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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 15 November 1989, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KADRAT (Iraq)  
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)  
(President)

later: Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica)  
(Vice-President)

- The situation in Kampuchea [31] (continued)

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

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Kadrat (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken this morning, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at 4 p.m.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): When the question of Kampuchea was taken up during the forty-third session many of us hoped that it would be the last time the General Assembly would consider the situation; some positive developments of the past 12 months had lent substance to our hope. The Jakarta Informal Meetings were important events in that process. The Sino-Soviet Summit offered further promise of an early political solution of the Kampuchean problem. Although not expected to achieve any dramatic breakthrough, the meetings between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen were viewed as yet another instance of the serious search for a political solution.

Against this background, the convening of the Conference on Kampuchea in Paris at the end of July this year aroused world-wide interest and expectations. I wish to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Government of France for having taken this bold initiative, despite the misgivings that the time was not ripe for a political settlement. The general approval of the French initiative is in itself a tribute to the sincerity of the French desire to put an end to years of war, destruction and suffering in Kampuchea.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

The Paris Conference did not succeed in ending the tragedy of Kampuchea. The sincerity of the effort, however, forces us to avoid calling it a failure. The Conference made it absolutely clear that the only alternative to a negotiated comprehensive political settlement is a test of strength between the contending Kampuchean factions. The obvious cost of that alternative to the Kampuchean people makes it imperative that the international community continue to try every avenue and to exert every pressure to reach a comprehensive solution that will enable the Kampuchean people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination in a free and fair manner, without interference and intimidation.

(Mr. Pana, Nepal)

More than a decade of concentrated international attention on Kampuchea has made it abundantly clear that the negotiations should aim at two basic goals. The first is the establishment of an effective international control mechanism under the auspices of the United Nations to supervise and verify the complete withdrawal of the foreign forces from Kampuchea; the complete and verified withdrawal of foreign forces is the sine qua non for the beginning of any political measure for the normalization of the situation. The second basic goal of the negotiations should be the establishment of a transitional administration headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, embracing the four principal parties to the question, pending the results of free and fair elections. Prince Sihanouk, a great patriot, is the only Kampuchean leader who can foster national reconciliation above and beyond the factionalism and the feuds in that country. An effective four-party interim coalition under the leadership of the Prince is the only viable arrangement that can guarantee the avoidance of a bloody civil war in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of the foreign forces.

My delegation has taken note of the Vietnamese announcement of the completion of its troop withdrawal at the end of September this year. Such a step had long been demanded as the primary condition for the launching of the Kampuchean peace process. We welcome the Vietnamese announcement, but we feel that the withdrawal can be a credible and important contribution towards the peace process only under impartial international supervision and control. The vexing question of Vietnamese settlers is also inextricably linked with the withdrawal. The Paris Conference devoted considerable attention to this aspect of the problem.

The active involvement of the United Nations in the supervision and verification of the troop withdrawal, a cease-fire and the elections has almost universal backing. It is hard to understand the argument that the United Nations has taken a partisan attitude towards the whole question. For a decade the General

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Assembly, with overwhelming majorities, has reaffirmed the applicability of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and established norms of international law for the situation in Kampuchea. Viet Nam itself is in the best position to appreciate the value of those principles, given the experience of its own recent history. The Secretary-General has conveyed to the Paris Conference the readiness of the United Nations to offer its capacity to organize and administer a credible, impartial and effective international control mechanism in the service of the Kampuchean people. The United Nations has over the years accumulated a wealth of experience and expertise in this area. My delegation fully supports the Secretary-General's announcement and stands ready to co-operate with him.

The framework for a settlement that would lead to the establishment of an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea has also been spelled out by the International Conference on Kampuchea. As a member of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference, Nepal reiterates its resolve to contribute in any way it can to the search for a just and durable settlement. In this connection I wish to pay a tribute to Her Excellency Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, for her continuing efforts to facilitate a comprehensive solution.

We also have great appreciation for the untiring efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to promote a comprehensive settlement. We admire the continuing assistance and shelter provided to the displaced Kampuchean by the Royal Government of Thailand. The ASEAN countries have been pursuing the objectives of peace and reconciliation in Kampuchea within the broad framework of an international consensus, and draft resolution A/44/L.23, which is before the Assembly, reflects that consensus. It is with those considerations that my delegation has co-sponsored the draft resolution. We hope that, as has been the case with similar draft resolutions in the past, this draft

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

resolution will receive the approval of an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our appeal to all parties concerned to put the higher interest of the Kampuchean nation above factional interests and advantages. We are witnessing, today, changes in attitudes and perceptions which were difficult to imagine even a year ago. These rapidly evolving changes in the international situation have increased prospects for peaceful resolutions to many outstanding regional conflicts. We hope that the Kampuchean parties and Viet Nam, working together, will be able to seize the opportunity afforded by the new climate in the international situation to end this prolonged tragedy.

Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): The Assembly is once again faced this year with the task of attempting to assist in the resolution of the long and tragic conflict in Cambodia. This region of the world has seen continued conflict in one form or another and continued human suffering for almost half a century. The present tragedy in Cambodia itself goes back well over a decade.

In this context the past year has been a paradoxical one. It has seen a number of positive developments - some that have been sought for many years - and yet, despite this, peace seems little closer. It has been a year of raised expectations and dashed hopes, of conferences in which major breakthroughs appeared almost within the grasp of those seeking peace, but in which we had finally to settle for only minor gains.

Yet among all these disappointments and frustrations, there is room for some optimism that we are in a far better position to advance the cause of peace today than we were at this time a year ago. Two major events or processes stand out. The first is the announced withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, a move which has long been sought by this body and one which we welcome even while noting that verification by an acceptable international control mechanism will be required

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

if all parties to the conflict are to be satisfied that the withdrawal has indeed been complete.

The second has been the series of conferences: first the Jakarta Informal Meetings and then the Paris Peace Conference under the co-chairmanship of France and Indonesia - two countries that have worked hard for peace. While these conferences have been able to bring the conflicting parties only marginally closer together, they have done much groundwork and set out many of the elements that will be needed for a comprehensive settlement to take place.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

It is that comprehensive settlement that we must now seek. Ideally, the elements of such a settlement - and I put them briefly, as they are set out with all their conditions in other documents - should include: first, a cease-fire; second, the installation of an international control mechanism, under the auspices of the United Nations, to supervise the transition process; third, effective international verification of the total withdrawal of all foreign forces; fourth, tight guarantees against a return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the Khmer Rouge period; fifth, cessation of all foreign military supplies to all Cambodian factions; sixth, promotion of national reconciliation, recognizing the role that Prince Norodom Sihanouk is singularly well placed to play; seventh, an interim administering authority to handle arrangements during the period between a cease-fire and the installation of an elected Government; eighth, the holding of free and democratic elections, leading to the convening of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution and to the formation of a new Government; ninth, international guarantees of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status of the Cambodian State and non-interference in its affairs; and, tenth, the creation of conditions conducive to the safe return of refugees and Cambodia's reconstruction.

There is one aspect of the comprehensive settlement to which Australia is committed that I should particularly like to stress: the question of the return, or non-return, to government of elements of the Khmer Rouge. We all recall the atrocities the Pol Pot Government perpetrated against its own people. The death of a million people - perhaps even more - can be attributed directly to the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime - through direct executions, forced-labour policies as a result of which Cambodian people were literally worked to death, and other policies that made it impossible for people to survive.



(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

We welcome the fact that the Secretary-General, in his report, states unambiguously that "the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past" referred to in an earlier report are, in fact, the "policies and practices of the 1975-1978 period" (A/44/670, para. 31).

There can be no doubt of the universal fear and hatred with which the Pol Pot leadership of the Khmer Rouge is still regarded. There can be no doubt that if, in some way, they were able to seize power the right self-determination of the Cambodian people would be extinguished. It is essential that conditions be established to prevent them from doing so.

My Government has, however, accepted - not without very considerable hesitation - that, none the less, elements of the Khmer Rouge not involved in the 1975-1978 leadership group should be allowed to return if they are prepared to lay down their arms and lead a normal life in the country. The present reality is that fighting in Cambodia will not stop and a settlement will not be achieved until some place is found in the settlement process for the less unacceptable element of the Khmer Rouge.

How to accommodate them, and at the same time restrain them, is at the heart of the dilemma. It is a matter of weighing the certainty of continued bloody conflict if the Khmer Rouge are left out of the settlement process against the real possibility of avoiding further bloodshed if they can be brought into it. If they are brought into the process this must, of course, be accompanied by appropriate cease-fire arrangements, safeguards, reassurances and supervision mechanisms to ensure that they will not be able in the future to exercise again the evil influence that they exercised in the past.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

There is also the need to look at the longer term, to work towards a settlement that will enable the Khmer Rouge rank and file to lay down their arms and become productive members of the community, rather than remain permanent outcasts waging sporadic resistance in remote areas of the country. That entails support for reconciliation between all parties.

In the past we have deplored foreign armed intervention in Cambodia and rejected the claims of justification for the invasion of Cambodia by Viet Nam. We continue to do so. But in our statement last year we said that any solution had two essential elements: first, Viet Nam must leave and, secondly, the Pol Pot leadership must not return. Now that we have seen progress on the first of these conditions, the international community must make sure that the second is also fulfilled.

It is implicit in the concept of a comprehensive settlement that all the elements of the problem are capable of resolution. These include, of course, the question of the Cambodian seat in the United Nations and the creation of an international control mechanism under United Nations auspices. Australia does not accept the claim of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea or of the Phnom Penh administration, led Mr. Hun Sen, to be the Government of Cambodia, and it abstained the last time the question of the seat was voted on in the General Assembly - in 1982. We assume that as part of a comprehensive settlement a change in seating will take place: either the seat will be declared vacant or it will be occupied by the interim authority until elections install a legitimate Government which can take its rightful place in this body.

Australia's support for an international control mechanism under United Nations auspices was made unequivocally clear at the Paris Conference. The range

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

of tasks envisaged for the mechanism by the Conference, and their complexity, will require careful management if the mechanism is to be effective. The mechanism will also need to be accountable to the international community if its impartiality is to be assured. Only this Organization possesses the authority, experience and machinery to ensure this impartiality.

My delegation's view is that if a solution is to be lasting it must be comprehensive and embrace all the elements which I have outlined and which are referred to in the draft resolution before us. However, at the same time as we work towards a comprehensive solution, we must do all we can to ensure that the suffering of the Cambodian people does not worsen in the interim. We must do all we can to discourage any escalation of fighting in the gap while talks aimed at a settlement go on. We must do everything we can to prevent an exacerbation of the conflict, and this includes discouraging those that are perhaps minded to supply new arms to any of the parties from doing so.

Indeed, my delegation believes that the international community should be quite unequivocal in supporting any measure that would reduce the misery being inflicted on the Cambodian people. Thus, we must do all we can not only to prevent an escalation in the fighting but also to promote a cease-fire while the search for a comprehensive solution goes on. Neither logic nor humanity allows us to say that an increase in the level of killing should be discouraged, but the present level of killing is acceptable. If we are to discourage any new supply of arms we must also, logically, discourage the existing flows. Support for these immediate measures - a cease-fire and cessation of external arms supplies - which would reduce the suffering of the Cambodian people, is fully compatible with emphasis on a comprehensive settlement.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

A number of Governments have been active in recent months in exploring the prospects for an early settlement of the Cambodia problem. Their contribution is welcome. We should not lose sight of the fact that decades of distrust lie at the heart of the problem. International efforts should be directed towards building confidence among the Cambodian factions in the international commitment and arrangements that would underpin and guarantee accommodations reached between them.

As an eventual settlement appears more achievable, the international community must focus its attention increasingly on how to assist in Cambodia's post-war reconstruction and facilitate the return of refugees. At the Paris Conference the Committee on Reconstruction and Repatriation went a long way towards this process by agreeing on broad principles relating to the objectives, time-frame and co-ordination of international efforts. The need for a two-phase reconstruction was agreed upon - in the first, rehabilitation, phase concentrating on humanitarian assistance and in the second, reconstruction, phase, after elections, concentrating on long-term development.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

Repatriation procedures too were developed in some detail. The widest possible international support for the implementation of these measures is needed to ensure that they are carried out effectively once a comprehensive political settlement has been reached. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has done useful work in assessing the reconstruction needs of Cambodia and we welcome this contribution. Australia will draw on it in developing its approach on future assistance to Cambodia.

If a comprehensive solution to the problems of Cambodia is to be found, greater flexibility and greater willingness to compromise in the interests of peace will have to be exhibited by the various Cambodian parties and by their principal backers. It behoves both this body and its individual Member States to apply the pressure and moral suasion on all the parties to exhibit that flexibility and to find that solution. Recent reports of renewed fighting lend urgency to calls for the early resumption of genuine negotiations. Let us hope that in the coming months we shall be able to grasp that progress which has proved so frustratingly elusive over past months and that this will be the last time that we shall need to see this item in its present form on our agenda.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

For the eleventh year in succession the Assembly is dealing with the situation in Cambodia. Peace has still not been restored to that land, which is still the setting for bloody conflict and which in the space of 20 years has suffered from civil war; bloody, implacable dictatorship; and foreign invasion. Our debate today enables the international community to express its sympathy to and solidarity with the Cambodian people.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

For their part the Twelve, encouraged by the positive signs which have emerged over the past year, feel it is all the more urgent now to achieve a comprehensive political solution which will enable Kampuchea to enjoy a status that meets the aspirations of its people and to work for reconstruction in renewed peace and stability.

Although Kampuchea is still convulsed by war, the past year has been characterized by new and encouraging events. Among these the Twelve would count the decision announced by Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea before 27 September 1989. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the initiative of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have condemned, with the support of the Twelve, the invasion of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese troops - an invasion rightly considered to be one of the principal causes of the conflict. Thus, the Twelve welcomed the announcement of the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and feel that their departure, if it is verified, could be one of the bases for a comprehensive political settlement. The Twelve note, however, that differences of view remain with respect to the scale of the withdrawal of foreign troops and that the occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam has left its own traces in the area. They regret, lastly, that for lack of a comprehensive political settlement the withdrawal could not be verified or supervised by an international control mechanism acceptable to the international community.

Furthermore, on the diplomatic level several initiatives have been taken over recent months. In this regard, the Twelve noted with interest the holding in February of a second meeting within the framework of the Jakarta Informal Meetings (JIM) process. They likewise welcome the continued efforts made by the

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Secretary-General and his Special Representative as part of their good-offices activities.

The Twelve feel that the first session of the Conference on Cambodia in the French capital from 30 July to 30 August marked a very important step in the search for a peaceful solution. With France and Indonesia as co-Presidents, this international conference brought together all the Khmer parties and the countries most directly concerned; the Secretary-General of the United Nations was also there. While it was not possible to reach agreement, many positive elements emerged from the conference. The Twelve have noted in particular the declaration adopted by the participants at the end of the Conference. They have called on the two co-Presidents to continue their consultations, in the earnest hope that these consultations may in due course lead to a further meeting of the Conference, which would this time lead to a successful conclusion. It is very important that the negotiation process should continue.

The Twelve have studied with great interest the draft resolution presented by the ASEAN countries. This year, it lays stress, and rightly so, on the quest for a comprehensive political settlement, with indissolubly linked components, which would guarantee Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality.

I shall not dwell on all the possible aspects of such a settlement, but I would emphasize five points that we regard as essential.

First, along with verification of the withdrawal of foreign troops, there should be a cease-fire with modalities making it possible to avoid the resumption of hostilities. During this cease-fire all forms of external military assistance to the belligerents should cease.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Furthermore, the settlement would be lasting only if it sealed the national reconciliation of the Cambodians. Like the entire international community, the Twelve feel that Prince Norodom Sihanouk, around whom all Cambodians can rally and who has fought with courage and tenacity for so many years for his country's independence and freedom, must play a leading role in this respect. It is broadly felt that it would be up to Prince Sihanouk to lead the provisional authority that would prepare Cambodia for free and internationally monitored elections.

Furthermore, the Twelve are firmly convinced that such a settlement must guarantee that those responsible for the policies and practices in force in Cambodia from 1975 to 1978 will not return to power. The Twelve have constantly expressed their total rejection of the Khmer Rouge and of Pol Pot, who were responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Cambodians. They will never tolerate the Khmer Rouge in any form.

We know that a legal and political discussion has taken place with respect to the most appropriate way to describe the activities of that loathsome régime. For their part the Twelve consider that the term "genocide", in its usual meaning is not too strong and can indeed apply to a number of the practices employed.

