



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 35

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

1. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation believes that the consideration of this item on peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia at this session of the General Assembly is very timely and appropriate. A constructive discussion of this problem would undoubtedly help to normalize the situation in that part of the world, which has for many years now been the focus of serious conflicts, including armed conflicts.

2. In South-East Asia, two trends are emerging particularly clearly, two approaches to settlement of the problems there. One such trend is represented by the forces of socialism—Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea—which advocate good neighbourliness, peace and stability in the region. They consider that between them and their neighbours—Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore—the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—there is no objective reason for confrontation, and that distrust and hostility, which lead to disputes and conflict, have been engendered by the intrigues of foreign forces, which have deliberately, for the sake of their own selfish purposes, exacerbated the situation in the region.

3. The other trend, the other approach, is represented by the forces of imperialism and hegemonism. These forces are trying to change the situation in Indo-China. They are trying to divide the ASEAN member countries and the countries of Indo-China and to put one side against the other. The target of particularly harsh attacks has been the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to which all kinds of designs against South-East Asia have been ascribed quite falsely. The leaders of Viet Nam have been groundlessly accused of "intractability", of "being aggressive", of "rejecting" the political settlement of disputes, of trying to worsen the situation in South-East Asia, of creating "refugee problems", and so on and so forth. The sovereignty and security of Laos is constantly being threatened from the outside.

4. In trying to sow this kind of hostility between the ASEAN member countries and their neighbours, those in imperialist and hegemonist circles are trying to present as the root cause of tension in South-East Asia the presence of Vietnamese troops on Kampu-

chean territory. However, they have no proof to support this completely groundless allegation. If we look at the situation objectively, we cannot fail to recognize that neither the People's Republic of Kampuchea nor the Vietnamese troops on its territory are threatening anybody. Peace and stability in South-East Asia are being harmed by something completely different. They are being harmed by the attempts of outside forces to hinder the irreversible process of national rebirth in Kampuchea and to restore to power the Pol Pot régime, which is now trying to disguise itself behind the label of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

5. The United States does not conceal the fact that, in its strategic plans, South-East Asia has a very special place. On 7 June of this year, *The New York Times* published information about secret strategic Pentagon guidelines for the next five years. These guidelines, according to the newspaper, stated that the United States should promote the strengthening and unity of the ASEAN member countries "while developing further the capacity of member countries to support the projection of United States power from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf".

6. It was precisely to strengthen American military positions in South-East Asia that a recent voyage was made by the United States Secretary of Defense, Mr. Weinberger, to the ASEAN member countries to urge those States further along the path of militarization. The creation of a military bridgehead in the region is the true wish of Washington. This is visible to the naked eye, so it was quite futile for the United States representative, in discussions on the so-called situation in Kampuchea, to portray the United States as the defender of the peoples of South-East Asia. It was the United States and none other that was guilty of the death of hundreds of thousands of people in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, and the United States is still pursuing virtually the same policy of aggression and hostility against the peoples of Indo-China.

7. Unfortunately, some other countries are now pandering to the United States by following a similar line. In saying this, we have in mind the representative of Australia, for example, who, speaking in this debate at the previous meeting, attacked the policy of Viet Nam and tried to cast aspersions on relations between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union. What he said gave the impression that he judges the relationships between socialist countries on the basis of his own experience of the relations between his country and the United States.

8. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam have close ties of brotherly friendship and comprehensive co-operation based on equality and mutual respect. The

Soviet Union provided all kinds of assistance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national independence and freedom against foreign aggression. Even now, the Soviet Union is assisting Viet Nam in restoring the economy, which was destroyed during the war, and in implementing plans for the further development of the country. We whole-heartedly support the peaceful foreign policy of Viet Nam, which aims at the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in South-East Asia. As for Australia, everyone knows that, on instructions from Washington, it sent its troops into Viet Nam to participate in the aggressive war unleashed by the United States against the Vietnamese people. That is how Australia conducted itself at a time when the overwhelming majority of States were condemning the actions of the American imperialists. Australia apparently did not learn the proper lessons from the victory of the Vietnamese people, and it is continuing to follow in the wake of the United States in this policy of hostility to the peoples of Indo-China, a fact clearly reflected in the statement of the Australian representative.

