. We view it not only as reasonable but important that the United Nations should play a role in supervising the withdrawal, because it was the Vietnamese troops' intervention in and occupation of Kampuchea that brought the issue to the United Nations in the first place.



(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

That in no way overlooks the atrocities committed by the genocidal Pol Pot régime, whose practices and policies were universally condemned, and rightly so. The international community has the right to ensure that the Pol Potist régime will not return to power. The position of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been very clear on this, and for that reason the phrase

"the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past" (A/44/L.23, para. 2)

is used in this year's draft resolution, as it was in last year's. But we should not focus on the past policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime alone. We should be clear that, however noble Viet Nam claims its intervention in and occupation of Kampuchea to be, such actions undoubtedly violated the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. ASEAN has been steadfast throughout these years in upholding these principles and in calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. We are gratified that international support for ASEAN's position and endeavours has been steadily increasing and began to bear fruit with Viet Nam's announcement on 5 April this year of its intention to withdraw its troops by September.

I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the ASEAN draft resolution (A/44/L.23) now before it.

Under the draft resolution, the Assembly would deplore foreign armed intervention and occupation in Kampuchea as the cause of continuing hostilities in the country and, while noting the announced withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, would emphasize that the withdrawal had not been verified under United Nations supervision and control. The Assembly would state that it remained convinced that, to bring about lasting peace in South-East Asia and reduce the threat to international peace and security, a comprehensive political settlement of

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

the Kampuchean problem, providing for the creation of an interim administering authority and the promotion of national reconciliation among all Kampuchians, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, must be found. There is no hesitancy about adding in the draft resolution that the foregoing elements and the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, the reaffirmation of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, and the commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, with effective guarantees, are the principal components of any just, lasting and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

ASEAN has presented a draft resolution which is balanced and constitutes the genesis of a comprehensive political settlement that is fair and should be acceptable to all parties. The support of the international community for the last 10 years has indeed advanced the prospect of peace. The outcome of tomorrow's vote will be pivotal in determining whether the international community wants to reward Viet Nam's actions in Kampuchea with a moral and political victory or to reject those actions that clearly violate the United Nations Charter. The majority of the members of this body, by voting in favour of draft resolutions on this item in previous years, has positively supported efforts to end the conflict and bring justice to the Kampuchean people, and we urge them to cast the same positive vote this year.

In concluding my remarks, I cannot overlook the important contribution made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, in the search for a comprehensive political solution to the

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

problem. Their participation in the Paris Conference on Cambodia is testimony to their deep commitment to finding a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. We therefore call upon members of this body once again to support a draft resolution on this item so that we can bring peace to the Kampuchean people.\*

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\* Mr. Lohia (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Eleven years ago the Vietnamese authorities launched an invasion into Cambodia with 200,000 troops and installed the puppet régime headed by Heng Samrin, in an attempt to place that country under their prolonged occupation and realize their long-premeditated design for a greater Indo-Chinese federation. That is the root cause of the Cambodian question. Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, the patriotic armed forces and people of Cambodia have waged a protracted struggle against foreign aggression and for national salvation. In the aggression by Viet Nam and the resistance against it lies the crux of the Cambodian question.

In each and every year of the past decade the United Nations General Assembly has placed on its agenda for deliberation an item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea". It has adopted for 10 consecutive years resolutions calling for an end to Vietnamese aggression and its military occupation of Cambodia and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Cambodian people, free from outside interference, in a comprehensive political settlement that will restore to Cambodia its independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned status. But the Vietnamese authorities have turned a deaf ear to the just calls of the international community and, what is more, described these United Nations resolutions as obstacles to the settlement of the Cambodian question. In so doing, Viet Nam has put itself in a position diametrically opposed to that of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States and denied the Cambodian question a settlement to this very day.

