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**President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR**  
(Federal Republic of Germany).

## AGENDA ITEM 119

**Question of peace, stability and co-operation  
in South-East Asia (*continued*)**

1. Mr. FRELEK (Poland): In joining in the important debate on the item now under consideration the Polish delegation highly appreciates the genuine intentions behind the initiative taken by 15 countries concerning consideration at the current session of the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia [A/35/193 and Add.1 and 2].

2. In the entire post-war period that region has not enjoyed a single year of peace. Its nations have had to endure the experience of heavy sacrifice, vast destruction and incalculable losses. Indeed, it is high time to close those gruesome pages and give the peoples in the area all the opportunities they deserve for a peaceful life and for progress in their development.

3. The region we are talking about is one of great importance for world peace. This is why all States and, in particular the United Nations, whose supreme purpose is to build the edifice of peace, should support the cause of present and future peace therein.

4. The only effective way to achieve that aim is through the creation of the indispensable conditions for stability, co-operation and good-neighbourly relations in the region. This is precisely the letter and spirit of the proposals put forward by the three countries of the region: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. If implemented, these unambiguously constructive proposals could bring about a meaningful reduction of tensions in South-East Asia. They would make it possible to overcome conflicts and to ensure peaceful stabilization in the region.

5. Our support for the proposals is based upon Poland's well-known record of struggle for peace everywhere in the world. It is based on our 20-year-long membership of the international commissions for supervision and control in Indo-China. Participating

as we did in the work of those commissions, we were able to learn on the spot that the basic condition of peace in that region is the renunciation of armed intervention and interference in the internal affairs of the States. For it was precisely interference and intervention from the outside that led to wars there. The same tendencies are regrettably evident today in the actions perpetrated against those countries by the hegemonists from the north, by their use of force and continuing threats to resort to it anew.

6. Today it is more obvious than ever before that a peaceful solution to the controversial problems of South-East Asia can only be based on respect for the sovereignty of all States. The essential condition for creating lasting structures of peace and security in the region is recognition of the irreversible progressive socio-economic transformation throughout Indo-China, including Kampuchea, and the cessation of intervention in the internal affairs of its peoples.

7. In this context, we cannot but reiterate that the seating in the United Nations of the overthrown, genocidal and inhuman régime of Pol Pot and the denial to the authentic representatives of the Kampuchean peoples, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, of their rightful place in our Organization, cannot be acceptable to us. Likewise, the artificial exploitation in the United Nations of the so-called question of Kampuchea is aimed at diverting our attention and our discussions from the real causes of the existing tensions in South-East Asia.

8. Poland's support for the proposals now before the Assembly results also from our profound belief in the effectiveness of dialogue and negotiations. Poland's foreign policy has always consistently favoured the just and peaceful settlement of conflict situations, notwithstanding their geographical origin. The communiqué issued this week following the Meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held at Warsaw on 19 and 20 October, again made this abundantly clear when it said:

"... the States represented at the meeting proceed from the fact that it is necessary to consistently work for settling all the international questions by peaceful political means, through negotiations, on the basis of equality and respect for the legitimate interests of each people." [See A/35/558-S/14231, annex, para. 2.]

It is in this very spirit that my country, together with its socialist allies, spares no effort to strengthen mutual confidence in Europe and to enter upon the road to real disarmament.

9. The most recent meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Warsaw confirmed the firm will of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to achieve

real progress at the forthcoming meeting at Madrid in the implementation of the entire historic Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.<sup>1</sup> Above all, the meeting reiterated the proposal to convene in Poland's capital a Conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. We remain convinced that the strengthening of peace in the European continent is of importance for the whole world, since it serves the strengthening of universal peace. That is why we cannot stress too strongly our lasting belief in détente, which is the sole option for the peoples of the world, as well as our readiness to continue efforts to deepen and consolidate it for the sake of expanding the process into all regions of the world.

10. Based upon our own European experience, we strongly believe that the situation in South-East Asia can best be resolved by the States of the region themselves, in other words, by the States of Indo-China and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]. Only the Indo-Chinese countries and the five ASEAN countries themselves can really safeguard their own security by putting aside their differences and promoting relations of lasting co-operation based on mutual understanding, respect for each other's legitimate interests and peaceful coexistence without foreign interference. We are happy to note that this is also the essence of the statement of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 18 July last [A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1, annex I].

11. Latest developments indicate that the prospects for progress are good. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has recently presented a proposal whereby, once the outside pressure on the Indo-Chinese countries ceases to exist, the Vietnamese forces will be withdrawn from Kampuchea.

12. Viet Nam has also expressed its readiness, on the basis of reciprocity, to agree to an undertaking with Thailand to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity within existing borders and to end all hostile acts by one side against the other, as well as to take other practical measures with that end in view. On the basis of the situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea will discuss and decide on Viet Nam's withdrawal of a number of its troops from Kampuchea. We take this as an extremely encouraging development, since it does open up an optimistic prospect of all the countries concerned working out a political solution to questions of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

13. The Polish delegation has reason to expect that the United Nations, with its recognized moral and political authority, will also contribute its statutory share to the normalization of the political situation in South-East Asia, and to securing for the Khmer people and all peoples of Indo-China and South-East Asia such external conditions as to enable their unhindered peaceful development.

14. We are deeply convinced that, given political will on all sides, objective conditions exist for the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN to build

in South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation and also to contribute significantly to détente in the world.

15. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian delegation, together with the delegations of a number of other States, has taken the initiative in proposing the consideration at this session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

16. The motives which have inspired our delegation to submit this item are set forth in the explanatory memorandum of the initiators of the proposal [A/35/193 and Add.1 and 2, annex].

17. In our statement today we should like to indicate some additional considerations behind our proposal.

18. I hardly think that anyone can have any doubts about the timeliness and urgency of this item on peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. For 35 years now, that region has constantly been a dangerous centre of international tension, a threat to the peace and security not only of the peoples of Asia but of the whole world. This is particularly true of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, where the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are pursuing their selfless struggle for freedom, independence and free development.

19. The heroic victory of the Vietnamese people over the mighty war machine of American imperialism, which ended the longest and bloodiest war of all those which have taken place since the Second World War; the creation of a single socialist Viet Nam; the birth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have marked a new stage in the life of the peoples of Indo-China, making it possible to eliminate a dangerous source of war in that part of the world—a major premise for the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia and in the whole world.

20. However, the peoples of Indo-China have once again had to abandon their peaceful, constructive labour and again take up arms to defend their conquests. The designs of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, which have not abandoned their aggressive and expansionist aims and are unwilling to accept the new reality, have of late seriously aggravated the situation in that region of South-East Asia.

21. Socialist Viet Nam, which, in an heroic struggle lasting many years won its right to independence, has again fallen the victim of open aggression, but this time at the hands of the Peking expansionists, who have assigned themselves the right to give "lessons" to other countries and peoples by force of arms. Peking is continuing to heat up that already overheated situation on the border of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Indeed, the Kampuchean-Thai border is a new frontier of "undeclared war" and is being used to maintain the Pol Pot bands, which are continuing to commit acts of armed provocation against Kampuchea.

22. Moreover, there have been endless attempts to internationalize the situation on the Kampuchean-Thai

<sup>1</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

border to camouflage the real activities of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces in that country.

23. What is more, there has been a broad political campaign to impute to socialist Viet Nam some sort of "aggressive designs" against its neighbours and to convince world public opinion that it is in fact the solidarity of the three countries of Indo-China which represents a threat to the countries of South-East Asia. One can only regret the fact that some countries of the region have been drawn into that propagandistic war.

24. The artificially created so-called Kampuchean problem, which is the work of certain circles, serves to cover their true designs and is part of their far-reaching expansionist plans against the countries of South-East Asia.

25. The Mongolian delegation feels that in these circumstances consistent efforts must be made by all countries, particularly those of South-East Asia, to achieve peace, stability, and an atmosphere of mutual trust in that part of the world.

