the country as their responsibilities required. He added that there was no alternative to a political solution.

Later on 16 April 1992, following consultations among the Council members, the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council: 36

The members of the Security Council strongly endorse the statement on the situation in Afghanistan issued by the Secretary-General on 10 April 1992 and share the Secretary-General’s concern about the recent events there expressed in his statement of 16 April 1992. In this regard, it is imperative that all concerned display restraint and support the efforts of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Pakistan towards a political solution to the Afghanistan crisis, to which there is no viable alternative. Such a solution has been proposed by the Secretary-General with the objective of bringing an end to bloodshed and violence, promoting national reconciliation, and safeguarding the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Failure to do so could only perpetuate the suffering of the Afghan people. The members of the Council urge all parties in Afghanistan to assure the safety of all, especially United Nations personnel and their

36 S/23818.

15. Items relating to the situation in Cambodia

A. Exchange of letters between the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council concerning the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to Cambodia

Decision of 3 August 1989: letter from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

By a letter dated 2 August 1989 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General informed the Council members that he had attended the Conference on Peace in Cambodia convened in Paris at the initiative of the Government of France. He said that, at the opening of the Conference on 30 July 1989, he had made a statement expressing the view that peace in Cambodia could only be achieved in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement. In that context, he had noted that

the Conference would be discussing the establishment of an international control mechanism, and had stated, inter alia, that: (a) no international control mechanism could function without the full cooperation of the parties concerned nor could one be imposed on them; (b) the establishment of a credible international control mechanism was dependent upon the identification of a clear and realistic mandate, the adoption of an effective decision-making process and the provision of the necessary human, logistical and financial resources, which could be evaluated only by a fact-finding mission; and (c) the international control mechanism could only be deployed in stages, on the understanding that all its functions should be agreed by the parties beforehand. He had given the assurance that, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, he stood ready, in keeping with established procedures, to offer any assistance the Conference might deem useful.

The Secretary-General reported further that the first ministerial session of the Conference had concluded, on 1 August 1989, with the adoption of a number of organizational measures, including a


1 S/20768.
decision to establish four working committees. He noted that the First Committee had been entrusted with defining the modalities of a ceasefire, and the mandate and guiding principles of an international control mechanism which would supervise and control the comprehensive implementation of the settlement. The Secretary-General said that the Conference had decided to accept his proposal to send, without prejudice to the positions of the parties and States participating in the Conference, a fact-finding mission to gather technical information relevant to the work of the First Committee from all areas of Cambodia. Noting that the Conference had called upon the four Cambodian parties and the States concerned to extend to the mission the cooperation and assistance that would enable it to carry out its tasks effectively in conditions of security, the Secretary-General informed the members of the Council that it was his intention to proceed with the arrangements for the dispatch of the mission as soon as possible.

By a letter dated 3 August 1989, the President of the Council informed the Secretary-General that the members of the Council had agreed to the proposal concerning the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to Cambodia, as contained in his letter dated 2 August 1989.

B. The situation in Cambodia

Decision of 20 September 1990 (2941st meeting): resolution 668 (1990)

By a letter dated 30 August 1990, the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council transmitted to the Secretary-General the joint statement which, together with the appended framework document, had been adopted in New York on 27 and 28 August 1990 at the sixth meeting of the five members held at the Vice-Ministerial level in 1990 to define the key elements of a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict based on an enhanced United Nations role. In their statement, the five permanent members said that they had reached final agreement on a framework for a settlement composed of five sections: (1) transitional arrangements during the transitional period; (3) elections under United Nations auspices; (4) human rights protection; and (5) international guarantees. The basic principle behind their approach was “to enable the Cambodian people to determine their own political future through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations in a neutral political environment with full respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia”.

By a letter dated 11 September 1990 addressed to the Secretary-General, the representatives of France and Indonesia, in their capacity as representatives of the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, transmitted the joint statement of the informal meeting on Cambodia issued at Jakarta, on 10 September 1990. The joint statement declared that the Cambodian parties had accepted the framework document formulated by the five permanent members as the basis for settling the Cambodia conflict, and had committed themselves to elaborating that framework into a comprehensive political settlement through the processes of the Paris Conference. They had also agreed to form a Supreme National Council, having the nature and functions stipulated in the framework document. Specifically, they had agreed, inter alia, that the Supreme National Council would be the unique legitimate body and source of authority in Cambodia during the transitional period and that it would delegate to the United Nations all powers necessary to implement the comprehensive agreement at the time of its signature.

At its 2941st meeting, held on 20 September 1990, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the item entitled “The situation in Cambodia” and considered the question at the same meeting. The President (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the two above-mentioned letters and to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council’s prior consultations. He noted that members had agreed not to hold a debate on the question or make statements before or after the vote. The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 668 (1990), which reads:

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2 S/20769.
3 S/21689, annex and appendix.

4 S/21732.
5 S/21689 and S/21732.
6 S/21800.
The Security Council,

Convinced of the need to find an early, just and lasting peaceful solution of the Cambodia conflict,

Noting that the Paris Conference on Cambodia, which met from 30 July to 30 August 1989, made progress in elaborating a wide variety of elements necessary for reaching a comprehensive political settlement,

Taking note with appreciation of the continuing efforts of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, which have resulted in the framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict,

Also taking note with appreciation of the efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and other countries involved in promoting the search for a comprehensive political settlement,

Further taking note with appreciation of the efforts of Indonesia and France as Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia and of all participants in the Conference to facilitate the restoration of peace to Cambodia,

Noting that these efforts are aimed at enabling the Cambodian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations in a neutral political environment with full respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia,

1. Endorses the framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict and encourages the continuing efforts of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America in this regard;

2. Welcomes the acceptance of this framework in its entirety by all the Cambodian parties, as the basis for settling the Cambodia conflict, at the informal meeting of the Cambodian parties at Jakarta on 10 September 1990 and their commitment to it;

3. Also welcomes the commitment of the Cambodian parties, in full cooperation with all other participants in the Paris Conference on Cambodia, to elaborating this framework into a comprehensive political settlement through the processes of the Conference;

4. Welcomes, in particular, the agreement reached by all Cambodian parties at Jakarta to form a Supreme National Council as the unique legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transitional period, the independence, national sovereignty and unity of Cambodia is embodied;

5. Urges the members of the Supreme National Council, in full accord with the framework document, to elect the Chairman of the Council as soon as possible, so as to implement the agreement referred to in paragraph 4 above;

6. Notes that the Supreme National Council will therefore represent Cambodia externally and it is to designate its representatives to occupy the seat of Cambodia at the United Nations, in the United Nations specialized agencies and in other international institutions and international conferences;

7. Urges all parties to the conflict to exercise maximum self-restraint so as to create the peaceful climate required to facilitate the achievement and the implementation of a comprehensive political settlement;

8. Calls upon the Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference to intensify their consultations with a view to reconvening the Conference, whose task will be to elaborate and adopt the comprehensive political settlement and to draw up a detailed plan of implementation in accord with the above-mentioned framework;

9. Urges the Supreme National Council, all Cambodians and all parties to the conflict to cooperate fully in this process;

10. Encourages the Secretary-General to continue, within the context of preparations for reconvening the Paris Conference and on the basis of the present resolution, preparatory studies to assess the resource implications, timing and other considerations relevant to the United Nations role;

11. Calls upon all States to support the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement as outlined in the above-mentioned framework.

