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

AGENDA ITEM 34

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

1. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): The people and the countries of Indo-China, like those of southern Africa, have known the most vicious form of colonialism and imperialism. The parallel continues, for peace and stability in both areas are fragile and tenuous and vulnerable to the conspiracies and machinations of regional hegemonism, military adventurism and neo-colonialism.

2. It is the duty of the international community to encourage and support regional and subregional initiatives aimed at genuine peace, stability and co-operation. I emphasize "genuine" because so many groupings are nothing more than a cosmetic cover-up for imperialist designs, multilateral military pacts whose ultimate aim is to secure the area for colonialist imperialist interests. The genuineness of such initiatives can be gauged from the history of the participating peoples themselves, their struggle against exploitation and oppression, their opposition to all forms of colonialism, their sacrifices in the cause of liberation—their own and those of fraternal peoples—and their stand against sectarianism and genocide imposed either from without or from within.

3. The dichotomy between foreign policy and domestic policy cannot be maintained for ever. A people that fights oppression at home fights oppression abroad. A people committed to justice and freedom for itself gives support to other progressive forces in pursuit of the same. And regional opposition to extraregional oppression is the natural extension of the fight against colonialism and hegemonism. It is against this background that my delegation views the initiatives which are being discussed under this agenda item.

4. The threats to peace and stability being experienced by the countries of South-East Asia today are closely connected to the wars waged there by colonialism and imperialism; their existence today is rooted in the events of yesterday. Having got rid of imperialists after long and bloody wars, the countries of South-East Asia are now trying the path of negotiation among themselves. This initiative deserves the support of the international community, just as counter-moves to sabotage peace and stability in that area should be thwarted by all of us. In this connection I should like to refer briefly to the Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-

Aligned Countries, held in February 1981 at New Delhi [see A/36/116 and Corr.1], which called on all States in South-East Asia to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of the involvement and threats of intervention of outside Powers.

5. This non-aligned decision should be respected by the international community, especially since the overwhelming majority of South-East Asian nations are members of the non-aligned movement, which also forms two thirds of the membership of the United Nations.

6. This year, as we observe the twentieth anniversary of the first conference of non-aligned countries at Belgrade, in 1961, we are reminded afresh not only of the principles behind non-alignment, principles which protect medium-sized and small nations and which give them a collective voice and ensure their rightful role in international affairs, but also of the convergence of the aims of our movement and the United Nations. Therefore the United Nations as a corporate body should also encourage and promote the regional initiatives and dialogue, to eliminate the tensions which engulf the area, and support the spirit of co-operation which can make South-East Asia truly a region of peace and stability.

7. In this regard I should like to refer to the ideas contained in the memorandum presented by the Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [see A/36/561], ideas which are in keeping with the approach of the non-aligned movement and with the spirit of the principles behind the Organization. The memorandum could lead to an exemplary partnership between two regional groupings which would benefit all the countries of South-East Asia. As interested comrades and as supporters of all initiatives aimed at peace and stability, we in the People's Republic of Angola wish to register our support for the proposals contained in the memorandum; we think it would benefit both the countries of Indo-China and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], and we support the call for negotiations.

8. We are from another continent, but when danger and catastrophe loom, war is just next door and the conflagration cannot be contained. We wish the sponsoring countries well in their enterprise and hope that their call will be heeded and answered by all their neighbours. The liberation and reunification of Viet Nam contributed to the liberation of Indo-China, as did the liberation of Laos and Kampuchea. Now the co-operative efforts of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries could contribute to the well-being of Asia, non-alignment and the third world as a whole. A united stand against imperialism is the only effective way of combating it. A united stand against hunger and poverty is the only long-term remedy. A united stand against outside intervention is the only guarantee of permanent peace.

9. Until final victory for all regions and people, the struggle continues; victory is certain.

10. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The General Assembly is now discussing one of the crucial items of the agenda of this session, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia; an item dealing directly with the issues which my country has always considered to be of the utmost urgency and of top priority in a region both sensitive and imperilled by tension; an item which once again testifies to the indivisibility of peace.

11. This debate is indeed related to a region of great importance for world peace, for as long as we do not have peace in South-East Asia there will be no peace in Asia, there will be no world peace. That is why any genuine effort, including the one implied in the question now under consideration; aimed at stabilization in that part of the globe, is also important for the world at large.

12. South-East Asia has known war and conflict for decades. Throughout the entire period following the Second World War the region as a whole has not enjoyed even a single year of peace. Its nations have been constantly haunted by wars—colonialist at the beginning, hegemonism-inspired in the most recent past—wars which have taken a heavy toll in death, human suffering and material losses. That is why those nations badly need peace and stability. For that reason their Governments are focusing their international efforts on ensuring that the genuine aspirations of their peoples are realized, first of all on a regional basis.

13. The important proposals made by the Governments of the three Indo-Chinese States in this respect are well known to members of the Assembly. They testify unequivocally to the tireless efforts of their authors to solve all the problems between them by way of constructive dialogue, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. That is in fact the crux of the proposal to hold a regional conference between the Indo-Chinese countries and the members of ASEAN on regional matters of mutual concern; to continue regional consultations between them on a bilateral or multilateral basis to discuss and reach agreement on regional issues of mutual concern and to establish the principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

14. We consider that negotiations between the countries of the region directly interested, based on the principle of equality and without any outside interference, are the only way to establish peace and stability in South-East Asia. In our opinion the proposals formulated by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at the meeting in Ho Chi Minh City in January 1981 [see A/36/86] and reiterated in June 1981 at their Conference in Phnom Penh [see A/36/328] constitute a solid platform for the development of a broad political dialogue and the speeding-up of the process of normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

15. In calling for the establishment of a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in the region, those proposals testify to the goodwill of the three Indo-Chinese States and confirm their readiness to develop good-neighbourly relations with the ASEAN countries. The readiness to sign bilateral treaties on peaceful coexistence with the People's Republic of China and the appeal to People's China to enter into diplomatic talks, as declared by the three Indo-Chinese States, also constitute an important supplement to those proposals.

16. The proposals of the Indo-Chinese States are aimed at easing the potentially explosive tension which continues to persist in the region, thus constituting a serious threat to its peace and stability. They are aimed at promoting relations of friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation among the countries of that region. They are aimed at bringing about progress in relations between the States of the region so that they may contribute to the implementation of their plans of development in the interests of their respective peoples.

17. The United Nations could certainly contribute to helping those countries solve their problems peacefully. That being so, we cannot but deplore once more the absence from our midst of the legitimate representatives of one of those nations, namely, of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a country which pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence with all States, regardless of their political and social systems; a country which pursues a policy based on respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality, mutual benefit, and peace; stability and security both in South-East Asia and in the world.

18. Poland's consistent support for the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States is based on the principles of our foreign policy, on its well-known record of struggle for peace and to enhance constructive relations among nations; it derives from our experience, understanding of and familiarity with the problems of the region in question. Poland is no stranger to its history. For many years we have taken an active part in international efforts towards peace in Indo-China. During their struggle for independence we were in solidarity with the peoples of the area. We have rendered them our assistance and support. Poland was twice a member of the International Commissions for Supervision and Control in countries of Indo-China. Following the victory in their struggle for independence we have developed friendly relations and fraternal ties with all three Indo-Chinese States.

19. We know well that peaceful solutions to the controversial problems of South-East Asia can be sought and found only on the basis of dialogue, respect for the sovereignty of all States and the right of each country of the region to decide its destiny by itself, without outside interference. Poland is firmly convinced that only a realistic approach can contribute to solving the problems of the region. Such an approach is contained in the proposals of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam.