In the fourth place, any comprehensive solution must define the conditions for the voluntary return of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, particularly those in the reception centres along the Thai border. Those individuals must be able to return to Cambodia in the best possible conditions of safety, security and dignity, while being given all the necessary assistance.

The Community and its member States express again their commitment to continuing their efforts to assist Cambodian refugees, particularly through programmes co-ordinated by the United Nations Border Relief Operation.



(Mr. Blanc, France)

The Twelve are supporting activities in this area carried out by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for refugees, whose task remains difficult. They welcomed the work performed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and noted that this question was carefully considered at the Paris Conference, leading to extensive agreement.

Lastly, if it is to be viable, such an overall settlement must be subject to satisfactory monitoring by an international control mechanism. The Twelve noted the agreement by all parties concerned to establish such a mechanism, but also the differences of view with respect to the authority that would be responsible for such activities. Like the vast majority of countries, the Twelve appreciate the decisive advantages in employing the United Nations in such a task, given the experience and qualifications of the United Nations in this respect and the patent failure of ad hoc mechanisms set up in the past in that part of the world.

None of the events we are currently witnessing invalidates such an approach. The fighting that continues will not enable any of the parties to achieve the decisive victory they hope to see. The resolution of the Cambodian conflict cannot be achieved by military means; it can result only from negotiations.

The Twelve consider that the draft resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries broadly meets the objectives I have just mentioned. They are therefore in a position to support it, and they reiterate their support for the activities of that regional group.

The Twelve hope that Cambodia may once again enjoy peace and stability at the earliest. These will never be restored unless there is a comprehensive settlement ending civil war and foreign occupation and ruling out the threat of the Khmer Rouge once and for all.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Above all, we must maintain and increase the momentum of the negotiations created at the Paris Conference on Cambodia. This will help to realize the still slender hopes for a restoration of peace in that long-suffering country. Such a prospect will make it possible to launch an international programme of assistance for reconstruction and development of Cambodia, in which the Community and its member States would be happy to participate.

Allow me to say a few words now on behalf of the country which, together with Indonesia, is acting as Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

The international Conference met in Paris from 30 July to 30 August this year, when it was adjourned until circumstances are such that it may be usefully resumed.

If France, in co-ordination with Indonesia, took such an initiative, it did so in view of its historic and emotional ties with Cambodia, and its deep respect for Prince Sihanouk. Furthermore, our analysis of the situation led us to consider that such a meeting could help define a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Both the convening and the course of events at the Conference were positive in several respects. For the first time, the principal parties involved directly or indirectly in the conflict agreed to sit down at the same table and discuss all aspects of the problem. Then, the Conference reached agreement on the organization of its activities, leading to the establishment of three working commissions charged with international verification, safeguards, and reconstruction and refugee questions, respectively. Furthermore, an ad hoc commission was set up consisting of two co-chairmen and the four Kampuchean parties; however, after consultation with the Kampuchean parties, the Co-Presidents could invite any other member of the Conference to attend meetings of the ad hoc commission responsible for dealing with the problem of national reconciliation. Finally, a co-ordinating committee was established to monitor the activities of all these bodies.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

Also, during the initial ministerial session, on the initiative of the Secretary-General it was agreed that a United Nations reconnaissance mission should visit the area. The mission did in fact make a visit to Cambodia.

Lastly, the intensive work of the various Conference bodies made it possible to identify all the problems and possible solutions, in some cases starting to narrow the gap between different points of view.

Ultimately if the Paris Conference was unable, despite this progress, to achieve complete and positive results, it was because the participants felt that only an overall solution could help meet their expectations. Also - and why not face the fact? - the overall political will that might have made it possible to overcome all these obstacles at the first session did not emerge.

However, to show that they were determined to press for a solution, the participants at the Conference agreed to extend the process that had thus started, providing for a possible future meeting of the Paris Conference in due course.

Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda): I should like to reemphasize the active concern of the French authorities, who, in co-ordination with Indonesia, are working with a view to continuing the consultations and keeping the dialogue going. We will spare no effort to enable the negotiations to prosper and finally succeed, and the Cambodian people to live once again in peace and harmony.

In August 1989 the international Conference on Cambodia was convened at Paris, under the co-presidency of France and Indonesia. The Conference was a significant step in the long, arduous process of finding a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. It also marked the midway point in what has so far been a year of important diplomatic activities pertaining to Kampuchea. Unfortunately, hostilities between the various warring factions have not ended; nevertheless, the

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

international community is heartened at the realistic prospect that now exists for an end to the suffering of the war-weary Kampuchean people.

Cognizant of its stature, authority and expertise to oversee and administer an effective, impartial and credible international control mechanism, the United Nations must seek to maintain this diplomatic momentum. We must today seize the initiative in finding a solution that will end the bloodshed and loss of life, thereby allowing the nation of Kampuchea to be at peace with itself and with its neighbours.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

Although Kampuchea is geographically distant from the Caribbean, it shares with us a principle cherished by all States, whether large or small, developed or developing: the inalienable right to self-determination. This right appeared to be violated when Kampuchea was invaded and occupied by foreign forces. The history of my region teaches that if fundamental norms of international law are flouted with impunity the protection afforded by such norms is severely curtailed and the security of every sovereign State will then be threatened.

A sense of urgency now underlies our deliberations, but we should not let the immediacy of our actions hurry us into proffering solutions that do not take into account the interests of all the parties involved. My Government believes that the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) draft resolution (A/44/L.23), of which we are a sponsor and which is similar to resolutions on this item which have enjoyed the overwhelming support of the international community over the last 10 years, contains the integral elements needed for an equitable solution to the Kampuchean problem. We therefore urge all members of the international community to support the draft resolution. It provides us with the means necessary for achieving a genuine and comprehensive political settlement acceptable to the nation and people of Kampuchea.

My Government believes that any genuine and comprehensive political settlement should take into consideration both the external and the internal aspects germane to the Kampuchean problem. Such a settlement must involve two elements, both of which need to be included if Kampuchea's right to self-determination is not to be trampled upon.

First, there must be a total and completely verifiable withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. This has been and should always remain a key element of a comprehensive settlement. In September of this year the announcement

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

of a final withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea gave us reason to applaud. We are somewhat dismayed by the fact that no independent international agency, such as the United Nations, has been able to verify that withdrawal. There are disputes over the number of foreign troops that were originally in Kampuchea, with estimates ranging from 50,000 to 100,000. Such disparities need to be reconciled and reports of a still significant foreign presence, in the form either of soldiers disguised as civilians or of settlers, should be investigated by a credible international agency.

Secondly, we advocate an internal settlement that would include national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. It must be an internal settlement that will allow the exercise of the right of the people of Kampuchea to self-determination through free, fair and democratic elections. My Government is of the firm conviction that the Kampuchean people have the sole moral and political right to determine who should govern their country. That can best be guaranteed through internationally supervised elections. If there is any attempt to exclude any Kampuchean party from the elections the conflict in Kampuchea will continue.

Our position is clear. We will not condone a return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past. The present conflict was caused by a multiplicity of factors, including the presence of foreign forces on Kampuchean soil. The onus is thus on all parties involved to undo the consequences which led to the intervention in Kampuchea. A comprehensive political settlement, as embodied in draft resolution A/44/L.23, that would allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination is a necessary step. My Government will, as with similar resolutions in the past, support the draft resolution on Kampuchea. We strongly believe that its adoption and immediate

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

implementation by all the parties concerned would provide the best means of ending the tragedy in Kampuchea. We therefore urge all members of the international community to support it.

Mr. ENGELDT (Sweden): A process for a settlement of the conflict in Cambodia was slowly taking shape when the General Assembly last considered the situation in that country a year ago. Hopes were raised that a peaceful settlement could be reached to end the more than 20 years of continuous hostilities, including the four years, from 1975 to 1978, of atrocious acts of genocide by the Pol Pot régime. War and foreign interference have entailed immense suffering and the destruction of the country's infrastructure and economy. For almost two decades Cambodia has been deprived of its right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The peace process is bound to be difficult, owing to the deeply rooted and complicated causes of the conflict and the distrust that has been built up. The progress so far is therefore to be highly valued.

The Swedish Government wishes to express its appreciation of the untiring efforts of Indonesia in launching such regional initiatives as the two Jakarta Informal Meetings, as well as arranging for numerous diplomatic exchanges paving the way for the Paris Conference on Cambodia, which was convened on the laudable initiative of France. We wish to express our support for the continued efforts of the two co-Presidents to bring about the resumption of the Paris Conference, in any form considered suitable, to keep up the momentum of the peace process.

An important development since the Paris Conference is that Viet Nam has announced that it has withdrawn all its forces from Cambodia. We welcome this. It

(Mr. Engfeldt, Sweden)

is desirable that the withdrawal be confirmed through international verification. This would restore the momentum of the peace process.

The Swedish Government appreciates the Secretary-General's role in exercising his good offices, and the balanced assessment of the situation in Kampuchea presented in his report. We share his concern regarding the reports of increased hostilities in Cambodia during the past weeks. In a situation in which some progress has been reached it is most disquieting that there should be a risk that the parties might attempt to influence the political negotiations by military means. We fully endorse the Secretary-General's conviction that there can be no military solution and that peace and national reconciliation can be reached only through an early resumption of the process of negotiation.

The General Assembly also has an important role to play in the peace process. It is of the utmost importance that the moral authority of the United Nations be used in a constructive manner in order to promote the ongoing peace process.

At the forty-third session of the General Assembly my Government was pleased to be a sponsor of the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. Ever since the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia my Government has consistently supported the annual resolution on the subject.



(Mr. Engfeldt, Sweden)

A well-balanced and constructive resolution could have a positive effect on the negotiation process. We regret that this year's draft resolution has not fulfilled our aspirations. It does not fully acknowledge the developments during the past year.

This opportunity could also be used to pave the way for United Nations participation. The United Nations could, in our view, play a decisive role in the implementation of the peace process. Only the United Nations has the necessary experience and capacity to carry out such a comprehensive task as will undoubtedly be required in Cambodia - through a control mechanism which could include verification of withdrawal of foreign troops, supervision of a cease-fire and monitoring of the cessation of foreign arms deliveries. Furthermore, United Nations participation could be contemplated in the preparation and holding of free and fair elections.

One of the major goals of the peace process must be to ensure the non-return to power of those responsible for the atrocious acts of genocide carried out by the Khmer Rouge régime from 1975 to 1978. Sweden will never recognize a role in Cambodia's future for the Khmer Rouge. Awareness of the frightening historical facts and of Khmer Rouge aspirations not yet renounced by the group's leadership is the main reason for the Swedish Government's decision to abstain in the voting on this year's draft resolution. The public in Sweden and in other democratic countries has strongly voiced its revulsion at the prospect of the possible return of the Khmer Rouge. This is a healthy reaction which my Government cannot and will not ignore.

In the prevailing complicated situation in Cambodia the Swedish Government welcomes any initiative or step that could bring a settlement closer. The Thai Prime Minister's initiatives and the Indonesian Government's invitation to an

(Mr. Engfeldt, Sweden)

informal meeting stand out in this context. The peace process must be carried on and the Cambodian people must be allowed to exercise freely its right to self-determination.

I wish to point out that the Swedish position remains that in the prevailing circumstances no Government can be regarded as the legitimate representative of the Cambodian people. The logical conclusion of that stand is that no group is qualified to represent the State of Cambodia in the United Nations.

International assistance to the Cambodian refugees will be needed until peace and normal conditions have been restored in Cambodia. Sweden will continue its support of the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes, including those inside Cambodia. We shall heed the Secretary-General's appeal to member countries to ensure that the basic necessities are provided to the refugees and displaced persons and that the new programmes are fully funded. Sweden would also view positively appeals for support for a United Nations programme of assistance for Cambodia once peace is restored.

The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Kampuchea includes encouraging reports about positive developments regarding increased programmes for refugees and arrangements for better security and access to the border population. Better co-operation between those concerned would obviously still be needed to enable the United Nations to fulfil its task of providing food and medical services to the Khmer population at the border. We welcome the preparations that have been undertaken for the repatriation operations that it is hoped are to come.

The conflict in Cambodia can be settled only through the co-operative efforts of all concerned. The Paris Conference made a significant contribution to the peace process. It highlighted the fact that the conflict is a responsibility also of the international community. We hope that continued direct contacts between the

(Mr. Engfeldt, Sweden)

parties will be carried out in the spirit of compromise required to reach a peaceful settlement in Cambodia.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): One of the major components of the international situation that is now taking on a new quality is the progress towards the settlement of conflicts in the world. The process is not smooth sailing because it calls for strenuous efforts to remove the unfortunate legacies of the past - suspicion and mistrust among the parties engaged in confrontation and clashes. Nevertheless, the process is gaining momentum and reflects the international community's growing awareness of the present-day world's oneness and interdependence and the desire of the parties to resolve their problems through dialogue by acting unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally, as partners.

This positive process also affects the Cambodian problem and, as evidenced by the past year's developments, some progress has been made in identifying ways of resolving it. It would be no exaggeration to say that the debate at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the Cambodian problem is taking place in an environment that differs significantly from that obtaining during our debates at previous sessions of the General Assembly.

Here we should refer, first and foremost, to the withdrawal of Viet Nam's troops from Cambodia last September. There is no denying that this was a major political-military action by Viet Nam and has undoubtedly been an outstanding practical contribution to settling the conflict in South-East Asia. The total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia has ushered in a new stage in the evolving situation in and around that country and has cleared the way for national reconciliation and a comprehensive solution of the Cambodian problem. It is our

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

profound conviction that this development should give a noticeable impetus to the settlement talks at the inter-Khmer, regional and international levels.

The new situation that has arisen in South-East Asia has also been made possible thanks to the efforts of numerous States and forces anxious to see an end of the conflict in the region. The practical action taken to resolve the Cambodian problem has included the two Jakarta Informal Meetings of the parties concerned and several rounds of talks between the Prime Minister of the State of Cambodia, Hun Sen, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We wish to pay a tribute to the countries of Indo-China and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), whose realism and goodwill helped in initiating contacts between the parties at the regional level.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Non-Aligned Movement is also playing a positive role in promoting a Cambodian settlement. As was reiterated by its ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government in Belgrade, the Non-Aligned Movement has invariably pressed for intensifying efforts and continuing vigorous action in search of a peaceful settlement in Cambodia.

Crucial to the efforts under way to defuse tensions in Cambodia was last summer's international Conference on Cambodia held in Paris and attended by Foreign Ministers from 15 States and the United Nations Secretary-General, in addition to the Cambodian parties involved.

The Paris Conference heralded a new stage in the quest for a comprehensive political settlement through compromise. In addition to the intra-Khmer dialogue and the regional-format talks, solutions were sought at the global level also. Though no concrete agreements were reached, that Conference reinforced the basis for joint work and an equitable settlement of the long-standing conflict. It reaffirmed the need for the international community to continue its persistent efforts to solve the Cambodian problem by political means.

In our view, the substantive and practical significance of the Conference also lies in the fact that it developed a wealth of background material in the form of draft documents which were discussed by its committees and which no doubt will facilitate progress towards agreement on the outstanding problems and eventually towards a comprehensive settlement.

Such are, in our view, the political and moral factors that have contributed recently to bringing about genuine changes in the Cambodian settlement and that may provide a solid basis for a continued search for solutions in both form and substance.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

We believe it is essential to ensure continuity and dynamism in the process of negotiations on the Cambodian problem. In this connection, we would point out that the Soviet Union welcomes the proposal made by the Prime Minister of Thailand that one more meeting should be held shortly by the parties concerned with seeking a settlement.

We have also taken note of the recent meeting held in New York by the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, and we hope that, as is envisaged in the final statement of that Conference, they will continue their consultations with the Conference participants in order to discuss the reconvening of the Conference at an appropriate time.

While recognizing the importance of the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and regarding it as the fulfilment of a major condition for resolving the Indo-Chinese conflict, I should like to draw attention to the fact that the task of guaranteeing that the Pol Pot genocide régime is prevented from coming back to power in that country has moved to the forefront of the Cambodian problem; and this task has to be accomplished in such a manner as to preclude any possibility of the return to power in Cambodia of those condemned by the international community for crimes against their own people.

At this stage of the Cambodian settlement understanding has been reached on the need for a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian problem, a solution that would cover both its external and its internal aspects. We agree with that view and we concur with many members of the international community that believe that, in addition to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, a settlement should also incorporate such elements as the ending of outside interference and of foreign military aid to all Cambodian parties, the prevention of civil war, international guarantees for Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and neutrality, self-determination for the Cambodian people through general elections, effective

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

and impartial international supervision of compliance with settlement accords, the return of refugees, and international aid for the economic reconstruction of Cambodia. It goes without saying that such a course of action would help to improve the situation in South-East Asia and have a positive impact on the overall international situation.