Decision of 14 August 1991: letter from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

By a letter dated 8 August 1991 addressed to the President of the Security Council,7 the Secretary-General drew the attention of the Council members to recent developments relating to the situation in Cambodia. He noted, inter alia, a number of important decisions taken unanimously by the Supreme National Council: in particular, its agreement to an immediate and unlimited ceasefire, and to undertake to stop receiving outside military assistance; its election of Prince Sihanouk as its President; and its decision to request the United Nations to dispatch a survey team to Cambodia. The Secretary-General reported that he had received a request for a survey mission by a letter dated 16 July 1991 from Prince Sihanouk on behalf of the Supreme National Council. He added that in a

7 S/22945.
communiqué issued on 18 July 1991,\textsuperscript{8} the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia and the five permanent members had, inter alia, reiterated that the withdrawal of foreign military forces, the ceasefire and the cessation of outside military assistance must be effectively verified and supervised by the United Nations. They had also recommended the dispatch of a survey mission, as proposed by the Supreme National Council. The mission would begin the process of preparing for the military aspects of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), and could consider how the good offices of the Secretary-General could be used to help maintain the ceasefire. The Secretary-General accordingly informed the Council of his intention to proceed with the necessary arrangements for the dispatch of a survey mission to Cambodia as soon as possible.

By a letter dated 14 August 1991,\textsuperscript{9} the President of the Council informed the Secretary-General that his letter had been brought to the attention of the members of the Council, who agreed with his proposal.


On 30 September 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report\textsuperscript{10} recommending, in the light of the report of the survey mission, that the Council authorize the establishment of a United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC). He recalled that he had informed the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia and the permanent members of the Security Council that, initially, the United Nations could assist the Cambodian parties to maintain the present ceasefire by deploying in Cambodia a small advance mission consisting mainly of military liaison officers in order to help them to address and resolve any violations or alleged violations of the ceasefire. Such an advance mission could be envisaged as the first stage of the good offices mechanism foreseen in the draft Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict. This information had been welcomed. The Secretary-General accordingly recommended that the Council decide to authorize the establishment of UNAMIC under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council. UNAMIC would consist of civilian liaison staff, military liaison officers, a military mine-awareness unit and the necessary support personnel. The Mission would become operational immediately after the signature of the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, but would be deployed in phases. Its mandate would extend from the signature of the Agreement until the establishment of UNTAC by the Security Council and the adoption of its budget by the General Assembly. At that time, UNAMIC would be absorbed into UNTAC, and the good offices functions being carried out by UNAMIC would be continued and expanded by UNTAC during the first phase of the ceasefire.

At its 3014th meeting, on 16 October 1991, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. The President (India) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council’s prior consultations,\textsuperscript{11} as well as to three other documents: (a) a letter dated 8 January 1991 from the representatives of France and Indonesia addressed to the Secretary-General,\textsuperscript{12} enclosing, inter alia, the final statement issued at the end of a meeting held in Paris from 21 to 23 December 1990 between the two Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, the 12 members of the Supreme National Council and the representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, and the draft agreements of 26 November on a comprehensive political settlement prepared by the two Co-Chairmen and the permanent members of the Security Council, which had been formally presented to the members of the Supreme National Council at that meeting; (b) a letter dated 23 September 1991 from the President of the Supreme National Council addressed to the Secretary-General,\textsuperscript{13} enclosing the final communiqué of a meeting of the Supreme National Council, held at Pattaya from 26 to 29 August 1991, at which it had unanimously agreed, inter alia, on the request by Prince Sihanouk, Chairman of the Supreme National Council, for United Nations personnel to be sent to Cambodia as “observers” to assist the Supreme National Council in controlling the ceasefire and the cessation of foreign military

\textsuperscript{8} S/22889.
\textsuperscript{9} S/22946.
\textsuperscript{10} S/23097 and Add.1.
\textsuperscript{11} S/23145.
\textsuperscript{12} S/22059.
\textsuperscript{13} S/23066.
The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 717 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 668 (1990) of 20 September 1990, by which it endorsed the framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict of 28 August 1990,

Taking note of the draft agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict,

Welcoming the very significant progress made, on the basis of those draft agreements, towards a comprehensive political settlement which would enable the Cambodian people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations,

Welcoming in particular the election of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the Chairman of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia,

Noting with satisfaction the other decisions taken by the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, concerning in particular the implementation of a voluntary ceasefire and the renunciation of foreign military assistance, and underlining the need for the full cooperation of the Cambodian parties,

Considering that such progress has opened the way to an early reconvening of the Paris Conference on Cambodia at the ministerial level and the signing of the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement based on the framework document of 28 August 1990, and welcoming the preparations being made by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference in that regard,

Convinced that such a comprehensive political settlement can offer at last a peaceful, just and durable solution to the Cambodian conflict,

14 S/23104.

Taking note of the request by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for United Nations personnel to be sent to Cambodia at the earliest possible moment,

Underlining the necessity of a United Nations presence in Cambodia immediately after the signing of the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict, pending the implementation of the arrangements set out in those agreements,

Having considered, to this end, the report of the Secretary-General of 30 September 1991 proposing the establishment of a United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General of 30 September 1991;

2. Decides to establish, under its authority, a United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia immediately after the signing of the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict and in accordance with the report of the Secretary-General, with members of the Mission to be sent to Cambodia immediately after the signing;

3. Calls upon the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and the Cambodian parties for their part, to cooperate fully with the Mission and with the preparations for the implementation of the arrangements set out in the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement;

4. Welcomes the proposal of the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia to reconvene the Conference at an early date at the ministerial level to sign the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 November 1991 on the implementation of the present resolution and to keep the Council fully informed of further developments.


By a letter dated 30 October 1991 addressed to the Secretary-General,15 the representatives of France and Indonesia, in their capacity as representatives of the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, transmitted the texts of the agreements signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 by the States participating in the Conference. These included the following instruments: (a) Final Act of the Conference; (b) Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, with annexes on the mandate for a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, military matters, elections,

15 S/23177.
repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, and the principles for a new Cambodian constitution; (c) Agreement Concerning the Sovereignty, Independence, Territorial Integrity and Inviolability, Neutrality and National Unity of Cambodia; and (d) Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia. Paragraph 10 of the Final Act stated that the three other instruments represented an elaboration of the Framework for a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict adopted by the five permanent members of the Security Council on 28 August 1990 and of elements of the work accomplished at the first session of the Conference. They entailed a continuing process of national reconciliation and an enhanced role for the United Nations, thus enabling the Cambodian people to determine their own political future through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations in a neutral political environment with full respect for the national sovereignty of Cambodia. As noted in paragraph 11 of the Final Act, they together formed the comprehensive settlement which the Paris Conference had aimed to achieve. Under paragraph 12 of the Final Act, the States participating in the Conference requested the Secretary-General to take the appropriate steps to enable consideration of the comprehensive settlement by the Security Council at the earliest opportunity. Under the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement, the signatories invited the Security Council to establish a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and to provide it with the mandate set out in the Agreement.

By a note dated 30 October 1991,16 the Secretary-General, in accordance with the request in paragraph 12 of the Final Act of the Paris Conference, drew the attention of the Security Council to the instruments adopted at the Paris Conference, in order to enable it to consider the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict at the earliest opportunity.

