

operation was to be carried out with the help of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and UN peacekeeping forces would ensure that the cease-fire was respected. The communiqué insisted once again that an "International Conference on the reconstruction of Kampuchea should be organized in appropriate time."⁷⁴ This proposal contained all the necessary elements to ensure its immediate rejection by Vietnam which was resolutely opposed to any UN intervention in Kampuchea.

A few months before, at the Seventh Conference of the Non-aligned Nations in New Delhi, ASEAN had tested the waters once again by putting forward a new formula for settlement. This initiative came from the Malaysian Foreign Minister, Ghazali Shafie, who was in agreement with his Vietnamese counterpart, Nguyen Co Thach, on the so-called "five plus two" proposal calling for direct contacts between the five ASEAN countries and Vietnam and Laos.⁷⁵ The two ministers had agreed to omit any mention of Khmer participation in this proposed encounter. In July, the Heng Samrin government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea accepted this formula and at the beginning of 1984 the Indochinese Foreign Ministers' Conference meeting in Vientiane also accepted the "five plus two" formula while agreeing that China should also take part.

This last concession came too late, however, since China had already abandoned the idea some time before and made it clear that it did not recognize the right of the international community, as expressed in the 1981 Conference, to meddle with events in Kampuchea; above all, China did not want to have the regime in Phnom Penh given de facto recognition by ASEAN. Thus ASEAN found itself called to order by China when it tried to put forward a regional solution to the conflict. Moreover, both Thailand and the Philippines, neither of which were members of the non-aligned group and therefore had not been adequately consulted about the Malaysian initiative, joined China in rejecting the "five plus two" formula, as, not surprisingly, did the CGDK.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Justus M. Van der Kroef, "Kampuchea: The Road to Finlandization, 1983," *Asian Profile*, vol. 13, no. 3, June 1985, page 228.