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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Report of the Secretary-General

1. The present report on the situation in Kampuchea is submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of its resolution 39/5 of 30 October 1984.
2. In that resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed its resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979, 35/6 of 22 October 1980, 36/5 of 21 October 1981, 37/6 of 28 October 1982 and 38/3 of 27 October 1983 and called for their full implementation. It also reiterated its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea were the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.
3. In the same resolution, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea (A/CONF.109/8) and authorized it to convene when necessary. It also reaffirmed its decision to reconvene the Conference at an appropriate time and requested the Secretary-General to provide the Conference and the Ad Hoc Committee on a regular basis with the necessary facilities to carry out their functions.
4. The General Assembly further requested the Secretary-General to continue to follow the situation closely and to exercise his good offices in order to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement.
5. The General Assembly also appealed for the continuation of emergency relief assistance to those Kampucheans who were still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, and requested the Secretary-General to intensify such efforts as were necessary in co-ordinating humanitarian relief assistance and in monitoring its distribution.

6. As in previous years, a number of communications relating to the situation in Kampuchea have been addressed to me by interested Governments and circulated as documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

7. In compliance with General Assembly resolution 39/5, the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea held several meetings at Headquarters this year. In April 1985, the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee had discussions on Kampuchea with the authorities in China and Thailand, during visits to these two countries in connection with other United Nations activities. As in previous years, the Committee also undertook two missions of consultation. The first mission visited Argentina, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago in June 1985. A second mission was dispatched to Jordan in early July, before proceeding to Malaysia for talks with the foreign ministers of the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), on the occasion of their eighteenth Annual Ministerial Meeting. The Committee has issued a report on its activities during 1984/1985 (A/CONF.109/9).

8. Since the beginning of the year, I have continued, in the framework of my good offices, to seek ways of achieving progress towards a peaceful resolution of the problem. This was, indeed, the main purpose of my trip to South-East Asia in January/February 1985. During this trip, I paid official visits to Thailand, Viet Nam, Malaysia and Indonesia and had extensive discussions with the leaders of these countries. In Thailand, I was received by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and met with General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister, and Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, Minister for Foreign Affairs. I also had an exchange of views in Bangkok with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Democratic Kampuchea. In Viet Nam, I met with Mr. Pham Van Dong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and with Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. In Malaysia, I met with Prime Minister Dato Seri Mahathir bin Mohamed and Foreign Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen. In Indonesia, I met with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja. During stopovers in the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Singapore, I also had the opportunity to exchange views respectively with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Phoune Sipaseuth and with Foreign Minister Supiah Dhanabalan.

9. These discussions enabled me to make a direct assessment of the situation and to obtain some clarifications on the positions and concerns of the countries of the region. I reiterated my conviction that the problem could not be solved by military means and that differences could only be bridged by a sustained dialogue on the basic elements for a comprehensive settlement. The serious tension and hostilities, which had developed along the Thai-Kampuchean border before my visit and continued throughout the dry season, prevented any immediate progress towards that goal. However, all my interlocutors reiterated their support for my good offices and asked me to persevere in my efforts towards a political solution of the problem.

10. In early July, my Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, attended on my behalf in Kuala Lumpur the eighteenth annual meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations at the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, in his capacity as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee. On that occasion, Mr. Ahmed met with the foreign ministers and other senior officials of

the ASEAN countries. He subsequently visited Hanoi, from 10 to 12 July 1985, for consultations with the Vietnamese authorities.

11. Since then, I have had further discussions in New York with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Democratic Kampuchea, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda of Thailand, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Phoune Sipaseuth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Deputy Prime Minister Musa Hitam of Malaysia, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian of China, Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja of Indonesia, Acting Foreign Minister Pacifico Castro of the Philippines, and Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Minister Member of the Council of Ministers of Viet Nam.
12. Throughout this period, I have followed closely the diplomatic exchanges which have taken place in the region. I have been kept informed, in particular, of the discussions held during the visits of Foreign Minister William Hayden of Australia and Foreign Minister Mochtar of Indonesia to Hanoi in March 1985 and during the visit of Foreign Minister Co Thach of Viet Nam to Jakarta in late August 1985.
13. The discussions that I and my Special Representative have held during the course of the year suggest that a reasonable degree of convergence has emerged on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. These elements include inter alia: withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past; promotion of national reconciliation; exercise by the Kampuchean people of the right to determine their own destiny; respect for the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; ensuring the security and sovereignty of all States in the region; international guarantees for and supervision of the implementation of the agreements reached; and establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. Evidently, significant differences still exist on the interpretation of these goals and the modalities for achieving them. They provide, however, a broad framework which could be progressively elaborated and refined, with a view to creating mutual understanding and confidence among all parties concerned. It is my conviction that this can only be done through a resolute effort towards the initiation of a sustained process of dialogue.
14. As regards the format for dialogue and negotiations, various alternatives have been broached or put forward in the past few years and some have been found explicitly or, at least, implicitly acceptable. This is particularly the case in respect of the evolution of the idea of a limited international conference, which was also explored by my Special Representative during a trip to the region early in 1982. Such a conference would involve the participation of all parties directly concerned, the five permanent members of the Security Council and other mutually-acceptable countries. It should, however, be preceded by exploratory discussions aimed at achieving a common understanding on the elements included in the broad framework outlined above. The procedural aspects of this exploratory dialogue still have to be worked out through diplomatic exchanges. While the concept of "proximity talks" is considered worth pursuing, the main difficulty lies in the designation of mutually-acceptable participants. I wish to reiterate, in this context, that I naturally stand ready to assist the parties concerned in promoting the process of dialogue.

