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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 30 November 1992, at 3.50 p.m.

President: Mr. ERDOS

(Hungary)

Members: Austria
Belgium
Cape Verde
China
Ecuador
France
India
Japan
Morocco
Russian Federation
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela
Zimbabwe

Mr. HOHENFELLNER
Mr. NOTERDAEME
Mr. BARBOSA
Mr. LI Daoyu
Mr. AYALA LASSO
Mr. MERIMEE
Mr. GHAREKHAN
Mr. HATANO
Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
Mr. VORONTSOV

Sir David HANNAY
Mr. PERKINS
Mr. ARRIA
Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 783 (1992) (S/24800)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 783 (1992), document S/24800. Members of the Council also have before them document S/24865, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Since the signing of the Paris Agreements more than a year ago, thanks to the joint efforts of Prince Sihanouk, various Cambodian parties, the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) and the international community, certain progress has been made in the Cambodian peace process. However, since

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

the beginning of the second phase of the cease-fire in June this year, the peace process, for various reasons, has encountered difficulties. How to solve the problems encountered in the course of the implementation of the Paris Agreements has become an issue of common concern.

The Paris Agreements, which were hard-won results achieved through the concerted endeavours of all Cambodian parties and the international community, constitute the foundation for the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. Since the signing of the Paris Agreements, China has always stressed the importance of the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements and strictly observed and implemented the principles and provisions of the Agreements. With regard to the problems encountered in implementing the Paris Agreements it is our consistent position that they should be settled with both determination and patience and that efforts should be made to reduce and resolve differences and to seek appropriate solutions through dialogue and consultation on the basis of the Paris Agreements. China has made its own efforts for this purpose. We have adopted an attitude of treating all Cambodian parties impartially on an equal footing. We hope that all the parties in Cambodia will cooperate with UNTAC, earnestly implement the Paris Agreements and solve the problems in implementing the Paris Agreements in a patient and appropriate manner. China does not seek any selfish interest in the Cambodia question. The only objective that China strives to attain is to enable Cambodia eventually to become an independent, peaceful and neutral State through the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements.

The implementation of the Paris Agreements is the best way to achieve a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia question and the realization of national reconciliation. It is also conducive to enduring

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

peace and stability in Cambodia, thus representing the common aspiration of the Cambodian people and the international community. Therefore, the parties concerned should exercise restraint and continue their efforts to overcome difficulties and settle their differences through consultations so as to achieve the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements. While the Paris Agreements are yet to be implemented comprehensively, the pressing task of the moment is to take effective measures to prevent further aggravation of contradictions and a recurrence of war in Cambodia.

We agree with some of the elements in the draft resolution before us, such as the call upon various parties to fulfil their commitments to the cease-fire and to exercise restraint. However, the draft resolution also contains elements relating to sanctions and an election in which only three parties will take part. In our view, both sanctions and the three-party election are at variance with the Paris Agreements. Instead of helping solve the problems, sanctions will further increase differences and sharpen contradictions and could consequently lead to new, complicated problems in the Cambodian situation. Hence, we are not in favour of any form of sanction measures against any Cambodian party. Furthermore, in accordance with the Paris Agreements, if these measures affect a neighbouring State of Cambodia, the sovereignty of that country should be respected and its opinions fully heeded. Meanwhile, we are deeply anxious about the possible adverse consequences that could result from a three-party election.

Based on those views, the Chinese delegation can only abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

China has consistently strived to achieve a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. China has all along respected the

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

choice made by Prince Sihanouk, as well as that made by the people of Cambodia of their own free will. We hope and believe that the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, will come through their difficulties and build a State of independence, peace and neutrality. China has worked tirelessly towards this end and, together with the rest of the international community, is ready to continue to make its own efforts.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/24865 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary,
India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of
America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: China

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against, and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 792 (1992).

(The President)

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): The United States vote in favour of this resolution reflects our growing concern over the situation in Cambodia and our determination to support fully the United Nations efforts in Cambodia. We continue to be gravely concerned by the failure of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to carry out the provisions of relevant Security Council resolutions or to meet its solemn obligations under the Paris Agreements. We are also deeply disturbed by the apparent increase in violations of the cease-fire, by the recent surge in serious attacks against members of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), by serious violations of basic human rights and by the increase in political intimidation and violence.

In view of those events, it is more vital than ever that the United Nations maintain its firm commitment to implementing the Cambodian settlement and to ensuring that elections are held on schedule in May. We want the Cambodian people to know that they can depend upon the United Nations to take the measures necessary to ensure that they will have an opportunity to determine their own future in a free and fair election. In that regard, the cut-off date of 31 January for opening areas to elections is of particular importance.