26. The numerous constructive initiatives of the three countries of Indo-China have aimed at precisely those goals; they are reflected, in particular, in the documents of the recent meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In the aforementioned documents such measures are proposed as bilateral agreements between the countries of Indo-China and of ASEAN on non-aggression and the creation of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Kampuchean-Thai border; pending the creation of that zone, both sides should undertake an obligation of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, within existing borders, put an end to the hostile acts against each other, prohibit the remnants of the Pol Pot armed bands and other reactionary forces from using Thai territory, cease supplying them with weapons and foodstuffs, disarm those forces and confine them to various camps and remove the refugee camps from the border areas.

27. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has unambiguously expressed its willingness to withdraw its armed forces, which are there at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, when the circumstances that made it necessary to introduce those forces no longer exist; in other words, when the threat to People's Kampuchea has been eliminated. The sincerity of those intentions can be seen from the readiness of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to discuss and settle the question of withdrawing, even before the creation of a demilitarized zone, the part of the Vietnamese forces stationed along the border between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Thailand.

28. That is the way we look at the dialogue recently undertaken between the countries of Indo-China and the States members of ASEAN, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, which we welcome. We feel that such efforts should be continued in the future and hope that they will be made on the basis of reciprocity.

29. Taking into consideration the present realities both in Indo-China and in South-East Asia as a whole, as well as the difficulties involved in overcoming existing differences caused by the profoundly divergent positions of the various States concerned, the countries of Indo-China are making consistent efforts to ensure the peaceful settlement of their problems and to prevent further exacerbation of the situation in that part of the world. This can be seen from the recent statements of the delegations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which reflect the desire of the Indo-Chinese States to follow the path of co-operation and dialogue, not that of confrontation and tension.

30. The Mongolian delegation believes that a particularly important element in the relaxation of tension in that part of the world would be the readiness of the countries concerned to show restraint and refrain from acts that might cause the situation to deteriorate. We feel that this whole approach would certainly be furthered by the undertaking of negotiations to settle the problems that are of mutual interest on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs and respect for each other's interests without any external interference. It is important that other countries outside that region of the world also refrain from actions which might cause the situation to deteriorate, thereby making a positive contribution to the strengthening of peace and stability in that area. Common efforts to that end would be in the interest of all countries in South-East Asia, would contribute to the improvement of the climate there and would create an atmosphere of mutual confidence among the countries of the region.

31. The United Nations could play a positive role in this important effort by promoting the dialogue between the parties in a spirit of constructive co-operation.

32. The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian State, attributes particular significance to the strengthening of peace and security in that large continent, and in particular in its south-east portion. We have always favoured the just cause of the peoples of Indo-China in their struggle against the aggressive encroachments of reactionary forces of imperialism as well as the forces of expansionism and hegemonism. We have actively supported and will continue to support the peoples of Indo-China in their unceasing struggle to transform South-East Asia into an area of peace, stability and co-operation.

33. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to remind representatives that I shall have to call on speakers in the order in which they have put their names on the list, unless representatives mutually agree to change places. I mention this now because I see that some of those inscribed on the list are not present here. I shall call on them, and if they are not here to speak they will go to the end of the list.

34. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The question of peace, stability and co-operation in its broadest sense is uppermost in the minds of all peace-loving peoples and Governments whose representatives are assembled here in this room. Regional peace, regional

stability and regional co-operation—be it in Africa, Asia, the Americas or Europe—are indeed the *sine qua non* of the realization of all our common objectives at the global level.

35. It was in view of this overriding consideration that my delegation whole-heartedly welcomed the peaceful initiatives taken by the three countries of Indo-China and subsequently joined them, as well as other States Members of this Organization, in requesting the inclusion in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

36. We strongly believe that all positive trends towards the realization of these objectives deserve the support and encouragement of the international community. For our part, therefore, we shall do all we can to contribute to and enhance the efforts of the countries of the region of South-East Asia to achieve their lofty objectives of peace, stability and regional co-operation.

37. The principles and conditions on which peace and co-operation will be built in any given region cannot be imposed from outside. They should be initiated from within the region and the political will to carry them through must also be generated, first and foremost, within that region. Only then can a just and lasting regional peace prevail and our common aspirations for universal détente, co-operation, genuine peace and human progress be assured.

38. We know from our own experience in Africa that regional peace, stability and co-operation require a sense of fraternity, understanding, time and a sustained effort by those directly concerned, as well as the encouragement and support of the international community at large. Outside intervention will only serve to undermine the process of regional co-operation. Therefore, what the international community can and must do is to give positive encouragement to this process.

39. It is in this spirit that I asked to speak this morning to express Ethiopia's full support for and solidarity with those who are genuinely searching for peace in Asia—a continent that like our own has for long suffered imperialist brutalities, occupation and constant interventions.

40. The peoples of South-East Asia have for far too long been victims of aggression and destabilization. An entire generation of Indo-Chinese people yearned for a life of peace but were not able to achieve it because of foreign interference and intervention in their internal affairs. Peace and stability is the minimum these long-embattled Indo-Chinese people require to lead their own independent lives, to feel secure within their national boundaries and to develop fruitful inter-State and regional co-operation. Yet they are blatantly being denied this right, even at this moment when a fresh breeze of hope and stability is prevailing in the region.

41. The demise of the now defunct Pol Pot régime was one such factor. The Ethiopian delegation views that genocidal régime as on a par with the Fascist régimes of South Africa and Hitler. Such a régime obviously provides neither moral nor legal justification for support or respectability.

42. It is, therefore, anachronistic and wholly divorced from reality to continue to attempt to reinstall a régime discredited by world public opinion and completely disowned by its own people as a result of the series of crimes it has perpetrated against them on a massive scale. It is highly regrettable that the gang of criminals that were thrown out of their country through a popular revolution continue to occupy the seat of Kampuchea in this Organization. We cannot over-emphasize this point. My delegation fully supports the new revolutionary Government of Kampuchea as the sole and legitimate representative of that long-suffering country.

43. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which came into existence as a direct result of the dialectic developments in the struggle against the horrors of Pol Pot and his clique, is hence a Government that reflects the genuine wish of the people of that country.

44. It follows from this that this Revolutionary Council can solicit and expect assistance and aid in whatever form it deems necessary in order to do away with the remnants of Pol Pot and his clique and to consolidate its newly gained freedom.

45. The South-East Asian people have suffered economic dislocation, social disruption and human tragedy that few other countries in the world have experienced. We therefore urge the world community and donor agencies to increase the humanitarian relief assistance they have been providing to Kampuchea and to other countries in the region without prejudice to the right of the peoples to chart their own political future.

46. The Ethiopian delegation, as a sponsor of the item under discussion, commends the peaceful initiative of the three South-East Asian countries for peace, stability and co-operation in the region.

47. We are convinced that the consolidation of peace and stability in the area is best served not by the aggravation of tension but by seeking positive ways to bring accord and understanding. It was in that spirit that we welcomed the initiative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the Vientiane Conference on the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

48. This peace formula, which was subsequently submitted as an agenda item of this Assembly, carries practical and constructive proposals for peace and co-operation in this perennially troubled area of the world. It is a challenge and indeed an opportunity that calls for the will of other countries of the region to get together to discuss, negotiate and reach agreement on how best to resolve common problems.

49. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express to the delegation of Spain our profound condolences concerning yesterday's tragic explosion in Ortuella, which caused so many deaths, in particular of schoolchildren.

50. Peace, stability and co-operation during the last three and a half decades have not been characteristic of the situation in South-East Asia. On the contrary, that region is one of the most unstable in the world. The situation there has always been tense and

explosive. War, instability and confrontation have struck heavy blows at the peoples of the region.

51. The reasons for this complex situation are well known. They are rooted in the continuing policy of aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, in interference in the internal affairs of those States, in the attempt to subject the course of development chosen by those peoples to the chauvinistic and imperialist theories of the great Powers.

52. We have not forgotten the shameful colonial wars against the peoples of South-East Asia, the symbol of the colonialist failure of those wars being Dien Bien Phu. At the door of the imperialists also lie the crimes of American aggression in Indo-China, marked in the memory of the peoples by the Sông Mây murders. The aim of the great-Power chauvinist policy of the Peking faction, which used the genocidal régime of Pol Pot to transform Kampuchea into a spring-board for its expansionist efforts aimed at aggressive war against Viet Nam, is to attempt today to drive a wedge between the members of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China. This is a very great tragedy. It is becoming increasingly clear, also, that the fatally dangerous alliance between imperialism and hegemonism is the principal obstacle to the constructive coexistence of the peoples and States of South-East Asia.