20. We believe that convening a regional conference would create the proper conditions for the restoration of an atmosphere of peace, stability and good-neighbourly co-operation among the States of the region. It would serve to promote mutual understanding and confidence and to develop much-needed dialogue. The recognition of the irreversibility of progressive social and political changes in Indo-China, including those in Kampuchea, and the cessation of any interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region constitute the basic conditions for building the solid structure of peace and security in that area. Such a conference would undoubtedly contribute to the lessening of the tensions which are being created as a result of the policies pursued by the hegemonist and imperialist forces, using political, economic and military instruments to stop the process of normalization and stabilization.

21. We certainly hope that the United Nations will give its support to the proposals for regional dialogue. It is unnecessary to add that the Charter, in Article 52, paragraph 2, encourages such efforts "to achieve pacific settlements of local disputes through regional arrangements".

22. May the friendly hand extended by the three Indo-Chinese States to their neighbours not be left suspended in mid-air.

23. Mr. SOUKA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): In the view of the Congolese delegation, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia concerns a fundamental matter, since it deals comprehensively and systematically with a problem facing one of the regions most affected by the persistent troubles characterizing international relations today. We must therefore seek adequate means of relaxing the atmosphere and relieving the tragedy of the people of Indo-China, who for more than 40 years have had to fight to safeguard their independence against all sorts of hegemonism and imperialism.

24. As the Secretary-General emphasized in his report on the situation in Kampuchea, after many years of war "the people of Indo-China are still denied a stable peace and prosperity to which they so desperately aspire" [A/36/583, para. 10]. In the view of the Congolese delegation this situation is the result above all of the too partial way in which the problem of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is discussed.

25. The importance and delicacy of the problem should lead us to look for the best approach to enable the peoples of Indo-China and their neighbours on the one hand and foreign nations on the other hand to reach agreement on a minimum of principles to govern international relations between States, whatever their ideology or their political or economic system.

26. The basic problem now dividing the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN is that of Kampuchea, where the people, with the welcome aid of Viet Nam, have ousted the bloody dictatorship of Pol Pot, which was characterized by the genocide of the peoples that it was supposed to govern, genocide practically unprecedented in contemporary history.

27. The People's Republic of the Congo, which has recognized the new legal Government, that of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has always refused to associate itself with the manoeuvres of certain States which say that all that is bad in South-East Asia results from the Vietnamese assistance to Kampuchea. That is why the Congo refused to endorse the International Conference on Kampuchea held last July, in which only just over half the Members of the United Nations took part.

28. My country's position is based on the normal principles of international law, including non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. No study, no serious inquiry, has ever convinced us that the people of Kampuchea regret having ousted Pol Pot, having acquired democratic institutions and having decided to banish for ever the haunting nightmare from which they have extricated themselves, thanks not to the lip-service to freedom which is heard too often in this Hall, but to the brotherly, concrete aid given by Viet Nam.

29. We should point out that if Viet Nam is condemned by certain countries that is scarcely done in a disinterested manner. Viet Nam and the other countries of Indo-China are reproached for having struggled for too long and effectively against all forms of foreign domination, as well as for their perseverance in preserving their independence, unity and cultural identity.

30. Thus, the problem is usually not discussed in the proper perspective. For example, during consideration of the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" there was a political hold-up which forced the General Assembly to violate one of the basic principles of the Charter, that of keeping the Secretariat out of the internal affairs of a Member State. In the view of my delegation the problem of Kampuchea exists only in the minds of those who persist in discussing it as an international problem.

31. The most serious matter is that they are seeking once again to deliver the people of Kampuchea to the Pol Pot régime, this time with the approval of Prince Sihanouk, even though the fallen dictator decimated his family. That is our interpretation of the unnatural declaration made in Singapore after an obviously forced meeting between Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan.

32. Those who favour interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea claim that "no effective solution to the humanitarian problems can be achieved without a . . . political settlement of the Kampuchea conflict". That was stated peremptorily in resolution 36/5, adopted this year in this very Hall.

33. We are surprised that a group of Member States can take it upon themselves to state publicly that they will continue to interfere in the affairs of Kampuchea and to sow the seeds of insecurity and desolation there for as long as their special interests are not satisfied. It is certainly not the present Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea or the people of that country that are keeping the so-called problem of Kampuchea still in existence. And the international organizations providing humanitarian aid, until intolerable pressures were put on them, never said there had been anything but an improvement in the situation in Kampuchea following the well-deserved forced departure of Pol Pot and the efforts made by the Phnom Penh authorities to rebuild their country.

34. The situation must be viewed objectively. Instead of embroiling the Secretariat in a collaboration with a non-representative committee set up by the so-called July Conference, we would be wiser to encourage the initiatives now being undertaken by the countries of Indo-China on the one hand and the ASEAN countries on the other to assess the situation in a way closer to the real facts and the needs of the peoples concerned.

35. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea have for more than two years been putting forward a series of concrete proposals to improve relations between the three countries of Indo-China—no one can deny their right to organize their own future—and the countries of ASEAN, most of which are members of the non-aligned movement and which, we are sure, are well aware of the danger that would confront South-East Asia as a whole if it were transformed into a prime area for strategic East-West ambitions.

36. In New Delhi last February the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries rightly appealed to all the countries of the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among them and the establishment of lasting peace and stability in the region and would eliminate interference and threats of intervention by outside Powers.

37. That is the thrust of the action we support because we do not want to encourage the puppet movements and activist groups, the sole aim of which is to delay the establishment of peace and true co-operation between the countries of the region and to encourage the premeditated destabilization of the legal Governments of sovereign States.

38. The entire international community, which is represented here, is duty bound to do everything possible to ensure that South-East Asia does not remain a pocket of permanent tension. On the contrary, we must strive to seize the most propitious occasions to assist those States that history and culture have brought together to build conditions for true independence, without which there can be no real peace and stability.

39. The economic, human and cultural resources of the countries of South-East Asia must provide the basis for political and other structures, without foreign interference, in order to ensure the endogenous development and progress of which they are perfectly capable.

40. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Consideration of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is a very important element in the work at this session. It enables us to make a thorough analysis of the situation in the region in the context of the ideas and the specific proposals aimed at a just and lasting settlement of the problems there, in conformity with the vital interests of the peoples of the region.

41. There is—and we are all well aware of this—another approach to these problems—as evidenced, during the recent discussion in the General Assembly, by the adoption of a sterile resolution without the participation of the countries directly concerned, and against their will. Such an approach is inappropriate because it does not contribute in any way to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the region to live as good neighbours and to encourage mutually advantageous co-operation, and also because it can further increase tension in South-East Asia and can pit States against each other.

42. Clearly, that approach reflects a certain degree of misunderstanding about the true problems of the region. Nevertheless, in my delegation's view the deep-rooted cause of the situation in Indo-China is the long-term strategy of the imperialists and hegemonists whose forces attempt to destabilize the situation in the region and to establish their supremacy there.

43. It would be pointless to mention all the details of the strategic aims of the imperialists and hegemonists in South-East Asia, nor is it necessary to prove all the concrete facts relating to their realization. It is sufficient to mention the continuous pressure exerted on the ASEAN countries with a view to preventing the restoration and normalization of relations between those countries and the States of Indo-China. Thus, today the peoples of South-East Asia, not yet having recovered from the effects of the wounds and the destruction inflicted on them by

American aggression in Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea, are faced with new ploys on the part of Washington and Beijing aimed at the establishment of a so-called united front, which is nothing but a grouping of individuals who have nothing in common with the true interests of the Kampuchean people. The official support given to the Kampuchean counter-revolutionaries, including the delivery of arms, is a direct expression of all those ploys.