In voting in favour of this resolution, the United States also wishes to make clear its position on the question of presidential elections. We note that the resolution stipulates that any presidential elections must be held in

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

conjunction with constituent-assembly elections. We believe this is a vitally important provision. Moreover, presidential elections must be held without prejudice to the parties of the Supreme National Council, UNTAC and the constituent assembly, as expressed by the terms of the Paris Agreements.

Finally, we wish to commend the Secretary-General's Special Representative and all UNTAC elements in Cambodia for their outstanding efforts under difficult circumstances. We also express once again our appreciation to the President of the Supreme National Council, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, for his continuing efforts to resolve the differences among the Cambodian parties, and we ask that he continue to fulfil his essential role as we continue to work for the lasting peace his country so much deserves.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian):

We welcome the success of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in fulfilling its mandate in areas to which it has access. At the same time, however, we are seriously concerned at the refusal of the Democratic Kampuchea party to comply with the obligations it undertook at the Paris Conference.

In these circumstances it is clear that the Security Council must take appropriate action to ensure that the basic goals of the Paris Agreements are implemented by all the Cambodian parties.

We believe that resolution 792 (1992), which we have just adopted, is a balanced text. It not only does not exclude the possibility that the Khmer Rouge may join in the settlement but also sends them a clear signal that the

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

world community is determined to ensure compliance with the Security Council's decisions and leaves the door open for Khmer Rouge participation in the Cambodian peace process.

We attach special importance to the fact that the resolution just adopted stresses the Security Council's determination to continue the implementation of the peace process in accordance with the established timetable. The Security Council bases its position on the premise that there is no alternative to a political settlement and national reconciliation.

We are seriously concerned at the instances of violation of the cease-fire, mainly by the Khmer Rouge; these threaten the lives of UNTAC personnel, including Russian citizens. In that connection, we particularly stress that it is most important that all sides in Cambodia should abide by the cease-fire agreements, and that the safety of United Nations personnel should be reliably guaranteed.

We believe that Cambodia's presidential elections can be an important factor for stability in the country, on the understanding that they will not replace or rescind elections to a constituent assembly but will, on the contrary, facilitate the successful holding of those elections.

Russia is prepared to cooperate with all the parties to the Paris Agreements in order to ensure positive movement in the process of a settlement in Cambodia.

Mr. MERIMÉE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation is pleased at the adoption, by a very large majority, of resolution 792 (1992) on Cambodia, which attests to the determination of the members of the Security Council to take the peace process to its conclusion.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

The adoption of that resolution comes at a crucial stage of the peace plan. Unfortunately, the initiatives of the international community, first and foremost those of Japan and Thailand, and of the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference to find a way out of the impasse that has been reached in the implementation of the plan have failed. Following meetings held on 7 and 8 November at Beijing, it was clear that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea was not ready to cooperate in seeking the implementation of the Peace Agreements. In that connection, my delegation would note that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) made efforts to find fair solutions to all the concerns expressed by that party. France regrets that that party continues to disregard those efforts.

As Co-Chairman of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, France is strongly committed to compliance by all signatories with their commitments. No party can assume the right to call into question the process initiated by the Paris Agreements, a process that has yielded many positive results. My Government wants to pay a tribute to the decisive action of the President of the Supreme National Council, Prince Sihanouk, and to the work carried out in just a few months by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the entire UNTAC team. The successful repatriation of refugees and the voter-registration operations are successes that should be noted; these make it possible to be confident about the holding of elections in May 1993.

The basic aim of the Paris Agreements is to permit the Cambodian people freely to determine their own future through free and fair elections. My delegation therefore welcomes the Council's determination, already expressed

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

unambiguously in its resolution 783 (1992), which was adopted unanimously, to maintain that date for the elections.

There is one point with respect to the elections that France particularly wanted to see in the resolution. I refer to the coming presidential election. My Government believes that it will strengthen national reconciliation and stability in Cambodia.

We consider the resolution we have just adopted to be balanced. It indicates the consequences of the refusal of one of the parties to cooperate: the Council demands that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea fulfil all its obligations and invites all the States concerned to implement the military provisions of the Paris Agreements. The Council also undertakes to take new measures if the party that has not thus far cooperated should really obstruct the implementation of the peace process.

(Mr. Mérieux, France)

At the same time, the resolution excludes none of the signatories of the Agreements and allows them to proceed along the path of dialogue and understanding. France appeals to the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to show restraint and to commit itself to cooperation.

In conclusion my country, as Co-Chairman of the Paris Conference, would like to reaffirm its commitment to these Agreements and its readiness - demonstrated by Mr. Dumas, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, on his recent visit to Beijing - to assist, whenever requested, in making possible the effective implementation of the peace Agreements.