53. Historic facts indicate the double standard of morality of those who are attempting to cast on the victims of aggression the responsibility for the present complex situation in this region and who are trying to sow hatred and discord in order to derive political advantage. Behind this is the perfectly obvious attempt to cover up their own crimes. The truth, however, is that responsibility for the absence of peace in South-East Asia should not be imputed to those who drove out the clique of butchers and, relying on the dependable support of their good friends, are building a new society worthy of the human beings living in it.

54. Peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia are not only in keeping with the desires of the peoples and States of that region, but are also prerequisites for a normal life. Everyone knows how difficult it is to take the first step along that path.

55. It was just 10 years ago, on 24 October 1970, that the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*]. If the principles proclaimed in this Declaration, were to be applied to the situation in South-East Asia, they would be a constructive guide in the settlement of the problem.

56. The Declaration stresses that States are obliged in their international relations to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Does not this obligation, which includes the duty to refrain from organizing irregular forces or armed bands for incursion into the territory of another State, correspond precisely to the needs of this region today?

57. The Declaration requires the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means in a manner such as not to endanger international peace and security and justice. Does not this, in fact, reflect the yearnings

of the peoples of South-East Asia and the desires of all peoples?

58. The Declaration points out the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of other States. Would it not be possible, if this duty were strictly observed by all States in the region, to prevent further dangerous intensification of the conflict there?

59. The Declaration views it as a duty that States should co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter. Would not the fulfilment of this duty be the best way to find areas of common ground, within which it would be possible to achieve useful results in a spirit of co-operation, peace and friendship?

60. The Declaration, finally, stresses the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and also that of the sovereign equality of States. Should not any proposal for overcoming existing problems in South-East Asia be based squarely on those principles if such a proposal claims to be reliable and constructive?

61. Entirely in the spirit of the active implementation of these principles of peaceful co-existence, the States of Indo-China, at the Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Vientiane on 18 July last, put forward constructive proposals to resolve through negotiation the problems which have arisen in South-East Asia.

62. In the statement which was issued following that conference, Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam reaffirmed their desire

“to promote durable relations of friendship and co-operation with the other South-East Asian countries on the principles of respect for each other’s independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs and solving disputes through peaceful negotiations” [*A/35/347-S/14071, and Corr.1, annex I*].

63. This position, based upon an awareness of responsibility, contains sufficient points of departure for negotiations in the interests of all concerned States even if views diverge in the evaluation of the factors behind the lack of stability in South-East Asia.

64. The representatives of the countries of ASEAN, in turn, in their joint discussions, set out the desires of their States for peace and détente in the region. But how can such peace come about if not through negotiations, through agreement and through co-ordination among the major groups of States in this region of the earth? This is especially true of the border zone between the People’s Republic of Kampuchea and Thailand. We have no doubt that the military provocations against Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos by the imperialist hegemonist circles are equally directed against their neighbours. Ultimately, whoever makes an attempt to play the China card will end up with not a single trump in his hand.

65. The German Democratic Republic will support any idea which will lead to rapprochement between the peoples and Governments of South-East Asia and will bring them peace, stability and co-operation. We are guided in this also by the notion that general peace will be more stable if it can be built on firm foundations in all regions of the world. As a country

of the European continent obliged to implement the Final Act of Helsinki, the German Democratic Republic has actively worked towards opening the way to constructive coexistence. It is generally recognized that the process of disarmament in Europe has had a positive impact on the whole world. Why could other countries not create something similarly constructive?

66. My Government is willing to make its contribution to this objective. In the preamble to the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, signed at Berlin on 18 March 1980, between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the obligation is enunciated

“to further the continuing consolidation of peace and security in Europe, Asia and the whole world, and to make a contribution to the development and growth of relations among States with differing social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.”

67. The countries of South-East Asia, like all other countries of the world, need an atmosphere of peace, détente, stability and co-operation, on the basis of equal rights. They must be free from the constant threat of aggression and from the expansionist policy of interference and crude violation of their national sovereignty. Let us all participate in creating these conditions, which will serve universal peace and international security.

68. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): Item 119 on peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is by necessity a broad and encompassing subject. It inevitably concerns every spectrum of our daily life in the region; it involves our respective political, economic, social and cultural activities. It relates to our respective tradition and creed. It extends retrospectively to our past environment and historical experiences. It touches on our individual ideals and aspirations and has a direct bearing to our respective well-being and the destiny of our succeeding generations. The vital task confronting the peoples of South-East Asia is therefore extremely complex and has a many-faceted character.

69. If we were to glance briefly backward into the deep recesses of the history of the countries of the area that is now known as South-East Asia, we would see that from time immemorial the region has received waves upon waves of early migration from Central Asia. In the course of centuries, the area became the cross-road of civilizations importing into its bloodstream varied cultures and traditions. In recent history, like most of Africa and Latin America, the area was subjected to colonial domination by a number of colonial Powers. Only after the Second World War, the movement towards independence was really set in motion and gathered momentum. Today, with few exceptions, most of us are free and masters of our own respective land and destiny.

70. But the factors that caused that early migration, the multitude of influences and the colonization of the area by colonial Powers remain the same. South-East Asia, with its vast potential of natural resources and its extensive area, which is bigger than the size of Europe, astrides an important and strategic locality.

Since the Second World War, the area as a whole has therefore known no peace. Development in the region continues to be tense and turbulent. South-East Asia soon became an arena of super-Power conflicts, Untold millions had lost their lives and property; a few generations of our youth have grown in an atmosphere of war and conflicts. Each of us had chosen the path that appeared to us to be the best way to ensure our respective integrity and security.

71. Our independence therefore did not bring with it a measure of confidence and security. As in the colonial era, when boundaries were conveniently drawn as a result of events elsewhere in Europe, we continued to be divided and, consciously or unconsciously, we became the instruments of a global political game and a strategy the plans of which were drawn up elsewhere. Our perspective remained limited to our individual and national need, giving rise to suspicion and mistrust of one another. We could not find answers to our intraregional problems and in the process the way was opened to involvement by Powers extraneous to the region. We ought to have realized that, partly through our own weakness we had become the victims of or were embroiled in wars or confrontations which major Powers could no longer afford to wage against one another.

72. The fact that item 119 has been brought forward for the consideration of the current session of the General Assembly is an indication of a growing awareness of the urgent need to find answers to these regional problems. Since the late 1960s, we in ASEAN have arrived at a number of basic conclusions. There is the imperative necessity of embarking on a regional approach in facing our common future; there is the obvious importance of harmonizing our respective national interests with the common regional aspirations; there is an urgent need for the enhancement of mutual trust and confidence among nations in the area, in order to guarantee our respective sovereignty and integrity and the security and stability of the region as a whole. Fundamental in this approach is the acceptance by all of the fact that regional security coincides with the security of each nation and that the security of the region as a whole is not only indivisible but cannot be seen in parts or achieved by only one sector of the area without causing imbalance and uncertainty in another.

73. It was with these basic considerations in mind that we established ASEAN, and since then we have continued to persevere by building gradually the necessary social and economic infrastructure that will in the end give birth to a truly cohesive South-East Asian community of nations which is not only stable and economically prosperous but also strong enough to provide the essential and durable deterrence that will prevent our region from becoming once again the natural arena of big-Power strategic rivalry.

74. At the outset, we were aware that we had to put our regional house in order, so to speak, and to agree to strive towards a common objective. After thorough consultations among ourselves, we issued on 27 November 1971 a Declaration<sup>2</sup> enunciating the political direction in which we, the members of ASEAN, and

<sup>2</sup> Document A/C.1/1019.

hopefully others in South-East Asia, would strive in the coming years. The Declaration, issued at the conclusion of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the countries of ASEAN, held at Kuala Lumpur, underlines the commitment of all ASEAN countries to work towards the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers. In this way, we hope to be able to bring about a relaxation of international tension and achieve a lasting and durable peace and security in the region, bringing with it progress and prosperity for all.