At its 3015th meeting, on 31 October 1991, the Council included in its agenda the letter from the representatives of France and Indonesia and the note by the Secretary-General. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (India) drew the attention of the Council members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council’s prior consultations.17 The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 718 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,


Welcoming the meeting in Paris, from 21 to 23 October 1991, of the Paris Conference on Cambodia at the ministerial level, at which the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict were signed,

Having considered the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991,

Noting that those agreements provide, inter alia, for the designation of a special representative of the Secretary-General and the establishment of a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia,

Noting also that it is the intention of the Secretary-General to send a survey mission to Cambodia as soon as possible to prepare a plan for implementing the mandate envisaged in the agreements, for submission to the Security Council,

Underlining the necessity for the full cooperation of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and all Cambodians for their part, in the implementation of the agreements,

1. Expresses its full support for the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991;
2. Authorizes the Secretary-General to designate a special representative for Cambodia to act on his behalf;
3. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to send a survey mission to Cambodia as soon as possible to prepare a plan for implementing the mandate envisaged in the agreements;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council at the earliest possible date a report containing his implementation plan, including in particular a detailed estimate of the cost of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, on the understanding that this report would be the basis on which the Council would authorize the establishment of the Authority, the budget of which is to be subsequently considered and approved in accordance with the provisions of Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations;
5. Calls upon all Cambodian parties to comply fully with the ceasefire that entered into force at the time of the signature of the agreements;

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16 S/23179.

17 S/23180.
6. **Calls upon** the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, and all Cambodians for their part, to cooperate fully with the United Nations in the implementation of the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict.

**Decision of 8 January 1992 (3029th meeting): resolution 728 (1992)**

On 14 November 1991, pursuant to resolution 717 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia. He informed the Council that, following the signing on 23 October 1991 of the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, the arrangements for the establishment of UNAMIC had entered into force and the Mission was now operational. Deployment of all civilian and military personnel was expected to be completed on schedule by mid-December 1991.

On 30 December 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on Cambodia, in which, inter alia, he recommended the expansion of the UNAMIC mandate to include training in mine clearance and the initiation of a demining programme. The Secretary-General noted that it was generally recognized that a major mine clearance effort was needed in Cambodia. While the total eradication of mines would necessarily be a long-term endeavour, the initial programme recommended in the report would enable UNAMIC to reduce the threat posed by mines to the civilian population and to prepare the ground for a safe and orderly repatriation of the refugees and displaced persons under United Nations auspices. It would also facilitate the timely deployment of UNTAC and the discharge of its responsibilities throughout Cambodia.

At its 3029th meeting, held on 8 January 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United Kingdom) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the Secretary-General’s report on UNAMIC and to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council’s prior

18 S/23218. For details on the composition and operations of UNAMIC, see chapter V.
19 S/23331; see also S/23331/Add.1 of 6 January 1992.

20 S/23383.
3. *Reiterates its call* to all the Cambodian parties to comply scrupulously with the ceasefire and to lend all necessary assistance to the Mission;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed of further developments.


On 19 February 1992, pursuant to resolution 718 (1991) of 31 October 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report containing his plan for implementing the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. He stated that, in formulating his proposals, he had been guided by information gathered by a number of United Nations survey missions, in particular those that had visited the country at the end of 1991. He cautioned, however, that the information could not be regarded as complete and that the recommendations might need to be re-examined in the light of experience, once UNTAC was in place. He recalled that the mandate envisaged in the Paris Agreements included aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of free and fair elections, military arrangements, civil administration, the maintenance of law and order, the repatriation and resettlement of the Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, and the rehabilitation of essential Cambodian infrastructures during the transitional period.

The Secretary-General accordingly proposed that UNTAC consist of seven distinct components: human rights, electoral, military, civil administration, police, repatriation and rehabilitation. The level of the activities of the different components would vary during the course of the transitional period and would be coordinated, as necessary, in order to allow for the most efficient and cost-effective use of resources. Noting that the elections were the focal point of the comprehensive settlement, the Secretary-General recommended that they should be scheduled for late April or early May 1993. With regard to the military component of the Mission, he recalled that its main functions would include the following: verification of the withdrawal of foreign forces; supervision of the ceasefire and related measures, including regroupment, cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of the military forces of the Cambodian parties; weapons control; and assistance with mine clearance. Its objectives were to stabilize the security situation and build confidence among the parties to the conflict — objectives whose achievement was a necessary precursor to the successful conduct of the functions of the other components of the Mission. The Secretary-General accordingly recommended that full deployment of the military component be accomplished by the end of May 1992. He also proposed that the regroupment and cantonment processes, as well as the demobilization of at least 70 per cent of the cantoned forces, should be completed by the end of September 1992. In this respect, he strongly urged the Cambodian parties to agree to the complete demobilization of their military forces prior to the end of the election registration process and called on the Security Council to join him in so doing. In conclusion, the Secretary-General stressed that four essential conditions had to be met if UNTAC were to be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively and with complete impartiality: (a) it must at all times have the full support of the Security Council; (b) it must operate with the full cooperation, at all times, of the Cambodian parties and all other parties concerned; (c) it must enjoy full freedom of movement and communications; and (d) the necessary financial resources must be provided by Member States in full and in a timely manner.

At its 3057th meeting, held on 28 February 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United States) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council’s prior consultations. The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 745 (1992), which reads:

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21 S/23613; see also S/23613/Add.1 of 26 February 1992.
22 The transitional period was defined as the period beginning with the entry into force of the Paris Agreements (on 23 October 1991) and terminating when the constituent assembly elected in conformity with the Agreements had approved the new Cambodian Constitution and transformed itself into a legislative assembly, and thereafter a new Cambodian Government had been created.
23 S/23613, para. 38.
24 S/23651.
The Security Council,


Reaffirming also its full support for the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia of 19 and 26 February 1992 submitted pursuant to resolution 718 (1991),

Desiring to contribute to the restoration and maintenance of peace in Cambodia, to the promotion of national reconciliation, to the protection of human rights and to the assurance of the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people through free and fair elections,

Convinced that free and fair elections are essential to produce a just and durable settlement to the Cambodia conflict, thereby contributing to regional and international peace and security,

Mindful of Cambodia’s recent tragic history and determined that the policies and practices of the past will not be repeated,

Expressing appreciation for the work of the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia in the maintenance of the ceasefire, in mine awareness and mine clearance, and in preparation for the deployment of a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia,

Noting with appreciation the efforts of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Supreme National Council of Cambodia under his chairmanship in regard to the implementation of the provisions of the agreements,

Welcoming the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative for Cambodia to act on his behalf,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General of 19 and 26 February 1992 containing his plan, which is subject to re-examination in the light of experience, for implementing the mandate envisaged in the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991;

2. Decides that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia shall be established under its authority in accordance with the above-mentioned report for a period not to exceed eighteen months;

3. Decides that it is vital that elections be held in Cambodia by May 1993 at the latest as recommended by the Secretary-General in paragraph 38 of his report;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to deploy the Authority as rapidly as possible to implement the above decision, urges that both the deployment and the further implementation of his plan be done in the most efficient and cost-effective way possible, and invites him to that end to keep the operation under continuous review, bearing in mind the fundamental objectives of the agreements;

5. Calls upon the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to fulfil its special responsibilities set out in the agreements;

6. Also calls upon all parties concerned to comply scrupulously with the terms of the agreements, to cooperate fully with the Authority in the implementation of its mandate, and to take all necessary measures to ensure the safety and security of all United Nations personnel;

