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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 34

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

1. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I speak on behalf of the 10 members of the European Community.
2. My delegation delivered a statement here two weeks ago on the question of Kampuchea [37th meeting]. In that statement we drew attention to the risk that the conflict there could at any time spill over the borders of Kampuchea. We also stated the belief of the 10 members that a solution to the Kampuchea problem must be based on an independent and neutral Kampuchea, with a genuinely representative Government, free from any foreign military presence and maintaining friendly relations with all countries of the region. We referred to the need for assurances that a future Kampuchean Government would maintain friendly relations with all countries of the region, especially its immediate neighbours. We also referred to our conviction that in the search for a settlement the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] is moved by the desire to create conditions conducive to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, free from interference by outside Powers.
3. At their meeting in London on 13 and 14 October Foreign Ministers of the 10 countries members of the European Community and of ASEAN also acknowledged that the legitimate security concerns of States in the region must be taken into consideration and that a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem is in the true interest of all parties concerned [see A/36/605, annex, para. 3].
4. The present situation in Kampuchea is central to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The Community believes that the fighting in Kampuchea threatens the stability of the whole area. Peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia can be maintained only through scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all the States of the region. These principles are of the utmost importance to the peoples of the countries concerned, each of which wants to retain its own identity and to remain master of its own destiny. They are also funda-

mental to the Charter of the United Nations. Their violation by Viet Nam is a matter which concerns the entire international community.

5. It follows that the 10 members of the Community cannot support any proposals which purport to promote peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia without dealing with the problem of Kampuchea. Specifically, such proposals should call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and reaffirm the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine freely the form of government and leadership they want.

6. Mr. SHUSTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the consideration at this session of the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The situation in that region has aroused the concern of the international community. Unfortunately, we cannot but note that the peoples of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea remain deprived of the opportunity to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their efforts for peaceful construction. Tension is still detrimental to other countries in the region also.

7. The view has been expressed that this abnormal situation is to be explained by the events which have occurred in Kampuchea. However, such an interpretation is totally without foundation.

8. About three years ago, the Kampuchean people, with the support of the fraternal people of Viet Nam, threw off the yoke of the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, which had turned Kampuchea into a springboard for the expansion of Chinese hegemonism in South-East Asia. Up to that time the Pol Pot clique had carried out armed provocation against neighbouring States, had created tension on the borders with Thailand, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam and had started a veritable war against Viet Nam in 1978. If the Pol Pot régime had remained in power, today we would be witnessing a continuation of the tragedy which had afflicted the Khmer people as well as the military conflicts which had been launched by that régime. The victory of the Kampuchean people, which adopted a policy of national rehabilitation, averted the threat which had been hanging over the countries of South-East Asia.

9. Peace in South-East Asia has been threatened not by the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea and not by the existence of Vietnamese troops on the territory of that country, but by imperialist and hegemonist intervention in the affairs of that region. The Chinese hegemonists, with the connivance of the countries of ASEAN, have been undertaking all kinds of manoeuvres in order to return the criminal Pol Pot clique to power in Kampuchea.

10. The Pol Pot gangs, supported from outside, have been incessantly committing armed provocations against

the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Having unilaterally broken off the Viet Nam-Chinese talks, China stubbornly rejects the proposal of Viet Nam to resume those talks, continues to provoke armed incidents on the Chinese-Vietnamese border, carries out subversive activities against the Lao People's Democratic Republic and supports the anti-governmental Maoist groupings in other countries in South-East Asia.

11. There is a concentration of Chinese forces on the border with Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic that is unprecedented in peacetime. Having appropriated the right to "teach lessons" to other States, Beijing is threatening Viet Nam with new aggression.

12. On the other hand, the United States is at work in an attempt to restore the positions which it had lost in South-East Asia. It is acting to prevent a normalization of the situation there, intimidating the countries of the region by using alleged threats of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, urging the countries along the path towards militarization and attempting to involve them in the system of military-political blocs. That is shown in particular by the joint United States-Thailand military exercises which were held in October of this year, in the course of which, according to reports in the American press, training exercises took place for landing troops from ships of the United States Seventh Fleet. An item to that effect appeared in *The New York Times* of 14 October 1981.

13. A particular threat to peace and security in South-East Asia is posed by the rapprochement between Washington and Beijing and the development of military co-operation between them within the framework of "the strategic partnership". In our view, those are the reasons for the tension which now exists in South-East Asia. In order to eliminate that tension, a certain amount of time is obviously needed. However, even now we could be making gradual efforts, step by step, despite all the difficulties, to correct and stabilize the situation.