During the 11 years of the Cambodian conflict the Cambodian people have been the biggest victim. Peace and stability in the South-East Asian region have been seriously threatened. Even the Vietnamese people have paid a heavy price. The early removal of this regional hot-spot is called for by all the people in the

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

region and is desired by the overwhelming majority of countries and people all over the world.

In recent years the international situation has changed, with confrontation and tension being replaced gradually by relaxation and dialogue. This has also created favourable conditions for settlement of the Cambodian question. The Paris Conference, convened not long ago, was a major endeavour by the international community to seek a political settlement of the Cambodian question through negotiations. Regrettably, the Conference failed to produce any agreement because of Viet Nam's intransigence, its lack of regard for the just positions and proposals of most participants in the Conference, its refusal to agree to an international control mechanism under United Nations auspices and its obstinate opposition to the establishment during the transitional period of a provisional quadripartite coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk.

The Chinese Government, together with all other countries that uphold justice, is consistently committed to a comprehensive, just and reasonable settlement of the Cambodian question. In many of its statements the Chinese Government has set forth clearly its positions and proposals on a comprehensive political settlement of the question of Cambodia. These contain two basic aspects, or key elements. First, Viet Nam must withdraw its forces from Cambodia completely and thoroughly. Secondly, there should be a quadripartite coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk. We maintain that these two elements, one dealing with ending the aggression and the other with removing its consequences, are inseparable and must be settled simultaneously.

We are of the view that Viet Nam's withdrawal of troops from Cambodia should be complete and thorough. It should neither leave behind personnel or weaponry in any manner, nor return to Cambodia under any excuse. China is in favour of the position of most countries participating in the Paris Conference that the

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withdrawal of Vietnamese forces should be placed under international supervision, organized by the United Nations, and that this must be made an integral part of the comprehensive settlement. Viet Nam's refusal under various pretexts of a role for the United Nations in connection with international supervision only shows that it has no sincere interest in the solution of the Cambodian question. Viet Nam is now bragging about its so-called withdrawal of troops. But it is difficult to ascertain authenticity of this since we all know that there was no strict and effective international supervision of the withdrawal. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk, has presented many facts to show that the Vietnamese claims are, in reality, a sham. A number of Governments and some public opinion spokesmen have already openly challenged the claims. Obviously, the troop withdrawal unilaterally declared by Viet Nam and without international supervision and verification is not a valid part of a comprehensive settlement.

What kind of interim organ of power should be installed in Cambodia during the transitional period following the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and prior to a general election? This is the other key element of the political settlement of the Cambodian question. On this question we have always stood for the establishment of a provisional quadripartite coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk, because this is the most practical and effective way of guaranteeing peace, avoiding civil war and achieving national reconciliation in Cambodia. This is also the position held by most countries participating in the Paris Conference. We prefer Prince Sihanouk to be the head because he is a great patriot who enjoys high prestige both at home and abroad; he is also the only Cambodian leader so far acceptable to all the parties in Cambodia. Only if the Prince leads the provisional quadripartite coalition Government can there be the necessary guarantee of maintaining a balance of power among the various factions and giving effect to

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the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people on the basis of national reconciliation. We advocate a four-party coalition Government because there exist in Cambodia four political forces and each has an armed force of its own. Any attempt to let one party monopolize the power, or to exclude any party, could lead to a dangerous situation of war and unrest. The Vietnamese authorities have consistently rejected a coalition truly headed by Prince Sihanouk and insisted on excluding a party within the resistance forces of Democratic Kampuchea. Their aim, in essence, is to make the Heng Samrin/Hong Sen régime a dominating force in Cambodia.