7. Further calls upon the Supreme National Council of Cambodia and all Cambodians on behalf of the host country to provide all necessary assistance and facilities to the Authority;

8. Strongly urges the Cambodian parties to agree to the complete demobilization of their military forces prior to the end of the process of registration for the elections as well as to the destruction of the weapons and ammunition deposited into the Authority’s custody in excess of those, if any, which may be deemed necessary by the Authority for the maintenance of civil order and national defence, or which may be required by the new Cambodian Government;

9. Appeals to all States to provide all voluntary assistance and support necessary to the United Nations and its programmes and specialized agencies for the preparations and operations to implement the agreements, including for rehabilitation and for the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 1 June 1992 and subsequently to report to the Council in September 1992, January 1993 and April 1993 on progress to date in the implementation of the present resolution and on tasks still to be performed in the operation, with particular regard to the most effective and efficient use of resources;

11. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the adoption of the resolution, the Secretary-General stated that the implementation plan might appear ambitious and its cost rather worrying; however it merely translated into operational terms the many-faceted and, in some ways, unprecedented mandate conceived by the authors of the Paris Agreements and unanimously endorsed by both the Security Council and the General Assembly. He assured members of the Council that everything would be done to hold to the proposed timetable for the rapid deployment of UNTAC and the holding of elections in the latter part of April or early May 1993. The operation gave the United Nations a historic opportunity to restore peace to Cambodia and to
contribute to the advent of a new era in South-East Asia and in international relations.\textsuperscript{25}

The representative of France noted that the Paris Agreements had given the United Nations a major and unprecedented role. For the first time, the Organization had been at once entrusted with organizing and carrying out the election of a constituent assembly, monitoring military aspects of a settlement, ensuring repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, promoting human rights and initiating reconstruction of a country. In adopting resolution 745 (1992), the Security Council had officially decided to create UNTAC to carry out that mandate. It had thereby initiated “the most important and complete operation ever undertaken by the United Nations in the maintenance of peace”. The speaker drew attention to paragraph 4 of the resolution, requesting the Secretary-General to deploy UNTAC as rapidly as possible. Any delay would be very harmful. It was vital that elections be held by May 1993 at the latest. He also emphasized two of the conditions which the Secretary-General had said must be met for the operation to succeed. First, UNTAC must have the full cooperation of all the parties concerned — above all, of the Cambodians as a whole. That was indispensable for the security of the members of UNTAC and for the success of the United Nations operation. Secondly, UNTAC should be given adequate financial resources. Recognizing that the needs would be great and that Member States would face difficulties in providing resources on that scale at a time when peacekeeping operations were multiplying, the French delegation put particular emphasis on the need to achieve the best possible cost-effectiveness.\textsuperscript{26}

The representative of the United Kingdom welcomed UNTAC as one of the keys to the successful implementation of the Paris Agreements. He described its task as “the most ambitious” the United Nations had ever undertaken, its goal being to permit the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination and to elect, freely and in peace, a democratic government. Peace in Cambodia would benefit not only the Cambodians but also the peoples of Indochina and of South-East Asia generally. He stressed that the other key to success was the leadership and cooperation of the Cambodian people and their leaders: no external force could on its own bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Cambodia. In that context, the leadership already being given by Prince Sihanouk was of fundamental importance. He also welcomed the Secretary-General’s reiteration in his statement of the need to adhere to the target date of April or May 1993 for the holding of elections in Cambodia, supported his view that full demobilization of military forces before the elections would be greatly preferable to the 70 per cent demobilization to which the parties were already committed, and endorsed the four conditions he had set out for the success of UNTAC. He concluded by observing that all Members of the United Nations had an interest in ensuring that this largest-ever United Nations operation was carried out not only successfully but also cost-effectively.\textsuperscript{27}

The representative of China stated that the Council, as the primary organ for the maintenance of world peace and security, must ensure strict observance of the Paris Agreements by the various Cambodian parties and the countries concerned and support the efforts for national reconciliation made by the Supreme National Council. He hoped that, with the adoption of the resolution, UNTAC would be deployed in Cambodia as soon as possible, and that the international community would see an early return in its midst of an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia. That would contribute to peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world as a whole. Noting that many countries had expressed deep concern over the rapid increase of United Nations expenditure on peacekeeping operations, he underlined the need for UNTAC to fulfil its tasks in the most economical and effective way. He also expressed the hope that in the implementation of the resolution the Secretariat would maintain close consultations with the permanent members of the Council and all countries concerned.\textsuperscript{28}

The representative of the Russian Federation observed that the decision to establish UNTAC marked the beginning of one of the largest peacekeeping operations in the history of the Organization. He fully shared the Secretary-General’s view that the success of the operation would depend primarily on the degree of cooperation by the Cambodian parties, and stressed the importance of strict compliance with the spirit and

\textsuperscript{25} S/PV.3057, pp. 6-11.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., pp. 12-15.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., pp. 16-18.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 19-21.
letter of the Paris Agreements by all the parties involved. He believed that the Cambodian parties would abide by their commitments and respond to the appeal of the Secretary-General and the Security Council for the full demobilization of their armed forces. Like previous speakers, he stressed the need to carry out the operations of UNTAC in the most effective and economical manner. The provisions of the resolution concerning the Secretary-General’s periodic reports to the Council and review of the UNTAC plan in the light of experience were aimed at achieving that goal. He underlined the importance of the speedy deployment of UNTAC to focus on holding elections in Cambodia no later than May 1993, as called for by the resolution. He expressed his country’s conviction that, with the Council’s support, the operation in Cambodia would provide further proof that the United Nations was a unique instrument for the maintenance of international peace and that, with its assistance, even long-standing conflicts could be settled on the basis of national reconciliation and responsibility by all parties concerned, and by ensuring that the will of the people was expressed through free, democratic elections.\(^{29}\)

The President of the Council, speaking in his capacity as the representative of the United States, welcomed the establishment of UNTAC as a landmark in the arduous efforts over many years to secure a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict. He hoped that the deployment of UNTAC would proceed rapidly in order to preserve the settlement and to ensure that the operation would achieve the administration of free and fair elections within the timeframe indicated in the Secretary-General’s report. He stressed the importance to the political settlement, as well as to the implementation of the United Nations plan, of the spirit of cooperation among the Cambodians, made possible by the leadership of Prince Sihanouk. The generous support and constant attention of the international community would also be required to fulfill the objectives of the settlement. He welcomed the Secretary-General’s intention to continually review and refine the operation of UNTAC in the light of actual experience and new information, with a view to achieving maximum effectiveness and the most efficient use of resources. He concluded by observing that his country had watched with satisfaction the increasing development of global cooperation, which in turn had given rise to expectations that the United Nations would at last assume responsibilities commensurate with the vision of its founders. Nowhere was the full scope and impact of that vision more evident than in the mandate just approved for a United Nations presence in Cambodia — an enterprise of extraordinary size, scope and expense. The Organization’s experience in Cambodia would probably help to shape for years to come perceptions of the United Nations as an effective instrument for addressing regional conflict and of the viability of its principle of collective security.\(^{30}\)

The other speakers also expressed their satisfaction at the envisaged implementation of the Cambodian settlement on the basis of the Paris Agreements of October 1991 and the establishment of UNTAC.\(^{31}\) They emphasized the need for all Cambodian parties to cooperate with UNTAC in the plan’s implementation. Several speakers urged that the Mission be as cost-effective and economical as possible.\(^{32}\)

**Decision of 12 June 1992 (3085th meeting): statement by the President**

On 1 May 1992, pursuant to resolution 745 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a first progress report on UNTAC,\(^{33}\) in which he stated that the mission had made a “generally good start”. His Special Representative for Cambodia had arrived in the country on 15 March 1992, marking the initial deployment of UNTAC, which had thereupon absorbed UNAMIC. Work on all aspects of the mission’s activities was proceeding at varying rates and some successes had been recorded by each component. Every effort was being made to discharge the complex tasks of UNTAC within the timeframes envisaged in the implementation plan.