14. The basis for progress in that direction exists. It is provided by the peace-oriented and constructive proposals of the countries of Indo-China. Of fundamental importance of principle is the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have consistently favoured a settlement of the situation in South-East Asia on a regional basis without any outside intervention. They quite rightly consider that the countries of that part of the world possess sufficient political experience and wisdom to solve the problems which vitally and directly affect them independently, without involving any outside arbiters.

15. The Foreign Ministers of the three Indo-Chinese States at their Conference in Ho Chi Minh City in January [see A/36/86] and their Conference in Phnom Penh in June [see A/36/328] submitted proposals for the holding of a conference or for consultations among the countries of the region, either on a multilateral or a bilateral basis, with a view to resolving questions of common interest.

16. A logical manifestation of that approach is the new peace initiative put forward on behalf of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Kampuchea and Viet Nam by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mr. Sipraseuth, during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly [16th meeting]. That initiative is embodied in the proposals on the basic principles of peaceful coexistence be-

tween the two groups of countries, Indo-Chinese and ASEAN, for the purposes of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia [see A/36/561]. The seven points of that proposal include the universally acknowledged norms of international intercourse, that is to say, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country; renunciation of aggression; equality; mutual advantage and peaceful coexistence; the right of the people of each country freely to choose and develop its own social, political, economic and cultural systems and to determine freely its own internal and external policies; the solution of outstanding controversies and differences by peaceful means, through negotiation; respect for the right of each country to take individual or collective self-defence measures in accordance with the principles of non-alignment and the Charter of the United Nations, which would exclude any country's exploiting collective defence treaties against any other country of the region; renunciation of the use of a country's territory as a base for aggression, or direct or indirect interference in the affairs of other countries.

17. The countries of Indo-China have proposed not only declaring those principles but also supplementing them with specific material content. To that end they have recommended developing bilateral and multilateral co-operation between the two groups of countries of the region and also with other countries of the region, in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields and in the fields of sports and tourism, to exploit the Mékong and the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor, the preservation of the marine environment from pollution and so forth.

18. All those ideas have been put forward not as propaganda slogans but as feasible and practical measures, as a programme of action. It is precisely for that reason that the authors of the document have provided for the establishment of a permanent body for organizing dialogue and consultation among the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN possibly with the participation of Burma. It is very important that that organ, which would be based on equal representation of the two groups of countries and which would be periodically convened—if necessary, on an urgent and emergency basis—would not be closed to the participation of other countries of the region for the purposes of dialogue and consultation.

19. We should like to ask all those who are familiar with the proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries: what they find unacceptable about them? Why is it impossible to achieve an understanding about those proposed principles and, on the basis of them, to begin to construct new relations between the countries of South-East Asia, which would banish enmity and mutual distrust? It is our profound conviction that the only circles which can oppose the initiative of the Indo-Chinese countries are those which, because of their own narrow selfish interests, prefer to see the preservation of tension and possible sources of political friction and armed confrontation in South-East Asia instead of an atmosphere of peace and stability. In that way, of course, there are people who count on reserving for themselves the opportunity to warm their hands at the flames of conflict in the region. But, as history has shown, that is the path of suffering and deprivation for tens of millions of people.

20. The States of Indo-China are ready to discuss with the countries of ASEAN all international aspects of the situation in South-East Asia, including the situation around Kampuchea. If anyone is worried about the tem-

porary presence in the People's Republic of Kampuchea of Vietnamese troops, which are providing fraternal assistance in ensuring the defence and security of that country, then a comprehensive answer to that question can be found in the statement of the head of the Vietnamese delegation, Mr. Ha Van Lau, at the 37th plenary meeting of the General Assembly. That statement stressed once again that as soon as there is an end to the threat on the part of China, which is acting in collusion with the imperialists, the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from the territory of Kampuchea, in accordance with the agreement between Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

21. The new constructive proposals of the countries of Indo-China take into account the realities of the current situation in South-East Asia and are totally in keeping with the interests and aspirations of all people of the region and the interests of the cause of peace and stability in the region.

22. The Soviet Union wholeheartedly shares in and supports these proposals, which provide for the settlement of the problems of South-East Asia by the efforts of the countries of the region themselves. We note with satisfaction that these initiatives have won support in various countries and have also been supported by many distinguished public and political figures in the countries of ASEAN.

23. It is understandable that the elimination of hostility, suspicion and mistrust and the establishment of good-neighbourliness among States with different social and political systems is a complex process which presupposes dialogue between countries of the region. But there is no other course. So far no other means has been identified for the peaceful settlement of controversial issues than the exchange of views, discussion and talks. Only by setting aside what is divisive would it be possible to find points of common agreement and a mutually acceptable basis for achieving the goals which are common to all the countries of South-East Asia. The sooner steps are taken in this direction, the sooner there will be established in the political life of South-East Asia the atmosphere of good-neighbourliness, mutual understanding and co-operation that would be in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples of the countries of this part of the world.