At the same time, the parties involved continue to differ in their positions on subsequent ways of solving outstanding issues. We believe that these outstanding issues make it necessary for both the Cambodian sides themselves and all the parties concerned to continue an intensive quest for their solution. An important role in solving the domestic aspects of the problem belongs to the Cambodian sides. We urge the Cambodian sides to make further persistent efforts to ensure national reconciliation, tolerance, realism and a constructive approach.

According to recent reports, armed clashes have been gaining in intensity in some parts of Cambodia. Some members of the opposition have apparently not given up the attempt to solve the Cambodian problem by military means. However, those attempts are dangerous and can only lead to senseless loss of life and suffering for the civilian population. They will not solve contentious issues. Everywhere in the world there is a growing awareness that violence cannot be used as a means to solve either international or national problems. That is entirely true of the Cambodian situation.

It is extremely important for the Cambodian sides to exercise restraint in military action and to establish an immediate cease-fire pending the completion of the negotiating process and a comprehensive settlement. A moratorium on outside supplies of arms and matériel to the belligerent parties in Cambodia would be a major contributing factor to that end, particularly since foreign troops are now being withdrawn from Cambodia, and arms shipments to opposition groups can no

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

longer be justified by invoking the need to ward off a "foreign intervention".  
Indeed, continued military aid to those groups would be tantamount to encouraging  
the efforts of Pol Pot's followers to come back to power.



(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Cambodian people is entitled to expect that our Organization will take constructive decisions aimed at creating an environment propitious to a search for a comprehensive solution of the Cambodian problem and an ongoing negotiating process at the inter-Khmer and international levels.

It is to be regretted that, despite the fact that it contains some new elements, the outdated attitude of bygone times continues to weigh heavily upon the draft resolution on Cambodia submitted to this session. In terms of its political and psychological content the draft resolution is clearly lagging behind the spirit and the degree of the understanding reached at the Jakarta Informal Meetings and at the Paris Conference.

It is a matter of great regret that the sponsors of the draft resolution refuse to recognize the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, since it is alleged to have been carried out without proper international supervision, even though the Vietnamese and Cambodian sides are on record as having repeatedly proposed that international inspectors be sent there. On reflection, one may conclude that by stating the problem in this way the sponsors of the draft resolution, in fact, would like Viet Nam to send its troops back to Cambodia only to withdraw them all over again but this time within the framework of a comprehensive settlement. This kind of twisted logic ignores political realities, gets us nowhere and makes it more difficult for the United Nations to play its peace-making role in resolving the Cambodian problem.

That being the case, the Soviet Union is compelled to oppose the approval of this draft resolution.

We believe and we are convinced that the General Assembly's task is to pursue a policy of building upon the positive developments that have recently occurred.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

It is critically important not to lose the momentum towards a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia, as was pointed out in the Secretary-General's report.

For its part, the Soviet Union has repeatedly made it clear at a high level that it is willing to co-operate with other States concerned in contributing to resolving the Cambodian problem and defusing the conflict in South-East Asia. This approach stems from our policy of settling regional conflicts through political means and by negotiation and, to put it in broader terms, on the basis of our concept of new political thinking.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): In this debate we seem to be faced with an apparent dilemma: Bearing in mind the uncertain situation prevailing in and around Cambodia at the moment, should we be careful, cover all our bases and try not to step on anybody's toes? Or, bearing in mind the danger of an intensification of hostilities leading to yet more suffering for the Cambodian people, should we speak out?

In reality, there is no choice for us: Austria, which has no historical or other interests in the region but humanitarian ones, has consistently maintained a principled stance in favour of a just and lasting solution to the Cambodian problem. The fact that Austria agreed to assume the presidency of the International Conference on Kampuchea when it was first convened and that three Austrian Foreign Ministers have held that post is but one expression of our position.

By the same token, Austria has consistently endeavoured to be in touch with all parties to the conflict, trying to do its best to find common ground. This openness to all sides evidently requires a willingness to see the merits of all positions, to take into account the legitimate concerns of all parties and to bear

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

in mind the constraints under which they have to operate. My following remarks are guided by these considerations.

As we are discussing this agenda item, there are signs of hope. In the words of the Secretary-General in his report before us:

"Since the beginning of the year, the process of dialogue and negotiations on Kampuchea has gathered unprecedented momentum. The regional initiatives and numerous diplomatic exchanges that took place during the first part of the year culminated in the convening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia."

(A/44/670, para. 27)

Austria - which despite its contributions and the fact that a number of participants expressed an interest in seeing us represented in Paris was not invited - considers the Conference neither a failure nor a success. At the beginning of the Conference, we were encouraged by the news that all parties had agreed that its goal was

"a comprehensive agreement providing for the internationally supervised withdrawal of foreign troops, restoring the independence of Cambodia, guaranteeing its sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality; to promote peace and national reconciliation in the country, ensure self-determination for the Cambodian people through internationally supervised elections, arrange for the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons to their country and pave the way towards the economic reconstruction of Cambodia."

That seemed to indicate the determination of the participants not to repeat partial solutions tried elsewhere. Then, however, in the course of the deliberations of the Conference, attitudes hardened and positions became unbridgeable.

None the less, the Paris Conference was an important step in the search for a just and lasting settlement of the Cambodian problem. What we need now is no

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

longer primarily a procedural breakthrough but a breakthrough in matters of substance.

Another sign of hope is the information provided by Viet Nam that it withdrew all of its troops from Cambodia between 21 and 26 September this year. Austria welcomes this decision, although we would have preferred to see it verified by an effective international control mechanism acceptable to all sides and taking place in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement. Nevertheless, Viet Nam's decision is an important step in the right direction which, in our view, enhances the chances for such a settlement.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

I have just mentioned that at this moment when we are discussing this agenda item there are signs of hope. Unfortunately, there are also reasons for despair. According to various reports, hostilities in Cambodia have increased lately. It is feared that fighting may further escalate as the dry season begins.

Austria shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his aforementioned report that there can be no military solution and that every effort should be made to spare the Cambodian people further bloodshed and suffering. We also share his conviction that the only constructive course of action is the early resumption of the negotiating process. We understand that efforts are currently under way to ensure the early resumption of the Paris process, if I may call it that. In order for negotiations to be resumed with a chance to make substantial progress, it is, however, imperative that all parties concerned demonstrate the necessary political will to that end.

Austria shares the assessment of the Secretary-General that:

"The most important outstanding issue is national reconciliation, which must begin with the definition of viable administrative arrangements for the transitional period leading to the holding of free, fair and internationally supervised elections. At the same time, attention should be focused on the modalities of a cease-fire, especially with respect to the disposition of the armed forces of the parties, on the adoption of measures to ensure the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the 1975-1978 period, as well as on the mandate and modus operandi of an effective international control mechanism for all the elements of a comprehensive political settlement". (A/44/670, para. 31)

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

As far as an effective international control mechanism is concerned, we are convinced that there is no viable alternative to setting it up under the auspices of the United Nations and that it should be directed by the Secretary-General. No other organism could conceivably command the necessary expertise, mechanisms, support structure, financial backing and, indeed, authority and credibility. We are, of course, aware of the concerns which have so far prevented agreement on such a role for the United Nations. At the same time, we are convinced that those concerns could and should be addressed in the framework of a comprehensive settlement.

Austria, for its part, as well as Mr. Alois Mock, who recently assumed the presidency of the International Conference on Kampuchea, stand ready to contribute to the achievement of an early, comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement.

Mr. CUENCO (Philippines): The debate on the Kampuchean issue this year is taking place at a time of remarkable, almost unbelievable, changes in the political landscape of this globe. The pace of these developments has come upon us with such speed as to move a political scholar to describe it recently as the "amazing acceleration of the velocity of history".

Indeed, the ideologues and their tired ideologies have become irrelevant. The curtains of suspicion and distrust have finally parted and the walls that have divided peoples have crumbled. The deadly artefacts of war are being destroyed and the cold winds of confrontation have waned, giving way to the calming breeze of the dialogue of peace.

It is sad that this balmy air has failed to reach Kampuchea and that the General Assembly must once again debate the tragic fate of that once peaceful country. The people of Kampuchea have suffered for far too long. They deserve a

(Mr. Cuenco, Philippines)

future beyond continuing hostilities in their land, beyond the hopeless life in refugee encampments. They too desire, indeed they deserve, a life of freedom, a life of peace.

It is not that the international community, particularly the countries which have overwhelmingly supported past United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea, have been wanting in efforts to bring peace to Kampuchea. The two informal meetings in Jakarta, known to us as JIM I and JIM II, and the subsequent Paris Conference on Cambodia are proof of our efforts to achieve a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. Yet such a solution has remained elusive.

Why has a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem eluded us this year and in the years past?

To our mind, the reason lies in the obdurate refusal of certain parties directly involved in the Kampuchean conflict, abetted by some quarters in Powers outside the region, by some of their opinion-makers and some sections of their press, to accept the proposition that only genuine reconciliation between all the Kampuchean parties can be the true and lasting basis for peace in Kampuchea. That proposition is the firm belief of my delegation, a belief shared by the members of the Association of South East Asian States (ASEAN) and by those who, without bias, are fully awake to the realities of the situation.

Thus, it has been the consistent position of my delegation that the manifest expression of genuine reconciliation in Kampuchea would be the establishment of an interim government representing all the four Kampuchean parties, after the full and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces had been internationally verified, and for such an interim government to prepare and carry out free and fair elections that would enable the Kampuchean people to decide how and by whom they wish to be governed.

(Mr. Cuenco, Philippines)

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the acknowledged and patriotic leader of the Khmer people, has himself proposed the inclusion of moderate elements of the Khmer Rouge in an interim quadripartite government until the Kampuchean people are able to express their will in internationally supervised, free, fair and democratic elections. His proposal implies that the Khmers must themselves decide the fate of the Khmer Rouge. Simply wishing them away will not make them disappear. They must be made a part of the peace process because they too are Kampucheans whose fate as a party or political grouping must be decided by the Kampuchean people themselves.



(Mr. Cuenco, Philippines)

Of those who say that one Kampuchean party - the Khmer Rouge - should have no part in this process, we wish to ask this question: who or what gives them the right automatically to exclude the Khmer Rouge? They say that that party has committed terrible atrocities in the past and thus it should never be allowed to return to power. We would like to ask this: would not the Kampuchean people be the better judge? Remembering their brutal treatment, people surely will close the door to power against that group.

None of us in the Assembly can condone the past atrocities of the Khmer Rouge; nor do we intend to open corridors for them to return to power. The people of Kampuchea, in free and fair elections, will deny them those corridors of power. By the same token, the Government installed by force in Phnom Penh cannot be allowed to remain without a valid mandate from the Kampuchean people given in free and fair elections.

It is perhaps important to recall at this juncture the five commitments made by the Khmer Rouge at the Paris Conference. The Khmer Rouge agreed that, within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement, they would not insist on an equal sharing of power in an interim coalition Government. Further, they supported the proposal that, following a cease-fire agreed upon by all the parties directly involved, all armed elements would be regrouped in bases and disarmed. They supported a strong and effective international peace-keeping force under the auspices of the United Nations. They supported the holding of internationally supervised elections which would be free, fair and democratic. More important, they agreed to respect the results of the elections.

The Powers involved, directly or indirectly, in the Kampuchean conflict, China included, are committed to respecting the results of free and fair elections in Kampuchea, with all that this implies in terms of continuing support for parties that fail to achieve power as a result of these elections.

(Mr. Cuenco, Philippines)

If a new Kampuchea that is sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned is to emerge from the ashes of two decades of war, destruction and suffering, it must begin with a process based on true national reconciliation. Prince Sihanouk is the obvious choice to lead this process. All Kampucheans must break with the past and begin to forge a life in a Kampuchea at peace within itself.

At the Paris Conference, the Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, Raul S. Manglapus, called for flexibility so that a fair compromise acceptable to all, especially the Kampuchean parties, could be reached. Today, as then, we continue to urge that the same flexibility be exercised. The political changes that are unfolding before our very eyes are too dramatic to pass unnoticed. The current is too strong for us not to be swept along with it.

In calling for the General Assembly to give its overwhelming support to draft resolution A/44/L.23, we hope that all of us will see true national reconciliation in an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea finally at peace within itself, thus ushering in a bright new era of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

Mr. STREISOV (Bulgaria): The positive changes in international relations in the last few years have raised hopes of the peaceful and equitable solution of a number of regional conflicts around the world.

The consistent policies of the Governments of the State of Cambodia, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the efforts of a number of other States aimed at normalizing the situation and eliminating tension in that part of the world, have created opportunities for resolving the contradictions between the positions of the States directly concerned and finding a political path to a peaceful future for Cambodia.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

The main factor in this respect is the Cambodian Government's policy of national reconciliation, directed at building a peaceful, independent, democratic and non-aligned Cambodia through equal and constructive inter-Cambodian dialogue.

The Joint Declaration of 5 April 1989 by Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia made a significant contribution to normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. In accordance with this document, Viet Nam withdrew its troops from Cambodia completely and within the specified period. The People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes this important, constructive step by Viet Nam.

We appreciate the efforts of all other States, including Indonesia and other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), aimed at finding a peaceful and just solution to the issue of Cambodia. The two Jakarta Informal Meetings contributed to narrowing the range of disputed issues and gave the peace process a better chance of success.

The convening of the Paris peace Conference last August was a major step forward. Bulgaria believes that the process started within the framework of the conference should be continued by means of the further efforts of the participants in the conference to overcome the remaining difficulties on a just and constructive basis. To achieve this goal it is necessary to proceed from a level-headed analysis of the reasons for the delay in finding a political solution to the problem of Cambodia. We are concerned over attempts to create artificial obstacles to block the dialogue which has already started. A just, comprehensive and lasting settlement cannot be achieved by military force. The only way to reach such a settlement is through political negotiations.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

The consensus achieved in Jakarta on the interrelationship of the two aspects of the problem should be concretely and practically built upon. After the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, the remaining problem is to prevent a return to the Pol Pot régime's policy and practice of genocide and to stop all foreign interference and foreign arms supplies to the Cambodian sides to the conflict.

Bulgaria fully supports the call for a cease-fire as a first important step in that direction. We welcome the readiness of the Soviet Union and the United States, expressed in the joint statement on the talks of their Foreign Ministers on 23 September 1989,

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

(A/44/578, page 7)

Other initiatives, such as the proposal of Thailand's Prime Minister on 23 September 1989 on the calling of an unofficial meeting to encourage the process of negotiations and halting the hostilities in Cambodia, also have a significant positive potential.

The progress achieved so far has created an objective opportunity for the General Assembly at its current session to make up for the delay in its reaction to events in that region, which, regrettably, was characteristic of its resolutions on the issue. Unfortunately, the draft resolution presented at this session again does not reflect that opportunity. For that reason the Bulgarian delegation will not be in a position to support it.

We hope, however, that the search for mutually acceptable solutions will continue, with a view to finding a just political settlement in Cambodia in the shortest possible time.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): Against the background of the general improvement in the international climate and progress in mitigating some regional conflicts, the evolution of the situation in and around Cambodia during the past year provides a mixed picture - of hope and of disappointment.

The encouraging developments were the decisions of the February 1989 Jakarta Informal Meeting, whereby the opposing Cambodian parties and the two groups of countries of South-East Asia confirmed the modalities of the settlement of the Cambodian question, and the Joint Declaration of 5 April 1989 by the three Indochina States on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the territory of Kampuchea by the end of September 1989. Along with initial progress in talks between Prime Minister Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, those developments opened the way for the convening of the international Conference on Cambodia in Paris.

The disappointing development was that while the Conference succeeded in working out various elements of a comprehensive settlement - inter alia a plan of action for the recovery and reconstruction of Cambodia and the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons - as well as in bridging the differences on the international control mechanism, the cease-fire and safeguards, it was not possible to reach agreement on a comprehensive settlement, due to differences on certain political questions.

Despite those disappointments, the prevailing opinion of the international community is that the Paris Conference has laid the groundwork for a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian question, and that this process should be continued. That view is shared by the Secretary-General, who, in his report on the situation in Kampuchea, expressed the conviction that

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

"the only constructive course of action is the early resumption of the negotiating process." (A/44/670, para.30)

Further progress in achieving a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian question depends upon strict compliance with the conclusions of the Jakarta Informal Meetings. Now that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia has been completed, countervailing measures aimed at preventing the re-establishment of the Khmer Rouge régime in Cambodia and ceasing external arms supplies to the opposing Cambodian forces should be taken. The gloomy prospect of the Khmer Rouge's taking a firm grip on Cambodia, with all that it entails, is not based on sheer speculation. As the world press reports - here reference can be made to The New York Times of 12 November 1989 - Pol Pot's army is leading an offensive in a new civil war.

