

on the CGDK resistance led to its collapse or to any weakening in the resolve of ASEAN or China. After having devoted a lot of resources and diplomatic activity to this policy Vietnam found itself right back in a position every bit as difficult as that in early 1983.

In April 1985 Indonesia and Malaysia, this time with the backing of their partners in ASEAN, made a proposal to Hanoi about what they called "proximity talks."⁷⁹ This envisaged using ASEAN as an intermediary to put the Heng Samrin government in touch with representatives of the CGDK. On 30 April, Indonesia also suggested that it should intervene to restore normal relations between the United States and Vietnam. This idea was approved by China, and on 3 May the Soviet Union agreed to serve as an intermediary and transmit to Vietnam proposals concerning proximity talks.⁸⁰

In response to objections by both China and the US the procedures for the proposed negotiations were modified so as not to involve any recognition of the government in Phnom Penh. After various consultations Thailand proposed a formula for indirect "proximity talks" between, on the one hand, one member of the CGDK recognized by the UN, and, on the other, representatives of the Heng Samrin regime who would form part of a Vietnamese delegation. This was rejected by both Hanoi and Phnom Penh, but it was nonetheless brought forward again in the communiqué issued by the Indochinese Foreign Ministers after their meeting in August 1985. The communiqué maintained that the proposal was worth considering and also added that the People's Republic of Kampuchea was willing to meet the Khmer opposition groups, in other words the CGDK.⁸¹

Thus the three states in Indochina had reverted to the initial idea of "proximity talks"; the notion of direct contacts between the different Cambodian factions was gaining ground. In addition, ASEAN had agreed to mention Heng Samrin by name for the first time and the Soviet

⁷⁹ "ASEAN adopts formula for proximity talks," *SWB*, 30 May 1985, page i.

⁸⁰ "Soviet mediation on Cambodia," *SWB*, 3 May 1985, page i.

⁸¹ Justus M. Van der Kroef, "Dynamics of the Cambodian Conflict," *op.cit.*, page 9.