44. That policy is replete with danger not only for the peoples and countries of Indo-China but also for the ASEAN States. By simultaneously stirring up the tensions which already exist in the region, that policy diverts the attention and the resources of those countries from the pressing needs of their development to confrontation and the ever-increasing burden of military expenditures. That being the case, it is difficult, if not impossible, to envisage any viable alternative other than the gradual establishment of a climate of trust and co-operation among all the countries of the region.

45. That is why we believe that the continuous and tireless efforts made by the countries of Indo-China—Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic—to change South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation are the right approach. We greatly appreciate those efforts.

46. The initiatives of the Governments of the three countries are fully in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region to live in peace among themselves, in a spirit of good-neighbourliness. In my delegation's view those initiatives point to the only viable way to the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, which should begin with the elimination of the specific cause of tension and confrontation—the interference of the imperialistic and hegemonistic forces in the internal affairs of the peoples of that region.

47. The core of those proposals is the establishment of lasting co-operation among the States of the region. To open up the way to such co-operation, all pending questions and problems should be settled at the regional level in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, without any external interference.

48. It seemed to us that the proposals and ideas that were put forward by the high-ranking representatives of the three Indo-Chinese countries during the general debate at this session were extremely timely and topical. They showed realism and a constructive spirit as regards the normalization and stabilization of the situation in the region.

49. It would be a measure of the greatest importance if all the countries concerned would pool their efforts in support of the seven principles set out in the memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic as a solid foundation for future co-operation. The proposals contained in that memorandum are aimed at promoting multifaceted co-operation in that region.

50. The consultations and bilateral dialogue which have begun among the States of the region are worthy of encouragement and support, given the contribution they will make to engendering a spirit of mutual understanding and greater trust among the countries concerned. In this con-

nection, we note with satisfaction the visits which have taken place on the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

51. We attach particular importance to the proposal made by the three Indo-Chinese countries with regard to the convening of a regional conference, with the participation as an observer of a representative of the Secretary-General. It should also be noted that, should the countries of ASEAN not be ready at the moment to participate in a regional conference, bilateral and multilateral consultations could continue covering the broadest possible spectrum of questions, as proposed by the three Indo-Chinese countries.

52. All these realistic and just proposals also provide for the forms and modalities for the settlement of the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops on the territory of Kampuchea. The three Indo-Chinese countries, furthermore, have reaffirmed their willingness to sign pacts of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence with China. It is to be regretted that those constructive and reasonable proposals have been rejected by that country.

53. The Bulgarian delegation is firmly convinced that the discussion on this agenda item could bring about the necessary conditions for a constructive settlement of the pressing problems of South-East Asia. That is the way to bring closer together the positions of those countries. With such an approach the General Assembly could contribute effectively to the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, which would undoubtedly contribute to the maintenance of peace and to the strengthening of security throughout the world.

54. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For almost four decades South-East Asia has been considered to be one of the most dangerous pockets of conflict in the world. Imperialist interference from outside and tensions among the States constantly prevent peace and stability in that region. Even today these factors are the source of a tense and explosive situation there.

55. The national interests of the peoples of South-East Asia have always been alien to the imperialist forces, which today are intensifying tension. Those forces are guilty of countless crimes against the peoples of Indo-China and the present members of ASEAN. They are guilty of waging vile aggressive wars against Viet Nam. They support the ousted supporters of Pol Pot, who are guilty of genocide, as well as other reactionaries. They bear the responsibility for the sufferings of tens of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees.

56. Intensified international confrontations and the stirring up of conflicts by Washington and Beijing have very negative consequences for all countries. It is becoming increasingly clear that the so-called strategic partnership recently knocked together between imperialism and hegemonism poses a very real, tangible danger.

57. The Pentagon is inciting the Chinese hegemonists to expansion, giving them access to arsenals of the most dangerous weaponry; it is virtually giving them the material means for the implementation of their hegemonistic plans, which are also aimed against the countries of South-East Asia. There are entirely justified fears that those means will be utilized sooner or later.

58. By thwarting the aspirations of the peoples of South-East Asia to peace, stability and co-operation,

those in these same circles are today once again undermining the prospects for the normalization of the situation. Being enemies from outside, they want to destroy the gains resulting from the dialogue between the ASEAN States and the States of Indo-China. To do this they are creating tension and are attempting to push the ASEAN countries into open confrontation with the States of Indo-China. More and more obstacles are being created to the improvement of the situation in the region of South-East Asia which would lead to its establishment as a zone of peace and stability.

59. The artificially inflated so-called question of Kampuchea risks being converted into a permanent factor of increased tension. In addition, renewed attempts are being made to force the United Nations to spend its time and effort on fruitless discussions of non-existent problems. It is quite obvious that gross external interference runs counter to the national interests of the countries of the region; it benefits only those who want to force an imperialistic and hegemonistic diktat on the peoples of South-East Asia.

60. Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea won their freedom and independence by fighting against foreign aggression and internal reaction. Their victory consolidated peace in that region and significantly strengthened the forces of social progress. However, the colonial heritage and the consequences of wars which continued for many decades, as well as natural disasters, are still a heavy burden on the peoples of Indo-China. The complex problems of economic and social development have to be resolved, and that is an enormous task. In order to implement their plans, peace is needed, stable and constructive relations with neighbouring countries must be established and humanitarian international assistance provided.

61. It is noteworthy that it is precisely those that destroyed Viet Nam with napalm and incendiary bombs that are blocking the granting of aid to that long-suffering country under the World Food Programme. At the same time, dollars for supplying gangs of murderers with weapons are flowing in a broad stream to the bands that are operating in the regions bordering on the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Could anything show more clearly the false ethics of those in imperialist circles that speak so much about human rights? The peoples of Indo-China have not forgotten that historic experience. They, like any other people, are entitled to peace and security. However, the imperialists and hegemonists are refusing to grant them that right. Therefore they must be on the alert. No State in that region should disregard the legitimate security interests of the peoples of Indo-China. The policy of the imperialists and hegemonists is dangerous, especially since they possess forces which should not be underestimated. However, we are happy to note that more and more people are aware of the danger and are expressing their determination to prevent the worst from happening.

62. There is no doubt that fruitful co-operation in South-East Asia would benefit all countries of the region. There have long existed close links in the sphere of economy, trade and culture. Unless those links are restored, unless stable, good-neighbourly relations are established it will be impossible to achieve the goal reaffirmed by representatives of the ASEAN countries in these debates—that is, the transformation of South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

63. Enmity, suspicion and distrust, however, hamper good-neighbourly relations. If a peaceful settlement of controversial issues is to be possible, it is essential that there be an exchange of opinions, discussion and negotiation. Only by discarding everything that divides them can they find points of departure, a mutually acceptable basis for the common attainment of their goals. This problem must first and foremost be solved by the peoples directly involved. In no way should this be left to those in the ruling circles of the United States or China, which are forever seeking new ways of increasing international tension and unleashing conflict. Typically, China has rejected the proposal of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic to establish good-neighbourly relations by means of a treaty.

64. Peace and security in South-East Asia can be attained only on the basis of all-round agreement and co-operation between all countries of the region. This refers first and foremost to the groups which encompass almost all the countries of the region, those of Indo-China and ASEAN. The States of Indo-China have already proposed a way to secure the relaxation of tension in that region. The problems in the region—and this is the basic thrust of their proposal—must be resolved by agreements between the States of South-East Asia, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, without outside interference.

65. It was in this spirit that in January 1981 the Foreign Ministers of the three States of Indo-China put forward proposals regarding the convening of a regional conference to conclude a whole range of multilateral treaties on questions of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. In June of this year a proposal was made to hold a regional conference with the participation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and possibly other countries. The Lao Foreign Minister, having set forth the well-known seven points on behalf of the three friendly countries, has once again submitted a programme of principles and practical questions that would make it possible for dialogue to begin immediately.