75. We know that by necessity the implementation of that Declaration is a time-consuming process of adjustments. It will have to contain two mutually complementary dimensions. We have therefore already established, first and foremost, guidelines for inter-State relations among countries of the region in order to ensure the norms in our interregional contacts and to promote mutual trust and confidence among us. These guidelines relate to: first, observance of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation of the 1955 Bandung Conference, the ASEAN Declaration, signed at Bangkok on 8 August 1967 and the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 1971; secondly, mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations within and outside the zone; thirdly, the right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion; fourthly, non-interference in the internal affairs of zone States; fifthly, refraining from inviting or giving consent to intervention by external Powers in the domestic or regional affairs of the zone States; sixthly, settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; seventhly, renunciation of the threat or use of force in the conduct of internal relations; eighthly, refraining from the use of armed forces for any purpose in the conduct of international relations, except for individual or collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; ninthly, abstention from involvement in any conflicts of Powers outside the zone or from entering into any agreements which would be inconsistent with the objectives of the zone; tenthly, absence of foreign military bases on the territories of zone States; eleventhly, prohibition of the use, storage, passage or testing of nuclear weapons and their components within the zone; twelfthly, the right to trade freely with any country or international agency, irrespective of differences in socio-political systems; thirteenthly, the right to receive aid freely for the purpose of strengthening national resilience, except when the aid is subject to conditions inconsistent with the objectives of the zone; and fourteenthly, effective regional co-operation among the zone States.

76. We have also drawn up guidelines to govern the relations that extra-regional Powers should have with us. These are: first, respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the zone States; secondly, respect the right of zone States to lead their national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion; thirdly, abstain from intervention in the domestic or regional affairs of the

zone States; fourthly, settle their differences or disputes with zone States by peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; fifthly, abstain from seeking any agreement with zone States which would be inconsistent with the objectives of the zone; sixthly, refrain from establishing any new military pacts or bases in the zone and gradually remove those that are in existence; seventhly, refrain from the use, storage, passage or testing of nuclear weapons and their components within the zone; eighthly, respect the right of zone States to trade freely with any country or international agency; ninthly, respect the right of zone States to receive aid freely for the purpose of strengthening national resilience; and tenthly, refrain from attaching conditions inconsistent with the objectives of the zone to any assistance which the extra-regional Powers may extend to the zone States.

77. We believe that those guidelines will provide the framework for peaceful relations among all States in the region, ensuring at the same time the legitimate interests of the outside Powers vis-à-vis countries of the region. They seek to regulate the role of such Powers in the region consistent with our respective national as well as regional interests. The over-all objective is clear: to secure for South-East Asia peace and stability under which co-operation for mutual benefit could flourish.

78. We have, in the course of the years since the Kuala Lumpur Declaration, explained the concept of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality to the international community. We are encouraged by the support and endorsement it has given to the concept. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown from 8 to 12 August 1972, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration was welcomed as a positive development and all States were called upon to respect its objectives. Additional support was obtained the following year, when the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Fourth Conference, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, endorsed the Declaration. The efforts of ASEAN countries in that respect received support also from the People's Republic of China and from India. In July 1979 Viet Nam expressed interest in entering into consultations with South-East Asian countries with a view to establishing South-East Asia as a zone of peace, independence, neutrality, stability and prosperity.

79. It is clear that the question of peace and stability in the South-East Asian region has been engaging the attention of my country, as well as that of the other members of ASEAN, for the last 10 years, for we are convinced that progress, development and mutual co-operation can come about only in conditions of peace. Malaysia, as a small developing country, is pursuing a vigorous policy of economic development in order further to raise the living standards of its people. So are its other ASEAN partners. To achieve that objective, we need peace not only in our own respective countries but also in all other countries in the region. We wish to see peaceful conditions return to Indo-China so that Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, which were ravaged by so many years of war, can reconstruct and rehabilitate their economy; so that their people, who suffered for so long, can enjoy

the benefits of peace and progress, just like others in the region. We in ASEAN see vast opportunities for mutual co-operation with our other neighbours in South-East Asia if durable peace is established. We have so much to learn and benefit from each other. But regional peace can come about only if all countries in the region abide by the same rules of the game. The guidelines I referred to earlier would provide the rules of the game for us in South-East Asia:

80. As the concept of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality covers every State in the region, it is only natural that the idea should be discussed and accepted by all. It was in that spirit that in 1977 the ASEAN heads of Government directed that consultations be held with Burma, Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam with a view to obtaining their agreement to the concept of the zone of peace. Dialogues were established with those countries, giving us reason for hope and optimism. Our hope was short-lived, however, because of the Vietnamese intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea at the end of 1978. The international community had pronounced that such intervention in the affairs of a sovereign territory was unacceptable. The conflict in Kampuchea had muddled the atmosphere. It is a retrogressive development in the way of our efforts to achieve our common objective of establishing a zone of peace in South-East Asia. It constitutes a violation of the most basic and fundamental principle upon which our common future and destiny could really be built. For the common good of all countries in the area, therefore, we simply cannot afford to compromise on this vital principle without creating a precedent that would eventually harm us all and endanger our respective national well-being. This aberration must be corrected before we can proceed forward. We just cannot whisk it away out of existence.

81. That is our vision for South-East Asia, and peace in Kampuchea is an essential element of this vision. Since early 1979 ASEAN has made a series of attempts to resolve the problem. Discussions have been held and visits made to Hanoi and elsewhere. All to no avail. We do not have much leverage because we, in ASEAN, are not a party to the dispute. We are only among the countries concerned—concerned by the explosive nature of the development in Kampuchea, concerned by the spill-over effect into Thailand and, above all, concerned for the immediate and long-term security and stability of South-East Asia.

82. For those reasons, we are very glad and thankful that the world community, in draft resolution A/35/L.2, has once again endorsed our view and our perception. We have been given added encouragement in our conviction that the path we have taken for the region is the right and reasonable path. We regard this endorsement as recognition of our efforts and that a solution of the Kampuchean problem is a prerequisite for peace and stability in the whole of South-East Asia. We shall therefore never tire in appealing to Viet Nam, whose co-operation we really need and whose forces are currently in Kampuchea, to respect the call of the international community and to participate in the United Nations efforts to restore the peace and stability which we all need in South-East Asia. My delegation wishes to assure Viet Nam and Laos of

its goodwill and sincerity in wanting to work together in the search for a peaceful, stable and co-operative South-East Asia. But our effort can be successful only if the root cause of the present conflict in Kampuchea, which is part and parcel of South-East Asia, is removed. Any attempt to sweep the problem under the carpet will only breed bigger problems for the region. The solution of the Kampuchean problem, therefore, carries with it the bright prospect of an improved climate in which trust and confidence—the necessary ingredients for peace, stability and co-operation—between the countries of South-East Asia could be built.

83. In the last few weeks my delegation, in a spirit of goodwill and good neighbourliness, has been engaged in discussions with the delegations of Viet Nam and Laos with a view to reaching common points of agreement on the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Useful as the consultations have been, they have failed to bring us closer together and towards a common understanding on this very issue. It must be noted that since the outbreak of the Kampuchean incident, the United Nations has made repeated calls, and our collective resolutions are well known. For the General Assembly not to take notice under the present item of its own previous appeals and recommendations, for the reason that the issue involves South-East Asia and that it is for South-East Asian countries themselves to resolve it, would be an affront to the efforts of the United Nations thus far. It would amount to asking this body to ignore its own previous resolutions.

84. We cannot therefore associate ourselves in this exercise. But we can assure our colleagues from Viet Nam and Laos that we are sincerely motivated by the larger ideals and purposes, and we therefore look forward to continuing contacts with them in the earnest hope that we shall be able to work towards the common goal that we are all trying to achieve for our region. We are pursuing this cause with perseverance and tenacity, for we are convinced that we, in South-East Asia, do not really have any other alternative.

85. In conclusion, may I reiterate the concern expressed by our Minister for Foreign Affairs at the growing tendency among major Powers not only to use force themselves when the situation permits but also to encourage others to fight their respective wars under one guise or another. We fear that we small and non-aligned nations would be reduced to mere pawns in a big-Power game and rivalry in which confrontations between them would take place only at the periphery.