While the assumption contained in the Ho Chi Minh City Understanding - that the internal aspect of the Kampuchean problem should be settled by the Kampuchean parties themselves, while the international aspect should be settled with the assistance of the international community - remains valid, all attempts at imposing political solutions of internal problems from outside should be resisted. The Cambodian people should be allowed to exercise its right, through free and democratic elections under international supervision, to decide on its country's future political system and to choose its own government, in keeping with its aspirations.

Poland supports all the efforts aimed at a political solution of the Cambodian problem on the basis of national reconciliation. In particular, it has taken note with interest of the changes in the Constitution conducive to national reconciliation and of the Declaration of 20 July 1989 by the Cambodian National Assembly on permanent neutrality of the State of Cambodia.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

The Government of the Polish People's Republic welcomed with satisfaction the Joint Declaration issued on 5 April 1989 by the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the territory of Kampuchea by the end of September 1989 and on the establishment of an international mechanism for supervision and control. With the completion of troop withdrawals, the conditions have been created for the ardently desired restoration of peace in Cambodia. It is also of the utmost importance for the normalization of the situation in the whole South-East Asia area.

Poland consistently favours solving regional conflicts by peaceful means, détente and the development of international co-operation. We support multilateral efforts aimed at the solution of the Cambodian problem. In this respect, the Paris international Conference on Cambodia is called upon to play an important role if the resumption of hostilities is to be avoided and a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian question is to be found.\*

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\* The President took the Chair.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

We are convinced that good will by all the parties concerned can bring about a settlement of the Cambodian problem by peaceful means with due respect for the sovereign interests of the Cambodian people. It can also serve the interests of the neighbouring countries and the cause of peace in the world.

Concerning the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea presented by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and others, we note the recognition accorded to the significant contribution towards achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem made by the Jakarta Informal Meetings, as well as the Paris Conference on Cambodia. We would not have any problems with supporting many of "the principal components of any just, lasting and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem" presented in the draft resolution. Unfortunately, the draft resolution does not, in our view, sufficiently reflect the realities of the situation prevailing at the moment in Cambodia and fails to include certain elements necessary to establish a durable peace in Cambodia.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): The tragedy of Cambodia remains unresolved. It has a pressing urgency today which demands the full and active concern of the international community. In April 1975, the Khmer Rouge stormed Phnom Penh and opened a chapter of infamy in the history of the world that we can never forget. They emptied the cities and sent uncountable numbers of Cambodia's people to their deaths. Their brutal record of murder and destruction continues to horrify the world as its grim facts become ever more widely known. The United States Government and people are united in the conviction that the Khmer Rouge must never be allowed to reinstate their reign of terror over Cambodia.

The second chapter of Cambodia's tragedy began on Christmas day, 1978, when Vietnamese troops poured across the border and in place of Pol Pot - a fellow communist to whom Viet Nam had formerly provided substantial support - established



(Mr. Watson, United States)

a régime comprised largely of Khmer Rouge officials who had defected to Viet Nam long after the crimes of the "killing fields" were initiated and carried out. In this new phase of oppression, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians were condemned to death by starvation, disease and war, or were forced to flee as refugees to escape the invading armies.

Six weeks ago Hanoi announced that its army of occupation had at last been recalled within Viet Nam's own borders. We hope that this claim will be verified by an international monitoring force in the context of a comprehensive settlement which would allow the Cambodian people freely to decide their own future. Viet Nam has refused to recognize its responsibility for the ongoing hostilities engendered by its invasion, which continue in the absence of a comprehensive settlement. The tragedy of the Cambodian people must not be allowed to enter a third chapter: civil war.

In 1989 we witnessed significant diplomatic efforts to bring peace to Cambodia. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), through their Jakarta Informal Meetings, helped prepare the basis for the Paris Conference on Cambodia in August. This Conference, involving the great efforts of many nations under the able leadership of France and Indonesia, resulted in tangible progress on the issues of peace-keeping, international guarantees and reconstruction and repatriation. The United States actively participated in the Paris Conference on Cambodia and stands ready to support its further efforts. However, the Conference was unable to overcome the intransigence of Viet Nam and the Phnom Penh régime which blocks a crucial part of a comprehensive solution: establishing an interim coalition under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk to lead the country through a transition period until free and fair elections can be held. We share the consensus view that it is Prince Sihanouk around whom a settlement can be developed which will serve the best interests of the Cambodian people.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Self-determination for the Cambodian people requires a comprehensive settlement with a credible and effective international monitoring mechanism. Only such an international control can verify the withdrawal of foreign troops, monitor an end to arms supplies, demobilize the armed factions and supervise an electoral process. Only a comprehensive settlement with effective safeguards under an international control mechanism can monitor human rights in Cambodia and assure what 10 years of brutal Vietnamese occupation failed to accomplish: an end to the threat of the Khmer Rouge and a bar to their return to power against the clear wishes of the Cambodian people. As part of those comprehensive measures, the international community should assist in the voluntary repatriation of the displaced Cambodians in camps along the Thai-Cambodian border and in the reconstruction of this war-ravaged country.

We believe that for peace and stability to return to Cambodia and the region there must be a comprehensive settlement leading to internationally supervised free and fair elections and an international monitoring and peace-keeping force to support settlement arrangements under the aegis of the United Nations. Only the United Nations has the capability, the experience and the authority to undertake this challenge.

We hope that the parties involved will agree to turn from the battlefield back to the negotiating table. The United States wants a diplomatic solution in Cambodia, not a civil war. The Cambodian people deserve an end to the bloodshed they have suffered. Moreover, without an end to the fighting there can be no end to the threat to the security of Thailand - a long-time friend and treaty ally of the United States - and to the stability of the entire region which has been posed by the turmoil in Cambodia since the 1978 Vietnamese invasion. Over the years, ASEAN has responded to this danger with vision, courage and effectiveness. ASEAN

(Mr. Watson, United States)

has played a major role in trying to foster peace in the region through the establishment of a process designed to achieve a truly comprehensive solution to the problems there.

The United States will continue to support the efforts of ASEAN and others to achieve a comprehensive negotiated solution to the Cambodian tragedy. Since the beginning of the conflict ASEAN has been in the forefront of the search for peace. By focusing international attention on Cambodia it has functioned as our conscience, ensuring that the world does not forget the suffering there.

The United States strongly supports the draft resolution before us. The objective of the resolution is neither to punish Viet Nam for its crimes against Cambodia nor to reward Viet Nam for its announced withdrawal of troops. What this resolution seeks is to secure for the Cambodian people the right enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations: the right to self-determination.

The draft resolution emphasizes two major pre-conditions for peace in Cambodia: the need for a comprehensive solution and a commitment against the return to power of the Khmer Rouge, to which the United States and the international community are unalterably opposed. A comprehensive solution must allow the Cambodian people themselves at last to determine their future course. We cannot imagine that the Cambodian people, having suffered unspeakable atrocities at the hands of Pol Pot, would ever willingly allow the Khmer Rouge to exercise control over that country's destiny. We are certain that they will reject them decisively at the ballot box.

Cambodia has suffered tragically for many years. Its people must now be given the opportunity to take charge of their own destiny. The international community must continue its best efforts to foster a comprehensive settlement which will allow Cambodia to become a free and independent nation at peace both internally and with its neighbours.

Mr. PIBULSONGRAM (Thailand): I should like, first, to express my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to his Special Representative, Under-Secretary-General Rafeuddin Ahmed, for their tireless efforts in the search for a lasting political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Our appreciation goes also to Mr. Leopold Gratz, former Foreign Minister of Austria and former President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his valuable contribution. I should like at the same time to welcome Mr. Alois Mock, Foreign Minister of Austria and the new President of the International Conference on Kampuchea. We look forward to working with him and we pledge our fullest co-operation.

I should like to commend Ambassador Absa Claude Diallo, Chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for their untiring efforts and active participation during the past 12 months in the continuing search for a comprehensive political solution to the problem, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to them by the International Conference on Kampuchea.

At the recent international Conference on Cambodia in Paris my Foreign Minister said:

"What we seek to achieve at this Conference is a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem. To aim for anything less, or to settle for a partial solution, would result in a protracted conflict in Cambodia. Such a consequence would not merely prolong the suffering of millions of Cambodians, but profoundly and adversely affect new security, political and economic priorities that most of us, in taking advantage of the present favourable international environment, have recently restructured."

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

Numerous activities concerning the Kampuchean problem have taken place over the past year. My delegation agrees fully with the Secretary-General's comment in his report that this year

"the process of dialogue and negotiations on Kampuchea has gathered unprecedented momentum." (A/44/670, para. 27)

It seemed that the stage had been set for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

At the global level, the Kampuchean problem became a subject for serious discussions between the five permanent members of the Security Council. The Kampuchean problem also ranked high on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The peace process intensified in South-East Asia also. The second Jakarta Informal Meeting was held in February 1989. Hosted by Indonesia, that Meeting was attended by the four Kampuchean factions, Viet Nam, Laos, and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The Meeting succeeded in broadening the framework and enlarging the scope of discussions with a view to achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The second Jakarta Informal Meeting paved the way for the convening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. My delegation would like to commend the Government of France for having hosted the Paris Conference and to express our heartfelt gratitude to the co-Presidents of the Conference, Mr. Roland Dumas, Foreign Minister of France, and Mr. Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, for their hard work and painstaking efforts during the month-long Conference.

The Thai delegation went to Paris with a feeling of optimism. We wanted the Conference to succeed. We had been a front-line State since 1978. It had been a long time - too long. Indeed, Kampuchea itself had seen war for far too long. Hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons had taken refuge

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

in Thailand since the beginning. Those remaining in Thailand wanted to return home, but their repatriation could not take place before a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem had been reached. For all these reasons, Thailand wanted an end to the conflict; we wanted to help to turn the battlefield of Indo-China into a market-place.

The Paris Conference started well. There was a general feeling of optimism. The Conference helped the participants to come to grips with the complex technical and political problems. Questions concerning refugees were addressed. Constructive deliberations were also held on the question of the mandate of the future international control mechanism. Most participants agreed that, to be effective, the control mechanism would have to be under the auspices of the United Nations. The Conference dispatched a preliminary United Nations fact-finding mission to gather technical data on the spot.

Then came the disappointment. The talks on national reconciliation reached an impasse. Insistence on the prior exclusion of one Kampuchean faction from participation in an interim administering authority before elections was one of the principal causes. The question of Vietnamese settlers was another; it remained unsettled. Disagreement continued also on the nature and the auspices of the international control mechanism. Because of these issues the Paris Conference had to be suspended. And the conflict in Kampuchea has continued.

My delegation would like to reiterate its firm support for His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in his efforts to enhance an independent and sovereign Kampuchea - a Kampuchea whose territorial integrity is respected universally. We believe that Prince Sihanouk's five-point proposal could serve as the best basis for national reconciliation between the four Kampuchean parties. In particular, we support the establishment of a quadripartite interim administering authority which

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

would facilitate the achievement of self-determination by the Kampuchean people through a process of free, fair and democratic elections. Such elections will require the participation of all the Kampuchean factions. Genuine self-determination cannot be achieved with the prior exclusion of any faction.

Viet Nam announced a troop withdrawal from Kampuchea in September this year. We welcomed the announcement, but noted with regret that there had been no effective and objective verification. In the absence of United Nations supervision, control and verification, the international community cannot feel confident that all foreign troops have indeed left Kampuchea. It is noteworthy that some Members of Thai Parliament went to Kampuchea to observe the announced troop withdrawal. They went on their own behalf. But in the end they were unable to verify a withdrawal of foreign forces had indeed taken place.

Doubts were also raised by Prince Sihanouk himself. He raised them again in his message to the General Assembly this morning. He suggested that armed Vietnamese had disguised themselves and remained behind in Kampuchea after the announced pull-out date. It is therefore necessary that verification be conducted by the United Nations so that these doubts may be dispelled once and for all.

My delegation shares the international community's concern about the universally condemned policies and practices of the past. We seek to prevent a return to these policies and practices, as well as any and all violations of human rights in Kampuchea, no matter who the perpetrators may be. We believe that an effective international control mechanism under the United Nations can ensure this.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

That is why the United Nations role in the Kampuchean peace process will be so important. The international control mechanism in Kampuchea must be under the auspices of the United Nations to be effective. The United Nations presence in Kampuchea should have a military as well as a civilian component. Its main task should be to supervise, monitor and verify the full implementation of the comprehensive political settlement, once such a settlement is reached. Its role in the supervision of the elections will be crucial. Indeed, in his recent statement to the General Assembly my Foreign Minister addressed the need for a United Nations presence.

"My delegation believes that it is crucial and most pragmatic for the United Nations to be intimately involved in the implementation of any peace plan for Kampuchea. The institutional expertise and long experience of the United Nations are universally acknowledged, especially in the area of peace-keeping and in the preparations for, and supervision of, free, fair and democratic elections. The same applies to the repatriation of the half million Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons. A central role for the United Nations in reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts for Kampuchea will also be vitally important." (A/44/PV.13, p. 67)

We have often heard the argument that the United Nations as an institution has been in favour of one side on the Kampuchean issue. I should like to contend that that is untrue. The General Assembly merely reflects the views of the majority of its Members. And the Members of the General Assembly are delegations representing sovereign States. On the Kampuchean issue an overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly have voted over the last 10 years to uphold fundamental principles. These are the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Last year 122 delegations did so again. The General Assembly's



(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

reflection of the firm opinion of the vast majority of Member States in no way compromises its impartiality, the impartiality of the United Nations as an institution. Therefore, on the Kampuchean issue it is meaningless to talk about the United Nations or the General Assembly being partial or impartial. But it is meaningful - and indeed significant - to note how individual delegations representing sovereign States have pronounced themselves on the Kampuchean issue year after year.

Several people have made references to my Prime Minister, General Chatichai Choonhavan, and his proposals on Kampuchea. Several interpretations of his thinking have appeared. Let me take this opportunity to state as clearly as I can what that thinking really is. It is this: First, my Prime Minister has personally attempted to maintain informal dialogues with the Kampuchean parties concerned to avert large-scale hostilities. Secondly, he remains committed to the basic objectives of a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem, namely, the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces under international verification, and the setting up of a four-party coalition government under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Thirdly, in order to break the impasse after the suspension of the Paris Conference, my Prime Minister has initiated the idea of convening an informal meeting. He believes that negotiations would help to sustain the momentum of the peace process. Fourthly, such an informal meeting would address, among other things, the setting up of an international control mechanism, which is one of the principal components for achieving a comprehensive political settlement. According to my Prime Minister the functions of the international control mechanism are as follows: to verify that no Vietnamese forces remain in Kampuchea; to supervise a cease-fire; to monitor the cessation of external arms supplies; to conduct a national census for the purpose of determining eligible

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

voters; and to supervise a free and fair general election which would allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination, without the prior exclusion of any Kampuchean faction.

The foregoing should be regarded as the official and definitive interpretation of the thinking of the Government and the Prime Minister of Thailand on Kampuchea.

Thailand once again joins the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as well as other sponsors, 79 in all, in presenting a new draft resolution on the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

Draft resolution A/44/L.23 addresses the various elements the co-sponsors believe to be necessary for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The draft resolution is non-confrontational. It is reasonable in tone. It is mindful of recent developments. Therefore, firm international support for this draft resolution this year will serve as an impetus for those directly concerned to take notice and to remove the final obstacles to a comprehensive political settlement. In this way, the Assembly's support of this draft resolution will contribute in a most valuable way to the process to restore peace in Kampuchea.

Mr. NOOR (Afghanistan): It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that in the recent past we have been witnessing a number of positive and constructive developments towards a political settlement of the situation in Cambodia. In that connection, we should like to express our pleasure at the two Jakarta Informal Meetings, the talks between Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk and, finally, the Paris international Conference on Cambodia. These events, on the one hand, have paved the way for a constructive dialogue between the parties, thus narrowing their differences, and, on the other, have laid the foundation of a national reconciliation based on the realities of Cambodian society. In this connection we also welcome and support the constructive and positive position adopted by the

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

State of Cambodia towards a political solution that would bring peace and tranquillity to the Cambodian people.

Taking into consideration those positive developments as well as the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, the situation in the country has reached a sensitive stage. Therefore, it is high time for all parties involved in the conflict, directly or indirectly, to show more flexibility and to take concrete steps towards the long-awaited, comprehensive political settlement.