9. We can therefore only draw the conclusion that, in order to improve the situation in South-East Asia, one basic prerequisite must be fulfilled—the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the region.

10. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are using the fruits of their long and difficult struggle—peace and independence—to carry out their plans for national reconstruction, to develop their economies and to establish new and just social relations. It is the nature of the people's power now established in those countries that it precludes any kind of hostility against neighbouring States, and their foreign policy is directed towards ensuring peace and stability in the region. This policy is enshrined in the Constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in the bilateral treaties of friendship and co-operation between Viet Nam and Laos and Viet Nam and Kampuchea and in other official documents of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

11. Convincing proof of the interest of the Indo-Chinese countries in establishing an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness in South-East Asia is provided by their recent proposals, drafted and agreed on at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, held on 6 and 7 July this year at Ho Chi Minh City [A/37/334, *annex*]. Those proposals were set out in the letter dated 15 September 1982 from Mr. Phoune Sipaseuth, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of ASEAN [A/37/477, *annex I*].

12. The Soviet Union fully supports the constructive initiatives taken by the Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. One of the basic merits of their proposals is that they open up the way to talks on the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. As has been emphasized by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev: "The cause of preserving and strengthening peace in South-East Asia would be well served by the

development of a dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN group".

13. An appropriate forum for the consideration and settlement of problems in the region on the basis of mutual respect for each other's legitimate interests, equality and mutual agreement, without any interference from outside, could be an international conference on South-East Asia as proposed by Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. We should like to draw attention to the fact that this proposal takes account of the views of the ASEAN member countries, which feel that what is needed for the consideration and settlement of regional problems is not a regional meeting between two groups of countries, but rather a broader conference.

14. It is difficult to overestimate, for the establishment of an atmosphere of trust, the importance of the proposal made by the People's Republic of Kampuchea that security zones be established on both sides of the border between Kampuchea and Thailand; this would also be an important factor in the regulation of the relations between the Indo-Chinese countries and Thailand. Kampuchea has shown great flexibility in this matter, as reflected in the fact that when Thailand did not agree to an earlier proposal to establish a demilitarized zone along the frontier, Kampuchea expressed its willingness to establish a security zone in the region in which there would be only Kampuchean and Thai armed forces. There would be no Vietnamese troops in the zone, and at the same time, of course, the armed Pol Pot gangs and other Khmer reactionaries on the Thai side of the border would not be permitted in the zone. The serious and constructive nature of this proposal has been underscored by the fact that the People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated its willingness to sign an agreement on this question, which would then be subject to international monitoring. It must be recognized that the proposal to establish a demilitarized zone or a security zone along the frontier of Thailand and Kampuchea is clear confirmation that it is neither Kampuchea nor Viet Nam which is in any way threatening Thailand's security or that of any other country in the region.

15. The Governments of Viet Nam and Kampuchea have confirmed their good will and their sincere desire for normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and for improved relations with neighbouring countries not only by their proposals, but also by their actions. In July of this year, they withdrew some of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. In connection with the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, it should be noted once again that statements have frequently been made by the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the effect that the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn provided that China puts an end to its subversive activities and disarms the Pol Pot gangs and other Khmer reactionaries.

16. It is unrealistic to demand further withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory while at the same time preventing the establishment of the conditions which would make such a withdrawal possible.

17. It is extremely important that the countries of Indo-China have once again declared their willingness to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China. This is confirmed by their proposal to sign with China bilateral or multilateral agreements on peaceful coexistence. Such a step would, of course, be a major contribution to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

18. We support the position of the Indo-Chinese countries on this. In this connection, on 5 October this year, our Head of State, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, said, in a statement made in honour of a visit by a delegation from the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, that:

“We share a single approach here. We are united, and we advocate normal, good-neighbourly relations with China and friendship with the Chinese people. That is the position of the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Viet Nam, and we consistently endeavour to follow that policy. This is not easy, bearing in mind the burden of the past, but we feel that it is possible, if we approach the matter calmly, without prejudice, and on the basis of genuine, true respect. In any event, we are in favour of such relations.”