Even with 10 years of military occupation the Vietnamese authorities have not been able to wipe out the Cambodian resistance forces. Now they are trying to achieve the objective by using the hands of others through a political settlement. This fully shows that their so-called political settlement is nothing but an attempt to keep Cambodia under their de facto control and make it their vassal State. This attempt not only has been rejected by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea but also is unacceptable to the international community. Far from bringing genuine peace to Cambodia, this Vietnamese stand will only aggravate the already turbulent situation of continuing war and unrest in the country and pose an unending threat to peace in South-East Asia and stability in the world.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

As a close neighbour of Cambodia, China is very concerned about the future and fate of the Cambodian people. China is ready to join the rest of the international community in continuous efforts to seek a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Cambodian question, once and for all. China has always respected the right to national self-determination of the Cambodian people and wishes to reiterate here that, following the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement on the Cambodian question and the genuine and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia under the supervision of the United Nations, China is ready to undertake, together with other countries concerned, the necessary obligations and to join in an international guarantee of the independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned status of the future Cambodia.

The Cambodian question is the creation of Viet Nam alone. The key to the political settlement of this question is in the Vietnamese pocket. Owing to the lack of sincerity on the part of the Vietnamese authorities to this day, there are still serious obstacles to the process of a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. The Cambodian people are still suffering and they badly need the sympathy and support of the international community. The Chinese Government highly appreciates the valuable efforts made by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on this question. We hope that the international community and the Secretary-General will continue to follow the situation in Cambodia. We also hope that the current session of the General Assembly will go on to adopt the draft resolution sponsored by ASEAN and many other countries so as to promote an early comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Cambodian question.

Mr. FLEMING (Saint Lucia): For the past 10 years the international community has stood by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in their efforts to end the bloodshed in Kampuchea and find a just and



(Mr. Fleming, Saint Lucia)

durable solution that would restore independence to Kampuchea and allow it to live at peace with itself and its neighbours.

Kampuchea is geographically remote from the majority of the Members of the United Nations. Most of us have never visited Kampuchea. But the principle involved in the Kampuchean problem is one of the most fundamental in international law. It lies at the very heart of the Charter. It is the principle of self-determination.

Kampuchea's inalienable right to self-determination was violated by the military intervention of foreign forces and military occupation. Those foreign forces installed a client régime. That was totally unacceptable. It was a grievous violation of our Charter. Self-determination and respect for the Charter are the basis on which the majority of the Members of the United Nations, small and weak States, base their security. In this respect, the threat to Kampuchean security was a threat to the security of us all. If the fundamental norms of international law are violated with impunity, it diminishes the protection of international law for all of us. That is why an overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations have always voted for the ASEAN resolution on the Kampuchean question.

There is an international consensus that the only durable and just solution to the Kampuchean problem must be a comprehensive political settlement that deals with both the external and the internal aspects of the problem in an integral manner. The international community must not repeat the mistakes made in other regions of the world where the withdrawal of foreign troops without an internal settlement has allowed bloodshed to continue. In this respect we must not fail the Kampuchean people.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

A comprehensive settlement involves two elements, both of which need to be resolved if Kampuchea's right to self-determination is to be restored. The first, of course, is the total and verified withdrawal of all foreign forces. This remains a key element. In September of this year the Vietnamese announced that they had withdrawn all troops from Kampuchea. This was the eighth announced withdrawal by Viet Nam in as many years. Like the others, it was not verified by any credible international agency and was not in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

There is need for a credible international body to monitor and verify Vietnamese withdrawal to ensure that all Vietnamese forces have indeed left. There is an international consensus that only the United Nations has the necessary stature, authority and expertise to oversee and administer an effective, impartial and credible international control mechanism for Kampuchea. The effective contribution to international peace and security of United Nations peace-keeping forces was recently recognized by the award of the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize.

We also have an obligation to help the Kampuchean people to end the conflict in their country through an internal settlement. That conflict is the direct consequence of the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea.

(Mr. Fleming, Saint Lucia)

Thus, Viet Nam still has a moral and political obligation to undo the consequences of its intervention in Kampuchea through a comprehensive political settlement that would allow the Kampuchean people freely to exercise their right to self-determination. So long as a régime that was installed by foreign intervention remains in Phnom Penh, fundamental principles of international law and the United Nations Charter itself will continue to be violated.