66. For those who are really striving for fruitful co-operation in the most varied spheres, the programme contains sufficient starting-points. For those who answer trust with trust, a sense of responsibility should be an essential for holding such talks. For those who do not want tension and instability in the future, those seven points offer a real alternative.

67. The initiative by the three countries of Indo-China is fully in line with the appeal made in the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in 1981, to all States of the region "to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers" [A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex, para. 85].

68. *The International Herald Tribune* calls the proposals put forward by the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Viet Nam and Kampuchea "a chance which should be used. The best opportunity", as the paper says, "to break the paralyzing Cambodian deadlock". In the opinion of the newspaper, this could be the start of action whereby the damage caused as the result of giving support to Pol Pot could be remedied.

69. The German Democratic Republic will support any initiative aimed at providing a constructive and peaceful solution to controversial issues. This is true in regard to South-East Asia as well as to any other region of the world. Any step, any proposal, that would lead to peace, stability and co-operation is likely to strengthen the foundation of universal peace.

70. As far as South-East Asia is concerned, the leaders of the ASEAN countries too have many times shown interest in normalizing the situation. A peaceful future for the region requires patience, realism and a sense of responsibility. We must avoid anything that might further complicate the situation.

71. A speedy, joint search for ways to normalize the situation can be carried out only through dialogue between all sides concerned. The prior conditions mentioned by some representatives during the discussion are not an invitation to dialogue. They are but an attempt by them to force their will and to exert pressure on other States. Of course, this cannot lead to mutual understanding. The efforts deployed can be successful only if they are not undermined from outside but are encouraged; this refers to all States which border directly on the region or are present there in whatever form.

72. In order to establish a stable peace in South-East Asia, the countries of the region must be free from the constant threat of aggression, the expansionist policy of interference and gross violation of national sovereignty.

73. Let us help build the conditions which serve universal peace, security and mutual understanding in the region. Dialogue instead of confrontation is and will remain the only sensible alternative to improve the political climate in South-East Asia, which the United Nations is in duty bound to support.

74. Mr. TARUA (Papua New Guinea): Papua New Guinea has a particular interest in item 34. We are located on the fringe of the South-East Asian region and have close ties with member countries of ASEAN. We are therefore as concerned as the proponents of this item to see peace, stability and co-operation established and maintained amongst the South-East Asian countries.

75. The proponents have given various reasons for the need to establish peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. We agree that such a need exists. The region has been subjected to various wars and social turmoil. The most heartbreaking episode is the exodus of thousands of refugees from Indo-China and the enormous burden that that has placed on neighbouring countries and the world.

76. The area still faces the ramifications of these difficult times and continues to be under pressure. Underlying all this is the continued friction, suspicion and uncertainty in dealings among the South-East Asian countries professing different social orders and political philosophies. It is therefore essential to find solutions to such problems in order to bring about the peace, stability and co-operation that are envisaged by Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Such a goal can be achieved only if the root cause of all these problems is resolved.

77. In our view the main cause of instability and suspicion is the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam in 1978 and its continued occupation of that country. This action and the presence of Viet Nam in Kampuchea has caused

great concern among South-East Asian countries and the world at large. Such naked aggression cannot be ignored, especially by small and weak countries in South-East Asia and neighbouring States. We have no assurances that such a blatant transgression of the Charter will not be repeated. Unless and until the issue of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea is resolved, the lessening of tension, suspicion and uncertainty will be difficult to achieve.

78. Viet Nam has entangled itself in a situation which has brought untold misery to its own people, to the people of Kampuchea and to most of the South-East Asian region. It seems to my delegation that the only honourable way open for Viet Nam in this entanglement in Kampuchea is to enter into direct dialogue with those interested in and concerned with the situation in Kampuchea. This will include countries of the region, the big Powers and other members of the General Assembly. The opening has been provided by the United Nations in resolution 36/5.

79. The Declaration and resolution adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea and endorsed in resolution 36/5 left the door open for discussion of all the important elements which will allow Viet Nam to withdraw with honour. The Declaration also provides for resolution of most of the issues that Viet Nam and its supporters have cited as stumbling-blocks to United Nations resolutions.

80. Issues such as the so-called Chinese hegemony and American imperialism and the ever-present doubts of Viet Nam's true intentions can be the subject of discussion and even solution under resolution 36/5. There are others, like the refugee problem, the continued fighting in Kampuchea, the Thai-Kampuchea border clashes and the ever-present threat to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. These have caused suspicion and are obstacles to lasting coexistence, friendship and co-operation amongst South-East Asian countries.

81. It is our contention that once the situation in Kampuchea is normalized in accordance with resolution 36/5, the worries and concerns which are keeping countries of the region apart will no longer be present. Once that happens, trust and friendship can be built on a solid basis. The proposals put forward by the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam on peace, stability and co-operation should then provide an excellent beginning for building a new era of peace in the area.

82. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): South-East Asia has been and remains one of the most inflamed regions of our planet, and this situation has been going on for many years. It lies at the crossroads of maritime routes from the Indian to the Pacific Oceans, is a rich source of raw materials and manpower and constitutes an enormous and alluring market. It has whetted the greedy appetites of the imperialists, particularly the Americans, and the Chinese expansionists. The former, with their characteristic brazenness, have declared South-East Asia to be a sphere of their "vital interests", while the latter consider themselves entitled to "teach" other peoples lessons, including military ones.

83. It would appear that in this case the interests of American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism are incompatible. Nevertheless, they are united by the presence of a common obstacle, in the form of the powerful libera-

tion movement of the peoples of Indo-China and the trend to strengthen the national independence of young States. The claims of the imperialistic and hegemonistic forces have been strongly countered by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which defended their existence in an exceptionally difficult and unequal war with the United States and the firebrands from Beijing, and for which there is no more important task than defending their gains and changing South-East Asia into a region of peace, stability and co-operation.

84. Washington and Beijing, with the support of a number of member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], have been exerting gross pressure on the members of ASEAN and have been pushing them into confrontation with Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea. They are the ones that have been placing under the black banners of counter-revolution all the enemies of the peoples of Indo-China, irrespective of their political colouring either in the past or at present.

85. These same aims are served by the undignified clamour surrounding the so-called "Kampuchean problem", in which the United Nations has unfortunately been embroiled. However, the stability of the political situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the improvement in the economic situation in that country and its growing authority in the international arena have shown that the attempts of American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism, with the help of the bankrupt politicians, to thwart the construction of the bases of a new society there have been fruitless.

86. These, in general, are the main factors which we feel are having a destabilizing impact on the situation in South-East Asia and have led to the emergence in the region of a crisis situation containing a threat to peace and stability.

87. In this situation, the efforts of the international community must be directed towards finding real ways of resolving the crisis in South-East Asia by peaceful means, without any outside interference. These aims are fully served by the well-known proposals put forward by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in January of this year and reaffirmed in the declaration of the Foreign Ministers of those countries in Phnom Penh in June 1981.

88. Firmly convinced that the problems which complicate the situation in South-East Asia can be solved only through consultation and negotiations based solely on equality and a renunciation of the policy of pressure and diktat, the Governments of those countries proposed that a regional conference be held with the participation of the States of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN. It was proposed that representatives of other countries and the Secretary-General of the United Nations be invited as observers. If the ASEAN States are not yet ready to hold a regional conference, the countries of Indo-China have suggested that multilateral and bilateral consultations on all problems of concern to the parties involved be continued.

89. In the Phnom Penh declaration, the three countries of Indo-China reaffirmed their willingness to sign with China a bilateral treaty on non-aggression and peaceful coexistence on the basis of the principles of strict mutual

respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, renunciation of aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, good-neighbourly relations and the settlement of all bilateral disagreements by peaceful means.