24. In circumstances in which attempts are being made to complicate the relations of the ASEAN countries with the States of Indo-China, it is particularly important to show patience, realism and a feeling of responsibility and to refrain from steps which might do anything to make the situation worse. We believe that the cause of peace could only triumph if the constructive efforts of the countries of Indo-China for the normalization of the situation and the restoration of good-neighbourliness in that part of the world were to be shared by other countries too. We are also ready to support other initiatives which are dictated by a concern for peace. In this regard, I should like *inter alia* to draw attention once more to the proposals of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific [see A/36/586]. An important contribution to improving the situation on the Asian continent would be the implementation of the proposal for confidence-building measures in the Far East which was put forward at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the General Secretary of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

25. It is the duty of the United Nations to provide dialogue among the States of South-East Asia with a view to settling their mutual relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

26. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): When the Vietnamese representative proposed the inclusion of what he called "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, some representatives pointed out that he was merely trying to divert attention and to absolve his Government from the crime of armed aggression against Kampuchea. As this was all too apparent, quite a few representatives did not even see fit to comment on this item when it was discussed in the General Assembly last year. This time again we do not intend to do more than point to some underlying facts.

27. First, one must answer this question: what is the cause of the instability and disruption of peace in South-East Asia? Clearly this is the result of the policy of expansion and acts of aggression on the part of the Vietnamese authorities. This is the basic fact which everyone must face squarely.

28. After the reunification of Viet Nam the people of the world, in particular those of South-East Asia, looked forward to an era of peace and stability in the region and thought that the Vietnamese authorities would devote themselves to the rebuilding of their country and pursue a foreign policy of good-neighbourliness. However, the Vietnamese authorities were so obsessed with the ambition of setting up an "Indo-China federation" and dominating South-East Asia that they immediately embarked on a course of militarism and expansionist aggression, in total disregard of the urgent desire of their long-suffering people to rehabilitate and rebuild their ravaged homeland and the readiness of neighbouring countries to live in peace with Viet Nam.

29. To begin with, the Vietnamese authorities sent 60,000 troops and a large contingent of advisers into the Lao People's Democratic Republic, literally placing that country under their tutelage. Then they launched a massive armed aggression with 200,000 troops against Democratic Kampuchea, an independent and non-aligned country. This was followed by their troop deployments on the Thai-Kampuchean border and incessant armed provocations against Thailand. They even vilified ASEAN as "a tool of imperialist Powers" and threatened to use force against those countries whenever necessary.

30. Viet Nam is by no means alone in its expansionist aggression in South-East Asia, but is backed in this venture by a super-Power partner seeking world hegemony. The aggressive war against Kampuchea in fact has been armed and financed by the Soviet Union and fought by the Vietnamese troops as proxies. A relentless southward drive has been the strategy of that super-Power in recent years in its quest for world hegemony. The dual objective of that strategy is to gain control of the Persian Gulf in the west and the Strait of Malacca in the east. The invasion of Kampuchea was launched barely two months after Viet Nam had signed a treaty of "friendship and co-operation" with the Soviet Union. It is estimated that this military adventure is costing the Soviet Union millions of dollars a day in military aid to the Vietnamese authorities. The Vietnamese troops would clear the way, and Soviet

presence would immediately follow. Since the outbreak of the war of aggression against Kampuchea the Soviet Union has pushed the advance base of its Pacific fleet more than 4,000 kilometres southward from Vladivostok. It has now acquired the right to use Viet Nam's Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang and the port of Kompong Som in Kampuchea. Task forces of the Soviet Pacific fleet frequently appear in these ports and cruise in the South China Sea and the Gulf of Siam in a show of force towards the South-East Asian nations.

31. These facts amply show that the present threat to the peace and security of South-East Asia originates in the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in collusion with one another. The Vietnamese authorities tried to pull the wool over people's eyes and cover up this harsh reality of concocting a so-called China threat. In so doing, they have the following objectives in mind: first, to curry favour with the super-Power that supports them; secondly, to deceive world public opinion and cover up their own crime of aggression; and thirdly, to justify Viet Nam's continued presence in the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea by a fictitious "China threat". However, they have overlooked the basic fact that the people of the world would always judge the policy of a country not by its propaganda, but by its actual deeds. This is why, for all the voluminous documents he has distributed and all the pronouncements he has made, the Vietnamese representative could impress few listeners and find few sympathizers.