19. We are profoundly convinced that there is no problem in South-East Asia that cannot be resolved at the negotiating table. Recently, some positive shifts have been noted in South-East Asia. The visits by the Vietnamese Foreign Minister, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, to Singapore, Burma, Malaysia and Thailand in July of this year showed that, despite the differences in their approaches, there are areas where the positions of the parties coincide. There is a general desire to continue dialogue and to make South-East Asia a region of peace, stability and co-operation. We also note with satisfaction that all the countries of the region share a general understanding of the fact that the problems which divide them can be settled by exclusively political means.

20. There is no doubt that the present consultations and dialogue among the States of the region are an important element in the process which will lead to mutual understanding and trust. It is the duty of the United Nations to do everything possible to encourage that process. Those who are truly interested in strengthening international security and in normalizing the situation in South-East Asia should do nothing that could possibly hamper the dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN member countries. The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue to do everything possible to ensure that the region of South-East Asia becomes a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

21. Mr. SUBRAMANIAM (Malaysia): For the third successive session, the question we are now considering has been included in the agenda of the General Assembly. As we have repeatedly said, Malaysia has no difficulty in supporting the objective embodied in this item, for we all aspire to, and dream of, peace, stability and co-operation in our region. We take cognizance of the fact that our region is mainly made up of small countries and that its major preoccupation is to feed its teeming millions and to

ensure a better life for its future generations. We have all been colonized, and we have for long enough experienced various forms of political turbulence. We should all now gear ourselves to reach the goal of peace, security and co-operation in South-East Asia.

22. Malaysia has always recognized that we have no alternative for the future than to build an edifice of peace and harmony among the States in the region. South-East Asia, a region at the crossroads between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, is well endowed with natural resources of every kind, such as natural rubber, tin, palm oil, petroleum and natural gas, to name but a few. In terms of human resources, the region as a whole has a total population of more than 300 million people, all of whom share in varying degrees a common value and outlook deeply rooted in the rich traditions of Asia.

23. With the resources at our disposal, the economic potential of the region is indeed enormous. Given the political will and sincerity of intention, we can build an edifice of co-operation which could be the envy of all. It is with the recognition of this potential that we in ASEAN have taken the necessary initiative to strive for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, known as ZOPFAN. Such a zone of peace would, in our view, create conditions conducive to peace and stability, and eliminate super-Power rivalry for spheres of influence, thereby preventing the region from being embroiled once again in conflicts which are not of our choosing. For ZOPFAN to succeed, however, all must genuinely appreciate the fundamental intraregional, as well as extraregional, constraints.

24. Among ourselves, there must be readiness to live up to the lofty ideals and principles of international relations—*inter alia*, the sanctity of national sovereignty and integrity, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. These are fundamental ingredients for ensuring the development of mutual trust and confidence among ourselves before any agreement whatsoever or any plan for the future can be envisaged. Without these ingredients, whatever understanding or agreement was reached could not be expected to be permanent or durable.

25. We have also to take into account the need for external constraints if peace and harmony in the region are to be assured. After all, it cannot be denied that we live in an interdependent and complex world. The legitimate interests of others in South-East Asia will have to be given equal recognition. Postures of confrontation or taking sides in what are essentially super-Power conflicts cannot be viewed as beneficial to the long-term interests of the region. In fact, such a policy would bring about divisiveness and surely involve the region once again in confrontations and conflicts. The success of the zone of peace in the future can be achieved only on the basis of our recognition of these constraints on regional solidarity and cohesiveness, the recognition of the legitimate interests of others, and a definite commitment to keep away from super-Power rivalry. Only then can we pave the way for meaningful regional co-operation in the economic, social and other fields, and build a region that is truly peaceful, stable and prosperous.

Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

26. For these reasons, it is imperative that the tension and conflict arising from the situation in Kampuchea be resolved as quickly as possible, if we desire durable peace and stability to prevail in the region. A political solution of the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea¹ is vital to the strengthening of the concept of the zone of peace and the attainment of its objectives.

27. The problem in Kampuchea arose out of the complete disregard by Viet Nam of the accepted norms governing inter-State relations. This is now the major source of tension confronting the region. Can we honestly talk of peace when the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a State in the region have been violated? We all know that today more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops, which constitute the largest concentration of invasion forces in the world, continue to occupy that unfortunate State. We all know also that, despite repeated calls by the international community, Kampuchea is still governed by a régime installed and sustained by those invading forces. Is it not contradictory to talk of security and co-operation when the people of Kampuchea have been deprived of their fundamental right to choose their own destiny, free from intervention and coercion? Indeed, if we all desire to address ourselves realistically to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in our region, this conflict in Kampuchea, the root cause of the present tension and instability, will have to be removed first.