86. We should like therefore to address our appeal to them to exercise restraint, live up to their responsibility as major Powers and save regions such as South-East Asia from such conflicts. We have no means of resisting the might of modern weaponry. Our only defence is regional cohesiveness sufficiently effective to provide the necessary deterrence and prevent our getting involved. For such regional co-operation, we shall persevere.

87. Mr. KOH (Singapore): In recent days my delegation has spoken on the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and on the situation in Kampuchea. In



view of this, I had initially decided not to speak on agenda item 119 in order to avoid overtaxing the patience of my colleagues. I eventually decided to speak briefly on this item for two reasons. First, I wished to avoid giving my colleagues of Viet Nam and Laos the impression that my delegation is boycotting the consideration of this item. Secondly, I wanted to avoid any possible implication that my country has any less interest than Viet Nam and Laos in peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

88. In 1975 the Viet Nam war came to an end. For the first time in more than three decades the guns were silent and the countries of the region of South-East Asia looked forward to living in peace with one another. Through the exchange of visits by the leaders of the countries of the region and through other confidence-building measures, relations between countries in the region steadily improved and the feelings of mistrust and suspicion gradually subsided.

89. Hopes for the continued peace of the region were shattered, however, when in December 1978 Viet Nam invaded and occupied Kampuchea. Since then, armed hostilities between Vietnamese forces and Kampuchians have continued. As a result, large numbers of Kampuchians have been forced to flee to Thailand and to other neighbouring countries to seek safety and refuge and to escape from death, famine and disease.

90. The fighting in Kampuchea has created a state of acute tension in South-East Asia. The territorial integrity of Thailand has been violated repeatedly by the armed incursion of Vietnamese forces, in particular in June in this year. The bulk of the 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, which are massed near the Thai-Kampuchean border, poses a threat to the security of Thailand. The continuation of the conflict in Kampuchea has also led to interference by extra-regional Powers in the affairs of the region.

91. For these reasons it is imperative that we find a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Kampuchea if peace and stability are to be restored to our region. Towards this end, the countries members of ASEAN, together with 25 other countries, have proposed the convening of an international conference to resolve the conflict in Kampuchea [A/35/L.2/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1]. That proposal was adopted by this Assembly by 97 votes in favour on 22 October 1980 [resolution 35/6].

92. If Viet Nam is sincere in wishing to promote peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, Viet Nam should heed the voice of the international community and agree to come to the conference table. If, on the other hand, Viet Nam persists in its present attitude that what it has accomplished by military force in Kampuchea—contrary to the Charter of our Organization and contrary to the laws of nations—is non-negotiable and irreversible, then we are forced to conclude that Viet Nam has no sincere desire to promote the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia and that agenda item 119 is no more than an exercise in public relations.

93. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The inscription of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General

Assembly represents of itself one of the positive factors in the participation by the international community and by the other States of the South-East Asian region in the constructive efforts being pursued by the countries of Indo-China to foster a favourable climate for reducing tension in South-East Asia and preventing a deterioration of the situation in that region. The present situation in South-East Asia is tense and explosive and is a cause of concern to the States of that region and to all peace-loving and freedom-loving forces in the world.

94. The peoples of Indo-China, Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, who have had to suffer an imperialist and aggressive war for the last four decades, who have suffered and made the greatest sacrifices in order to achieve their independence and freedom, and peace and stability—indispensable to the reconstruction of their war-ravaged countries and the realization of their aspiration to end the military confrontation among the countries of that region—are still being subjected to the attempts of the imperialists and their agents to prevent the States of Indo-China putting an end to the destruction caused by the aggressive imperialist war and to maintain the tension and the regional wars in Indo-China and South-East Asia, thereby impeding the efforts of the peoples of that region to make it into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. The most flagrant evidence of this is the fact that the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been deprived of its rightful place in the United Nations and the representatives of Pol Pot, who were driven out by the people and represent only themselves and imperialist interests, have been seated. Another proof is the stubborn insistence on discussing the so-called "situation in Kampuchea" without the approval of the People's Revolutionary Council, which is the only legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea.

95. The situation in South-East Asia is extremely complex. It is made even more complex by foreign interference in the region. This situation makes it necessary that States of the region jointly assume their responsibilities in order to put an end to the deterioration of the situation. The common interests of all States in the region including that of peace and stability, demand that those States, despite their differences, enter into negotiations in order to end the present state of confrontation. Of course, such negotiations are impossible until all activity that could lead to a deterioration of the situation has ceased and the prerequisites for a prompt settlement of the differences existing in the region have been established.

96. Furthermore, foreign intervention must be halted and an effort must be made to create a zone of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. To that end, there must be increased mutual understanding and respect for the interests of the countries of Indo-China on the one hand and the other countries of South-East Asia on the other. There must be respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State, as well as for the principle of non-aggression and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Mutual respect, co-operation and peaceful coexistence on a basis of equality must be ensured. There must also be bilateral or multilateral

negotiations on the principles and the ways and means of solving common problems and for reaching agreement on them.

97. In this connexion, we praise the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to create favourable conditions for improving relations between the States of Indo-China and the other States of South-East Asia. The visits paid by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam to the other States of the region in pursuit of that objective and to reduce tension in the area are steps which deserve our appreciation and our recognition of the interest the States of Indo-China are demonstrating in establishing the peace and stability of which they have been deprived, and for the attainment of which they are still making great sacrifices.

98. By the same token, we support the constructive proposals contained in the Declaration of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 18 July 1980 [A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1, annex I]. Those proposals represent practical steps to stabilize the situation in South-East Asia within the framework of a practical programme that would take into consideration the interests of all States of the region. These proposals may be summarized as follows: the States of Indo-China are prepared to sign bilateral and multilateral treaties with the neighbouring States of the South-East Asian region, on non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the non-use of their territories for hostile acts against all other interested parties. Those States, moreover, would be prepared to establish a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia and to find solutions to all controversial problems by peaceful means.

99. In that connexion, we also welcome the new initiative recently taken by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, with the approval of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, for the withdrawal of a part of the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

100. Peace and stability in South-East Asia can only be established if the countries of the region co-operate with the countries of Indo-China to find positive solutions in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples to peace and stability in the region. We are convinced that if the States of the region demonstrate goodwill, if their mutual interests are taken into consideration without favouring any party, and if other countries lend their positive and constructive participation and refrain from any actions liable to prejudice the efforts of the States concerned, it would be possible gradually to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and achieve fruitful results that meet the aspirations of the peoples of the region to the establishment of peace, stability and co-operative relations in South-East Asia.

101. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Yesterday [45th meeting] we all heard the statements of two South-East Asian delegations—namely, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Today my delegation would like to state the position of my country, Thailand, which is no less interested in regional peace and stability.

102. During the course of the past few days, this Assembly has already considered the question of

Kampuchea in both its procedural and its substantive aspects, and all of us are aware that Kampuchea is also situated in South-East Asia. The votes taken on that question indicate emphatically the judgement of the international community, particularly on the need to find a peaceful solution to the problem by means of an international conference under United Nations auspices. It is unfortunate that the two South-East Asian countries have rejected such a course of action which enjoys the backing of a great majority of States Members of the United Nations; they have thus lost much credibility before this Assembly.

103. It is a well-known fact that before 1979 the countries of South-East Asia were progressing satisfactorily towards a new era of good-neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation. The chronology of events circulated by the Vietnamese delegation yesterday shows that, throughout 1978, a great deal of progress was achieved in this respect, for which both sides can claim credit. The mood then was one of optimism, which was unfortunately short-lived. Shortly thereafter, and despite the assurances to the contrary given to other South-East Asia Governments, Viet Nam decided to impose its will on Kampuchea by means of a massive invasion and military occupation of that South-East Asian country. The chronology of events since the so-called liberation of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979 indicates a sudden downward trend in the affairs of the region, as well as an unmistakable increase in the involvement of outside Powers in regional affairs. No subterfuge can conceal this fact from the world, and no attempt to foment troubles in other parts of the region—be it along the Thai-Kampuchean or the Thai-Lao border—will succeed in diverting world attention from the real cause of tension and conflict in South-East Asia.