32. With regard to the item before us, Viet Nam is playing the same old tune as last year. Underneath the ornate rhetoric, the gist of the real content of the item is simply the following: first, to evade the key question of the threat to peace and security in South-East Asia as a result of Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea with the backing of a super-Power by pretending that such a serious violation of the Charter had never taken place. The representative of Viet Nam has quoted at length from the Charter such lofty principles and phrases as "respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country", "non-aggression", "non-interference" and "calling upon all States to refrain from the threat or use of force" and so forth. But Viet Nam is neither ready nor willing to apply those principles to its own actions, and would talk about anything but the question of its armed aggression against Kampuchea and the withdrawal of its forces therefrom. Having brazenly violated the principles of the Charter, Viet Nam has seemingly turned all of a sudden into a defender of the Charter. Such a trick can fool no one. Secondly, at present, while Viet Nam persists in its armed aggression against Kampuchea, the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations are determined to defend the principles of the Charter and oppose Viet Nam's aggression. However, the representative of Viet Nam is trying to reduce such a major question of principle to a difference between Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries in their respective assessment of the situation in South-East Asia. How can such a question be so lightly dismissed? By the same token, Israel and South Africa could also dismiss their crimes of aggression as no more than a difference between themselves and the Arab and African peoples respectively in the assessment of the Middle East and southern African situations. Worse still is the fact that, having downgraded the glaring aggression against Kampuchea to a mere difference in assessment, Viet Nam is calling on all parties to put aside their differences and seek common points. Viet Nam should realize that the hegemonist policy of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam is not something that can be

put aside and that there can be no common point unless an end is put to such a policy. By grouping the South-East Asian countries into an Indo-Chinese and an ASEAN bloc, Viet Nam is in fact asking people to recognize the Heng Samrin clique, which is propped up by the Vietnamese aggressor troops, and to legitimize the so-called Indo-Chinese federation with Viet Nam as its overlord. This is even less likely to succeed.

33. Viet Nam has repeatedly advocated a "regional conference". Obviously its aim is to reduce a global issue which is threatening world peace and security to a regional or bilateral question and substitute a regional conference for the International Conference on Kampuchea as called for in General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and in the Declaration adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea held in New York in July.¹ The question would then be taken out of the framework of the United Nations and its resolutions and eventually removed from the agenda of the international community.

34. Ten days ago, with an overwhelming vote of 100 in favour, a majority even greater than the one last year, the General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by 37 countries, calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. This is a clear demonstration of the determination of the international community to uphold justice and of the futility of Viet Nam's manoeuvres.

35. What the future holds for Viet Nam can be easily predicted if it continues to toe the line of the super-Power hegemonists, persists in a policy of aggression and expansion and flouts the will of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership. In our view, it is in the interest of the people of all South-East Asian countries and that of the Chinese and Vietnamese people to restore peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and to maintain good-neighbourly relations and friendly co-operation among all the countries there. As a neighbour of Viet Nam and a nation with a long-standing friendship with the Vietnamese nation, China fervently hopes that the Vietnamese authorities will return to the path from which they have strayed, heed the call of the international community and the desire for peace of the people of South-East Asian countries, including the Vietnamese people, abandon the policy of regional hegemonism, refuse to serve as a pawn for the Soviet Union in the latter's southward drive, withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and stop all armed provocations and raids against the neighbouring countries. In that case, China is ready to restore and develop friendly relations and co-operation in all fields with Viet Nam and to join the other countries and people of the region in our common effort to achieve peace and prosperity.

36. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): In the view of my Government, a detailed discussion of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is fully justified by the human suffering endured over several decades by the peoples of the region, and by the vital importance of that geographic region, whose reverberations have an immediate impact on international life. There is a general consensus about the dangers inherent in unresolved local issues and the tensions they create, not only in the region as a whole but also in respect of international peace and security. It is equally clear that in that connexion the countries of the region bear a special responsibility and must do everything in their power to contribute actively to the solution of prob-

lems affecting South-East Asia. No one and nothing can take their place in that regard.

37. The difficulties begin to emerge when we tackle the question of practical means of achieving that goal. Some want to drag the United Nations along a course which would be in fact to impose the will of some countries on certain States in the region, and substitute the Organization for effective agreement between the parties directly concerned. Frankly, one can hardly imagine that references made to certain documents adopted at a conference from which the countries most directly concerned were absent can constitute a serious basis for a lasting settlement of the situation in South-East Asia.