90. A priority question in the present situation is the restoration of peace and stability on the Chinese-Vietnamese border. On this there is a concrete and realistic proposal, which was made by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It stresses the need to attain in the near future an agreement on immediate measures to restore peace and stability on the border between China and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and to resume as soon as possible the third round in the Vietnamese-Chinese talks, which were unilaterally broken off by China. An agreement of this kind would be in accordance with the sincere aspirations of the peoples of Viet Nam and China, and we feel that it would not only promote a solution of the problem of bilateral relations but also ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia as a whole.

91. However, the goodwill and constructive initiatives of Viet Nam have thus far met with no response from the Chinese side. Furthermore, the ruling circles of China have been stepping up their subversive activities against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and have been attempting to exert political, economic and military pressure on it. Since the beginning of this year alone, the Chinese military clique has perpetrated more than 1,800 armed acts of provocation on the border with Viet Nam.

92. Naturally, the search for ways to eliminate tension in South-East Asia requires a constructive approach and goodwill not only on the part of countries of Indo-China. A stable peace there can be assured only through the joint efforts of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea and the ASEAN States. The possibilities and conditions for this do exist. We note with satisfaction that, notwithstanding the differences which still persist, dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries has recently yielded some results with regard to strengthening mutual understanding, creating favourable conditions for further discussion and attaining agreement on regional problems without outside interference. That process has been significantly promoted by the visit of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Phoune Sipraseuth, to a number of States of South-East Asia.

93. The practical importance of developing a basis for talks would be recognition by the ASEAN countries of the seven principles set forth in the memorandum of the Lao Foreign Ministry which were dealt with in some detail during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly. We share the conclusion contained in the memorandum that "only continuation of the dialogue between the two groups of countries will make it possible to promote mutual understanding and trust, to eliminate such divergences and to seek together means of settlement to remove the causes of the threat to the States' independence and sovereignty and in general to the peace and stability of the region". [A/36/561, annex, p. 1.]

94. Unfortunately, the ASEAN countries, giving way to pressure from the United States of America and China, have thus far not given a positive response to the repeated constructive proposals from the three States of Indo-China. That position will not help mitigate tension in South-East Asia or create a favourable atmosphere for the

preservation of peace and stability in the region. It shows that there are significant differences in the approaches of the two groups of countries to the problems of the region. In this respect the United Nations has enormous potential for seeking out ways of overcoming these differences. We feel that the consideration by the General Assembly of this item, "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia", should play a constructive and positive role in international efforts to overcome tension in the region and transform it into a zone of stable peace and mutually beneficial co-operation.

95. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): The General Assembly has heard several speakers on this agenda item and many of them have made reference to the Lao memorandum of 28 September 1981 on "Principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia". The Thai delegation therefore wishes to share a few of its thoughts on this memorandum and on the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

96. My delegation has carefully studied the proposal contained in the Lao memorandum and is disappointed to find nothing new in it. On its surface, the proposal may seem reasonable, citing as it does at great length the principles which are already enshrined in the Charter and which are cogent rules of international law. These are the principles which are generally recognized as applicable to inter-State relations, and not only at some particular stage or period of time. One cannot but pose the question why these principles were not applicable during the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces in 1978 and why they are proposed only after the invasion, while Kampuchea continues to be illegally occupied by foreign forces.

97. Indeed, the Lao memorandum entirely ignores the Kampuchea problem. To its proponent and supporters, the paper is a self-serving document which is intended to accomplish what the foreign forces have so far failed to achieve, namely, the incorporation of Kampuchea in the Indo-Chinese group of countries—a point which is often emphasized in its pages, despite repeated denials of any intention to create a so-called federation of the Indo-Chinese States. Its acceptance would compromise the long-cherished goal of the Kampuchean people to remain neutral and non-aligned.

98. Furthermore, the memorandum endeavours to misrepresent the situation in South-East Asia as one of confrontation and conflict between the members of ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese States. However, the fact is that the only conflict is the one between Viet Nam and Kampuchea and confrontation exists only between Viet Nam and its neighbour to the north. The ASEAN countries merely seek to avert a larger conflagration and to find a comprehensive peaceful solution to both the conflict and the confrontation.

99. To the supporters of the Lao memorandum, the situation in Kampuchea is an irreversible *fait accompli* and the international community should desist from its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. Furthermore, the countries of South-East Asia are asked to accept this military *fait accompli*, as well as the puppet régime installed by the foreign forces. Presumably, then, peace and stability would return to the region thanks to *Pax Vietnamica*. The reality of the situation, however, as most delegations are well aware, is far more complex than that.

100. First of all, the Organization will not be able to accept the use or threat of force contrary to its Charter as a means of solving disputes and differences among States. Such a course of action would create a very dangerous precedent and could prove to be fatal to the less powerful nations of the world.

101. Secondly, Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea has dealt a severe blow to the process of good-neighbourliness, which the ASEAN countries had indefatigably tried to promote step by step with their neighbours. In fact, since the invasion of Kampuchea, mutual trust and confidence among countries in South-East Asia have been at their lowest point, despite Viet Nam's assurances to the contrary. Therefore, to rebuild mutual trust and confidence among these countries would necessarily require a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem whereby the legitimate interests of all concerned would be taken into account.

102. Thirdly, Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea have provided certain outside Powers with the pretext to become further involved in the affairs of the South-East Asian region, whether to Viet Nam's liking or not. It is only through a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem that these major Powers can be persuaded to play a more constructive role in the region.

103. Fourthly, it follows that, while bilateral consultations may proceed and diplomatic channels remain open—as they do in fact—the problem in all its aspects has international dimensions, thus requiring the active participation of the international community in the search for a peaceful solution. The Declaration and the resolution adopted recently by the International Conference on Kampuchea and overwhelmingly endorsed by the Assembly in its resolution 36/5 offer the realistic and reasonable framework for such a comprehensive settlement and a durable basis on which to build a lasting edifice of peace in South-East Asia. My delegation would therefore like to urge Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and others avowedly concerned with peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia which have not done so, to support the United Nations efforts in this regard.

104. Before concluding I should like to refer to the statement of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the 44th meeting, which contained a reference to the joint military exercise recently conducted in a remote maritime area of Thailand. There have been massive and extended as well as frequent military exercises in recent months in large areas of Eastern Europe. Thus far my delegation has refrained from commenting or passing any judgement on those operations and will not do so now. Suffice it to say that the exercise mentioned by the Soviet representative was a relatively small-scale training exercise, undertaken infrequently, at long intervals and in a routine manner for self-defence purposes. My delegation is therefore amazed and somewhat flattered by the apparent concern attached to it by the representative of a super-Power.

105. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): At the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, on the initiative of a group of countries that included Mongolia, the question of peace, stability, and co-operation in South-East Asia was discussed. Today the General Assembly is again taking up that question to which the Mongolian delegation attaches the greatest importance.

106. The reason for the vital and acute nature of this problem is first and foremost the fact that the situation in South-East Asia and in particular in the Indo-Chinese peninsula remains extremely tense and unstable. The reasons for this complicated situation, as our delegation sees it, lie mainly in the far-reaching expansionist and hegemonistic plans of China with respect to the countries of Indo-China and the South-East Asian region as a whole.

107. The situation in that region is also being worsened by the actions of those in imperialist circles aimed at tacking together a strategic alliance with the Beijing hegemonists. We must perforce be concerned by the decision of the present United States Administration regarding the sale to China of a sensitive weapon in their attempt to push other countries towards militarization and confrontation.

Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

108. Various kinds of manoeuvres surrounding the so-called Kampuchea problem persist. That is the only way we can evaluate the attempts at gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, the convening of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea and the resolution adopted a few days ago in which the General Assembly was compelled to adopt the decisions of that so-called "Conference". All this is merely aimed at dragging out the conflict situation in the region, which is in the interest of China's expansionist plan to penetrate ever deeper into South-East Asia and plays into the hands of the imperialist and hegemonist forces which are trying to involve ASEAN countries in anti-socialist and anti-Vietnamese policies.

109. Behind the attempts to create a so-called united front—that is, a coalition government formed from various groups of Khmer reactionaries which have been rejected by the Kampuchean people—we must perceive the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and thus wreck the process of its rebirth and the building of a new life. All this is connected with the further dangerous worsening of tension, which can only delay the prospect of South-East Asia being transformed into a zone of peace and co-operation.

110. In contradistinction to this the three States of Indo-China—the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea—have been consistently pursuing an active policy towards normalizing the situation in the region, developing friendly relations with the countries of South-East Asia and creating the conditions for the re-establishment of a climate of good-neighbourliness, peace, stability and co-operation. That is the thrust behind a whole range of constructive initiatives, which were reflected specifically in the Declarations adopted at the Conferences of the Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam held at Vientiane in July 1980,¹ at Ho Chi Minh City in January 1981 and at Phnom Penh in June 1981. They are suggesting that a regional conference should be held to resolve all the problems of mutual interest to them. The participation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his personal capacity and of the representatives of certain other countries as observers is not excluded.

111. If the ASEAN countries are not ready to take part in a regional conference of that kind, the three countries

of Indo-China suggest that regional consultations be continued on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Goodwill and a sincere desire to attain positive results were demonstrated by the proposal to convene an international conference, with wider participation, to reaffirm and guarantee the agreements reached at the regional conference or regional consultations.

112. The possibility is also being examined of the United Nations convening an international conference of this kind, naturally if the United Nations ceases its recognition of the Pol Pot clique.

113. In the opinion of our delegation these proposals open the way for the beginning of dialogue on the basis of equality between the two groups of States and create a real possibility for the peaceful solution of all the problems that complicate the situation in that part of the world. They are also in line with the provisions of the Declaration adopted at New Delhi by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries in February this year [see A/36/116 and Corr.1] and the communiqué of the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly in New York in September [see A/36/566] containing an appeal to all States of the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of lasting peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers.

114. An important new factor arising from the initiative of the countries of Indo-China was the proposals contained in the memorandum of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic dated 28 September 1981, which contains principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries—those of Indo-China and those of ASEAN—to bring about peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia.

115. Dialogue on the basis of the principles mentioned in the memorandum—such as independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, equality and mutual advantage, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for the right of each country in Indo-China and ASEAN and other countries to individual and collective self-defence, the development of economic, technical, scientific and other co-operation—could, we feel, decisively help to reach agreements which would be in the interests of both groups of countries and which would serve the cause of establishing stable peace in that region of Asia.

116. The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian State, has always supported and tried to promote efforts aimed at improving the political climate in South-East Asia and in the Asian continent as a whole, in order to turn it into a zone of peace and good-neighbourliness. With that goal in mind, and with a desire to make whatever contribution it can to the noble cause of creating universal Asian security, my country recently proposed the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific [see A/36/586]. We believe that enshrining in a treaty the principle of the non-use of force in relations between States in the region would create a guarantee whereby the basis of security in Asia could be strengthened.

117. The aim of our proposal is clear from its very title. We believe that its implementation would strengthen the provisions of the Charter with respect to this specific situation and important decisions of the United Nations. The proposal is similar to the many ideas and proposals put forward by the States of Asia to guarantee peace and security in that large continent. In particular, it refers specifically to the proposal of the countries of Indo-China to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. Joint efforts to implement these initiatives and proposals would do much to promote the establishment of a climate of trust, mutual understanding and co-operation, and would strengthen international peace and security.

118. Mr. LÓPEZ del AMO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Never before has mankind accumulated so many means of destruction, endangering its very existence. The defence of peace is therefore our main duty.

119. There are haunted and cavernous minds which dream of an apocalyptic solution to the problems of today's world and hope to emerge victorious from the catastrophe. They create and encourage conflicts, and, with their irresponsible and neo-Fascist policies, push the world towards war.

120. South-East Asia has for long been a stage for the rivalries between colonialist and imperialist Powers as well as for acts of aggression against the peoples of the region.

121. Against the Vietnamese people alone the United States, until a few years ago, used a quantity of explosives greater than all those used during the Second World War.

122. Another great Power—the very one which maintains its minions in armed insurgency against several States of the region, which supervised and supported the largest operation of genocide and enslavement of our time against another people of the area, in order later to extend its domination over the whole of South-East Asia—sent half a million of its soldiers against the Vietnamese peoples.

123. Those two Powers, strange bedfellows in their present reactionary stand, are the main obstacles to the attempts to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. If that is not understood, if the States of the region do not see where the real danger is coming from and do not decide to engage in a dialogue which may open the way to coexistence based on mutual respect, good-neighbourliness and co-operation beneficial to all, they will make a dangerous mistake and create an opening which will allow the tigers to come in through the back door.

124. The three countries of Indo-China, joined as brothers in a common struggle for almost 40 years against colonialism and imperialism, a struggle for independence and national sovereignty, have made serious and constructive proposals aimed at eliminating mistrust, consolidating peace and stability and promoting co-operation among the States of the area. We believe that that is the desire of all. In these days of dark omens the nations of South-East Asia can undoubtedly make an invaluable contribution to world peace and to the cause of the peoples of the so-called third world, if they are capable of turning confrontation into dialogue and dialogue into co-operation.

125. For those reasons, our delegation expresses its most sincere support for the spirit behind this agenda item, which it hopes may become a promising and fruitful reality.

The President resumed the Chair.

126. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Mankind everywhere yearns for peace and amity. Nowhere else is this yearning felt more today than in South-East Asia, where the forces of reaction and tyranny are hard at work to turn back the wheels of history.

127. It has unfortunately become fashionable these days to talk about peace in public forums such as this one while at the same time sowing the seeds of discord and tension outside. This obviously is not going to serve the cause of peace. Instead, it heightens distrust and discord, from which no one stands to gain. It is in that light that all those involved in the affairs of South-East Asia must resist the temptation of trying to extract short-term propaganda advantages at the expense of peoples striving for genuine peace and co-operation. It is our firm conviction that the countries of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN are able to resolve their differences on their own, and, I might add, to the satisfaction of all.

128. South-East Asia has over the past four decades had more than its share of tension and conflict. This has to a large measure been the result of incessant foreign interference in the affairs of the region. Indeed, the people directly concerned have a great stake in peace and intend to strive to this end with resoluteness. They are now in a position, and are prepared, to shape their destiny on their own. But there are those who have chosen not to reconcile themselves to this reality; hence the continued violation of the cardinal principles of the Charter, to this very day.

129. As I have just stated, there is today a crying need for peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, as in many other troubled regions of the world. That region in particular has been plagued for far too long, by turmoil and wars which have been, and still are, the makings of neo-colonialists and imperialists. All those who genuinely subscribe to a rational and lasting solution of the problem existing in the region today are convinced that what is needed most now is the speedy termination of all third-party, outside meddling in the affairs of South-East Asian countries. Short of that, all efforts to bring peace, stability and co-operation will be to no avail.

130. That there are differences among countries of South-East Asia, as among those of any other region of the world, is a fact that can readily be acknowledged. The point is that this should be regarded as a family quarrel, so to speak, that could be solved within a regional context with no outside brokers, no matter how honest they may profess to be. The United Nations has an enormous role to play in encouraging that regional endeavour.