104. It is the view of my delegation, a view shared by many countries of the region, that we can all return to the path of peace, stability and co-operation the moment the violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations Charter is terminated. While consultations and talks have taken place between the States of the region, fruitful negotiations can only come about if all parties strictly adhere to such principles and work in good faith towards establishing a climate of confidence in that region. The best way to proceed is to move the conflict to the conference table and not to accept any so-called solution which is imposed by military force. Meanwhile, any withdrawal of the occupying forces in Kampuchea would be welcome, but it should take place without pre-condition or prevarication.

105. With the memory of the 23 and 24 June armed incursion into Thailand by the Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea vividly in our minds, a renunciation of the threat or use of force by those who have acted in contravention of Charter principles could only help to build the climate of confidence which is essential to peaceful progress in the region. Despite such border violations by the occupying forces in Kampuchea, there is no so-called undeclared war in which Thailand is involved. If there is any "undeclared war", it is taking place inside Kampuchea itself, and is the prolongation of the foreign invasion and occupation of that unfortunate country.

106. On the other hand, the Thai side of the border is accessible to United Nations agencies and personnel, as well as to members of the mass media. They can see the true situation with their own eyes.

107. In this regard, it is heartening that Thailand's effort to increase United Nations presence along the border has gained the support of a large majority of United Nations membership.

108. References have been made in this Assembly to the situation along the Thai-Lao border. Despite the unprovoked attack on the Thai naval patrol boat, which caused some casualties and a tense situation leading to the temporary closing of the border, the Government of Thailand took the earliest opportunity to ease the situation by reopening border crossing-points, thus defusing the undesirable tension. It should be noted that, according to the agreements between Thailand and Laos setting up joint committees at local and national levels to settle bilateral issues peacefully, the resort to force by Laos violated the letter and the spirit of those agreements.

109. Yesterday the Czechoslovak representative tried to mislead the Assembly by making unfounded allegations against Thailand, particularly on the issue of humanitarian relief to the Kampuchean people. In this regard, my delegation has already drawn the Assembly's attention to the note by the Secretary-General contained in document A/35/502, dated 16 October 1980, which adequately demonstrates that Thailand has co-operated closely with the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations in facilitating, without discrimination, the provision and transport of assistance both to the border and via Phnom Penh and Kompong Som. This fact is also acknowledged by the International Committee of the Red Cross in its fifty-second report, dated 15 October 1980, which reads:

“... 13 October marks the first anniversary of the Red Cross relief flight to Phnom Penh. During the past year, a total of 714 flights has been made, of which 152 left from Singapore and 562 from Bangkok. These flights uplifted 13,716 tons of relief supplies, representing an estimated total value of \$13 million.”

On the other hand, it is the occupying forces which have sought to utilize international relief for their military and political ends. It is they who have benefited from those supplies at the expense of many Kampuchean civilians.

110. For its part, the Thai Government has proposed the establishment of safe areas inside Kampuchea to ensure the safety of refugees and the distribution of international aid to Kampuchean civilians. This proposal has now been endorsed by the General Assembly which provides adequate proof of Thailand's good faith and of international support of the idea. It is therefore up to those who have rejected this proposal to convince the international community of their own good faith and good intentions.

111. Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea. The Kampuchean problem is not Thailand's doing; but, nevertheless, Thailand has been adversely affected by the massive influx of Kampuchean refugees

and the presence of large occupying forces in Kampuchea, together with sophisticated weapons poised on its border. It is therefore in the genuine interest of Thailand to help to find a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem, along the lines laid down by the General Assembly in resolution 35/6 it adopted two days ago, without sacrificing the principles which have become even more important for the less powerful States in an already destabilized world. It will also be advantageous in the long run for countries in South-East Asia to co-operate in a political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict, which since 1978 has interrupted the process of peaceful coexistence and constructive co-operation among them. In so doing, they will learn to live together and work together within the framework of international norms and despite the differences in their social and economic systems, thus ushering in a new era of peace, stability and co-operation for South-East Asia as a whole.

112. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): On 14 November 1979 the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/22 by an overwhelming majority of 91 to 21. In that resolution the General Assembly condemned the Vietnamese armed intervention in Kampuchea and noted “with great concern that the armed conflict in Kampuchea has escalated and is seriously threatening the peace and stability of South-East Asia”. In paragraph 7, the General Assembly “calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea...” and in paragraph 10 it “resolves that the people of Kampuchea should be enabled to choose democratically their own government, without outside interference, subversion or coercion”.

113. On 22 October the General Assembly adopted by an even greater majority—97 to 23—resolution 35/6. In that new resolution the General Assembly condemns the continued Vietnamese armed intervention in Kampuchea, calls for the implementation of resolution 34/22, and in the eleventh preambular paragraph declares that it is “convinced that, to bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which will ensure the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future free from outside interference”.

114. Those two resolutions were voted on by all South-East Asian, Pacific and Asian countries, with the exception of two, that is, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

115. Those two resolutions clearly stress that for the past two years peace and stability in South-East Asia have been destroyed by the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces and that only the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea will make it possible to restore peace and stability in South-East Asia and on that basis establish among the countries of that region fruitful co-operation based on equality, mutual respect and reciprocal interest.

116. In April 1975 all the peoples and countries of the South-East Asian region began to have a glimmer of a legitimate hope that they would be able finally

to live in peace and security in order to mobilize all their moral and material strength and their national resources for a better life and social progress. The people of Kampuchea, which was emerging from a long war of national liberation, hoped that it could finally build an independent, united peaceful, democratic, neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea in full territorial integrity. The people thought that they would be able to live on good terms with all their neighbours and to establish close co-operation with them, on the basis of mutual respect, equality and reciprocal interest.

117. Unfortunately, this dream did not last very long. From the beginning of June 1975 Vietnamese forces invaded and occupied Koh Wai island and refused totally to withdraw from the vast sanctuaries occupied since 1965 within Kampuchean territory. Since that time the Hanoi authorities have made every effort to overthrow the legal and legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to replace it by a puppet régime which would agree to Kampuchea's assimilation into the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation", without arousing world attention, as they managed to do with Laos through the so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation" of 18 July 1977. In order to achieve this objective of the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation" laid down in 1930 by the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, which was the name of the Vietnamese Communist Party at that time, the Hanoi authorities have used a combination of military provocation on the border and obstinate refusal to withdraw their forces from the territory of Kampuchea, together with acts of subversion, wrecking and sabotage, attempts at assassination of the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea and coups d'état. The Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in December 1977, which was defeated on 6 January 1978, and the present Vietnamese invasion begun on 25 December 1978 are merely the result of successive failures of all these acts of destabilization perpetrated by the Hanoi authorities in order to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Document A/35/485-S/14194 of 25 September 1980 gives further details of this "half-century of Hanoi's expansionist and annexationist designs".

118. The brief background I have just given shows how tenacious the Hanoi authorities are in pursuing their strategy of an "Indo-Chinese Federation" which is to serve them as a jumping-off point for regional expansion over the whole of South-East Asia. It shows that the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is the only real deep-lying cause of the present explosive situation in South-East Asia, where there is no longer either peace or stability and where co-operation is no longer possible. It is this ambition of the Vietnamese leaders which prevents the countries of the region from establishing a region of peace, freedom and neutrality. Hanoi's expansionist ambition in the region is condemned by all the peoples and countries that love peace and justice among the Members of the world Organization. This war clear from the debates in the Security Council in January, February and March of 1979 and at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and during this session. Debates about the credentials of the Democratic Kampuchean delegation to the United Nations and about the situa-

tion in Kampuchea last week, and the overwhelming votes at the end of those debates have been absolutely clear. They have shown without a doubt the following facts.

119. First of all, the deep-rooted cause of the war of aggression and genocide waged by the Hanoi authorities against Democratic Kampuchea is their expansionist ambition to absorb Kampuchea into the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation" against the unshakable will of the people of Kampuchea and their leaders to build a really independent, united, peaceful, mutual and non-aligned country of Kampuchea in full territorial integrity.

120. Secondly, this Vietnamese expansionist ambition is not confined to the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation", but extends to the whole of South-East Asia. Indeed, first of all, this Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation" does not stop with the absorption of Kampuchea and Laos, but is intended to take in 16 provinces in the east and north-east of Thailand.