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

In this regard, first and foremost it is necessary for all the parties concerned to work jointly for a consensus resolution, with the ultimate goal of reaching a comprehensive political settlement of the issue. In our opinion, such a resolution can be drafted on the basis of the resolution on Cambodia adopted at the Non-Aligned Movement's ninth summit Conference and in the spirit of the Jakarta Informal Meetings and the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

It would be more appropriate, realistic and constructive if the draft resolution on Cambodia took strictly into account the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia that has already been effected, and rejected a return of the deeply hated genocidal Pol Pot régime in its totality. We also believe that the resolution should call for the immediate cessation of interference and intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of Cambodia, a cease-fire between the opposing parties and some form of international control and verification of the implementation of the key elements.

Once we reject the return of the genocidal Pol Pot régime, then under conditions of the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia little scope for differences among the parties remains.

In our view, at this critical juncture in the Cambodian issue the United Nations could play a more active and constructive role in a comprehensive political settlement in that country by adopting a realistic, balanced, equitable and finally more workable resolution.

At the same time, bearing in mind the experiences of a somewhat similar situation in our region, we are of the firm belief that an immediate cease-fire between the parties concerned could pave the way for a more comprehensive inter-Cambodian dialogue. In this connection we appreciate the readiness of the

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

USSR and the United States, as stated in the Baker-Shevardnadze joint statement of 23 September 1989,

"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)

The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, while reiterating its firm support for the position taken by the ninth summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in this regard, considers the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia to be an important step towards a political settlement. At the same time, we earnestly hope that in the preparation of a draft resolution on such a sensitive issue the parties concerned will work together in the spirit of co-operation, conciliation and accommodation that is required in drafting a consensus text and thus preparing for a comprehensive political settlement. Furthermore, we call upon all the parties involved in this conflict to refrain from any act that might lead to civil war in Cambodia, to terminate military aid of any kind to the parties, and, finally, to observe strictly the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Cambodia.

In conclusion, we should not forget that in the comprehensive political settlement of all problems of this nature, there is the strongest need, first and foremost, for firm political will and determination.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): In the year that has elapsed since the forty-third session of the General Assembly we have witnessed important movement in the direction of opening up prospects for a political solution of the situation in Kampuchea. The processes that have been initiated, regardless of the current impasse, have for understandable reasons attracted widespread attention from the

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

international community. At the same time, they have strengthened the expectations that at long last the situation in Kampuchea created by foreign military intervention will be rectified in the foreseeable future, whereby a serious source of instability and mistrust in the broader area of South-East Asia will be eliminated.

The second Jakarta Informal Meeting and the Conference on Kampuchea, held in Paris this year, which included all directly interested parties and some principal international entities, were undoubtedly important steps in that direction. This is particularly true of the Paris Conference, which although it led to no agreement, contributed to the clarification of the positions of directly interested parties and to the identification of elements that are of vital importance for a comprehensive solution of the problem. Yugoslavia also took note of the decision by Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea by 26 September this year.

Since the outbreak of the crisis Yugoslavia, together with the broadest segment of the international community, has advocated a political solution, through dialogue and negotiations, that would meet the interests of the widest strata of the Kampuchean people and enable that country to decide its destiny freely and independently. It is encouraging that recognition of the need for this seems to be ever more apparent on the part of the directly interested parties and the entities that support them. It is a matter of grave concern, however, that important differences continue to exist among them regarding the basis for and the ways and means of achieving a lasting and just solution of the problem.

We continue to believe that the basis for the solution of this problem - namely, for the re-establishment of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, full independence and non-aligned status of Kampuchea - that is most acceptable internationally is the five-point plan of Prince Sihanouk, which, inter alia,

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

provides for an appropriate, active role for the United Nations. In this context we would also like to state our position that an essential pre-condition of a lasting solution is the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean territory, with international verification. In saying this we have in mind, of course, the United Nations and the creation of the conditions necessary for the people of that country to decide on its internal development and foreign policy orientation without pressure. In this we proceed from obvious and tragic experiences in the past that have shown that earlier attempts from outside to impose internal solutions on Kampuchea have brought no good to the Kampuchean and Khmer people. Those attempts have been sharply and categorically opposed not only by the Khmer people but also by the broadest segment of the international community.

It is our profound conviction, which has been borne out by efforts to extinguish other hotbeds of crisis, that the United Nations offers a unique mechanism and framework for the lasting and comprehensive solution of the problem. The need, of course, is implicit for all directly interested parties to agree to co-operate with the United Nations and the Secretary-General in efforts to overcome this problem. In this context we fully share the position set out in the Secretary-General's report that

"a firm basis for negotiations will require a genuine spirit of compromise and a readiness to engage in mutual concessions. It is only in this way that it will be possible to prepare the ground for the conclusion of the comprehensive agreement necessary to establish peace in Kampuchea and to put an end to two decades of war, destruction and intense suffering." (A/44/670, para. 31)

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

At the same time, it will not be possible to achieve a comprehensive and lasting solution to the problem unless there is equitable and constructive participation by all major Kampuchean political groups and forces and unless they consistently abide by obligations they have assumed. There is no doubt that everything should be done to prevent the recurrence of the tragic experiences of the recent past of that country. Otherwise, there will be serious danger of the prolongation of the conflict and foreign interference and of the continuation of instability and tension in that important part of the world.

For its part Yugoslavia will continue to render active support to the efforts that could lead to a political solution to the problem on the basis of respect for the authentic interests and aspirations of the people of Kampuchea to decide its destiny independently and without foreign pressure. Along those lines we are in favour of an early beginning of consultations with interested parties for the purpose of removing the existing obstacles to the resumption of the work and the successful outcome of the Paris Conference, which, in our opinion, represents the most appropriate way for reaching agreement on a comprehensive solution.

Yugoslavia, in its capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will continue to make its contribution in that direction by its participation in the preparatory process.

I avail myself of this opportunity to point out once again the serious humanitarian problem arising from the continuation of the Kampuchean situation. In that connection we have in mind the fact that over 300,000 refugees from Kampuchea have been forced because of the war situation to leave their country. The efforts that are being made for their accommodation deserve the broadest recognition. We would mention in particular the importance of the material assistance rendered,



(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

despite the well-known difficulties, by the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as by individual humanitarian organizations in order to alleviate the suffering of the Kampuchean refugees.

In conclusion I should like to reiterate the position of principle of Yugoslavia that a comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem, on the basis of the re-establishment of the independence, sovereignty, and non-aligned status and democratic system of Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the most prominent leader of the Khmer people and one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is an essential pre-condition for the lasting stability and the achievement of peace and security in the broader area of South-East Asia. Proceeding from that position, the Yugoslav delegation will vote in favour of the adoption of the draft resolution which is before the General Assembly this year, as it has done in the case of previous resolutions.

Mr. MAKSIMOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Last year, in the quest for a peaceful solution of the Cambodian problem, we witnessed a number of positive trends, reflected, inter alia, in the two Jakarta Informal Meetings and the holding in Paris of an international conference on the problem. By agreement with the State of Cambodia, in September Viet Nam completed the total withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia. That major military and political act is further evidence of Viet Nam's respect for the sovereignty of Cambodia and its proclaimed policy of constant neutrality. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops has ushered in a completely new stage in the situation developing in and around the country and created favourable conditions for national reconciliation to be achieved. Thanks to that step the groundwork has largely been laid for a comprehensive political settlement.

(Mr. Maksimov, Byelorussian SSR)

In the wake of these events, further efforts were made to develop the settlement process. On 23 September this year a proposal was made by the Prime Minister of Thailand to convene an informal meeting in order to develop the negotiating process further and end hostilities in Cambodia.

At present it would appear desirable for all States to impose a moratorium on foreign military supplies to all the Cambodian parties that are in conflict, as an integral part of a comprehensive settlement, as advocated in the joint statement of 23 September of this year by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shevardnadze, and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Baker.

In those circumstances it would be quite logical for the United Nations to draw up the kind of resolution that would be acceptable to all parties. The purposes of reaching a comprehensive settlement and preventing civil war would be served by not intervening in any way in the internal affairs of Cambodia, by mutual restraint and by an attempt to reach mutual understanding between the Cambodian parties themselves, first and foremost regarding a cease-fire. We believe that an authoritative call for the establishing of peace in Cambodia, in the light of the new situation resulting from the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, could be made by this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

Naturally, such a General Assembly resolution should contain an appeal for the cessation of hostilities in Cambodia, and advocate the taking of steps to prevent the recurrence of the Pol Pot régime's policy of genocide. It should also contain an appeal to create a system of control and verification.

Unfortunately, the draft resolution (A/44/L.23) presented by the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations says nothing about the need for specific steps to be taken to prevent Pol Pot's régime from returning to power.

(Mr. Maksimov, Byelorussian SSR)

The draft resolution was drawn up unilaterally, without any attempt to establish a dialogue or to negotiate with either Viet Nam or Laos. It clearly reveals an attempt to impose the views of just one side and to reject the idea of achieving a constructive approach which would lead to a cease-fire. The efforts of the General Assembly would be much more productive if they were aimed at strengthening and developing the positive aspects of the Kampuchean problem so that it could speedily be resolved by political means.

A political settlement of the Cambodian problem and peace and stability in South-East Asia as a whole can be achieved only provided there is good will and if efforts are made by all parties. The duty of the United Nations, and indeed of all States, is to promote the creation of a political climate propitious for the further development and fruitful conclusion of the process of negotiation, in order to settle the situation in and around Cambodia.

For the reasons I have mentioned our delegation will not be in a position to support the draft resolution before the General Assembly.

Mr. OVIEDO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again the Assembly has before it a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea which, as in previous years, my country has co-sponsored.

Colombia, a founding Member of the United Nations, has abided by the principles which in 1945 were included in the Charter of the Organization concerning respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, in particular the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the non-use or threat of use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

My delegation welcomes the developments with respect to the situation in Kampuchea over the last 12 months, in particular the withdrawal of foreign forces, although we regret the lack of United Nations supervision and control to guarantee the total withdrawal of those forces. Similarly, while the Paris Conference on Cambodia did not achieve a comprehensive political settlement, the fact that it convened at all served to mark an improvement in the international climate in the area.

My delegation considers that a broad transitional political settlement should be pursued in which there would be neither victors nor vanquished, bearing in mind that peace has to be made by those who waged the war. Such an agreement should enable the people of Cambodia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free, fair and democratic elections. Furthermore, since the election results should be beyond challenge, we feel that it would be advisable for the elections to take place under international supervision.

We believe that the United Nations should contribute to the creation of a climate of trust, with necessary verification and control to certify the total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. My delegation considers that to be essential.

(Mr. Oviedo, Colombia)

My delegation warmly welcomes and supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to keep a constructive dialogue going between the parties and commends the work being done by the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

My delegation continues to be particularly concerned at the grave problem of refugees who continue to flee to neighbouring countries. In this connection we wish to commend the selfless work of the Government of Thailand which, with the assistance of other countries and international organizations, is providing aid to the displaced Cambodian population.

My delegation looks forward to the time when peace, freedom and of course, democracy can return to Kampuchea, so that it can join in the admirable and exemplary development of the States of South-East Asia, which should become one of the regions driving the harmonious development of the world.

Mr. PHOFOLO (Lesotho): The delegation of Lesotho shares in the universal desire for the achievement of a speedy, peaceful and comprehensive settlement to the question of Kampuchea. For over a decade now, the people of Kampuchea have endured untold suffering, first under a genocidal dictatorship régime and subsequently under foreign military occupation. Ever since the United Nations General Assembly was seized of the task of seeking a lasting and peaceful political settlement to the question of Kampuchea 11 years ago, my country has participated actively in the Assembly's debates and supported all the relevant resolutions aimed at the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of peace, stability and respect for human rights and international law, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We remain committed to the cause of peace in Kampuchea and in the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

(Mr. Phoofo, Lesotho)

The Government of Lesotho, however, joins the overwhelming majority of Member States in registering its frustration at the slow pace at which prospects are evolving for the achievement of a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea. Although our world is witnessing an important evolution from tension and confrontation to dialogue and co-operation in the settlement of conflicts at the global as well as at the regional level, the situation in Kampuchea has been only a reluctant participant in this movement.

My delegation has read with great interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea and appreciates the efforts that are being made to bring the situation back to normalcy in that country. Despite the regrettable inertia of the parties concerned to arrive at a definitive political settlement, we are convinced that the situation has steadily evolved for the better and that there is a glimmer of hope for peace if all the internal and external parties, as well as the international community, can each carry out their responsibilities conscientiously.

The Kingdom of Lesotho continues to add its support to the regional and international initiatives aimed at achieving a lasting and peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question, particularly the first and second Jakarta Informal Meetings held during July 1988 and February 1989 respectively, and the subsequent meetings between the Kampuchean parties.

We welcome in the same measure the efforts that are being made by the non-aligned countries, including their decision to establish a committee consisting of 13 countries mandated with the task of co-ordinating the joint endeavours of the non-aligned countries for the achievement of a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea.

Lesotho welcomes in particular the process of dialogue and negotiations which culminated in the convening of the Paris peace Conference in August this year, which brought together all the parties directly involved in Kampuchea and other

(Mr. Phoofole, Lesotho)

interested countries, including the five permanent members of the Security Council, with the aim of finding a comprehensive solution to the problem of Kampuchea. We view all these initiatives and efforts as complementary and mutually reinforcing and as a significant contribution to a comprehensive settlement.

The Government of Lesotho holds the strong belief that, although the Paris Conference on Kampuchea came short of reaching a comprehensive settlement, it nevertheless created an important momentum for the continuation of consultations and dialogue which must be kept up until a lasting solution acceptable to all is finally achieved.

(Mr. Phoofole, Lesotho)

In this regard, my delegation can only appeal to all the parties concerned not to lose sight of the opportunities created by this positive development.

The determination and commitment of the people of Kampuchea in their resistance to foreign military occupation and domination have demonstrated clearly the futility of the military option as a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. It is a lesson that we have all learned through history that no amount of force, however brutal, can break the spirit and the resolve of a people struggling for their inalienable right to dignity and self-determination.

Lesotho welcomed the decision by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to withdraw its military forces from Kampuchea in September this year as a positive contribution to the creation of conditions conducive to a durable settlement of the conflict in that country. We have not the slightest doubt that that decision, if implemented effectively, with honesty and commitment, could remove one of the major obstacles and offer even greater prospects for the restoration of peace and stability in Kampuchea.

My delegation cannot but regret that in the past Viet Nam had resisted all the demands by the international community to effect the withdrawal of its military forces from Kampuchea under the supervision of the United Nations. It had been obvious then, as it is now, that even if Viet Nam were to claim that it had withdrawn all or some of its forces from Kampuchea, in the absence of supervision by an effective international control mechanism the problem of verification would still arise. That is why my delegation would appeal to all the parties concerned to muster sufficient courage and political will to reach an early agreement on a verification mechanism that would be acceptable to all. As the Secretary-General rightly observes in his report, that would indeed constitute an important element of a comprehensive political settlement.



(Mr. Phoofofo, Lesotho)

Lesotho considers it the moral responsibility of the international community not only to stop the war and the foreign occupation of Kampuchea but also to assist in the achievement of a satisfactory internal settlement that will ensure that Kampuchea is not revisited by the genocidal practices of the recent past and that it recovers fully from the untenable circumstances of foreign occupation.

We view it as a matter of crucial importance that at this delicate juncture in the search for a genuine solution to the conflict in Kampuchea the international community focus its efforts on the attainment of reconciliation and an immediate cease-fire between and among all the Kampuchean parties under an effective international control mechanism, with a view to creating conditions amenable to a comprehensive political settlement through dialogue. The momentum for dialogue gained in the process leading to the Paris Conference must not be lost.

We consider it imperative to refrain from any action that might jeopardize the laboriously achieved agreement of the Kampuchean parties to engage in dialogue. The readiness of the Soviet Union and the United States, expressed in the joint statement of their respective Foreign Ministers on 23 September this year

"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)

should be regarded as a commendable initiative that merits our support and as an example that is worthy of emulation by all of us, because the cause of peace in Kampuchea can best be served by encouraging negotiations and not through partisan support or by the supply of weapons which can only exacerbate the already volatile situation.

Nor can the cause of peace be adequately advanced by the deliberate and calculated attempts at excluding any of the internal Kampuchean parties from

(Mr. Phoofole, Lesotho)

participating in the national reconciliation process, which is aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement. Any such demands are destined to meet with resistance and jeopardize the chances for a durable settlement, particularly if they are made at the instigation of foreign Powers.