38. We must be realistic: on the one hand, we must recognize that the contribution of the United Nations to the solution of the problems of the region can, of course, be very useful and in this connection we welcome the diplomatic action of the Secretary-General with a view to promoting an exchange of views between representatives of the countries of the region with respect to regional questions; on the other hand, we must bow to the evidence that that contribution of the United Nations can in no way replace negotiation and dialogue between the parties directly concerned.

39. In the present circumstances, the point of departure for the analysis of the question should be the recognition of the fact that there are divergencies of views with respect to the origins and the solution of the problems in that part of the Asian continent. The last two years have shown that any other approach is doomed to failure in terms of a constructive result likely to promote effectively the solution of existing questions. The only course that promises to be fruitful is the initiation of contacts between the States of the region, the establishment of a dialogue between them, and the creation of a climate that could restore confidence, in order to achieve a solution acceptable to all.

40. We are aware of the efforts that are being made by all sides to restore links between countries in the region. We applaud every step taken along that path and hope that this activity will continue in the interest of all countries in that part of the world.

41. We therefore welcome with satisfaction the diplomatic action taken by the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which has the great merit of tackling regional problems with a sense of realism and open-mindedness while offering certain clarifications of previous initiatives of the Indo-Chinese countries which have unfortunately met with no response.

42. We consider that the seven principles set out in the memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic objectively indicates the areas of common interest which should constitute the framework for negotiations among the States concerned. It covers the whole spectrum of important political and economical issues which are relevant to and affect the region and which should be dealt with by the countries of the region themselves without any foreign interference. That element deserves particular attention because, in our opinion, it is foreign interference which has thus far prevented any progress towards a solution to those questions.

43. Another element in the Lao initiative to which I should like to draw the attention of those who might be deceived by dishonest propaganda disseminated, above

all, from Beijing, is the reaffirmation of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country in South-East Asia, in the region of ASEAN and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We also welcome the inclusion in the Lao memorandum of the word "friendship", in addition to objectives such as peace, stability and co-operation, because that addition is indicative of a state of mind and a positive and constructive approach which does not wish to be satisfied with mere political agreement to arrive simply at peaceful co-operation, but rather wishes to go further and transform those relations into ones of friendship while raising them to a qualitatively much higher level.

44. Hungary, which is remote from that part of the world, cannot but hope that, first of all, a positive *modus vivendi* can be established among States in the region and that progressively, that state of affairs will be transformed into cordial relations based on mutual respect and mutual advantage among the countries of the region.

45. We have no illusions as to the complexity of the task. We are aware of the selfish interests and actions of those in certain circles in the region, in the immediate neighbourhood and elsewhere, in maintaining tension and preventing understanding among the countries and peoples in that part of the world. For their own ends, those circles do not hesitate to use the Organization to achieve their ends. We denounce those attempts, which are harmful to the cause of peace.

46. Once again we were surprised by statements describing our debate here as a futile, indeed academic, exercise, which would imply the denial of certain problems existing in the region. The careful study contained in the Lao memorandum and other Indo-Chinese initiatives, as well as statements made this morning by the representatives of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam, indicate, however, with crystal clarity the global aspect of the contacts and negotiations which must be undertaken by countries in the South-East Asian region. On the other hand, to reduce the problems of South-East Asia to the Kampuchean question means that there is a will to disregard the facts of both yesterday and today which are at the root of the situation at present prevailing in the region.

47. The manner in which Viet Nam is spoken of, that country which made the greatest sacrifices to reconquer its freedom and independence and which had to face the open hostility of those in certain regional circles and their connivance with Powers outside the region, really puzzles us, for it is one of the most eloquent demonstrations of how the situation is presented *in abstracto* and taken out of the context of events in the region. Is Viet Nam really the country in the region that needs to re-establish its credibility? I leave it to those who advance such arguments to answer that question and who, I hope, perhaps are not very familiar with the contemporary history of the region.

48. The manner in which the situation in Kampuchea is depicted sometimes is even ridiculous, because the authors of such allegations apparently are incapable of passing rational judgement on what is happening in Kampuchea, and they continue to repeat the absurdities of yesterday in an attempt to offer an apocalyptic image of Kampuchea and to paint a catastrophic picture of the fate of the Khmer people. Let those gentlemen consult the personal testimony, the documents of international organizations and the press reports which abound to convince

themselves of the banality of those assertions. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and its institutions do exist despite the many efforts made to reverse the course of events.

49. Nevertheless, we believe most firmly in the long-term effectiveness of sustained work in favour of understanding and confidence, and hope that the States in the region and their responsible leaders will sooner or later understand the importance of Indo-Chinese efforts to stabilize the situation in the region, to prevent foreign interference, and thus to ensure the possibility of more dynamic economic and social progress. On the basis of the Lao memorandum, we note that in the context of those efforts all subjects of dispute could be discussed and resolved in a spirit of sovereign equality and good-neighbourliness.