Mr. HATANQ (Japan): Japan voted in favour of the resolution, which addresses the current problems facing the Cambodian peace process and outlines a future course of action to be taken by the international community to ensure the implementation of the Paris Agreements. Japan commends the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, and welcomes the progress made under their leadership towards the realization of our common goal.

This resolution, in Japan's view, sends a clear and firm message to the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to respond positively to the will of the international community, and it keeps the door open for the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to join the peace process. I hope that the resolution gains the support and cooperation of all the parties concerned. Only through concerted and united action can the international community succeed in the full implementation of the Paris Agreements.

Japan has worked actively in an effort to find, within the framework of the Paris Agreements, common ground acceptable to all the Cambodian parties for the promotion of the peace process. I thus agree with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that patient diplomacy is required.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan is determined to continue its diplomatic efforts and is committed to the view that free and fair elections should be held as scheduled.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The United Nations operation in Cambodia is the most ambitious ever undertaken by this Organization. Its purpose is to bring peace and freedom to a population that has not known peace in decades. I pay tribute to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), to the Secretary-General and to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the superb work they have been doing.

All this is now at risk because one party, the Khmer Rouge, is refusing to honour the commitments it freely entered into in the Paris Agreements. Every effort has been made by the United Nations and by Member States such as Japan and Thailand to address the concerns that it has expressed. But it has remained intransigent, contrary to its commitments under the Paris Agreements. It refuses to disarm and to demobilize its forces, and it refuses to allow UNTAC to enter the territories it controls to carry out any of the tasks agreed upon in Paris - in particular, to prepare the elections, which will open a new future for the whole country.

This Council has been very patient, and it will remain so. But it also has to be determined. Even now, in the resolution we have just adopted, we are not saying that the Khmer Rouge can no longer be a part of the settlement process. On the contrary, we make it clear that we want it to join in that process. If it decides after all to honour its commitments, it will be able to take part in the elections for a constituent assembly leading to the formation of a new Government. But if it decides to exclude itself, that is the Khmer Rouge's responsibility.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

What must not happen, and what will not happen, is the postponement of the elections. The resolution is clear about that. The Cambodian people have waited long enough for the opportunity to frame their own constitution and to choose their own Government. The great success of the electoral registration process, with 2 million voters registered already, shows beyond any doubt that they want to take that opportunity now. The international community has gone to enormous lengths to make it possible. We must not be deflected or delayed by the intransigence of one party that has chosen to put itself in breach of its treaty obligations.

The Khmer Rouge would do well to consider that position very carefully. By the middle of next year there will be a new constitution in Cambodia and a democratically elected Government, recognized by the world and receiving aid from the world. It is up to the Khmer Rouge whether it wants to be part of that or not.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Hungary.

Further action by the Security Council on the situation in Cambodia has become necessary because of difficulties that have arisen in the past few months regarding the implementation of the Paris Agreements. Following the adoption in October of resolution 783 (1992), in which the Security Council deplored the attitude of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK) towards its obligations, the efforts that had already been made by some States were pursued with greater vigour to convince the PDK to rejoin the peace process.

The resolution that we have just adopted was born of the failure of those attempts and reflects the critical choice currently facing the international community. At this stage, it is still possible to continue the peace process

(The President)

with the participation of all the Cambodian parties - that is, with the return of the PDK to this process. However, given the continuing problems arising from the PDK's lack of cooperation and in order to ensure that the Security Council can adhere to the timetable in the Paris Agreements, it has proved essential in the present circumstances to resort to firmer measures in order to create the neutral political environment essential to holding free and fair elections and in order to cope with the challenge to the peace process posed by the refusal of one of the Cambodian parties to abide by the provisions of the Paris Agreements.

In this context, we should like to pay tribute to all the countries concerned, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to his Special Representative and to all the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) for their perseverance in carrying out their work under the increasingly complex conditions in Cambodia.

In our opinion, the resolution offers a balanced, firm approach that maintains a readiness to pursue the dialogue but also contains a message that the peace process in Cambodia will not be permitted to be held hostage by one of the parties to the conflict, the three other parties having expressed their full and continued commitment to abide by the Paris Agreements. It stands to reason that if this approach is to be effective and credible it is important to ensure in the resolution's implementation the full participation, to the extent of their capacities, of all the Member States of the United Nations, and in particular the neighbouring countries of Cambodia.

We trust that the international community will have no need to resort to other measures that might become necessary to attain the basic objectives of the Paris Agreements. But it is also quite clear that, if necessary, the

(The President)

international community will not hesitate to take any measure needed to restore peace, ensure the triumph of democracy in Cambodia and counter any attempt to sabotage the peace process, which offers hope at last for stability and prosperity for the Khmer people, who have suffered so much over the past decades.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.