Lesotho has consistently subscribed to the view held by the majority of Member States in the Assembly that as far as the internal aspects of the situation in Kampuchea are concerned all the Kampuchean parties are entitled to participate in the process of reconciliation and normalization and that it is entirely the prerogative of the Kampuchean people to decide upon the role that is to be played by any group. The future of Kampuchea is entirely a matter for the people of Kampuchea to decide upon freely through democratic processes.

In conclusion, I wish to register the appreciation of my delegation for the commendable efforts being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, through the various organs of our Organization to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population that is caught up in this fratricidal conflict. Our appreciation also goes to those Member States that are extending their assistance either bilaterally or through multilateral channels in order to ensure the security and welfare of the refugees and displaced persons and to enable the Secretary-General to carry out his noble mandate effectively in Kampuchea.

Miss WILLBERG (New Zealand): For many years now Cambodia has known neither peace nor an elected government. It is nearly 11 years since Cambodia was invaded by foreign armed forces and a régime of Viet Nam's choosing was installed, in violation of the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. The long-overdue decision by Viet Nam to withdraw its forces in September this year - a necessary pre-condition for any lasting settlement - was welcome.

(Miss Willberg, New Zealand)

Sadly, the legacy of hatred and mistrust amongst the régime and the resistance forces in Cambodia continues to block the comprehensive political solution of which the withdrawal of foreign forces should have been one component.

A million and more people died in the butchery by the Pol Pot régime in Cambodia. We may never know exactly how many died then - or how many have died since, as victims of continued fighting or in desperate, doomed attempts to flee. We do know that, as this debate takes place, there are over 300,000 Cambodians in evacuation camps along the Thai-Cambodian border and in holding camps, being assisted by the United Nations Border Relief Operation and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, completely dependent on relief assistance provided by the international community. Who can say how many more are still beyond the reach of international help?

For these, and for all the people of Cambodia, the prospects for a future free from tyranny, destruction and dislocation hang on a comprehensive political settlement of the problems of decades. Though force continues to be used today, no faction has been able to realize its goals by that means. Force is demonstrably not the answer.

New Zealand is deeply concerned over the consequences of conflict in its humanitarian dimensions. Along with other member countries and organizations of the United Nations system, we have made a substantial commitment to relief and resettlement programmes. We are concerned, equally, for the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region. We have sought consistently to promote a solution through dialogue and to encourage compromise through seeking to narrow the political differences. To build a framework for the negotiation by the parties most closely involved of a just and durable settlement is a task that the international community has accepted.

(Miss Willberg, New Zealand)

New Zealand is pretty clear-sighted about the obstacles that lie in the way of peace and the pace at which movement might be possible. But we remain convinced that the solution must be framed around the elements that are spelt out again in the operative paragraphs of this year's draft resolution on Cambodia. We continue to attach importance to the role of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the process of national reconciliation. We stress, too, the need for appropriate international guarantees both for the conduct of free and fair elections and for the restoration of Cambodia to full and lasting independence - a country neither threatened nor itself a threat.

New Zealand has not thought that the ways of exploring how to give practical effect to the principles set out in the draft resolution should be limited. Thus we have welcomed and followed with close attention the range of contacts and consultations that have taken place over a period of time - personal, regional, through the good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and among those nations that have the greatest influence to bring to bear.

As the Secretary-General has noted, the process of dialogue and negotiations gathered unprecedented momentum this year. Regrettably - and not through lack of effort by members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and others - neither the Jakarta Informal Meetings of July 1988 and February 1989 nor the Paris Conference on Cambodia in August this year has resulted in the progress towards a comprehensive settlement of which the international community hoped it had seen small signs. At Paris fundamental issues were addressed with a new resolve and a range of ideas was canvassed; but the parties proved unable to resolve crucial differences. The tragedy of that failure is reflected in the

(Miss Willberg, New Zealand)

realities in Cambodia. There the factions attempt to win on the ground over the dry months what they have not been able to win at the conference table, and as long as they have external support none can prevail.

We take some encouragement, however, from the continuing dialogue. The Paris mechanism remains in place for reconvening the Conference as soon as practicable. Further initiatives by a number of major players are being explored quietly, building on constructive openings offered by some of the parties most directly concerned. New Zealand, for its part, has maintained close contacts with its ASEAN neighbours and others in support of their stand on Cambodia. When the opportunity has arisen - as it did recently - to explore the limits of the national positions of the principal parties, we too have continued to urge dialogue and compromise.

The strands of this very complex problem cannot easily be separated out, but there is one to which I must make reference. At Paris one stumbling-block remained the question of power-sharing in the context of an internal political settlement. New Zealand believes that the final step in the peace process - fair, free and democratic elections - does require participation by all factions in the transitional administration, which will have the task of setting the framework and conditions for the elections. That has to include the acceptable element of the Khmer Rouge. Only so can that faction be bound to accept both the electoral process and its outcome. To deny that would be to deny Cambodia's reconstruction. We urge Viet Nam and the Hun Sen régime to show flexibility.

However, in saying this, we must be very clear that a solution that delivered the people of Cambodia back into the hands of Pol Pot would be no solution at all. The genocidal tyranny of that régime is well documented. Its brutality appalled us.

(Miss Willberg, New Zealand)

all. Despite assurances by its leaders, New Zealand does not believe their objectives or policies have changed. Therefore, in pursuing the objective of national reconciliation in Cambodia, the international community, for its part, has an obligation to satisfy itself that there be essential reassurances and guarantees that will deny for ever the chances of the Pol Pot clique reimposing its authority by force or frustrating the will of the Cambodian people. The role of the United Nations in monitoring and supporting those guarantees will be crucial. New Zealand stands ready to play a part in the international control mechanism, under United Nations auspices, when, with the agreement of all parties and with an effective mandate from the members of the Paris Conference, the time comes for it to be put in place.

The draft resolution before us offers a framework for continuing efforts to bring peace to Cambodia. It deserves the support of all Members of the Organization.

Mr. MANIKFAN (Maldives): The question of Kampuchea is one which touches upon the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and we have repeatedly expressed in the Assembly our belief in the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

It has been 10 long years since the occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces, and, as in the past, we should like to put on record our support for the people of Kampuchea in their efforts to find a comprehensive, peaceful solution to the issue. We have repeatedly supported United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and a commitment by

(Mr. Manikfan, Maldives)

all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

It was because of our commitment to supporting a comprehensive, peaceful solution of this issue that we welcomed the announcement by Viet Nam on 5 April of its decision to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989. It is in the same spirit that we support the creation of a credible international verification mechanism.

My delegation notes the positive developments mentioned in the Secretary-General's report (A/44/670) on this issue. We would like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts in bringing about an environment that is more conducive to a peaceful settlement. We also note that, although a comprehensive political settlement has not yet been achieved, the second Jakarta Informal Meeting held in Indonesia in February 1989 and the International Conference on Cambodia held in Paris in August were significant steps forward.

(Mr. Manikfan, Maldives)

My delegation has co-sponsored the resolutions under this item in successive years. Our support for those resolutions calling upon the parties involved to adhere to the United Nations Charter in solving the issue is based on our strong belief that just and permanent solutions to such problems should be found within the framework of the United Nations Charter and with respect for the principles of national sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): The positive changes under way in the world political climate have significantly contributed to improving the prospects for a peaceful settlement of some long-standing regional conflicts. This is discernible also in the case of the problem of Kampuchea, which for many years has been a source of instability and mistrust in South-East Asia.

After a decade of stalemate and somewhat frustrating rhetoric, both outside and within the United Nations, the international community has witnessed lately some encouraging events in the search for a political solution of the issue.

We consider that the announcement of the complete withdrawal within a given time of Vietnamese volunteer troops and the Jakarta Informal Meetings brought about a breakthrough in the efforts to find a political solution to the problem, as they set in motion the process of dialogue and negotiations and, furthermore, enabled the parties to the conflict to come closer to an agreement on the basic elements of its comprehensive and peaceful settlement.

We commend the efforts of the State of Cambodia, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, as well as Indonesia and some other member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), to translate into concrete action the spirit and consensus of the Jakarta Informal Meetings and such important bilateral meetings as the Hun Sen - Sihanouk negotiations.



(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

As the Secretary-General put it in his report on the situation in Kampuchea:

"Since the beginning of the year, the process of dialogue and negotiations on Kampuchea has gathered unprecedented momentum." (A/44/670, Para. 27)

The Paris international Conference on Cambodia brought together all the Cambodian parties and interested countries, including the permanent members of the Security Council, at ministerial level. Although it failed to achieve the objective pursued, it has made progress towards the elaboration of various aspects of a comprehensive political solution of the problem.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in September last, as previously announced, provided a very significant condition for settling the internal aspects of the problem and, together with the new initiatives of the State of Cambodia on the basis of a national reconciliation policy, it opened up new prospects for a speedy, comprehensive and lasting solution of the crisis in its political, security and humanitarian aspects.

Regrettably, this unique opportunity has not been seized upon by the other factions and those behind them. This has made the situation precarious, to say the least.

We join many other delegations which have voiced their concern over the increased hostilities in some areas of Cambodia during the past weeks, and over the reported attempts of the Khmer Rouge to fill the so-called vacuum created by the Vietnamese withdrawal and fight its way back to power.

According to some reports, supplies of arms to the factions which are flouting the process of national reconciliation, have been stepped up. This increases the danger of a civil war. My delegation fully shares the view that there can be no military solution to the problem.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

We hear views to the effect that the Cambodian issue has entered a sensitive juncture when both a comprehensive peaceful solution and an outbreak of civil war have become equally possible alternatives. It is therefore urgent and imperative for the international community resolutely to support the policy of national reconciliation, consistently pursued by the Government of the State of Cambodia, and to take immediate effective measures to prevent the recurrence of the universally condemned genocidal policies and practices.

In this context we consider timely the proposal of the Prime Minister of Thailand to introduce a cease-fire between the Cambodian factions and to hold an informal meeting to discuss the international control mechanism in Cambodia. If implemented, this could help prevent the flare-up of armed conflicts and contribute to finding a peaceful resolution of the problem.

My delegation supports the efforts by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his Personal Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, aimed at promoting the peaceful settlement of Cambodia's problem in the interests of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the continent as a whole.

I wish to add here that my delegation endorses the realistic and constructive position on this issue again taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at their summit meeting in Belgrade.

We hold that every channel available should be used to promote a speedy, peaceful and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean situation. It is in this context that we attach importance to the dialogue between the People's Republic of China and the USSR on this problem, and the readiness of the Soviet Union and the United States:

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

"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)

as expressed in the joint statement of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Baker on 23 September 1989.

Having in view all the positive developments that have taken place in and around Cambodia during the intervening period, my delegation, like many others, expected that the approach to the Kampuchean problem at the current session of the General Assembly would be conducive to its peaceful settlement.

Unfortunately, the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly fails to live up to this expectation. It does not reflect objectively and adequately all the changes that have taken place in the region and in a wider international setting. It reveals a one-sided approach, completely illogical in some respects, which will not promote the process of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Finally, the draft resolution recalls a set of resolutions which my delegation did not find it possible to support at previous sessions of the General Assembly.

For those reasons, my delegation will not be in a position to support the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft resolution contained in document A/44/L.23.

Mr. TELLMANN (Norway): Once again the General Assembly is called upon to consider the situation in Kampuchea. Despite the many efforts that have been made to bring about a peaceful, just and comprehensive political settlement, and despite the overwhelming and increasing majority in the General Assembly in support of the relevant United Nations resolutions, there has been limited progress in the efforts to restore Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Kampuchean people are still denied their right to determine their own destiny. This reflects a sad state of affairs - for the international community, for the region of South-East Asia and, most of all, for the people of Kampuchea, who have suffered so much over the years.

It is the view of the Norwegian Government that a major responsibility for the present situation rests with the occupying Power, which in 1978 installed a régime of its own liking. At the same time, however, the responsibility of the notorious Khmer Rouge should be made emphatically clear. Just as the world could not acquiesce in a foreign Power's invading and occupying another country, so it cannot condone the practices of the Khmer Rouge régime, whose gross violations of human rights caused innumerable deaths and untold suffering. These intolerable policies and practices of the past must not be allowed to return. The international community cannot permit this to happen and must be on constant alert to guard against such an eventuality.

(Mr. Tellmann, Norway)

During the past year we have noted encouraging events which give us reason to hope the conflict can be brought to a phase of dialogue and negotiation. One such encouraging event was the recent announcement by the Government of Viet Nam that it had withdrawn all its troops from Kampuchea between 21 and 26 September. Regrettably, this withdrawal did not take place under effective international supervision and control. Such a procedure would have greatly facilitated efforts to ensure the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We are deeply concerned about the increasing hostilities in Kampuchea during the last few weeks and the fearful prospect that the fighting may continue and even escalate during the coming dry season. A lasting solution to the conflict can be found only at the negotiating table.

The Paris Conference on Kampuchea from 30 July to 30 August this year was able to achieve some progress in setting forth various elements which are necessary for a comprehensive political settlement. The Conference was not able, however, to solve differences over some central issues, and it had to be suspended. As stated in the draft resolution before us, the Conference should be reconvened as soon as possible in order not to lose the momentum created by the activities which have taken place during the last year.

The draft resolution incorporates necessary elements for a comprehensive political solution: first, verification of the withdrawal of all foreign forces under United Nations supervision and the creation of an interim administering authority; secondly, no return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past under the Pol Pot régime; and, thirdly, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny.

(Mr. Tellmann, Norway)

All those elements are of course equally important. It is imperative, however, to emphasize that no Kampuchean settlement which could bring back the brutal rule of the years 1975 to 1978 is acceptable. The policies of the Pol Pot régime violated all internationally recognized norms and have rightfully been condemned by the world community. Restoration of the fundamental human rights of the Kampuchean people is, furthermore, of fundamental importance for securing a lasting solution to the problems. This includes the right of all Kampuchean refugees to return to their homeland in safety.

The Secretary-General continues to seek a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question through extensive talks with the parties and countries concerned. My Government would like to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring about a settlement, and we express our support for their continuing efforts. It is encouraging that the Secretary-General has committed himself to continuing his efforts to further the negotiating process and steer it towards a successful outcome. The most important overall issue is national reconciliation, and this can be achieved only after a cease-fire has been agreed on, followed by transitional arrangements and free, fair and internationally supervised elections.

It is a tragic fact that more than a quarter of a million Kampucheans still remain in the evacuation sites along the Thai-Kampuchean border. In addition, the question of the security and protection of the border population and of respect for their basic human rights should be monitored closely by the international community. It is all the more important for the United Nations and other agencies to obtain unhindered access to all the camps in order to fulfil their tasks of providing food and services to the civilian population.

(Mr. Tellmann, Norway)

My Government is particularly concerned about the safety of refugees from military attack, and the human rights situation within the refugee camps, especially in those controlled by the Khmer Rouge.

My own Government has in the last year contributed approximately \$1 million to the United Nations Border Relief Operation, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the World Food Programme. As long as the search for a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea goes on, there will be a need for assistance to the refugees in the border area. The Norwegian Government will continue in the future to assume its fair share of the costs involved in this humanitarian effort.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): This is my first opportunity to salute you in a public forum, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the General Assembly. I do this knowing full well that it can only be an attempt to echo the sincere sentiments already expressed here by Dr. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, the Cameroonian Minister of External Relations. You are a brother in pan-Africanism and a comrade in arms against the forces that impede international peace and security, forces truly against global development. We as a delegation are proud, because we see in your occupancy of that office a real opportunity for Africa to demonstrate that we are equal members of the international community, equal in the partage of human concerns - concerns about things as they disquietingly are, concerns universally shared about our troubled world, a world we all seek to rid of the curse of devastation, both of the spirit and of senseless conflict and war. We Africans come from a background culture that would sustain a world conditioned by unity of purpose and co-operation for the common good.

Adversity and pestilence have a way of grooming peoples for leadership. Africa has had more than the usual share of both. We can only draw comfort from the thought that history may well have switched on a formative period for our continent, a period of painful experiences that call for a radical review of our visions of the future, equipping us, in a humble but noble environment, to give true leadership to a sickly world.

You continue to have our fullest support, my brother, and the fraternal wishes of Cameroon for every success as you guide this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

Long before technology began significantly to marginalize distances in the geography of human relations, the peoples of Africa and Asia were linked by a



(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

spiritualism that sought tranquillity through the norms of justice and freedom. Afro-Asian solidarity, a forerunner of the Non-Aligned Movement and kindred groupings, introduced to the international community a morality that has formed the basis of the universal conscience of our time.