131. It is gratifying to note that encouraging steps are already being taken along the path of lasting peace and co-operation in South-East Asia. The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have taken useful measures in that direction. This clearly bears out their genuine dedication to peace, stability and co-operation in the region. It is up to the other countries of the area concerned to join in this worthy endeavour.

132. Meaningful dialogue between the countries of South-East Asia is welcome and opportune. It is, among other things, well in keeping with the final declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi earlier this year, which called for precisely such a dialogue and the cessation of foreign interference in the affairs of the region. We therefore welcome the constructive initiatives of the countries of Indo-China and hope that their ASEAN colleagues will join them in due course.

133. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Nearly two weeks have passed since our debate on agenda item 22, "The situation in Kampuchea". At the time of that debate the delegation of Albania expressed its views on the problem and on the general situation in South-East Asia [39th meeting]. At this time my delegation would like to make a few remarks in the context of the discussion of agenda item 34.

134. We understand the concerns that the lack of real stability in South-East Asia has brought to the peoples and countries of that region. Needless to say, for the region of South-East Asia, which has not known peace and stability for 40 years, the establishment and safeguarding of peace and true stability constitute a major need and an objective towards which all the efforts of the peoples and countries directly concerned should be sincerely aimed. That would enormously please the democratic and progressive peoples and countries, and would largely contribute to improving the situation in a very sensitive area. But the debates on items 22 and 34 have shown once again that the situation in South-East Asia continues to be complex and tense.

135. It is well known that the situation in South-East Asia is the result of a very long chain of serious events which have taken place throughout the years. The peoples of South-East Asia won great victories by creating national independent States after the Second World War. However, their achievements were immediately endangered by American imperialism, which immediately began political, economic and military penetration in that area. Resorting to the use of large amounts of weapons and great force, the United States tried to stop the process of political and social change and to stifle the struggle for national liberation. The aggressive policy of American imperialism culminated in the barbarous armed aggression against the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples. They were the victims during the 1960s and until the mid-1970s.

136. The many acts of intervention by the United States of America in the internal affairs of several South-East Asian countries, the American military bases in that area, the many other links imposed through treaties and alliances by the United States, and above all the aggression against Viet Nam and other Indo-Chinese countries are among the factors at the root of the ills in that area. There can no longer be any doubt that American imperialism continues to be one of the most dangerous enemies of the peoples of South-East Asia.

137. The appearance of Soviet social-imperialism in the international arena has had very dangerous effects also in South-East Asia, where the Soviet Union immediately began many activities aimed at laying down and expanding the bases of its imperialist penetration. The Soviet social-imperialists continue to claim that they are the friends of the peoples of South-East Asia and that they support them against the other super-Powers. But they will never suc-

ceed in making us forget that they acted against the national liberation struggle of those peoples, that they plotted and bargained with American imperialists when the peoples of Indo-China fought against the aggression by that imperialism, and that they remained the friends of Lon Nol's puppet régime until its very last hours.

138. The same is true for social-imperialist China. Under the cover of being a friend of the peoples of Indo-China and other South-East Asian peoples, it has for a long time been laying down conditions favourable to its hegemonist and expansionist policy. For the needs of that aggressive policy and its major-Power chauvinism, China has manipulated, used and incited the Pol Pot Fascist clique to turn Kampuchea into the bridgehead of its expansionism. China acts openly like an aggressive imperialist super-Power, committing armed aggression against Viet Nam. It continues to threaten Viet Nam by applying for a second time the mediaeval doctrine of teaching lessons.

139. The peoples of the South-East Asian region have endured many difficult and dangerous situations, but their national liberation struggle has also been crowned with great successes. The Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples, during their long and heroic armed liberation struggle against the American aggressors, showed courage and determination and stood together in solidarity. It was as a result of that struggle that they scored the great and historic victory that gladdened all peoples that cherish peace and freedom, and which was so warmly welcomed throughout the world.

140. That victory on the battlefield brought about new possibilities for understanding, stability and peace in all of South-East Asia. The true friends of the peoples of Indo-China expressed the wish and cherished the hope that that would enable all the peoples of the region to devote themselves fully to the tasks of development, progress and the achievement of well-being. Indo-China and South-East Asia continue to be a zone of tension, a hotbed of conflict and an area likely to become a battlefield. The peoples of the region live under the permanent threat of political, and even military, complications. The anxiety and distrust that exist in relations between neighbouring States are, as can be noted from our debates, very deeply rooted. Whatever the local factors, that situation could not have been created and maintained had it not been for external factors such as the policies and the interference of the imperialist super-Powers.

141. The United States of America, China and the Soviet Union endeavour to fulfil their ambitions and satisfy their greed in South-East Asia by exerting political, economic and military pressures, and by interfering with increasing openness in the affairs of that region, thus preventing the establishment of genuine peace and stability.

142. After its defeat in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, American imperialism has continued its manoeuvres aimed at maintaining its influence in South-East Asia, at consolidating its position and at securing new bases of operations. To do this the United States relies heavily on its alliance with China and on the eagerness of the Chinese social-imperialists to join in efforts against Soviet influence. The assistance given by the United States and China to the remnants of the Pol Pot régime are very significant in this context.

143. The Chinese and Soviet social-imperialists, since the time of the national liberation struggle of the peoples

of Indo-China against American aggression, have been engaged in unbridled competition to sabotage that struggle. Since the victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples in 1975 the Soviet Union and China have done everything possible to fill the gap which, according to their imperialist and neo-colonialist notions, must have resulted from the defeat and withdrawal of the United States. The Chinese social-imperialists have even resorted to the force of arms to achieve their hegemonist and expansionist designs, and are now intensifying their intrigues to the detriment of the peoples of the region. They try to justify their growing aggressiveness and their increasingly close collaboration with the United States by avowing their desire to halt the advance of Soviet social-imperialism.

144. The Soviet Union is actively engaged in implementing its own plans in the framework of a counter-revolutionary and expansionist strategy in South-East Asia. After the defeat of the United States in Indo-China the Soviet Union intensified its efforts to expel American imperialism from South-East Asia and to establish its own zone of influence there. The Soviet Union also seeks to create political and military conditions that will permit it to carry on its competition with the other imperialist super-Powers for domination in South-East Asia.

145. Thus, there are several economic, political and military considerations that exacerbate the two-way and three-way rivalries among the United States, China and the Soviet Union in South-East Asia. In order to achieve their goals, the imperialist super-Powers do not want there to be peace, stability and co-operation among the peoples and countries of the region. On the contrary, they make every effort to sow discord among them, to pit them against each other and to inflame the wounds suffered by the entire region as a result of past colonial domination and the infamous policy of divide and conquer which the super-Powers pursue in South-East Asia and in other regions of the world.

146. That is why we remain convinced that, to serve the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia, we must first and foremost oppose the policies of the imperialist super-Powers, both when they act in open enmity and when they disguise themselves as the friends of one or other people or country.

147. The people of Albania and its Government have supported and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples of that region against the pressure, the blackmail, the plots and the interference of the imperialist super-Powers. As we said in our statement on the situation in Kampuchea, we believe that a just solution to that problem in conformity with the rights of that people and with the principle of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity would be of enormous benefit to peace and stability throughout the region. We earnestly hope that the people of Kampuchea will be able to find that solution by itself, without the tutelage of others.

148. Mr. KOH (Singapore): For the second successive year Viet Nam has proposed for consideration by the General Assembly an agenda item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". This year we also have before us a memorandum from the Lao People's Democratic Republic entitled "Principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia".

149. There are nine States in South-East Asia. They are Burma, Thailand, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Kampuchea, Viet Nam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. Of those nine countries, the one which has the mightiest armed forces is Viet Nam. It is natural for Viet Nam's militarily weaker neighbours to be vigilant. They must judge Viet Nam not by what it says, but by what it does.