50. We in Europe know that the thorny problems which at times appeared to be insurmountable and the burden of which weighed upon the entire continent at long last were solved, thanks to the will to solve them and the realization by both sides that such a dangerous situation would not serve the interest of anyone, and that only together could such a state of affairs be remedied. It was from this that the idea of détente emerged, to which Hungary is still attached.

51. We consider that the task of the international community, as well as of the United Nations, consists not in hindering but rather in encouraging and promoting by all possible means the process of the development of contacts among countries in the region, which in turn should lead to the establishment of a climate of peace and stability and to relations of friendship and co-operation among all States in South-East Asia. Hungary is ready to make its contribution to that great common international effort.

52. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to state first of all that from the long-term point of view it might be meaningful for the General Assembly to take up and consider fully the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. However, as all of us in this chamber are aware, there is at this time a problem which urgently requires a solution. I am referring, of course, to the Kampuchean question, which is a major destabilizing element affecting not only the South-East Asian region but the entire international community.

53. As I stressed at the 36th meeting, in the course of the deliberations last month on item 22, "The situation in Kampuchea", the core of the Kampuchean question is the fact that because of foreign military intervention the Kampuchean people have been denied their right of self-determination. It has been Japan's steadfast position that the only way to restore lasting peace to Kampuchea and to ensure the peace and security of the region is to allow the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own political future. At the present session of the General Assembly resolution 36/5 was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, which thereby reaffirmed its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny are principal components of any just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem. The resolution also expressed the conviction of the international community that in order to bring about a durable peace in South-East Asia there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

54. Therefore my delegation is of the view that it would be most appropriate for the General Assembly to take up item 34 only after a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem has been achieved through the prompt implementation of resolution 36/5, which expresses the common wish of the international community.

55. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): For three years now, or, to be more precise, since the invasion of my country, Democratic Kampuchea, by Vietnamese forces supported by the Soviet Union, there has been no peace in the region of South-East Asia. A situation of insecurity and instability reigns there and prevents any co-operation among the States of the region. The Kampuchean question, which has its origins in that invasion, which continues, has become one of the major international issues of concern to the international community because of the threat it poses to international peace and security.

56. Barely two weeks ago the General Assembly again considered this key question of South-East Asia, and after debating it at five meetings it adopted resolution 36/5 by an even more overwhelming majority than had been enjoyed by similar resolutions in past years, that is, by 100 votes to 25, among the latter those of Viet Nam and its supporters. In the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth pre-ambular paragraphs of that resolution, the General Assembly, for the third consecutive time, stated that it was

"Convinced that to bring about durable peace in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which will provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination free from outside interference,

"Convinced further that, after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question through peaceful means, the countries of the South-East Asian region can pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region,"

and that it was

"Reaffirming the need for all States to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which call for respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes."

57. That clear and unequivocal position of the General Assembly has remained unchanged since the beginning of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, as borne out by resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. This year, that position was reaffirmed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of ASEAN in the joint communiqué of 18 June 1981 in Manila [A/36/337]. It was reaffirmed by the International Conference on Kampuchea in its Declaration of 17 July 1981. It was reaffirmed by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi in the declaration of 13 February 1981 [see A/36/116 and Corr.1] and at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned

Countries to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly in the communiqué of 28 September 1981 in New York [see A/36/566]. It was reaffirmed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Melbourne in the communiqué of 7 October 1981 [see A/36/587]. It was reaffirmed at the meeting of Foreign Ministers of States members of the European Community and ASEAN in London in the communiqué of 14 October 1981 [see A/36/605].

58. Thus, we have every right to ask what we are all doing here today. Viet Nam, the initiator of the proposal to discuss this agenda item, seeks frantically to free itself from world condemnation while forcing the international community to accept the *fait accompli* of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, that is, to accept that Viet Nam can violate with impunity the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Having neither the facts nor the law on its side, Viet Nam uses the Organization, as it did again this morning, to level insults and gross threats and to employ tactics of diversion and distortion which it thinks will in the end deceive the international community or at least create such exhaustion that the annexation of Kampuchea to the Vietnamese empire will finally be implicitly accepted, that is, the creation of the "Indo-Chinese Federation", which Hanoi euphemistically calls the "group of Indo-Chinese countries".