An internal settlement therefore must include, among other things, national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and, of course, the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people through free, fair and democratic elections. No Kampuchean party can be excluded from this process without risking the prolongation of the conflict. There is an international consensus that only Prince Sihanouk has the stature and moral authority to reconcile the Kampuchean people and indeed all the Kampuchean parties. He is, in our estimation, a great patriot who deserves the support of the international community.

In the course of this year, there have been many important developments. The second Jakarta Informal Meeting, in February, and the international Conference on Cambodia held in Paris have moved the peace process forward. It has been the overwhelming support of the international community for the ASEAN resolutions on Kampuchea over the last 10 years that has been instrumental in moving developments to this point. Saint Lucia believes that we are on the threshold of a comprehensive settlement. The continued support of the international community at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be a key factor in achieving a genuine, comprehensive political solution that can relieve the long agony of

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

the Kampucheans and bring a just and durable peace to that beleaguered country. Saint Lucia will continue to support the ASEAN resolution until that just and durable peace is achieved in Kampuchea. We urge other countries to do so as well. We must not falter in our support for the Kampuchean people and, indeed, of ASEAN at this crucial moment.

Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): The present perceptible improvement in the international climate and the progress achieved in finding political solutions to regional conflicts are interrelated. On the one hand, the positive tendencies in international relations, which were initiated mainly as a result of the new approach by the Soviet Union have tangibly influenced the peaceful political settlement of existing conflicts. On the other hand, progress in the solution of conflicts invigorates the encouraging trends in international relations and favours the turn from confrontation to co-operation and détente.

The German Democratic Republic appreciates the progress made so far in the peaceful settlement of regional disputes, whether in southern Africa, in the Persian Gulf or in Central America. We are convinced that there is no sensible and well-founded alternative to such an approach, despite all the problems that continue to exist in these regions.

My country's position is also valid for the settlement of the Cambodian question. The German Democratic Republic believes that remarkable headway has been made this year towards the solution of that question. This includes the results of the Jakarta Informal Meeting held last February, the international Conference on Cambodia held at Paris in August and, not least, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops that was concluded last September. With that withdrawal of troops the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has proved its goodwill and its constructive attitude towards the solution to the problems relating to Cambodia.

(Mr. Hucke, German Democratic Republic)

Shortly after the Vietnamese volunteers had left the country the armed opposition forces increased their attempts to solve the question of Cambodia in their favour by military means. That shows that they really are not willing to reach a political solution that takes account of the interests of the people of that country.

What is needed is a comprehensive political solution of the problem, as the participants at both the second Jakarta Informal Meeting and the Paris Conference agreed. The Paris Conference confirmed that the withdrawal of foreign troops was the first prerequisite for such a solution. The discontinuance of any foreign military aid for the Cambodian factions must also be considered as a necessary positive step in that direction.

My country therefore welcomes the statement made by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States in their Joint Declaration of 23 September 1989 on their readiness:

"to announce, together with other States, a moratorium on military assistance to all Cambodian factions as part of a comprehensive settlement".

(A/44/578, annex, p.7)

We hope that this readiness will be reflected everywhere and will be matched by relevant deeds.

The second prerequisite, for a comprehensive solution is, in our view, guarantees that would prevent the Pol Pot group from getting power again. The participants in the Paris Conference were also agreed on that issue. This is only logical in the light of the atrocious crimes committed by that régime from 1975 to 1978 against the people of Cambodia.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic Republic)

The German Democratic Republic supports present efforts to ensure the earliest possible resumption of the negotiation process. At the same time, my delegation holds the view that the internal aspects of the question of Cambodia should be solved exclusively by the Cambodian people themselves, without any interference from outside. Pertinent constructive proposals made by the Cambodian Government under Prime Minister Hun Sen have been put forward. What is important is a solution to the internal aspect of the question that would guarantee the Cambodian people the sovereign exercise of their right to self-determination with a view to choosing the political system and selecting the members of a parliament and a government in free, democratic and general elections.