150. In 1975 the second Viet Nam war came to an end. During the period from 1975 to 1978 South-East Asia enjoyed relative peace. During that period efforts were made by the leaders of the countries of South-East Asia, through the exchange of visits and through other confidence-building measures, to reduce mutual suspicion and misunderstanding and to increase mutual trust and confidence. This process reached its zenith with the visits of the Prime Minister of Viet Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, to the five ASEAN countries. During his meetings with our leaders the Prime Minister of Viet Nam assured them that Viet Nam would scrupulously respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all the countries of South-East Asia. He also assured our leaders that Viet Nam would not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries in the region.

151. Less than three months after the Prime Minister of Viet Nam had given those assurances to the leaders of the ASEAN countries Viet Nam launched a large-scale military invasion of Kampuchea. Viet Nam continues to occupy Kampuchea with more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops. By invading and occupying Kampuchea, Viet Nam has completely destroyed its credibility among its regional neighbours. How can Viet Nam expect to be believed when it tells us that it would like to live in peace and friendship with its neighbours? How can we believe Viet Nam when it tells us that it will respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its neighbours? How can we be sure that after Viet Nam has digested its conquest of Kampuchea it will not, under one pretext or another, seek to use its superior military force to overawe and dominate its other neighbours?

152. Kampuchea is therefore important for two reasons. First, it is important because it is the victim of aggression by its bigger and militarily more powerful neighbour. Secondly, it is important because it is a test case of Viet Nam's sincerity and of its intentions towards its regional neighbours. If Viet Nam is sincere about wanting to live in peace and in friendship with its neighbours, then it can best demonstrate its sincerity by agreeing to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and to allow the Kampuchean to recover and exercise their right to self-determination. If, on the other hand, Viet Nam persists in maintaining that its armed intervention in and continued occupation of Kampuchea are justified and that we must accept the realities flowing from the use of force, then we must conclude that Viet Nam's protestations of peace and friendship are nothing more than a cynical exercise in propaganda, designed to deceive international public opinion.

153. I will now comment briefly on the Lao memorandum contained in document A/36/561. In that memorandum, as well as in the statements of the Lao and Vietnamese representatives it is said that there are two groups of countries in South-East Asia. The first group is ASEAN, which consists of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore. The second group of countries it describes as Indo-China, consisting of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet

Nam. There is an important point here which I would like to identify. It is that the three countries of former French Indo-China do not—and I emphasize “do not”—belong to a freely formed association or group. Indeed, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has alleged that the primary reason why Viet Nam invaded that country in December 1978 was the latter's refusal to join in an Indo-Chinese federation which Viet Nam was seeking to establish under its suzerainty. It is therefore revealing for the representative of Viet Nam to assert that Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam belong to a group. It seems to confirm the accusation that Viet Nam had all along dreamed of imposing its hegemony over the two other countries.

154. The second point in the Lao memorandum on which I wish to comment concerns the root cause of the present state of tension in South-East Asia. The memorandum states that “there still exists between the two groups of countries a number of divergences regarding the underlying cause of the potentially explosive situation in South-East Asia”.

155. Reading the Lao memorandum one gets the impression that the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in December 1978 never happened. In the view of the ASEAN countries, the root cause of the present state of tension and instability in South-East Asia is Viet Nam's continued occupation of Kampuchea. Until Viet Nam is prepared to face up to this fact all its talk about the desirability of dialogue is hollow. Until Viet Nam is prepared to admit that there is a Kampuchean problem, Viet Nam's proposal for a regional conference or regional consultation is nothing but a diplomatic ploy. Its aim is to remove the question of Kampuchea from the agenda of the Assembly. The regional conference or consultations will be a dialogue of the deaf because Viet Nam will insist that there is no such thing as a Kampuchean problem.

156. Finally, the Lao memorandum proposes that the ASEAN countries, on the one hand, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam on the other should reach agreement on a number of principles. These principles include respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, non-aggression, respect for the right of the people of each country to choose and develop freely their political, social, economic and cultural systems, and the settling of disputes by peaceful means through negotiations and without the use or threat of use of force. These principles, which are already enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, are of exceptional merit. The question is whether Viet Nam will adhere to them in practice. Judging by Viet Nam's action in Kampuchea, we are forced to conclude that any agreement on paper made by Viet Nam to uphold those principles is worthless.

157. Until such time as Viet Nam agrees to join in the efforts, within the framework of General Assembly resolution 36/5, to find a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea, Viet Nam's protestations of peace and of friendship will be heard with deserved scepticism.

158. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate. No draft resolution has been submitted under this agenda item. It has been proposed that consideration of this item be postponed and that the item be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I take it that there is no objection to that proposal.

It was so decided (decision 36/404).

159. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Viet Nam, who wishes to exercise his right of reply. In accordance with decision 34/401, statements made in exercise of right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

160. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I have asked to speak to exercise my right of reply to the slanderous allegations made by the representative of China against my country.

161. The hackneyed calumnies of the representatives of China against Viet Nam are all too familiar. Just as the palm of one's hand cannot cover the light of the sun, so China's slander cannot in any way change the facts of history; it cannot in any way dim the light of the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

162. What I wish to say is that one cannot judge a book by its cover. It is in vain that the representative of China tries by all possible means to make the world believe that the Chinese leaders are profoundly interested in peace and stability in South-East Asia. We rather doubt whether they would be able to reply to the following questions.

163. First, who had a 180-degree about-face; who labels himself the NATO of the East; who pays service to its friends overseas, friends which only yesterday it declared to be its number one enemy?

164. Secondly, who has considered South-East Asia, rich in natural resources, to be its natural sphere of influence; who continues the military occupation of tens of thousands of square kilometres of the territory of neighbouring countries; who continues to support and assist armed groups of pseudo-revolutionaries in their sabotage and subversion activities against the legal Governments of the sovereign States of South-East Asia?

165. Thirdly, who has sent tens of thousands of advisers; who has armed and equipped dozens of divisions of the Pol Pot clique to commit sinister genocide against the Kampuchean people; who is currently trying by every means to reinstall that clique of bloodthirsty criminals in power in order to counteract the renaissance of that martyred people?

166. Fourthly, who has waged a war of aggression against Viet Nam using approximately 20 divisions of Pol Pot mercenaries to commit aggression from its south-west border, sending 600,000 of its own troops to invade Viet Nam's northern frontier; who is colluding at present with American imperialism to exercise what they call maximum pressure at all levels, including the military level, and to bleed Viet Nam? Is it to bring about détente and peace in that region of the world that it has concentrated 400,000 troops close to the northern Vietnamese border, threatening it with a second war of aggression at any time?

167. Are those facts fictitious threats, as was alleged at the 44th meeting by the representative of China? No quibbling to free it of blame, no rhetorical efforts to defend it can conceal the fact that it is China's policy of hegemony and expansionism that constitutes the greatest threat to the independence, peace and stability of South-East Asia. We remain convinced that anyone who has truly at heart the interest of his own country, not only in respect of the immediate future but also in respect of future generations, cannot fail to perceive sooner or later the danger inherent in that nefarious policy of the Chinese authorities and therefore cannot defend that policy and justify it on the basis of the so-called legitimate interests of that Power, which is alien to the region.

168. Furthermore, it is to be deplored that in the course of the debate on this item some delegations of countries members of ASEAN have tried to revive confrontation between the two groups of countries in the region. That is contrary to the wish of the majority of Member States to see established a climate of understanding and co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia. The delegation of Viet Nam, interested in pursuing its consistent policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with the ASEAN countries, does not wish to be drawn into such sterile polemics.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTE:

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14071.