59. But the international community, through the constant reaffirmation of its just position in keeping with the Charter and the laws which govern international relations, has shown that it has not allowed itself to be intimidated or deceived but has become increasingly aware of the arrogant cynicism, perfidy and obstinacy of the Vietnamese expansionists. It knows that the question of Kampuchea, over and above the key problem of the situation of South-East Asia, is a problem of justice, of international law, and of peace and security in the world.

60. From the outset my delegation has opposed the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly. The purpose of the manoeuvres of the Vietnamese expansionists is now clear to all. Hence, a question arises: are we next year again to discuss this agenda item, whose true objective runs counter to the Charter? Inclusion of that item in the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly would be encouragement of the manoeuvres of Viet Nam and its expansionist acolytes, whose principal objective within the United Nations is to use the Organization to serve their propaganda of falsehood, slander and disinformation in order to mask their actions in all parts of the world. It would, in the opinion of my delegation, merely delay the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the question of Kampuchea and, as a result, would delay the restoration of the peace, security and stability in South-East Asia that will make it possible to create there a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

61. Only a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchea question can bring about peace and security in South-East Asia and, as was stressed in the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was adopted in General Assembly resolution 36/5:

"This will enable all the countries of the region to devote themselves to the task of economic and social development, to engage in confidence-building and to promote regional co-operation in all fields of endeavour, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in South-East Asia."¹

62. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): We are taking part in the discussion of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, which the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes to be the most appropriate way of considering, in a business-like and constructive spirit, the existing situation in that part of the world with a view to providing the necessary co-operation of the United Nations in the peaceful resolution of outstanding issues and in ensuring the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of all countries in that region to a normalization of the situation on the basis of observance of the principles and goals of the Charter and the universally acknowledged norms of international law.

63. The urgency and the need for precisely this kind of approach to the solution of this problem are dictated by a number of factors that must be taken into account by all who are genuinely concerned at the continuing tension in South-East Asia, not those who merely pay lip-service to this approach, but those who are prepared to co-operate in practice in and provide the necessary support for the efforts of States in that part of the world to establish and develop good-neighbourly relations and to improve the situation in that region and in the continent of Asia as a whole.

64. South-East Asia has suffered for too long from wars and from the tremendous losses in terms of destruction, torment and tears, sabotage, blackmail and the threats of imperialist and hegemonist forces and their hirelings that such wars cause. The ordeal of the Indo-Chinese States of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea has been particularly severe in this respect. These are countries which for more than three decades have been the victims of aggression by the imperialists and, subsequently, by the Beijing hegemonists. It is precisely the freedom-loving peoples of Indo-China that have suffered at first hand and most fully from the expansionist practices of the imperialist and hegemonist forces in all their forms and manifestations. The historic significance of the victory of the peoples of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea in their many years of bloody struggle for their freedom and independence lies in the fact that that struggle extinguished the flames of the most cruel and longest of all the wars launched by aggressors since the Second World War and in the fact that it laid a durable and firm foundation for peace and for the strengthening of the independence of all the countries of South-East Asia.

65. That victory led to an erosion of the major factors of instability that has been created by the policy of treacherous intervention by reactionary militarist and imperialist forces and created propitious conditions for widespread co-operation among the countries of Indo-China and their neighbours members of ASEAN. However, the structure of peace in South-East Asia remains fragile and precarious, and the emerging trend towards co-operation among all countries of the region has not been properly developed.

66. In certain statements made from this very rostrum in the course of the current session of the General Assembly, among others, along with naked lies and unmitigated slander we have heard undertones of "apprehension" and "alarm" with regard to the three States of Indo-China. The question arises: does anyone have any grounds—and this includes the States members of ASEAN—for viewing with suspicion and hostility their neighbours in Indo-China? The fact that Viet Nam responded to the call of

the Kampuchean patriots, tormented by the Pol Pot gang of torturers and murderers, should in all logic have been welcomed by all sovereign Governments in South-East Asia, and not only out of considerations of humanitarianism and justice. The bloody genocide that was halted by the uprising of the Kampuchean people, supported by Viet Nam, posed a genuine threat to many neighbouring countries. It was, after all, but a rehearsal for the establishment of a so-called "new order", Beijing-style, throughout South-East Asia, which the Mao colonialists, as will be recalled, viewed as an extremely wealthy region. They said it was rich in minerals and was in their words a region that definitely warrants the cost of getting hold of it. The two goals of the hegemonists here are only too clear. Any comment would be superfluous.

67. I might mention in passing how well this all chimes with what was stated as far back as 1952 in a document of the United States National Security Council entitled "Goals and orientation of the activities of the United States with regard to South-East Asia". In that document, it was pointed out that this region is one of the world's most important sources of raw rubber and tin and a producer of fuel and other strategically important products. The course of American policy set forth in that document was aimed at bringing South-East Asia under United States control by any means. The ensuing armed brigandage in Indo-China is clear evidence of that.