It ought, therefore, to be understandable that Africans must share the sense of remorse that grips Asians in the domain of wasteful and divisive conflict. Over the past decade Cameroon has watched ruefully the developments in Kampuchea. An atmosphere of cultured peace has been ruined by the outbreak of hostilities. Circumstance, tragically induced, has undermined well-earned self-determination and turned off course the process of staying in the mainstream of the resurgence of a remarkable economic recovery and social development in the Far East.

The scope of the gravity of the Kampuchean situation must not be lost sight of in protracted annual debate in the General Assembly. We must not permit the frustrations of temporary deadlocks to obscure the story of human tragedy, the disintegration of society and the establishment of political and military roadblocks in an already hazardous freeway to any successful nation-building effort.

The situation must concern every Member State. We are, by subscription to the United Nations Charter, constitutionally committed to the principles and norms of international law entrenched therein. The invasion of any country by another is a prohibited act under law. No matter how evil a Government may seem to outsiders, the decision to change or overthrow it must remain the rightful choice of the people it governs. In a world tormented by economic tribulation, military adventurism, even conquest, in foreign lands has become too costly in both financial and political terms. No nation, however big or powerful, can afford any self-destructive venture of trying to police the world or any part of it. It is

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

equally disastrous to attempt to settle by military intervention a dispute which can be resolved only by the quest for internal consensus or accommodations among the people themselves.

Any invasion of another State must always be seen to constitute reprehensible conduct within the moral conscience if it must be employed, external intervention must come as mediation acceptable to the national parties to the conflict; mediation that seeks peace and settlement, not mischief, low profit in arms transfer.

Arms are instruments of war. Their introduction into situations of belligerency cannot enhance mediation; it can only fan out and intensify the deployment of arms in the conflict. Even when arms come as so-called aid, the death and destruction caused hardly demonstrate that the donor of armaments cares about the lives and well-being of the nationals of the country it is purporting to help.

Arms are weapons of destruction, not of construction and development. On the contrary, the human and financial resources engaged in warfare and occupation, especially in a hostile environment, could well have benefited Vietnamese economic and social recovery after the bitter armed encounters with major Powers in the past.

They could have provided an opportunity for children, future leaders, to grow up knowing friendly relations with neighbours instead of acrimony and bloodshed, knowing construction and development instead of what they must come to recognize as the tragedy, waste and futility of war. History will record the truth of what will be handed down to future generations in the general conflict area; it cannot include guidance to peaceful coexistence and progress.

There is a strong case for replacing the existing appalling cynicism about Kampuchea with the hope that knowledge and experience, both offshoots of thought,

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

have at last brought reason to the actions of all the parties to the conflict there. Perhaps the time is ripe to employ the knowledge and experience of a tragic past to nourish a better future for that nation.

For 10 years Cameroon has joined the international community in staunchly supporting the efforts of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to find a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem. This form of intervention, especially by States in the subregion, motivated by oriental wisdom and inspired by the commitment to peace, security and development, has been most welcome.

The recent history of Cambodians is tragic. They have been at war since 1970. The killings continue. But at last there is a realistic prospect of ending the bloodshed and restoring peace and independence to Kampuchea.

This has been a year of important developments on the Kampuchean problem. The Second Jakarta Informal Meeting, held in Indonesia in February, and the international Conference on Kampuchea, held in Paris in August, have moved us further along the path to a just and durable peace. There has been progress precisely because for 10 years the international community has given the resolution on Kampuchea initiated by ASEAN overwhelming support. This has been the key factor in moving the peace process forward and inducing Viet Nam to negotiate seriously.

(Mr. Enge, Cameroon)

The ASEAN draft resolution, as presented at the current session, contains all the elements needed for a just solution to the Cambodian problem, one that takes into account the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict. The continued support of the international community will have a significant impact on the prospects for a genuine political compromise, which would dissipate the long agony of the Kampuchean people. For this reason Cameroon will continue to support the ASEAN contribution. We believe that it is the best means of ending the war in Kampuchea and we urge others to lend the draft resolution their support as well.

There appear to be three basic elements of a comprehensive political settlement, as enumerated in the ASEAN draft resolution on Kampuchea.

First, the draft resolution expresses a conviction that we share: any durable and just solution to the Kampuchean problem must indeed be comprehensive. It must deal with both internal and external aspects of the problem in an integrated manner. We must not repeat the shortcomings of other similar settlements, where the withdrawal of foreign troops without an internal settlement allowed the bloodshed to continue.

Secondly, the total and verified withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea remains a critical element of such a comprehensive settlement. In September this year the Vietnamese announced that they had withdrawn all their troops from Kampuchea. This was a welcome development. It is the eighth time that the Vietnamese have announced their withdrawal in as many years. Yet the fighting did not end - either eight years ago or now. There is no compelling reason to presume that this latest announcement is any different. There are, in fact, disturbing reports of Vietnamese troops in disguise remaining in Kampuchea and of Vietnamese settlers colonizing certain areas of Kampuchea.

It is not clear to us what induced a change of heart on each occasion. Whatever it is, we must strive for a peaceful settlement on the open admission by

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

the Vietnamese that a continued presence in Kampuchea is undesirable. They may need to retreat from the rhetoric used to justify that presence in the past. We too here could help them out by building bridges and inducing confidence-building measures among the Kampuchean themselves.

Cameroon welcomes the call contained in the draft resolution for the United Nations to form an international control mechanism to verify the Vietnamese withdrawal. There is no question that only the United Nations has the stature, the authority and the expertise to oversee and administer an effective, impartial and credible international control mechanism for Kampuchea.

Our nation's commitment to the United Nations role in the field of peace-making and peace-keeping is well known. We have taken an initiative to improve the effectiveness of the existing United Nations administrative and management structures in the field of peace-keeping, because we believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in situations such as Kampuchea and other regions of the world.

Kampuchea challenges the Organization in a way that many other situations do not. We have an opportunity to aspire to a noble purpose: to demonstrate that the peaceful settlement of disputes is possible and that it will work in the long run.

Thirdly, we must help the Kampuchean people undo the consequences of the invasion and occupation of the past. There is fear that so long as a régime that was installed by foreign intervention remains in Phnom Penh, the consequences and the existing situation will remain. Fundamental principles of international law and the Charter will continue to be violated. A parallel has been drawn with South Africa withdrawing from Namibia but leaving the current Windhoek Administration in place. Such an outcome is clearly unacceptable to all of us. As part of a comprehensive settlement, there must therefore be an internal agreement, which

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

would include national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We venture to urge that Viet Nam should not avoid the moral and political obligation to support Prince Sihanouk's efforts to rebuild his nation in a pattern of peace and progress.

The international community has rightly condemned the policies and practices of the recent past in Kampuchea. In emphasizing that an internal settlement must include all the people of Kampuchea, we wish to make it clear that Cameroon holds no brief for the Khmer Rouge. But the Khmer Rouge are also Khmers, and in any case the régime of Mr. Hun Sen, which was installed by the Vietnamese, also comprises former members of the Khmer Rouge, who are equally implicated in the universally condemned policies and practices of the past. Mr. Hun Sen himself was a Khmer Rouge regimental commander. The point is that only the Kampuchean people have the right to decide who should govern their country. It would be impertinent for any other country to assume the right to impose policies or a party on Kampucheans. That is why our Government supports Prince Sihanouk's efforts to form a government of national reconciliation, involving all the Kampuchean people. Such a government would prepare the way for free, fair and internationally supervised elections that would allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination through the ballot-box. We are confident that they will choose wisely.

We extend our fraternal best wishes to the ASEAN States; they are making history. The Kampucheans have suffered too long; they need peace. Let world opinion be mobilized to foster change. The Kampucheans want and need to share in the atmosphere of peace and security that has engendered unprecedented peace and progress in Asia.

Mr. FOMPEY (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, as in previous years, is delighted and honoured to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea. The draft resolution highlights and emphasizes certain principles that are of paramount importance to Member States assembled here, as those principles emanate from, and reflect, the Charter of the United Nations.

Kampuchea is geographically remote from the Caribbean, but the principle involved in the Kampuchean problem is one of the most fundamental in international law. When Kampuchea's inalienable right to self-determination was violated through the military intervention and occupation by foreign forces, that was a grievous breach of the United Nations Charter. Self-determination and respect for the Charter are the foundation of the security of the majority of United Nations Members. The threat to Kampuchean security was a threat to the security of us all. Violation of the fundamental norms of international laws anywhere diminishes the effectiveness of international law everywhere. That is why for 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 to find a just and durable solution that would restore independence to that country.\*

It is an accepted fact that a durable and just solution to the Kampuchean problem can be achieved only through a comprehensive political settlement that deals in an integrated manner with both the external and the internal aspects of the problem. We must not repeat the mistakes that have been made in other regions of the world, where the withdrawal of foreign troops in the absence of an internal settlement allowed the bloodshed to continue.

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\* Mr. Gutierrez (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Pompey, Saint Vincent and  
the Grenadines)

One of the key elements in a comprehensive settlement is the total and verified withdrawal of all foreign forces. In September this year the Vietnamese announced that they had withdrawn all troops from Kampuchea. That was Viet Nam's eighth announced withdrawal in as many years. Like the others, it was not verified by any credible international agency and was not within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

The delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines feels that there is an urgent need for a credible international body to monitor and verify the Vietnamese withdrawal to ensure that all Vietnamese forces have indeed left. 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 vital role of the United Nations is underscored by disturbing reports that there are still Vietnamese forces in parts of Kampuchea.

This body has also 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 invasion and occupation. Thus Viet Nam has a moral and political obligation to remedy the disastrous effects of its intervention in Kampuchea by ensuring a comprehensive political settlement that will enable the Kampuchean people to exercise freely their inalienable 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 of the United Nations Charter will continue to be violated.

An internal settlement must therefore include national reconciliation between all Kampuchean parties, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of the right to



(Mr. Pompey, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)

self-determination, through free, fair and democratic elections. No Kampuchean party can be excluded from this process without risk of the prolongation of conflict. We share the consensus view that only Prince Sihanouk has the stature and moral authority to reconcile the Kampuchean people and all Kampuchean parties. This great patriot deserves the support of the international community.

There have been many important developments during the course of this year. The second Jakarta Informal Meeting in February and the Paris international Conference on Cambodia have moved the peace process forward. The staunch and overwhelming support of the international community over the last 10 years for ASEAN-sponsored resolutions on Kampuchea was instrumental in allowing progress to be made. We are now poised on the threshold of a settlement. The continued support of the international community at this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be a key factor in the achievement of a genuine, comprehensive political solution that would relieve the long agony of the Kampuchean people and bring a just and durable peace to that country. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines will continue to support ASEAN draft resolutions on this matter until a just and durable peace is achieved in Kampuchea. We urge other countries to do so as well. We must not let up on our support for the Kampuchean people and ASEAN at this crucial moment.

Mr. GIBRIL (Gambia): For well over a decade - since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/22 - the international community has been persistent in its condemnation of the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces. This flagrant violation of the sacred fundamental principles enshrined in the

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

United Nations Charter - a violation that has wrought untold hardships and horrors - continues to arouse our concern for peace and security in the region. Indeed, the number of refugees and displaced persons has reached alarming proportions. Terrible burdens have been placed on the neighbouring countries, especially Thailand, which have had to give refuge to scores of thousands of Kampuchean fleeing from the ruthless and oppressive conditions of foreign occupation.

The Gambian delegation will therefore continue to hold the view - a view expressed repeatedly in the Assembly - that the Vietnamese invasion was an illegal and brutal use of force that has brought immense suffering, death and destruction to Kampuchea.

It is regrettable that, despite the alleged withdrawal of these forces last September, reports from different quarters attest to the fact that the situation in Kampuchea is far from satisfactory. In this connection, we should like to recall, with interest and concern, these words of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as conveyed by Prime Minister Son Sann of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea at the current session of the General Assembly, on 28 September 1989:

"By refusing to place the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia under the effective control of the United Nations, and by opposing the formation of a provisional quadripartite government of Cambodia, which might enable the Cambodian people freely and democratically to choose their leaders, Viet Nam has simply shown that it does not have the slightest intention of putting an end to its colonialist occupation of Cambodia and its policy of annexation of Cambodia into the 'Indo-china Federation' under Hanoi's domination." (A/44/PV.10, p. 8)

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

Those words - echoed by several speakers today in the Assembly - even after the alleged withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, describe, in our view, a still-intolerable situation. Further, we draw attention to the persistent reports of thousands of foreign troops functioning as "settlers" in Kampuchea in different capacities and under various guises.

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

Like the rest of the international community the Gambia remains committed to the complete and definitive withdrawal from Kampuchea, under the control and supervision of the United Nations, of all categories of foreign forces. In our view, such withdrawal, within the equitable framework of a comprehensive political settlement, must be based on the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, paving the way for the re-establishment of an independent, sovereign and non-aligned State free from any form of outside interference and posing no threat to any of its neighbours in the region, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

My delegation, therefore, renews its appeal for a fair and just settlement in Kampuchea and for the normalization without any further delay of the situation in South-East Asia, a region that has experienced so much suffering in recent decades. We are confident that the vast majority of the international community shares our view, and are indeed gratified that this view has been reflected in the resolutions adopted at successive sessions of the Assembly by overwhelming majorities.

Despite the generally propitious international climate of a relaxation of tensions and mutual tolerance, for which we all are grateful, we dare not fail to remain vigilant when basic fundamental principles of international relations are being flagrantly flouted. The Gambia therefore stands firm in opposing aggression and the occupation of one State by another, no matter what the pretext. The Gambia also stands firm in respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations. The Gambia remains unequivocal in its total rejection of the use of unjust force or sheer might in the settlement of international disputes.

Together with this, we share the view that a genuine national reconciliation among all Cambodians, regardless of their past or their political tendencies,

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

within the framework of the formation of a provisional quadripartite Government, administration and army, will help to enhance the still gravely threatened peace and security in the region. We are, further, convinced that only through a comprehensive and negotiated settlement will the nations of the region be able to summon the necessary political will and resolve to recast their relationships within a broader perspective, thereby redirecting all their attention and energies towards the pressing tasks of national reconstruction and regional co-operation.

We are also aware that there are many in the world who have developed responsible proposals to bring about change in Kampuchea. We welcome these efforts and initiatives as a meaningful contribution to the overall search for genuine and lasting peace. As recently as 12 September 1989 representatives of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, called upon all parties to renounce deception and join in sincere efforts in support of the just cause of national liberation of the Cambodian people.

The efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), particularly in the context of the Jakarta Informal Meetings, constitute a significant milestone in the global search for an equitable political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. These laudable initiatives have contributed significantly in creating an atmosphere and a broad framework for mutual understanding and the necessary confidence among all the parties concerned.

Other parallel efforts also deserve our support and commendation. We have in mind the international Conference on Cambodia, which was held in Paris from 30 July to 30 August 1989, with France and Indonesia as co-Presidents, and which, in our view, achieved notable progress in elaborating a wide range of elements necessary to reach a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It is our earnest hope that the Paris talks will be resumed very soon to help to in the achievement

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

of a negotiated comprehensive political settlement that will ensure protection of the legitimate interests of all parties and make possible their peaceful coexistence in the region, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The Gambia will also continue to encourage all possibilities of continued, constructive United Nations efforts in the peace process. In this connection we would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in the furtherance of the diplomatic process and to ensure the early reconvening of the Conference.

As with regard to other conflicts around the world, we are aware of the important role of the United Nations in the overall bid to reach an appropriate political settlement of the question of Kampuchea in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We deeply appreciate, in particular, the efforts made to help to ensure the safety and well-being of Kampuchean civilians forced to seek refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border. We sincerely hope that the international community will continue to respond generously in the provision of the humanitarian and relief assistance required to help mitigate the sufferings of Kampuchean refugees.

The interests here go beyond narrow self-centred interests. The greater principles of human rights that are involved must not be compromised by mere political machinations or sheer spathy. By showing active concern for the thousands of displaced and defenceless Kampuchean we help to defend and uphold the human rights of all.

My delegation has always been ready to support all sincere initiatives that can bring about constructive dialogue and hopeful contact between the parties to

(Mr. Gibril, Gambia)

the conflict. Our sponsorship of resolutions compatible with these goals is part of the record of this and previous sessions of the General Assembly.

In conclusion, we would again like to register our support for the draft resolution before us and its reservations about the unsupervised nature of the alleged withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and the lack of a framework for a comprehensive political settlement. We also reaffirm our support for United Nations supervision of a just settlement that takes into account the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. Finally, we express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, the donor countries and all those that continue to render full assistance, particularly humanitarian assistance, to the heroic people of Kampuchea.