On 12 June 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a special report on UNTAC.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{29}\) Ibid., 23-26.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., pp. 44-45.

\(^{31}\) For the relevant statements, see S/PV.3057, pp. 21-23 (Japan); pp. 27-28 (Austria); pp. 28-29 (Venezuela); pp. 29-31 (Hungary); pp. 31-33 (India); pp. 34-37 (Belgium); pp. 37-39 (Ecuador); and pp. 39-41 (Zimbabwe).

\(^{32}\) S/PV.3057, p. 22 (Japan); p. 33 (India); pp. 35-36 (Belgium); p. 39 (Ecuador); and p. 41 (Zimbabwe).

\(^{33}\) S/23870 and Corr.1 and 2. For details on the composition and operations of UNTAC, see chapter V.

\(^{34}\) S/24090.
He noted that the Commander of the military component of the mission had announced — following consultation with, and assurances from, the four Cambodian parties — that phase I of the ceasefire, in effect since the signing of the Paris Agreements, would be followed on 13 June by phase II (the cantonment, disarming and demobilization phase). However, following that announcement, it had become clear that one party, the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK), was not cooperating. It was not taking the steps necessary to enable it to honour the assurances it had given. It had failed to provide information on its troops, arms, ammunition and equipment to be cantoned; denied full access and freedom of movement to UNTAC; and failed to mark minefields in areas under its control and re-mined some areas. In addition, UNTAC believed that it had been responsible for many ceasefire violations. The question had thus arisen whether the scheduled date for implementation of phase II of the ceasefire should be maintained, given that it depended critically on the cooperation of all the parties. After careful consideration, the Secretary-General had concluded that, despite the lack of cooperation by PDK, phase II should commence on 13 June as scheduled, since any significant delay in the implementation of the military aspects of the plan would result in a loss of momentum and would jeopardize the ability of UNTAC to organize and conduct the elections by April or May 1993. He emphasized, however, that this could only be a short-term solution and that all efforts should be made to persuade PDK to join the other parties in implementing the comprehensive political settlement. He suggested that the Security Council itself might wish to consider what action it could take to achieve that objective.

At its 3085th meeting, held on 12 June 1992, in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the special report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Belgium) said that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:35

Having read the special report of the Secretary-General of 12 June 1992 on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, the Security Council is deeply concerned by the difficulties that the Authority is encountering in the implementation of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991, on the eve of moving to phase II of the ceasefire. In particular, the Council notes that, during the meeting of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia on 10 June 1992, one party was not able to allow the necessary deployment of the Authority in areas under its control. The Council believes that any delay could jeopardize the whole peace process to which all Cambodian parties have agreed under the auspices of the United Nations and the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

The Council reaffirms the importance of the full and timely implementation of the Paris agreements. The Council commends the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Cambodia and the Authority in this regard. It reaffirms that the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, under the chairmanship of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is the sole legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transitional period, the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia are enshrined. In this regard, section III of part I of the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict should be implemented as soon as possible.

The Council stresses the need that phase II of the military arrangements should begin on 13 June 1992, as determined in accordance with the Paris agreements. In this connection, the Council urges the Secretary-General to accelerate the deployment to Cambodia and within the country of the full Authority peacekeeping force.

The Council calls upon all parties to comply strictly with the commitments they have accepted, including cooperation with the Authority. It specifically calls upon all parties to respond affirmatively to the latest demands for cooperation in implementation of the Paris agreements put to them by the Authority.


On 14 July 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a second special report, on the difficulties UNTAC was facing in implementing the Paris Agreements.36 He stated that phase II of the ceasefire had begun, as planned, on 13 June 1992. Three of the parties had shown themselves willing to participate in the regroupment and cantonment process, but the Party of Democratic Kampuchea continued to refuse to canton any of its forces. PDK had also failed to take a number of other measures required for the implementation of the Paris Agreements, including granting free access to UNTAC, marking minefields in the zones controlled by them, and refraining from further violations of the ceasefire. To address the

35 S/24091.
36 S/24286.
concerns of PDK, an informal “proposal for discussion” had been put forward by the participants at the Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, held in Tokyo on 22 June 1992. Moreover, a number of steps had been taken by UNTAC. The Secretary-General’s Special Representative had met with the PDK leaders on several occasions. However, the party had failed to respond to those initiatives. As a result, the ability of UNTAC to adhere to the timetable set by the Security Council had been seriously compromised. In those circumstances, the Secretary-General saw two possible courses of action: to suspend the operation until all parties could be persuaded to fulfil their obligations under the Paris Agreements; or to pursue the process, thus demonstrating the international community’s determination to assist the Cambodian people in their quest for peace and stability, despite the lack of cooperation of one party. Convinced that the latter approach was the most appropriate, he had requested his Special Representative to press forward with the regrouping and cantonment process wherever possible, albeit cautiously and selectively, taking great care to maintain security in the countryside and concentrating on areas where there was no military confrontation. The Secretary-General warned, however, that the process could not continue indefinitely with the cooperation of only three of the parties. He concluded by noting the need to address the following main questions: how to persuade PDK to comply with its obligations under the Paris Agreements; how to emphasize the determination of the international community to implement the Agreements, in accordance with the timetable set forth in the implementation plan; and how to obtain the full and active support of the signatories to the Paris Agreements for UNTAC efforts to carry out its mandate.

At its 3099th meeting, held on 21 July 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the second special report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Cape Verde) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of its prior consultations, as well as to two oral revisions to the text in its provisional form.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of France condemned the obstructive attitude of PDK, which endangered not only phase II of the ceasefire but also the overall political settlement of the Cambodian conflict. He recalled that that settlement had developed through a process which had taken into account the views of all the parties, resulting in a final compromise in the form of the Paris Agreements. In signing the Agreements, all the parties had committed themselves to applying them without reservation. No party could arrogate to itself the right to interrupt their implementation midway through. Difficulties in addressing well-founded grievances of any of the parties could be overcome through dialogue between the Supreme National Council and UNTAC. The Security Council had before it a firm and well-balanced draft resolution which clearly expressed the Council’s condemnation of the obstructive attitude of PDK. The speaker hoped that the Council would adopt it unanimously, and that the message it conveyed would be promptly heard. If that did not prove the case, France believed that the Council should once again be seized of the issue by the Secretary-General and should take the measures necessary to proceed with the implementation of the Paris Agreements.

The representative of China stressed that all the signatory parties to the Paris Agreements had an obligation to carry out their provisions strictly and in a comprehensive and balanced manner. In the course of implementing those Agreements, differences of opinion were inevitable and should be properly resolved by the Supreme National Council and UNTAC through consultations and dialogue.