68. Now the United States, unwilling to reconcile itself to the loss of a considerable part of its position in the region caused by the defeat of the many years of American aggression in Indo-China, is still counting on increasing military tension. Overseas strategists, basing themselves on the so-called "parallel goals", are reckoning to crush, with the support of the Chinese armed spearhead, the national liberation and anti-imperialist forces of South-East Asia in order as it were to clear the ground for all the possible forms of their own expansionism.

69. The openly hostile course of the hegemonist and imperialist forces with regard to the peoples of South-East Asia is aimed at sowing division among the countries of that region, which have ancient historic, economic and cultural ties, at thwarting their aspiration to develop co-operation, dragging them into the abyss of adventurism and exploiting their territory and natural resources for those forces' own narrow, selfish, exploitative purposes and for their adventurist military plans in the region and in adjacent regions. The search for ways to normalize the situation in the region has been made difficult by one more factor—that the distant and recent past of the countries of the area has bequeathed to them many complicated problems, including those connected directly with relations between themselves and with differences of view on certain international problems.

70. At the same time, in the circumstances of persistent tension in the area, which at any moment may be exploited for intervention, subversive action and compulsion by outside forces, there cannot fail to be genuine concern among all the countries of South-East Asia about the need to resolve by political means the deeply rooted problems that exist there, in the interests of the consolidation of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation. Visible proof of that is the long list of questions which have already been identified as calling for a solution as well as the initiatives and proposals which have given momentum for the dialogue between the States of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

71. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR sees it as the constructive task of the United Nations, and in particular of the General Assembly at this session, to do everything possible to promote an immediate start on businesslike negotiations among all interested parties in a spirit of goodwill and political realism, in an attempt to find mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding controversies. We are convinced that success in negotiations on creating a zone of peace, stability and equality and on mutually advantageous co-operation in South-East Asia will be assured if encouragement of the development and intensification of dialogue between the interested States of the region becomes one of the most important aspects and directions of their foreign policy.

72. In this regard, I should like to stress that in continuing a purposeful struggle for the creation of foreign policy conditions favourable to the resolution of the major economic problems facing them, Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea have already taken a number of constructive steps towards establishing relations of trust and good-neighbourliness with the members of ASEAN. Their proposals include in particular: the holding of a regional conference, with the participation of the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, to discuss the existing problems; the conclusion between those two groups of States of a treaty on peace and stability; the proposals put forward at this session of the General Assembly by the Lao Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on behalf also of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, which suggested principles to govern relations between the three countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, and ways of applying those principles fruitfully, for example, by creating a standing organ to be responsible for dialogue and consultations between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries—matters which were mentioned again today by the Lao and Vietnamese representatives. All these proposals had a favourable response and won the approval of all people of good will, who view them as a concrete, business-like means of easing tension.

73. Nevertheless, that initiative has so far not had a constructive response from those to whom it was addressed. It appears that outside pressure still carries more weight in the foreign policy of certain countries of the region than their own national interests and aspirations to peace, stability and co-operation, which are sometimes mentioned from this rostrum by their representatives.

74. I should like to believe that the ASEAN countries cannot fail to understand that any further increase in tension in South-East Asia would be contrary to their interests. Now more than ever there can be no denying that a constructive and peaceful solution of the complicated problems of South-East Asia must be based on strict observance of the principle of sovereignty. Indispensable conditions for the creation in the region of sound structures for peace, security and stability are recognition, whether certain parties like it or not, of the ultimate goals, content and irreversibility of the progressive social and economic reforms which have been carried out in the countries of Indo-China—including, of course, Kampuchea—and the complete cessation of all intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples of those States.

75. In this regard, we cannot but repeat that the continuing provocative furore orchestrated by certain parties in the United Nations around a non-existent, so-called "Kampuchean question", the imposed resolutions, the feverish attempts to keep in the United Nations the bloody,

inhuman régime of the Pol Pot butchers, are all illegal, immoral and entirely unacceptable. They serve one obvious goal—that of diverting attention from the true reasons for the tension in South-East Asia, which are not the alleged reasons.

76. We believe that the ASEAN countries, no less than Viet Nam, Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, must be concerned to improve the situation in the region. Dialogue and not confrontation, the establishment of good-neighbourly relations and not the increase of tension, are the only proper and reliable means of

creating a genuinely peaceful, stable South-East Asia, free from every type of outside intervention, marching towards the development of fruitful international co-operation.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York (13-17 July 1981)* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.1.20).