28. In the course of the debate on this item, some delegations have conveniently referred to the recommendations in the various communiqués on South-East Asia of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which urged the States in the region to undertake a dialogue leading to the resolution of differences among themselves. Again, my delegation would have no difficulty with this. However, we have several comments with regard to the proposal. First of all, the communiqués referred to have been selectively quoted with a view to creating confusion among those who are not familiar with the proposal. The Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi,² while urging the States to undertake a dialogue, also referred to the withdrawal of forces and the right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people. If the recommendations of New Delhi were implemented *in toto*, the main impediment to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, which is none other than the Kampuchean problem, would be removed.

29. A few delegations have referred to the convening of a regional conference, as proposed by Viet Nam, to resolve the Kampuchean issue. This proposal, in my delegation's view, is both vague and impractical, for it ignores the source of tension in South-East Asia, which emanates from the continued presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. The proposal is therefore nothing more than a propaganda exercise to maintain the *status quo* and to confuse the Kampuchean issue with a host of other issues. Viet Nam itself has often admitted an international dimension to the

Kampuchean problem. Taking into account this factor, would it not have been more appropriate for Viet Nam to have participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea, as called for by the General Assembly resolutions?

30. Before concluding, I reiterate my delegation's appeal to Viet Nam to respond positively to the continuing efforts of the international community to bring about a just and comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Only when the Kampuchean problem is removed to the satisfaction of all concerned can conditions of peace, stability and co-operation prevail in South-East Asia. Only then will the item which the Assembly is now considering be relevant.

31. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): In considering the question of making international peace more secure and durable, particular significance has to be attributed to all steps taken towards improving constructive co-operation on the regional level. There is no doubt at all that the structure of international security will be stable only when all its parts are stable. This is true of Africa, as well as of Latin America, of South-East Asia and of Europe.

32. It is necessary to regard the realities as irreversible, instead of thinking of unrealistic aims. It is necessary to recognize the sovereignty of partner States and their legitimate interests, instead of interfering in their internal affairs. It is necessary to approach each other and to set aside questions of division, instead of insisting on pre-conditions for conducting dialogue.

33. For almost four decades, the region of South-East Asia has been one of the hotbeds of conflict in the world. For a long time the peoples of Indo-China had to bear a colonial yoke. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have gained their freedom and independence after a long struggle against foreign aggressors and internal reactions and with great sacrifice. Their victories have significantly strengthened the forces of social progress. These victories have created the requirement that relations between the States in South-East Asia be shaped on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

34. However, reactionary forces are trying everything to prevent the situation in South-East Asia from improving. They take advantage of every possibility to interfere in the internal affairs of the States in that region. They spread distrust among the peoples and raise serious obstacles in that part of the world. Those who brought immeasurable suffering and disaster to Indo-China by the use of napalm, by barbaric air raids and by the use of chemical weapons, whose dirty war of aggression against Viet Nam raised protests all over the world and who are responsible for the sufferings of tens of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees, are trying again today to stir up tensions.

35. The recent developments in South-East Asia have shown that the forces of imperialism do not refrain from pursuing goals that are aggressive and against the national interests of the States of that region. Again and again, the so-called question of Kampuchea is artificially raised and misused to increase the differences and conflicts. In this con-

nection, there is no lack of attempts to misuse the United Nations for such aims, which are in contradiction with the Charter. The creation of the so-called Coalition Government out of counter-revolutionary groups will obviously open up a new chapter in the imperialist policy of interference. The unification of those reactionary forces is directed against the progressive development of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It will render the solution of the problems in South-East Asia even more difficult.

36. Each interference from the outside will serve only those forces desiring to impose a foreign diktat upon the peoples of South-East Asia. They must take into account, however, that the peoples have learned their lesson from the experience they gained as a result of the imperialist policy of oppression and violence in the past.

37. The vestiges of colonialism and the consequences of decades of war and natural disasters have brought a heavy burden to the peoples of Indo-China. Complicated problems in the fields of economic and social development are still waiting to be solved, and important tasks have still to be fulfilled. The achievement of all this requires peace, stable and constructive relations with the neighbouring countries and international humanitarian aid.