The representative of the United States said that his country would vote in favour of the draft resolution, as it continued to be gravely concerned over the failure of PDK to meet its obligations under the Paris Agreements. He underlined the importance of efforts, particularly by countries in the region, to persuade PDK to move promptly into phase II. The party’s leaders had nothing to gain — and much to lose — by continuing to obstruct the peace process.

37 S/24320.

38 For the oral amendments to the draft resolution, see S/PV.3099, p. 2.
39 S/PV.3099, pp. 3-6.
40 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
Chapter VIII. Consideration of questions under the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security

The international community could not wait for them indefinitely and should be prepared to implement the Paris Agreements with or without them. As noted in the draft resolution, development assistance for Cambodia would benefit only those parties cooperating with UNTAC. Free and fair elections among parties committed to the entire process would be held on schedule and all necessary steps would be taken to ensure the viability of a new national government.41

The representative of the United Kingdom hoped that the process begun by UNTAC, of assuming control of the administrative structures in Cambodia to ensure a neutral political environment conducive to free and fair elections, could be accelerated — as called for by the draft resolution — and that this process would persuade PDK to apply the totality of the Paris Agreements. He called on the international community to ensure the successful implementation of the comprehensive political settlement and, in particular, urged those States bordering on Cambodia to fulfil their obligations under the Agreements. He pointed out that no party which obstructed the peace process could reasonably expect to benefit from the flow of international funds pledged for the rehabilitation of Cambodia. In conclusion, he stated that UNTAC must maintain its efforts to ensure that the settlement plan was implemented and, above all, that free and fair elections were held as planned, in April or May 1993.42

The representative of the Russian Federation insisted that the UNTAC operation, being carried out in the interests of the entire Cambodian people, should continue to be implemented strictly within the context of the Paris Agreements. Any problems or concerns that might arise for any of the parties involved should also be dealt with in accordance with the established plan and the Paris Agreements, by further strengthening cooperation between the Supreme National Council and UNTAC. The draft resolution rightly confirmed that there was no alternative to a political settlement and national reconciliation on the basis of those Agreements, and that the Council was fully resolved to seeing the operation through and to pursuing the task of holding elections no later than May 1993. None of the Cambodian parties was entitled to block the peace process. The Russian Federation, accordingly, supported the Secretary-General’s expressed intention of continuing to carry out the operation, in conjunction with persistent efforts to persuade PDK to join the second phase of the ceasefire and to cooperate with UNTAC and the other three parties.43

The other speakers expressed concern at the uncooperative attitude of one party; called on all parties to fulfil their obligations under the Paris Agreements and to cooperate with UNTAC in carrying out its mandate; and supported the Secretary-General’s expressed intention to pursue the implementation process despite the difficulties.44

The President then put the draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, to the vote. It was adopted unanimously as resolution 766 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,


Recalling the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 12 June 1992,

Recalling also that any difficulty arising in the implementation of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 should be settled through close consultation between the Supreme National Council of Cambodia and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and must not be allowed to undermine the principles of these agreements, or to delay the timetable for their implementation,

Taking note of the second special report of the Secretary-General of 14 July 1992 on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, and in particular of the fact that the Cambodian People’s Party, the Front uni national pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique et coopératif and the Khmer People’s National Liberation Front have agreed to proceed with phase II of the ceasefire as laid down in annex 2 of the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict and that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea has so far refused to do so,

Taking note also of the Tokyo Declaration on the Cambodia Peace Process issued on 22 June 1992, and the other

41 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
43 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
44 For the relevant statements, see S/PV.3099, pp. 9-10 (Austria); p. 11 (Japan); p. 18 (Belgium); pp. 19-20 (Hungary); pp. 21-23 (India); pp. 23-24 (Venezuela); and p. 24 (Cape Verde).
efforts made at Tokyo by the countries and parties concerned for the implementation of the Paris agreements,

1. Expresses its deep concern at the difficulties met by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia in the implementation of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991;

2. Underlines that all signatories of the Paris agreements are bound by all their obligations thereunder;

3. Deplores the continuing violations of the ceasefire and urges all parties to cease all hostilities forthwith, to cooperate fully with the Authority in the marking of all minefields and to refrain from any deployment, movement, or other action intended to extend the territory they control or which might lead to renewed fighting;

4. Reaffirms the international community’s firm commitment to a process under which the Authority, operating freely throughout all of Cambodia as authorized by the Paris agreements, can verify the departure of all foreign forces and ensure full implementation of the agreements;

5. Demands that all parties respect the peaceful nature of the Authority’s mission and take all necessary measures to ensure the safety and security of all United Nations personnel;

6. Urges all parties to cooperate with the Authority in broadcasting information helpful to implementation of the Paris agreements;

7. Strongly deplores the continuing refusal by one of the parties to permit the necessary deployment of all components of the Authority to the areas under its control to enable the Authority to carry out its full functions in the implementation of the Paris agreements;

8. Urges all States, in particular neighbouring States, to provide assistance to the Authority to ensure the effective implementation of the Paris agreements;

9. Approves the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Cambodia to continue to implement the Paris agreements despite the difficulties;

10. Invites in particular the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to accelerate the deployment of the Authority’s civilian components, especially the component mandated to supervise or control the existing administrative structures;

11. Demands that the party that has failed so far to do so permit without delay the deployment of the Authority in the areas under its control, and implement fully phase II of the plan as well as the other aspects of the Paris agreements;

12. Requests the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to ensure that international assistance to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia from now on benefits only the parties which are fulfilling their obligations under the Paris agreements and cooperating fully with the Authority;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.


On 21 September 1992, pursuant to resolution 745 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his second progress report on UNTAC. He reported that UNTAC was now close to full deployment throughout most of the territory of Cambodia, and that the mission had made substantial strides towards its goals in the six months since its inception despite constraints imposed by the continued refusal of PDK to participate fully in the peace process. He therefore remained determined that the electoral process should be carried out in accordance with the timetable laid down in the implementation plan. The Secretary-General considered that an increase in the number of checkpoints within the country and along its borders with neighbouring countries might be necessary for the purpose of verifying the withdrawal of foreign forces and the cessation of outside military assistance to the Cambodian parties, in accordance with the Paris Agreements. He stressed, however, that the persistent failure of PDK to meet its obligations under the Agreements continued to obstruct their full implementation and he suggested that the Council might wish to take further action to impress upon the parties the international community’s firm determination to press ahead with the implementation of the settlement. He also indicated his intention, subject to the Council’s approval, to request the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference to undertake, within a definite time frame, consultations under article 29 of the Paris Agreements, with the aim of finding a way out of the impasse or, if that should prove impossible, exploring appropriate steps to ensure the realization of the fundamental objectives of the Paris Agreements.