121. Furthermore, this Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation" is to serve as a jumping-off point for Vietnamese expansion to the rest of South-East Asia. The member countries of the non-aligned movement still remember the violent diatribes delivered by the Vietnamese delegation at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976 in opposition to the proposal by Malaysia that the final declaration should include support of the Conference for the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality for South-East Asia. Everyone still remembers the violent criticism and the insults proffered by Hanoi to all the members of ASEAN, particularly Thailand, with which Democratic Kampuchea re-established diplomatic relations in October 1975. The Vietnamese expansionists began to muffle this open hostility only towards the middle of 1978, in order to mask their preparations to invade Democratic Kampuchea. Faithful to their "carrot and stick" routine, with "honeyed words and heart of gall", they alternate the diplomacy of smiles with acts of aggression.

122. No one indeed has forgotten that the invasion of Democratic Kampuchea was launched three months after the assurances given by the Vietnamese Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, to all the ASEAN countries that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all neighbouring States. Neither has anyone forgotten the fact that the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea invaded the territory of Thailand and killed Thai nationals last June, only a few weeks after the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs had solemnly assured Thailand that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would always respect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This Vietnamese aggression heralds the next stage of Vietnamese expansionism, should Viet Nam manage to achieve its primary ambition of an "Indo-Chinese Federation". Indeed, the expansionists from Hanoi never dissimulated their ambitions before the invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and the facts have always shown that Viet Nam wanted to play a great-Power role in South-East Asia under the mask of a so-called "mission of salvation" to be carried out on behalf of

“proletarian internationalism” as the “advance guard” of “socialism” struggling against forces which they describe for the sake of their expansionist cause as “imperialist” and “reactionary” and which are represented by all the other countries of South-East Asia and Asia.

123. Thirdly, it is clear to everyone that the Hanoi authorities cannot and will never be able to achieve their regional expansionist ambition without the active and powerful assistance from a large expansionist world Power. In Kampuchea it is a fact of public notoriety that the forces of Viet Nam cannot pursue their occupation of the country or continue their crimes against the people of Kampuchea without enormous assistance from that large expansionist Power, amounting to more than \$3 million a day.

124. In exchange for this total support from the large expansionist Power for their “Indo-Chinese Federation”, the Hanoi authorities will pay any price. If previously we could have had a few illusions about the terms of this exchange, today there is no further doubt, particularly since Viet Nam joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in June 1978 and since the signing on 3 November 1978 of the military Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, known as the “Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation”, which in fact marks the entry of Viet Nam into the Warsaw Treaty. Furthermore, the opening of all Vietnamese military bases, both naval and air bases, including Da Nang and Cam Ranh, to the large expansionist Power merely confirms Viet Nam’s total dependency on that Power and the indissoluble link between Vietnamese regional expansionism and world expansionism.

125. Finally, when Vietnamese forces were powerfully maintained and supplied with advisers and equipment by the large expansionist Power, and when they invaded Democratic Kampuchea, some people thought that it was a bilateral conflict between two neighbouring countries, without regional or world implications. It took the invasion of Afghanistan on identical pretexts and in rather similar circumstances, for people to understand the indissoluble links between regional expansionism and global expansionism, together with the danger of this expansionist strategy in all its range.

126. But in their thrust in South-East Asia the expansionists are at present coming up against an immovable obstacle: the resolute struggle of the people of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which are determined to defend the survival of the nation and people of Kampuchea, their national identity, their right to existence as an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned State and their right freely to determine their own future. This struggle, then, is a key link in the international front against expansionism in the defence of world peace.

127. The expansionists are meeting with the growing opposition of the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos as well, for in those countries living conditions are deteriorating day by day and, despite the intensification of repression, armed resistance is being organized and is growing and dissension within the ruling cliques is increasing. They are also meeting with the determination of all the peoples and countries of South-East

Asia to defend their independence and freedom and to support the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea regardless of the pressures or threats to which they are subjected by the expansionists. This solidarity of the peoples and countries of the region with us in our struggle is of strategic importance for the future of South-East Asia. Today it is clear that, united and standing in solidarity in their noble aim of establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, the countries of ASEAN, as a rising new political and economic force in the world, have made a weighty contribution to the cause of national independence and international peace and security.

128. Some wonder why the Vietnamese regional expansionists have carried their cynicism to the point of having included in the agenda of our Assembly the item entitled “Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia”, when they are perfectly aware that it is they that by their invasion of Kampuchea have destroyed peace and stability and are preventing any co-operation in the region. The answer is simple: they have done this to try to escape from the military and political deadlock in Kampuchea and also from almost total isolation at the international level. What the Hanoi authorities are looking for is a South-East Asian Munich and *de facto* international recognition of the *fait accompli*: that is, the absorption by Viet Nam of Kampuchea and the establishment of Viet Nam’s “Indo-Chinese Federation”, which would give them the respite needed to consolidate their forces with a view to a fresh thrust in the region at the right time.

129. In his statement of 15 October [36th meeting] the representative of the Vietnamese expansionists did not hesitate to threaten to extend the Vietnamese war of expansion throughout the region, with all the consequences, culminating in a third world conflagration, if the countries of South-East Asia and the other countries of the world were not willing to accept the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. That statement is valuable in that it shows that the Hanoi authorities remain the most fervent advocates of the law of the jungle and that they continue to show the greatest contempt for the international community and for all countries and peoples that love peace and justice.

130. The inclusion in the agenda of item 119 is only one of the manoeuvres of confusion and diversion the aim of which is: first, to make obsolete General Assembly resolution 34/22, which calls upon Viet Nam immediately to halt its war of aggression against Kampuchea, to withdraw all its armed forces from Kampuchea and to leave the people of Kampuchea to decide for itself its own future without any foreign interference; secondly, to neutralize General Assembly resolution 35/6, which reaffirms the need for Viet Nam to implement resolution 34/22 and which was adopted on 22 October by an overwhelming majority of 97 in favour to 23 against; thirdly, to secure acceptance of the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea and to get the war of aggression legalized by the United Nations, which would mean the United Nations violating its own Charter, of which it is the guarantor, for which there is no precedent in the history of our Organization; fourthly, to get the United Nations also to recognize the existence of Viet Nam’s so-called

Indo-Chinese Federation and Viet Nam's dominion over Laos and Kampuchea, both of which are member States of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement; fifthly, to divert the attention of the international community from the Vietnamese war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea in order to make it forget that this war is the sole and only cause of the serious tension which currently threatens peace, security and co-operation in South-East Asia, as is emphasized in resolutions 34/22 and 35/6; and sixthly, to present Viet Nam as the apostle of peace, security and co-operation in the region and thus to lay at the door of the other countries that love peace, justice and independence, responsibility for the conflict in Kampuchea and the tension in South-East Asia.

131. Because of the serious consequences this could have for our Organization, for international peace and security and for the independence and survival of the people of Kampuchea, we appeal to all the States Members of our Organization that love peace and justice to thwart this sordid Vietnamese manoeuvre and put an end to it.

132. At the same time we call upon them to require the Hanoi authorities to implement resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, which constitute important contributions to the ending of the war in Kampuchea and the restoration of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia and in the world.

133. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): The Hungarian delegation would like to express its firm belief that the successful search for a draft acceptable to all on the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia—which, together with several other countries, we requested be included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly—is vitally necessary not only for the countries of the region but also for the whole of the international community.

134. When we associated ourselves with this initiative we were driven by our deep conviction that the importance of the South-East Asian region goes far beyond the borders of its geographical area and that in present circumstances it has direct implications for the development of the world situation and is thus closely linked with the maintenance of international peace and security. It was that last consideration that led us to request that the United Nations take up the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

135. As its title indicates, this question, from the point of view of its main objective, should not give rise to major differences among the States Members of the United Nations and, incidentally, should have aroused greater interest among the Members of our Organization. We are convinced that everyone must be motivated by the ardent desire to establish peace, stability and co-operation among all the States of that region, which has suffered so much in the past decades.