38. Close economic, political and cultural ties have always existed between the States of South-East Asia. In the future also, these ties can play an important role in the development of friendly and mutually advantageous relations among the States of that region. However, this is possible only in conditions of peace and the cessation of interference from the outside. Only the peoples and States of that region themselves are able to solve their problems. It is high time to develop a constructive dialogue between the parties involved, requiring patience and a sense of realism and responsibility on all sides. It is necessary to avoid all activities tending to complicate the situation even further.

39. In the view of the German Democratic Republic, the proposals submitted at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries of Indo-China, in July 1982 [A/37/334, annex], are a good basis for the development of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. These proposals constitute a reasonable alternative to the policies of confrontation in South-East Asia stimulated by imperialist forces. They include the elements and starting-points necessary for understanding and the reduction of tensions. These initiatives are aimed at achieving an atmosphere of confidence and at promoting dialogue. The conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements on peaceful coexistence and the convening of an international conference on South-East Asia would no doubt have positive consequences with regard to the situation in the region.

40. The German Democratic Republic supports every initiative aimed at settling controversial questions by negotiation. It therefore fully backs the proposals made by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. These States are striving for continuance of the dialogue with the member States of ASEAN, which would be in the

interest of good-neighbourly relations and the security of all States of the region. Therefore, everything necessary should be done to start this process, without any interference from outside.

41. It is time that the other States also showed their readiness and willingness to undertake constructive negotiations in the interest of the peoples of South-East Asia. The statements made by leading representatives of the ASEAN member States with regard to normalization now have to be substantiated by action.

42. My country is ready to contribute to improving the political climate, strengthening peace and establishing good-neighbourly relations among the States of South-East Asia. The treaty of friendship linking the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea emphasizes the obligation "to promote the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, Asia and all over the world and to contribute to the development and widening of the relations between States of different social systems based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

43. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): A few days ago, the General Assembly once again adopted a resolution on "The situation in Kampuchea". That resolution, sponsored by the member countries of ASEAN and other countries, was adopted by an overwhelming majority of 105 votes. Like the resolutions on the same question adopted at the three previous sessions, resolution 37/6 not only reflects the hopes of the South-East Asian countries and the majority of the Member States of the Organization to see peace, security and stability in the region but also points out where the crux of the problem lies. At present, the greatest obstacle to the realization of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is the armed invasion and military occupation of Kampuchea by a foreign country. Unless this root cause of tension in the region is removed, obviously there can be no peace or stability in South-East Asia. The debate on this item and the vote on resolution 37/6 have shown that this fact is acknowledged by an increasing number of States.

44. However, for some time now, the Vietnamese authorities have deliberately tried to confuse the issue. While evading the basic fact of Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea, they have presented a number of fallacious arguments. One moment they attribute the tension in the region to the differences between two "regional groups"—the ASEAN member countries and the Indo-Chinese States—and the next moment they describe it as a question of the relations between China and the Indo-Chinese States. They have been shifting from one allegation to another so rapidly that they cannot even justify themselves.

45. Viet Nam's military occupation of Kampuchea not only has violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country but also has threatened the peace and stability of South-East Asia. In recent years, Vietnamese troops have constantly encroached on the territory of Thailand from across the Kampuchean border, causing heavy losses of life and property to the Thai border inhabitants. Furthermore,

Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea has sent several hundred thousand Kampuchean refugees fleeing to Thailand. This not only has threatened the security of Thailand and militarily violated its territory and sovereignty, but also has added heavy burdens to its economy.

46. During his recent visits to ASEAN countries, a Vietnamese leader brazenly threatened that, if the ASEAN countries continued to support the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Viet Nam would be prepared to stay in confrontation with the ASEAN countries for five or even 20 years and that if they continued to resist, Viet Nam would retaliate. He also said that as long as what he called the "Chinese threat" was not removed, Viet Nam would consider permitting the Soviet Union to set up military bases in Viet Nam. Such blustering talk is self-exposure on the part of the Vietnamese authorities. As a matter of fact, Viet Nam has long since permitted that super-Power to use the military bases in Viet Nam and Kampuchea. Viet Nam's aggression and expansion in Indo-China are closely tied to that super-Power's strategy of driving southward. Facts have thus shown clearly who is threatening the peace of South-East Asia.