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15. Under the mandate contained in resolution 39/5 as well as in previous resolutions of the General Assembly, I have continued to implement the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes. These programmes, funded largely by voluntary contributions from Member States, have consisted of three major components, namely, the operations within Kampuchea, at the border and within Thailand. I have brought to the attention of Member States the financial needs of the programmes and kept the donors, both multilateral and bilateral, informed on a regular basis of their detailed implementation. In the six years of operation, the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes have channelled a substantial amount of aid provided by the international community to the Kampuchean people.

16. In addition to the flow of humanitarian assistance through United Nations agencies and other international bodies, a number of voluntary agencies present in Phnom Penh have continued their humanitarian activities in various fields. Furthermore, relief aid and development assistance have been provided through bilateral channels. In spite of substantial external assistance and the considerable efforts of the Kampuchean people themselves, the agricultural situation in Kampuchea remains precarious. The disruptions of the past have left shortages in manpower, draught animals, agricultural inputs and buffer food stocks, and this still leaves Kampuchean farmers critically dependent on climatic conditions year after year. So far the conditions for rice production in the early part of the 1985 rainy season generally appear to have been less adverse than last year. However, the dry spell which normally follows the onset of the monsoon has been protracted in some parts of the country. An accurate assessment of the situation has to wait until later this year. In addition, health and sanitary conditions continue to give rise to serious concern in many parts of the country.

17. The Kampuchean people who have sought refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and those accommodated at Khao-I-Dang, the only remaining holding centre operated by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Thailand, remain dependent upon relief assistance provided by the international community.

18. It is gratifying to note that the number of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand has been reduced from the peak of some 175,000 in 1980 to some 21,000 as of 1 October 1985. Thanks to the generous co-operation of the donor Governments, resettlement countries and the host country, nearly 200,000 Kampucheans have been resettled from Thailand since 1975 and another 6,500 accepted for resettlement are now awaiting departure for third countries.

19. The year 1985 has been one of great difficulty and insecurity for the Kampuchean civilians who have sought refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Following an upsurge of hostilities along the border, nearly all of them have been given temporary refuge inside Thailand. This situation has likewise caused serious difficulties for the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO), as the shelters, medical facilities, reservoirs and other infrastructure developed along the border over the last few years have had to be abandoned and reconstructed elsewhere. However, contingency planning and the preparation of evacuation sites in advance of hostilities greatly helped to limit the number of casualties and mitigate the suffering of the population concerned.

20. I wish to reiterate my deep appreciation to the international community for its generous support of these humanitarian assistance programmes and also to pay tribute to all those men and women who have carried them out so successfully, in circumstances which are often difficult and hazardous.

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21. The events of the past year have demonstrated, once again, that the problems of the region cannot be solved by military means and that protracted confrontation can only generate further tension and enhance the risks of escalation. Clearly, the fundamental interests of the parties concerned and, above all, those of the Kampuchean people will best be served by a peaceful solution, reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation. The recent diplomatic exchanges have improved the chances for progress towards the initiation of such a process. These exchanges, as well as the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels, should be pursued with renewed vigour and a sense of urgency. It is in these conditions that it will become possible to overcome the obstacles to a truly constructive dialogue and to embark on the path of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement.

22. I am determined, for my part, to continue to work, in the exercise of my good offices, towards a solution consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As we observe the fortieth anniversary of the Organization, it is my earnest hope that, with the good will and active co-operation of all parties concerned, it will be possible to put an end to the intense suffering which has been the tragic lot of the peoples of the region for so long and to enable them to look to a future of peace, stability and prosperity.