To take the proper course of action in this situation is to be faithful to the noblest and highest aims of the United Nations Charter. Finding a just and lasting solution will further the cause of regional peace and international security. Such action deserves the support of all Members of the United Nations.

Mrs. FLOREZ FRIDA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Cuba regrets that once again the debate on this item is taking place in circumstances which are similar to those of previous years, thus seeking to ignore the events that have occurred in the course of the past year as a logical result of the negotiation process that has begun among the countries of the South-East Asian region and the four Cambodian parties.

One might have hoped that, at the mid-point of this process, substantial changes would have been made in the tone and essence of the debate and that a draft resolution that did not ignore the steps that had been taken with a view to reaching a negotiated political solution to the Cambodian problem would have been submitted to the Assembly for consideration. The fact that this has not happened,

(Mrs. Florez Frida, Cuba)

far from encouraging, indeed impedes, the negotiating process taking place between the interested parties.

The negotiations that began in Jakarta and continued, without immediate agreement, at the Paris Conference on Cambodia have created the necessary opening in the quest for a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The United Nations should support all the peace efforts that have been made and contribute to ensuring that the interested parties continue the process of dialogue and negotiation that has begun. It is hardly by adopting a draft resolution such as that before us today that we shall achieve that objective.



(Mrs. Florez Prida, Cuba)

Nor can one underestimate the significant contribution that the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia has meant with regard to a political solution of the Cambodian conflict, for it solved one of the international aspects of the conflict and ushered in a new stage for Cambodia when now more than ever international support is necessary to prevent the Khmer Rouge from unleashing a civil war with a view to restoring to power the genocidal Pol Pot régime by means of a so-called joint sharing of power.

At the Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade, the Heads of State or Government, after referring to the Jakarta Informal Meetings and to the Paris Conference on Cambodia, urged

"all interested parties to intensify their efforts and also the Non-Aligned Movement, in particular its Committee on Kampuchea, to continue their endeavours in contributing to the search for a peaceful settlement in Cambodia and the establishment of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region".

(A/44/551, p. 42)

Progress towards a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian conflict may take time and prove complex, but the path of confrontation after 10 years of conflict has proved to be inappropriate in the current circumstances. Only dialogue and negotiation can lead us to that objective, and within that context it is the Cambodian parties that must play a fundamental role in preparing concrete solutions for the problem. They are the only masters of their fate and must fashion that role free of interference from any other State.

Cuba calls upon all States connected with the Cambodian problem to halt the military aid that has been given to all the Cambodian parties in conflict, to encourage a cease-fire among them, and to help in achieving the national reconciliation for which the Cambodian State is working.

(Mrs. Flores Prida, Cuba)

Cuba reiterates its support for the good-will policy of the Indochinese countries, in particular the positive role played by the State of Cambodia to try to encourage the negotiating process that is taking place among the countries of South-East Asia and the four Cambodian parties, and welcomes the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, concluded last September, as a demonstration of the political will of the Vietnamese Government to contribute to a just and comprehensive solution of the conflict.

This is the right time for a political solution of the Cambodian problem, and it is the responsibility of all to contribute towards that goal, which all States of the region are endeavouring to achieve, and in which the Indochinese countries have already demonstrated their political will. Let us not let this opportunity pass.

Mr. GHARKEHAN (India): Since the consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" by the General Assembly at its last session, several important developments have taken place. Many of them represented major efforts by the parties concerned to find a settlement of various aspects of the problem. The people of Kampuchea have suffered for long years as victims of colonialism, international power play and, worst of all, large-scale genocide. There was increased hope that they would now be able to put the past behind them and engage single-mindedly in the task of national reconstruction, rehabilitation and development. It is a matter of profound regret that, positive developments notwithstanding, the people of Kampuchea continue to have to live through uncertainties marked only with the ominous threat of increased hostilities.

India has historically had very close cultural, religious and economic links with Indo-China and, in particular, with Cambodia. The remnants of India's ancient cultural ties with Cambodia are happily still intact, and not only in the marvelous temples of Angkor Wat. In modern times, India has felt a natural empathy with the

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

countries of Indo-China owing to our common legacy of alien rule, our shared belief in non-alignment and our common aspirations for progress and development. It is natural, therefore, for India to be deeply concerned about the situation in Cambodia and to support and encourage all earnest efforts to find a comprehensive and lasting settlement in that country.

Among these efforts were the continuing dialogue under the auspices of the Jakarta Informal Meetings, the bilateral meetings between Prince Sihanouk and Prime Minister Hun Sen and the initiatives of the non-aligned movement. International concern and endeavours culminated in a major initiative of the Governments of France and Indonesia. Nineteen countries, including the countries from the South-East Asian region, permanent members of the Security Council, the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, and some other countries, including my own, met last August in Paris. The various interested groups from Cambodia were present. The Conference was preceded by wide-ranging consultations and careful planning. The Conference itself was structured in such a manner as to allow enough time and opportunity for the parties concerned to work out the basic elements of the internal dimensions which would then have constituted the framework for a comprehensive political settlement. The Indian delegation at the Paris Conference was pleased to have made its contribution to this collective and significant bid. We share the general disappointment that it was not yet possible to achieve a comprehensive settlement. However, the Paris Conference did achieve progress in identifying and elaborating a wide variety of elements necessary for reaching a comprehensive settlement of the tragic conflict in Cambodia. Moreover, the co-Presidents would begin consultations within six months with the participants to the Conference with a view to reconvening it.

While consultations continue to prepare the ground for one more attempt at working out a settlement, another development of major positive significance must

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

be taken note of. The Government of Viet Nam completed the unconditional withdrawal of its forces from Kampuchea by the scheduled date. Viet Nam had announced in April that it would prefer to withdraw its troops within the framework of a comprehensive settlement, but that it would withdraw even in the absence of one. The withdrawal may not have been verified under agreed international supervision and control, but would it have been better for the international community for Viet Nam not to have withdrawn its troops on the ground that there was no comprehensive solution? The fact is that no one is seriously challenging the fact of the withdrawal, which was witnessed and testified to by a large number of independent observers, including representatives of Governments and the media. The Financial Times of 14 November 1989 - that is to say, of yesterday - in an editorial said, among other things, that

"Although the withdrawal could not be properly monitored, most countries, including Britain, accept that all Vietnamese combat units have indeed gone home". (Financial Times, 14 November 1989, p. 24)

Its contribution to the search for a comprehensive political settlement cannot be denied.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The need now is to build upon it for the much-vaunted comprehensive settlement, through political means. The alternative is the continuation and escalation of hostilities, violence and conflict in Cambodia, with the inevitable spill-over across the national boundaries and the ever-attendant threat of expanding into a wider conflagration.

The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization and in his subsequent report on the situation in Cambodia, has called for attention to be focused now on preventing a recurrence of fighting, with its readily foreseeable consequences and the uncertainty it implies for all concerned. My delegation fully shares his view that there can be no military solution and that every effort should be made to spare the Cambodian people further bloodshed and suffering. The first priority has to be a cease-fire and the concomitant measures to preserve it while consultations continue simultaneously for a political settlement.

My delegation has held and advocated the view that the question of Cambodia has to be dealt with on two fronts. The first, as I have already emphasized, is in the context of the search for durable peace in the Indo-China peninsula in particular and in South-East Asia in general. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security of all the countries in the region and the elimination of all outside interference. The essential elements of a durable peace are a comprehensive political settlement without resort to military means, the cessation of external interference and military aid, and the non-return to genocidal policies and practices. Cambodia should be a sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned country, at peace with itself and with its neighbours. That precludes all foreign military presence in Cambodia. The National Assembly of Cambodia has adopted the Declaration of Permanent Neutrality, which enshrines those principles.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

There is among Governments and world public opinion at large a clearly growing abhorrence of the genocidal brutalities unleashed by the Pol Pot régime on its own countrymen - brutalities from which more than a million of them perished in a short time span of less than four years. The Secretary-General has rightly called for "the adoption of measures to ensure the non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the 1975-1978 period".

(A/44/670, para. 31)

I should like to emphasize the Secretary-General's reference to the dates: 1975 to 1978.

The Washington Post, in an editorial on 13 November, said:

"No formula is magic, but the essential thing always to keep in mind when considering Cambodia is the absolute priority of fencing out the deadly Khmer Rouge".

The second issue pertains to the urgent need for national efforts and international support for the reconstruction - if you like, the rebirth - of Cambodia. In recent years Cambodia has worked hard towards economic recovery and political and social reconstruction. In this it has been supported by wide sections of the international community, including the United Nations system, by way of humanitarian assistance to the refugees and displaced civilians along the Thai-Cambodia border.

My delegation's position on the draft resolution before the General Assembly is determined by the considerations I have just outlined. This year we had hoped for a draft resolution more fully reflecting the spirit of reconciliation and constructive dialogue which had inspired the process of the Jakarta Informal Meetings (JIM) and the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. We would

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

have been happy to join a true effort towards consensus, reconciliation and a comprehensive political settlement. The draft resolution does contain elements for the promotion of those objectives. At the same time, we regret to note, it also incorporates provisions which in the opinion of my delegation militate against our common objective of finding a political and comprehensive settlement. Furthermore, it does not address adequately the question of the foremost priority, namely, the prevention of escalation of hostilities in Cambodia.

My delegation will therefore not be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution. I should, however, like to emphasize that this in no way detracts from our wholehearted support for all diplomatic and political efforts to find an early peaceful and political solution to the question of Cambodia.

Let me conclude with a brief quotation from what my delegation said at the Paris Conference:

"The tragedy of Cambodia has lasted long enough...we must endeavour to dissipate the blinding mist of misunderstanding and break through the mounting wall of prejudice. The building of peace, enlarging the areas of agreement, is more important than anything else. Should we not ensure that the future of Cambodia no longer lies in the past? What we need is good will, understanding."

Mr. GRONDAL (Iceland): This Assembly, distinguished by rapidly improving prospects of peace in many parts of the world, must concentrate on renewed efforts to promote a solution to the problem of Kampuchea by a lasting and political settlement. The Kampuchean people have waited much too long for peace and independence and they have suffered greatly in the process.

(Mr. Grondal, Iceland)

It was a great disappointment that the Paris Conference could not achieve the settlement hoped for, although progress was made in elaborating various necessary elements. It is to be hoped that the Conference will soon be reconvened, after further consultations by the participants, and that no efforts will be spared to reach the urgently needed results.

We are most fortunate that the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have taken the initiative on this difficult question, here at the United Nations as well as on their home ground. They have called upon all parties concerned to intensify urgently all efforts to ensure that the Kampuchean problem will be solved through a comprehensive political settlement, in order to prevent further hostilities, loss of life and the continued suffering of the Kampuchean people, to ensure its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutral and non-aligned status, and - most importantly - to assure the non-return, ever, to the universally condemned policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime.

It is important that following a political settlement international programmes of assistance to Kampuchea be intensified, to speed the reconstruction of the country's economy and make the social and economic development at least equal to that of other States in the region.



(Mr. Grondal, Iceland)

Iceland is a sponsor of the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. We believe that it provides the best solution to the Kampuchean problem by calling for a comprehensive political settlement and by recognizing the important role of the United Nations in that respect and the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination - a right that they should be allowed to exercise through internationally supervised free, fair and democratic elections.

We believe that the international community bears the responsibility towards the Kampuchean people to ensure that any political settlement that will be reached in regard to their country will guarantee the non-return to the universally condemned policies of the Khmer Rouge in the recent past.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): At this late hour, I think it testifies to the commitment of the peoples of the world to peace, security, stability, prosperity and happiness for all that representatives have given up their personal engagements in order to be here and listen to a large number of statements, which in many ways set forth the same points of view. It is gratifying that, all together, we are singing in harmony for the true, the genuine peace of the world. Our children demonstrated this in the past two days when they gathered at the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to tell their parents and other adults of the world that there are no boundaries between peoples unless we ourselves - the adult world - build those boundaries. Therefore, it is our responsibility to remove the boundaries, to join hands and sing in harmony - and in tune - for the prosperity, peace and security of the world.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

May I at the outset express my delegation's appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General and commend him for his comprehensive report (A/44/670) on the situation in Kampuchea.

The debate on the situation in Kampuchea offers the General Assembly the opportunity to assess the political and diplomatic efforts under way and to take appropriate action in order effectively to contribute to the achievement of a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian conflict.

The Kampuchean issue has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for the past 10 years and it appears that finally there is some hope that the agony and suffering of the Kampuchean people can be ended. Over the last 12 months we have witnessed a number of significant diplomatic initiatives on Kampuchea, especially the second Jakarta Informal Meeting, held in February, and the international Conference on Cambodia, held in Paris in August. The numerous trips to the countries in the region by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for consultations on the situation in Kampuchea gave an added impetus. These were certainly positive developments; and a momentum is being established, and the international community should take advantage of it.

We understand that the Paris Conference confirmed the need for a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia in order to bring about a just and lasting peace for Cambodia and its people. Papua New Guinea believes that in order to facilitate the Kampuchean people's God-given right to determine their own destiny, the verified withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia is a paramount condition. In this regard, while we welcome the signals by Viet Nam that it honoured its commitment to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia in September this year, the withdrawal was not verified by a credible international control mechanism.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

Papua New Guinea also believes that the Paris Conference achieved a virtual consensus that the United Nations must play a central role in any settlement process. This augurs well for the United Nations because the Organization has the necessary stature, authority and expertise to oversee and administer an effective, impartial and credible international control mechanism for Kampuchea.

The United Nations has been successful in translating the emergence of a measure of political consensus into an impetus for the settlement of regional conflicts. It has also been able to use the expression of this new political will in facilitating the cessation of many of these conflicts, and has been able to offer the parties the impartial assistance required in making and keeping peace.

Papua New Guinea firmly believes that the political, financial and moral support of the permanent members of the Security Council is necessary for any negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. They are not only major Powers with the most direct influence over the parties involved in the conflict, but also the supporters of these warring parties. If only they could put a halt to the increasing flow of arms into Cambodia and elsewhere, then we would be able to see an imminent end to the conflict.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

Papua New Guinea welcomes the ongoing dialogue between Beijing and Moscow on the Cambodian conflict. This is a move in the right direction and therefore must be encouraged. However, we would urge that the permanent members of the Security Council enter into an active dialogue concerning their vested interests in Cambodia with a view to resolving this long-drawn-out conflict.

Likewise, we appeal to all Members of the United Nations to call on the major Powers which are the providers of financial support or suppliers of arms to the belligerents in Cambodia to forge a consensus for peace. The change in the international climate which was initiated by the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, is of incalculable importance and provides a firm basis for a consensus on peace in Cambodia.

Similarly, we would urge the various factions in Cambodia to seek peace and national reconciliation. In order to achieve this they must be willing to compromise. There is an international consensus that His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk has the capacity and moral authority to reconcile the Kampuchean people. Therefore all the Kampuchean parties must rally to His Royal Highness to achieve this goal of national reconciliation. Papua New Guinea strongly believes that the leaders of the various factions owe it to themselves, their people and their country to reconcile their differences and restore peace in Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people deserve the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and development.

We may seem to be condoning the universally condemned policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime, but we believe that the Kampuchean people, and the Kampuchean people alone, should decide who should govern them. Any other course would only prolong the misery and suffering of the Kampuchean people.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

Papua New Guinea will continue to support the efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and others, such as Viet Nam, to find a peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem. The draft resolution before the General Assembly reflects the opinion of the international community regarding the situation in Cambodia. Therefore we reaffirm our commitment to seeing a comprehensive settlement of this problem. We urge the international community to do likewise and support the draft resolution now before this body.

The Papua New Guinea Government highly commends the work of the United Nations specialized and voluntary agencies such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross for their humanitarian assistance programmes mounted to assist the many thousands of displaced persons in holding camps either in Cambodia or in Thailand.

We also pay a special tribute to the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand. Although its resources are taxed to the limit, it continues readily to bear the constraints of having many displaced Kampuchean in its territory by ensuring the protection and security of these people. At the same time, it is making a constructive contribution to the regional and global efforts to seek a viable and peaceful settlement of this problem.

Successive Papua New Guinea Governments have supported decolonization processes in the Pacific, Asia, Latin America and Africa and anywhere else in the world. We believe that such a colonial situation exists in Cambodia. Therefore we urge the international community to give its full support to a comprehensive political settlement of the situation in Kampuchea and the right to self-determination of the people.

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

To conclude, Papua New Guinea wishes to reiterate that for the countries in the Asia Pacific region the conflict in Kampuchea remains a cause for serious concern, as it poses a threat to the peace and security in the region. The stability of the Asia Pacific region can be ensured only when peace is restored in Kampuchea and the rights of the Kampuchean people are universally respected.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.