At its 3124th meeting, held on 13 October 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the second progress report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President

45 S/24578.
46 Ibid., para. 66.
47 Ibid., para. 67.
48 Ibid., para. 70.
drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of its prior consultations. 49 The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 783 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,


Recalling the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 12 June 1992,

Recalling also the Tokyo Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, issued on 22 June 1992,

Paying a tribute to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, for his efforts to restore peace and national unity in Cambodia,

Taking note of the cooperation extended to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, by the Party of the State of Cambodia, the Front uni national pour un Cambodge indépendant, neutre, pacifique et coopératif and the Khmer People’s National Liberation Front, and of the fact that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea still fails to meet obligations it assumed when it signed the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991, as reflected in the second progress report of the Secretary-General dated 21 September 1992,

Reaffirming that the Authority must have full and unrestricted access to the areas controlled by each of the parties,

Welcoming with appreciation the achievements of the Authority in the implementation of the Paris agreements, concerning, inter alia, military deployment throughout almost the whole country, the promulgation of the electoral law, the provisional registration of political parties, the beginning of voter registration, safe repatriation of over one hundred and fifty thousand refugees, progress in rehabilitation programmes and projects and the campaign in favour of respect for human rights,

Welcoming the accession of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to a number of international human rights conventions,

Welcoming also the progress made by the Authority in strengthening supervision and control over administrative structures as set out in the Paris agreements, and recognizing the importance of this part of its mandate,

Welcoming further the fact that the Supreme National Council of Cambodia functions in accordance with the Paris agreements,

Expressing appreciation to the States and international financial institutions which announced, during the Tokyo Ministerial Conference on the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Cambodia, held on 20 and 22 June 1992, financial contributions to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country,

Expressing its gratitude to the Governments of Thailand and Japan for their efforts to find solutions to the current problems relating to the implementation of the Paris agreements,

Deeply concerned by difficulties faced by the Authority caused in particular by security and economic conditions in Cambodia,

1. Approves the second progress report of the Secretary-General of 21 September 1992 on the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia;

2. Confirms that, in conformity with paragraph 6 of the report, the electoral process shall be carried out in accordance with the timetable laid down in the implementation plan and thus that the election for a constituent assembly will be held no later than May 1993;

3. Supports the intention of the Secretary-General, expressed in paragraph 67 of his report, concerning the checkpoints in the country and along its borders with neighbouring countries;

4. Expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Cambodia for their efforts as well as to Member States which have cooperated with the Authority in order to solve the difficulties it has met and urges all States, in particular neighbouring States, to provide assistance to the Authority to ensure the effective implementation of the Paris agreements;

5. Deplores the fact that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea, ignoring the requests and demands contained in its resolution 766 (1992), has not yet complied with its obligations;

6. Demands that the party mentioned in paragraph 5 above fulfil immediately its obligations under the Paris agreements; that it facilitate without delay full deployment of the Authority in the areas under its control; and that it implement fully phase II of the plan, particularly cantonment and demobilization, as well as all other aspects of the Paris agreements, taking into account that all parties in Cambodia have the same obligations to implement the agreements;

7. Demands full respect for the ceasefire, calls upon all parties in Cambodia to cooperate fully with the Authority to identify minefields and to refrain from any activity aimed at enlarging the territory under their control, and further demands that these parties facilitate Authority investigations of reports of foreign forces, foreign assistance and ceasefire violations within the territory under their control;

49 S/24652.
Decision of 30 November 1992 (3143rd meeting): resolution 792 (1992)

On 15 November 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his report on the implementation of resolution 783 (1992) of 13 October 1992. He regretted that the efforts undertaken successively by Japan and Thailand and by the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference had not convinced PDK to fulfil its obligations under the Paris Agreements. He reported that the difficulties encountered in implementing phase II of the ceasefire had led to the effective suspension of the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization process, but that UNTAC had continued to make steady progress in the discharge of the other aspects of its mandate. The Secretary-General remained concerned, however, about the military situation in the country: ceasefire violations had increased as had attacks on UNTAC personnel and helicopters. He shared the Co-Chairmen’s assessment that the holding of a presidential election would contribute to the process of national reconciliation and help to reinforce the climate of stability. He had therefore asked his Special Representative to make contingency plans for the organization and conduct of such an election by UNTAC — on the understanding that it would require the authorization of the Security Council and the provision of additional resources. The Secretary-General noted that the situation presented the Council with two difficult decisions. The first concerned what further action should be taken to persuade PDK to comply with its obligations under the Paris Agreements. At that stage, he did not recommend the adoption of specific measures to get PDK to honour its commitments and continued to believe in patient diplomacy. The second decision concerned whether to press on with implementation of as much as possible of the Paris Agreements, within the agreed timetable which called for elections by May 1993, notwithstanding the non-cooperation of PDK. After considering the alternatives, the Secretary-General concurred with the Co-Chairmen that the implementation of the peace process should continue and that the timetable for elections should be maintained. He underlined, however, the implications of a continued lack of cooperation by PDK: the elections would be held while a substantial part of the armed forces of the Cambodian parties remained...
mobilized and the people living in PDK-controlled areas were likely to be deprived of the opportunity to exercise their right to register and vote. He reported that, given the suspension of the cantonment and demobilization process, he had approved his Special Representative’s recommendation that UNTAC should adjust the deployment of its military component, with a view to fostering a general sense of security among the Cambodian people and enhancing its ability to protect the voter registration and polling process, particularly in remote or insecure areas. He therefore proposed that the present level of deployment be maintained until the elections. In conclusion, the Secretary-General expressed the hope that the Council would consider the adoption of measures that would facilitate the UNTAC mission and impress upon the parties concerned the firm determination of the international community to ensure the realization of the fundamental objectives of the Paris Agreements.

At its 3143rd meeting, held on 30 November 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Hungary) drew the attention of the Council members to a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China affirmed his Government’s consistent position that problems encountered in implementing the Paris Agreements should be settled with determination and patience through dialogue and consultation. Explaining his country’s intended abstention, he said that, while agreeing with some of the elements contained in the draft resolution, his delegation considered that those relating to sanctions and to an election in which only three parties would take part were at variance with the Paris Agreements. It was not in favour of sanctions which would further increase differences and could lead to new, complicated problems in the Cambodian situation. Moreover, in accordance with the Paris Agreements, the sovereignty of the neighbouring States which might be affected by such measures should be respected and their opinions heeded. China was also deeply anxious about the possible adverse consequences that could result from a three-party election.52

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted by 14 votes in favour, none against, and 1 abstention (China), as resolution 792 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,


Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 15 November 1992 on the implementation of resolution 783 (1992),

Paying a tribute to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, for his continuing efforts to restore peace and national unity in Cambodia,

Reaffirming its commitment to implement the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed at Paris on 23 October 1991 and its determination to maintain the implementation timetable of the peace process, leading to elections for a constituent assembly in April/May 1993, the adoption of a constitution and the formation of a new Cambodian government thereafter,

Recognizing the need for all Cambodian parties, the States concerned and the Secretary-General to maintain close dialogue in order to implement the peace process effectively,

Recalling that all Cambodians have, in accordance with article 12 of the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, the right to determine their own political future through the free and fair election of a constituent assembly and that political parties wishing to participate in the election can be formed in accordance with paragraph 5 of annex 3 to the Agreement,

Noting the discussion during the consultations held in Beijing on 7 and 8 November 1992 by the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia regarding a presidential election, and the views of the Co-Chairmen shared by the Secretary-General that such an election could contribute to the process of national reconciliation and help to reinforce the climate of stability in Cambodia,

Welcoming the achievements of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia in the implementation of the Paris agreements,

51 S/24865.

52 S/PV.3143, p. 4.
Welcoming in particular the progress made in voter registration,

Welcoming also the efforts of the Authority to strengthen its relationship with the Supreme National Council of Cambodia and its supervision and control over the existing administrative structures, inter alia, to ensure the widest possible agreement on essential regulations for elections, natural resources, rehabilitation, national heritage and human rights, on relations with the international financial institutions, and on the question of foreign residents and immigrants,