47. The sponsor of the agenda item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" has tried to evade the crucial issue of Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea and its obligation to withdraw its aggressor troops therefrom by indulging in empty talk about peace and stability. This only shows up an unwillingness to forsake expansionism and a total lack of a sincere desire to promote peace in South-East Asia. How can there be co-operation among South-East Asian countries when the threat of invasion is not removed and when peace and stability are not ensured?

48. China has always pursued a foreign policy of peace. We endorse the ASEAN proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, and we support the South-East Asian countries in strengthening their co-operation through consultations on an equal footing. In supporting the just struggle of the Kampuchean people against Vietnamese aggression, China proceeds from its position of safeguarding the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations and of opposing hegemonism and safeguarding peace in Asia and the whole world.

49. As to what political system or what kind of government Kampuchea may choose to establish after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, that is entirely the internal affair of Kampuchea and should be left to the Kampuchean people to decide themselves. The Chinese Government wishes to see the Kampuchea of tomorrow an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. China does not seek any selfish interest on the question of Kampuchea; still less does it intend to include Kampuchea in its fictitious sphere of influence. China only hopes that, after regaining its independence and liberation, Kampuchea will maintain friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all its neighbours, including Viet Nam.

50. As for Sino-Vietnamese relations, no obstacles exist on the Chinese side. The Chinese people cherish a traditional friendship with the Vietnamese people. We wish to maintain and develop this friendship. If only the Vietnamese authorities renounce their policies of aggression and expansion, withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea and abandon their hostility towards China, relations between China and Viet Nam can be normalized in no time. Viet Nam calls this a pre-condition. On the contrary, this shows that we adhere to principles and are sincere. Viet Nam says that it wants negotiations without pre-conditions. That is simply not true. It wants China to abandon its principles and to acquiesce in or accept Viet Nam's regional hegemony, while Viet Nam will continue its anti-Chinese policies unabated. Of course, the Chinese Government will not concede these conditions. As to the Vietnamese representative's allegations about China at any time occupying territories other than its own, they are simply too absurd to require refutation.

51. The Vietnamese authorities are now deeply bogged down in the war of aggression against Kampuchea. They have become more and more isolated in the international arena, while facing ever greater economic difficulties at home. Their people are resentful of the heavy burdens imposed on them as a result of the war of aggression against Kampuchea. Continuation of the Kampuchean adventure can only place Viet Nam in an even worse dilemma. If the Vietnamese authorities really wish to restore peace and stability in South-East Asia, they should promptly comply with the General Assembly resolutions on the Kampuchean question: that is, they should withdraw all their troops from that country, respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and stop their armed provocations and aggression against all neighbouring countries. This will not only be in the interests of the Kampuchean people and the peace of South-East Asia, but will also accord with the interests of the Vietnamese people themselves. Only by so doing can Viet Nam truly contribute to the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia.

52. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to emphasize how extremely topical this item on peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is. The peoples of that region, particularly the peoples of Indo-China, have undergone untold suffering and irreparable losses as a result of the incessant wars and aggressions of the past 40 years. The establishment of peace and stability in the region and the political settlement of outstanding problems through negotiations are primary tasks of great significance to the cause of peace and security throughout the world. But many obstacles have been heaped in the way of this process. The main obstacle to improving the international situation in South-East Asia remains the actions of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, which consider this region to be one of their spheres of vital interests.

53. After the defeat of American militarism in Indo-China and the collapse of that monstrous experiment in Kampuchea, neither the United States nor China

abandoned its expansionist plans in respect of South-East Asia. The United States did not conceal its intention to restore and even expand the positions lost as a result of its military defeat. This can be seen by Washington's policy of militarizing the region and covering it with a network of military bases.

54. Over the past five years alone, United States military assistance to member countries of ASEAN, not counting direct military purchases by those countries in the United States, has risen two and a half times and now amounts to \$820 million.