136. We are all very much aware of the fact that these are countries which, while the rest of the world has enjoyed the return to peace and benefited from the results for more than three decades, have known only war and human and material destruction. These

are developing countries and therefore have a desperate need to direct their natural riches and human resources towards the peaceful building of their societies.

137. However, differences can arise and indeed, obstinate resistance sometimes appears as soon as the question of ways and means of achieving that end are tackled. I think it would be pretentious to give the impression that our Organization alone would be in a position to prescribe the proper treatment to cure the South-East Asian countries of the ills that have ailed them for quite some time. Certainly the contribution of the United Nations is essential, but it can be no replacement for that of the parties directly concerned, for the consent and active participation of the protagonists in the disputes, in litigious matters or in conflicts, whatever they may be or, wherever they may take place, is a *sine qua non* of a lasting settlement in the absence of which the world Organization cannot fulfil its duty to maintain international peace and security.

138. It is precisely in this perspective that should be seen the important role of the United Nations in supporting contacts and relationships which are being established among countries in the region in order that constructive discussions may be initiated and developed among them concerning the solution of their pending problems. The debates here in the last few days have, if nothing else, indicated the difficulties and complexities of the task we have to tackle. As for my delegation, it must unfortunately admit that recent activities undertaken in this field at the United Nations are hardly likely to promote a proper solution.

139. Further, we note with satisfaction and, indeed, welcome the first steps taken in this direction which have recently made it possible for contacts to be made between the parties concerned under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

140. I have already mentioned that in the quest for solutions to the South-East Asian problems differences of approach and assessment can be observed. In this respect, we listened with interest to the statement made yesterday by the representative of Viet Nam [44th meeting], the substance of which clearly demonstrated the sincere desire of that country to resolve the problems which affect the region in conjunction with the other States of that region. We have also noted the document distributed by the delegation of Viet Nam, which contains a history of the events in South-East Asia and the different constructive proposals made by the countries of Indo-China in order to settle the problems in the region. If further emerges from the Vietnamese statement yesterday that there are no illusions on any side as to a rapid settlement of those issues. Such a solution would above all presuppose the cessation of foreign interference in the affairs of the region on the part of certain Powers in the continent and overseas, which would leave the way free for a better understanding of the situation and a reasonable assessment of the interests of all concerned.

141. The proposals made to that end by the three countries of Indo-China at Vientiane have, so far at least, met with no favourable reply and have not

brought about the response they deserve. But we like to hope that the States to which those proposals were addressed, that is to say, the members of ASEAN, will sooner or later understand the usefulness and the significance of this Indo-Chinese initiative, which is quite obviously sincere and is aimed at re-establishing good-neighbourly relations among the countries of the region, and has nothing to do with a so-called publicity campaign, as is being alleged.

142. We regret that some people are trying to reduce this matter of peace and stability in South-East Asia to the issue of Kampuchea, for, as we have already said many times, this would not lead to the desired results and would be likely to bring about once more an atmosphere of accusation, confrontation and the making of categorical statements that are far from reflecting the present situation. Those who are attempting to push our deliberations in such a direction would bear the responsibility for any failure of the efforts to create a healthy climate favourable to the settlement of all the problems of the region.

143. It would be unreasonable to suppose that after so many years of struggle and suffering, the countries in the South-East Asian region do not aspire to peace and tranquillity. Differences of views, difficulties and the long way we still have to go should in no way discourage us from making the sustained effort needed to foster progress towards these objectives, which are shared by the international community.

144. We are in favour of greater dialogue, negotiations, more extensive contacts among the countries in that part of the world, the wider manifestation of greater political will to strengthen the ties among countries and peoples which everything—culture, history, geography and vital interests—binds closer, condemning them to live together and to understand one another. This should represent a first step towards an atmosphere of trust and the establishment of a zone of peace in the region.

145. The task of other States, small or large, close or distant, would consist not in hampering but, on the contrary, in fostering this process and in making their contributions so that the international community might finally be rid of tensions and crises, threats of intervention and interference and the use of force and devastating wars, of which this region has more than once been the bloody theatre. As for our international Organization, it should support this process of peace by the means and methods appropriate to it and, with the agreement of all, assist the parties concerned to find a common language and grounds for understanding and to create the conditions for harmonious coexistence in the interest not only of their own peoples but also of the whole world.

146. For my delegation it therefore follows that we must stress specifically what unites us and not what divides us. We need a point of departure from which to look ahead and try to indicate a way out of the confused situation in which the region of South-East Asia is involved, which, without seeking futile confrontation, would emphasize the need to explore everything that the approaches, attitude and concepts of the countries in the region have in common, in order to be able to go forward. These elements could, to our mind, form the basis for a dynamic

process aimed at the creation of this zone of peace, stability and co-operation which is so much desired. My delegation is ready to give its active support to such efforts.

147. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Peace in South-East Asia was shattered with the advent of Western imperialism, which destroyed the delicate political, social and economic balance that had existed in the region for hundreds of years. I am not suggesting that there were no conflicts. Yes, there were wars and skirmishes, with the resultant political ascendancy of this or that group or country. But at no point in history did South-East Asia experience the destruction of its political system, the devastation of its economy, the burning of its landscape, the massacre of its peoples, the defoliation of its forests, the poisoning of its rivers, the bombing of its temples, the wasting of its earth—all of which were visited upon the area when Western colonialism and imperialism made a foray and decided to stay.

148. The peoples of South-East Asia have fought a long and arduous battle against the imperialist invaders and their local lackeys. But the decisive blow to imperialism was struck by the heroic and valiant people of Viet Nam, who sacrificed generations of sons and daughters to drive the imperialists from their land and to reclaim their undivided heritage and sovereignty. There is an entire generation of youngsters with napalmed bodies; there are vast tracts of land pockmarked with craters and rendered uncultivable. The war imposed upon the people of Viet Nam stole the irreplaceable youth of many generations. But it forged them in steel and produced a fighting sword—an entire nation welded into a single force to fight imperialism and to reconstruct their war-damaged country in conformity with revolutionary principles of justice and socialism.

149. Unfortunately, Viet Nam was not the only country to suffer the tribulations of an imperialist presence. Neighbouring countries were forced into the fray to serve imperialist ends. The economy of Kampuchea was destroyed, its centuries-old irrigation system was bombed, and the way was paved for the Fascist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to take over. Although Western imperialist forces did not like the clique—as they now aver—they tolerated it. But when the people of Kampuchea—those who witnessed the genocide, the forced and brutal depopulation of the urban centres, the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands—could tolerate the situation no longer, under the guidance of the People's Revolutionary Council, led by Comrade Heng Samrin, they overthrew the Pol Pot clique. Today, the legitimate Government of Kampuchea is being harassed by the same forces of imperialism that have prevented the establishment of stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Their support for the Pol Pot clique is a clear indication of their own stand on human rights, and an indictment of the very system they espouse. Neither murder nor the judgement imposed in relation to it can be selective.

150. Peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia are vital for international peace and security. It is unfortunate that war cannot be contained. It is equally unfortunate that peace is not contagious. That being the state of affairs, it is therefore imperative that the nations of the third world, whether in South-East

Asia, the Middle East or southern Africa, live together in an atmosphere of regional peace and co-operation.

151. There are many items that deal with regional issues. We notice that when a draft resolution is in the interests of imperialism and of reactionary forces, it is touted as being in the interest of peace. But a draft resolution that holds out the promise of genuine co-operation and peace is rejected out of hand if it is not authored or sponsored by imperialist interests or their regional allies.

152. There are so many pressing problems in South-East Asia today that can be resolved only through negotiation, discussion and debate. There is a dire need for food, for shelter, for medical supplies, for books. There is a need to co-operate regionally on the issue of refugees and other displaced persons. There is a need for Governments to tackle common problems affecting two or more countries. There is a need for

urgent social and economic co-operation. That is why this item was inscribed on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session. But the cause of regional stability and co-operation will not be served if specific countries are singled out for diplomatic and political attack. That policy serves distant masters, not friends and neighbours.

153. The People's Republic of Angola, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the MPLA<sup>3</sup> Workers' Party, supports all genuine initiatives for regional peace, stability and co-operation, in whatever part of the third world.

154. Until final victory, *a luta continua*.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

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<sup>3</sup> Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.