Noting the efforts of the Authority to address the concerns raised by the Party of Democratic Kampuchea, including steps to verify the withdrawal of all foreign forces, advisers and military personnel from Cambodia, close cooperation between the Authority and the Supreme National Council as the embodiment of Cambodian sovereignty, the creation of technical advisory committees to advise the Supreme National Council and the Authority, the extension of Authority supervision and control over the five key administrative areas mandated in the Paris agreements in the areas to which the Authority has access, and the creation of working groups in these areas to enable the parties to be involved in and informed about the Authority’s activities in these five key areas,

Expressing its appreciation to Japan and Thailand for their efforts to find solutions to current problems relating to the implementation of the Paris agreements,

Expressing also its appreciation for the efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, in consultation with all parties, pursuant to resolution 783 (1992) to find a way to implement fully the Paris agreements,

Deploring the failure of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to meet its obligations under the Paris agreements, notably as regards unrestricted access by the Authority to the areas under control of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea for voter registration and other purposes of the agreements and as regards the application of phase II of the ceasefire concerning cantonment and demobilization of its forces,

Deploring recent violations of the ceasefire and their implications for the security situation in Cambodia, emphasizing the importance of maintaining the ceasefire and calling on all parties to comply with their obligations in this regard,

Condemning attacks against the Authority, in particular the recent firings upon Authority helicopters and on electoral registration personnel,

Concerned by the economic situation in Cambodia and its impact on the implementation of the Paris agreements,

1. Endorses the report of the Secretary-General of 15 November 1992 on the implementation of Security Council resolution 783 (1992);

2. Confirms that the election for a constituent assembly in Cambodia will be held not later than May 1993;

3. Notes the decision of the Secretary-General to instruct his Special Representative for Cambodia to make contingency plans for the organization and conduct by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia of a presidential election, and moreover, noting that such an election must be held in conjunction with the planned election for a constituent assembly, requests the Secretary-General to submit any recommendations for the holding of such an election to the Council for decision;

4. Calls upon all Cambodian parties to cooperate fully with the Authority to create a neutral political environment for the conduct of free and fair elections and prevent acts of harassment, intimidation and political violence;

5. Determines that the Authority shall proceed with preparations for free and fair elections to be held in April/May 1993 in all areas of Cambodia to which it has full and free access as at 31 January 1993;

6. Calls on the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to continue to meet regularly under the chairmanship of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk;

7. Condemns the failure by the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to comply with its obligations;

8. Demands that the Party of Democratic Kampuchea fulfill immediately its obligations under the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodia conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991, that it facilitate without delay full deployment of the Authority in the areas under its control, that it not impede voter registration in those areas; that it not impede the activities of other political parties in those areas, and that it implement fully phase II of the ceasefire, particularly cantonment and demobilization, as well as all other aspects of the Paris agreements, taking into account that all parties in Cambodia have the same obligations to implement the Paris agreements;

9. Urges the Party of Democratic Kampuchea to join fully in the implementation of the Paris agreements, including the electoral provisions, and requests the Secretary-General and States concerned to remain ready to continue dialogue with the Party of Democratic Kampuchea for this purpose;

10. Calls on those concerned to ensure that measures are taken, consistent with the provisions of Article VII of annex 2 to the Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict to prevent the supply of petroleum products to the areas occupied by any Cambodian party not complying with the military provisions of this Agreement and requests the Secretary-General to examine the modalities of such measures;

11. Undertakes to consider appropriate measures to be implemented should the Party of Democratic Kampuchea obstruct the implementation of the peace plan, such as the freezing of the assets it holds outside Cambodia;
12. \textit{Invites} the Authority to establish all necessary border checkpoints, requests neighbouring States to cooperate fully in the establishment and maintenance of those checkpoints and requests the Secretary-General to undertake immediate consultations with States concerned regarding their establishment and operation;

13. \textit{Supports} the decision of the Supreme National Council dated 22 September 1992 to set a moratorium on the export of logs from Cambodia in order to protect Cambodia’s natural resources, requests States, especially neighbouring States, to respect this moratorium by not importing such logs, and requests the Authority to take appropriate measures to secure the implementation of such moratorium;

14. \textit{Requests} the Supreme National Council to consider the adoption of a similar moratorium on the export of minerals and gems in order to protect Cambodia’s natural resources;

15. \textit{Demands} that all parties comply with their obligations to observe the ceasefire and calls upon them to exercise restraint;

16. \textit{Requests} the Authority to continue to monitor the ceasefire and to take effective measures to prevent the recurrence or escalation of fighting in Cambodia, as well as incidents of banditry and arms smuggling;

17. \textit{Demands also} that all parties take all action necessary to safeguard the lives and the security of Authority personnel throughout Cambodia including by issuing immediate instructions to this effect to their commanders forthwith and reporting their action to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General;

18. \textit{Requests} the Secretary-General to consider the implications for the electoral process of the failure by the Paris Agreements.53 In their view, the resolution attested to the Council’s determination to take the peace process to its conclusion and to adhere to the established timetable. Moreover, it was a balanced text, which sent a clear and firm message to PDK, but kept the door open for it to join in the peace process. The representatives of the United States, the Russian Federation and France also underlined the importance for stability in Cambodia of the holding of the presidential election, in conjunction with the planned constituent assembly election.54

Decision of 2 December 1992: statement by the President

Following consultations among the members of the Council held on 2 December 1992, the President (India) made a statement to the media on behalf of the Council concerning the safety and security of United Nations peacekeeping personnel.55 It reads in the relevant part as follows:

The members of the Security Council wish to express their deep concern and outrage about the increasing number of attacks against United Nations personnel serving in various peacekeeping operations.

A number of serious incidents affecting military and civilian personnel serving with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and the United Nations Protection Force have occurred during the last few days.

... ...

On 1 December, two British military observers and four naval observers of the United Nations Transitional Authority in

53 For the relevant statements, see S/PV.3143, pp. 6-7 (United States); pp. 7-8 (Russian Federation); pp. 8-11 (France); pp. 11-12 (Japan); pp. 12-13 (United Kingdom); and pp. 13-15 (Hungary).
54 Ibid., pp. 6-7 (United States); p. 8 (Russian Federation); and p. 10 (France).
Cambodia, two from the Philippines, one from New Zealand and one from the United Kingdom, on patrol in Kompong Thom province, were illegally detained by forces belonging to the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea. An Authority helicopter, sent to assist in the discussions for their release, was fired upon, and a French military observer on board was injured. Moreover, today, six Authority civilian police monitors, three Indonesians, two Tunisians and one Nepalese, were injured in two land mine incidents in Siem Reap province.

The members of the Council condemn these attacks on the safety and security of United Nations personnel and demand that all parties concerned take all necessary measures to prevent their recurrence. The members of the Council consider the abduction and detention of United Nations peacekeeping personnel as totally unacceptable and demand the immediate and unconditional release of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia ... personnel concerned.

**Decision of 22 December 1992 (3153rd meeting): statement by the President**

At the Council’s 3153rd meeting, held on 22 December 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (India) said that, following consultations among members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:56

The Security Council strongly condemns the illegal detention of United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia personnel by elements of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea and acts of threat and intimidation against these personnel. It demands that such actions and any other hostile acts against the Authority cease immediately, and that all parties take all action necessary to safeguard the lives and the security of Authority personnel.

The Council urges all the parties to abide scrupulously by their obligations under the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991, to cooperate fully with the Authority and to respect all the relevant resolutions of the Council.

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56 S/25003.