(Mr. Hucke, German Democratic Republic)

The Government of Cambodia proposed the establishment of a supreme council for national reconciliation which should consist of representatives from the two sides - the State of Cambodia and Democratic Kampuchea. That council is to monitor the general elections to a national parliament and government for that country.

The German Democratic Republic supports this initiative, as it is bound to further a comprehensive political solution of the question of Cambodia. In the view of my delegation, the United Nations could contribute to this end by adopting a constructive consensus-oriented resolution, reflecting the political realities in Cambodia.

It is however regrettable that the draft resolution submitted by the sponsors in document A/44/L.23 does not meet these expectations. It does not adequately reflect the progress that has been made in seeking a political solution this year, and it negates the realities that have emerged in Cambodia. Therefore my delegation is unable to endorse it.

In conclusion, let me express the conviction that a sense of reason and realism on all sides will prevail also in the solution of the Cambodia question. The sooner this happens, the better for the Cambodian people themselves, but also for the other peoples in Indo-China that wish to live in peace, without being exposed to the threats of a smouldering conflict in their region.

Mr. AL-MUKHAINI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has been following with interest the statements made since the beginning of the current session. In all those statements, there has been an internationally shared desire to settle all the unresolved problems and disputes. We feel that such a common desire is the inevitable result of the international community's concern, the

(Mr. Al-Mukhaini, Oman)

détente which now marks the relations of the super-Powers and the dawning of a new era on the international scene.

The problem of the Kampuchean people figures among the tragedies of the peoples that have been the victims of oppression, expulsion and forcible displacement at the hands of an external power that dominates a country and deprives its people of the most rudimentary rights enshrined in all divine laws. The Kampuchean people still suffers displacement and privation. Notwithstanding the many United Nations resolutions and the international will, that people's goals and national aspirations continue to be frustrated.

We feel that the role of the General Assembly should be decisive in reaching a genuine, comprehensive solution that would put an end to the prolonged suffering of that people.

The efforts of the Secretary-General and the repeated calls by the General Assembly for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea since 1979 stemmed from the fact that the problem has been a destabilizing factor that continued to undermine international peace and security. It has also given rise to grave humanitarian concern over the deteriorating conditions inside Kampuchea, the migration and displacement of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans, with the resultant psychological dislocation and continued violation of their human rights. Indeed, the plight and suffering of that people have been galling to the human community.

The Government of the Sultanate of Oman commends the efforts made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in search of an acceptable solution to the problem, and especially lauds the role of Indonesia in the recent Jakarta meetings. We were also hopeful of concrete results at the International Conference on the question of Kampuchea recently convened in Paris. We had hoped that that



(Mr. Al-Mukhaini, Oman)

Conference would mark the beginning of a new era for the Kampuchean people and enable them to ring down the curtain over the past and begin to reconstruct their country under a Government of their own choosing. Although the Paris Conference has not lived up to our expectations, it is essential not to forsake the process of dialogue in the search for a political solution to the problem. We commend the roles of both France and Indonesia and their efforts to keep a dialogue going between the parties concerned.

The Government of my country, the Sultanate of Oman, has consistently co-sponsored all United Nations resolutions on the question of Kampuchea. The Sultanate supports all the efforts of peace-loving States to find an acceptable solution to the question. My country has associated itself with all those that have been calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea under the supervision of the United Nations, putting an end to all external meddling in any political settlement of the problem and the establishment under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk of a quadripartite interim government that would stage a general election under international supervision. Such a government would be the real nucleus of an administration acceptable to the Kampuchean people that would ensure the safe return of the refugees, work for an internal settlement along the lines of national reconciliation, build confidence between the parties to such a comprehensive political settlement and thus ensure peace, security and stability in South-East Asia.

On behalf of my Government, my delegation supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and commends his continued interest in the current situation in Kampuchea. The Sultanate will continue to support those efforts through co-sponsoring draft resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea, until the long-awaited comprehensive and just settlement has been achieved.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukrainian SSR)

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In the year that has elapsed since the last discussion on Cambodia at the United Nations General Assembly, some progress has been achieved towards a Cambodian settlement. At the Conference on Cambodia held in Paris in the summer of this year, under the chairmanship of France and Indonesia, agreement was reached on a broad number of issues, and the groundwork has thereby been established for a speedy, comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. Furthermore, the Conference noted that there was then no possible way for a settlement, and in this connection it was decided to suspend the work of the Conference. Of course, a four-week period is not very long and the problems which have accumulated over 20 years of conflict in that country cannot be solved easily within a month. Nevertheless, the way has been found whereby we can reach a lasting comprehensive settlement.

The Ukrainian SSR supports any form of dialogue that might be helpful. The General Assembly has been called upon to support and promote the positive outcome of the Paris Conference, with a view to establishing lasting peace and national harmony in Cambodia.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukrainian SSR)

We should particularly emphasize that as a result of the implementation of the decision to withdraw the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia completely, a new situation obtains and the practical pre-conditions have been fulfilled for achieving a peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem. That being so, further consistent efforts on the part of the participants in the inter-Cambodian dialogue are of great significance for achieving a process of national reconciliation in Cambodia. The way forward is shown, and is made smoother, by the specific points of agreement which emanated from the first and second Jakarta Informal Meetings and from the bilateral and multilateral inter-Cambodian meetings.

We are convinced that there are no insuperable obstacles to achieving acceptable solutions if we are guided by the interests of the Cambodian people. In our quest for a lasting solution, no one is entitled to forget the millions of lives snuffed out by the genocidal régime.

The final purpose of the international community is a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict which would rid the Cambodian people of the deprivations that go hand in hand with external interference and the internal disputes they inflame. Solving the external aspects as a matter of urgency will help the progress of the negotiations going on within Cambodia, and in so doing will bring us nearer to achieving our final goal of national concord and a peaceful, constructive life on Cambodian soil.

As was emphasized by Hun Sen, President of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia, the lack of progress in the internal situation has to do with the positions taken by the Khmer Rouge, which is trying to solve the problem by military means and seize power again in the country. One of the most important tasks facing the international community is to prevent civil war and the restoration of the genocidal régime in Cambodia, to end foreign military assistance

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukrainian SSR)

to the opposing Khmer parties, and to guarantee Cambodia's status as an independent, neutral and non-aligned State.

By now the international community has acquired some experience in settling regional conflicts. This experience shows that the United Nations could play a more effective role if this General Assembly session adopted a consensus resolution on Cambodia which reflected the realities of our time. However, this would be possible only if that General Assembly resolution stuck to the goal of strengthening the positive movements in the inter-Cambodian dialogue and negotiation process and was designed to enhance the input from the international community in eliminating this focus of tension in South-East Asia.

Although solving the problem depends, in the final analysis, on the parties to the conflict, the United Nations can nevertheless play the role of catalyst. The United Nations is capable, through its own actions, either of facilitating and accelerating a settlement or, to the contrary, of thwarting it. Unfortunately, the sponsors of the draft resolution on this item for some reason prefer the latter choice. Their attempts, at a moment when international conditions have changed, to introduce what is essentially an out-of-date solution that has sprung from the loins of a bygone conflict finds no support or understanding on our part. The new situation in and around Cambodia requires a new and innovative approach, unburdened by the weight of past stereotypes. The Ukrainian delegation is in favour of getting rid of the elements of confrontation in these aspects of the issue under discussion.

We are convinced that a worthy settlement of the Cambodian question will open up the way to turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality - and all States have an interest in that. We call on the Cambodian

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukrainian SSR)

parties to make further, consistent efforts to promote national reconciliation, tolerance, realism and a constructive approach. We call on the international community to allow the Cambodian people itself, through democratic choice, to determine the future of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia, and to respect that choice in the interests of peace and stability in Cambodia and in the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.