55. The great clamour about a non-existent Kampuchean problem is designed to maintain tension in South-East Asia and, unfortunately, the United Nations has been dragged into this. The Ukrainian delegation has already had an opportunity to express its position on this matter earlier, but I should like to emphasize once again that any attempts by imperialist and hegemonist forces to halt or interfere with the irreversible process of national reconstruction in Kampuchea, or to restore to power the Pol Pot régime under any label whatsoever, are doomed to failure.

56. Peace and stability in South-East Asia, the normalization of the situation in the region, reconciliation of the contradictions between the various groups of countries in that area and the establishment of good-neighbourly relations of mutual benefit and co-operation between them are all in keeping with the long-term interests of those countries. This can be achieved provided good will and tolerance are demonstrated and provided there are constructive talks between the parties concerned. It is to this end that the foreign policy initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are directed. They are willing to settle all disputes at the negotiating table on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual respect.

57. The practical foundations for a settlement of the situation in South-East Asia are to be found in the wide-ranging new proposal set forth in the communiqué of the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries of Indo-China, held at Ho Chi Minh City on 6 and 7 July 1982 [*ibid.*]. That document contains a realistic evaluation, based on principle, of the present situation in South-East Asia. It draws the conclusion that the main obstacle to a solution of the problems in the region is the continuing hostile foreign intervention.

58. In this connection, we find very relevant the proposal to convene an international conference on matters relating to South-East Asia, with the participation of the countries of Indo-China, the ASEAN member countries, Burma and the six participants in earlier international conferences on Indo-China—namely, the Soviet Union, China, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and India. Concrete initiatives were put forward at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers, and their implementation would considerably improve the situation in South-East Asia.

59. The three countries of Indo-China declared their willingness to restore normal relations with China and called on China to sign bilateral or multilateral

treaties on peaceful coexistence. Also of importance is the proposal to establish a security zone on the border between Kampuchea and Thailand in which there would be only Kampuchean and Thai armed forces. These initiatives are another concrete proof of the true desire of the three States of Indo-China to settle the problems of the region through constructive dialogue without any outside interference, on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

60. Convincing proof of the good will of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and their interest in ensuring peace and security on the border with Thailand was the decision to withdraw part of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory. The search for ways to ease and eliminate tension in South-East Asia requires a constructive approach from others as well as from the countries of Indo-China.

61. A stable, lasting peace can be ensured only through joint efforts by Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and also by the ASEAN member States. The possibility and the necessary conditions for this exist, as can be seen from the continuing dialogue between the two groups of countries, which this year has had certain results in strengthening mutual understanding, establishing favourable conditions for further discussions and achieving agreements on regional matters, without outside interference. In this connection, the visit to a number of countries in the region by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, was important. The meetings and talks that he held in Burma, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand confirmed that the only reasonable way to solve the problems between countries in the region is by means of dialogue based on mutual respect and equality. The visit, although it did not settle the substantive issues, was a significant stage in the search for concrete ways of settling the situation in the region and establishing an atmosphere of trust and good-neighbourliness. Unfortunately, it must be stated that the Governments of the ASEAN member countries, yielding to pressure from outside forces—primarily imperialist intervention by the United States—have not yet given a positive response to the frequent constructive proposals of the three countries of Indo-China. We feel that such a position is not in keeping with the objectives of easing tension in South-East Asia and establishing in the region a situation of peace, stability and co-operation.

62. The United Nations and the General Assembly could make a constructive contribution to restoring peace and stability to South-East Asia by supporting and encouraging the dialogue which has already begun between the countries of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN. This would be in keeping with the interests of the countries themselves and would serve the cause of international peace and security as a whole.

63. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): As was emphasized at the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Moscow on 21 October 1982: "All international disputes must be resolved by political means alone, by negotiations in accordance with the principles and norms of international

law.” We are convinced that this fundamental truth is of exceptional significance for the comprehensive development of international relations as a whole, and that it also can be emphasized with every justification in connection with the question of the strengthening of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, a region of continuing tension.

64. Peace and stability in the region are still seriously threatened, and this causes quite legitimate concern to a large number of States, and not only to States in that region. The basic reason for that situation is still the adventurist policy of artificially creating distrust and conflict, in other words, a policy of destabilization, which is encouraged by the reactionary forces of imperialism and hegemonism. However, realists both within and outside South-East Asia cannot fail to recognize that the process undertaken by the People’s Republic of Kampuchea during the three years of its existence to give practical effect to the results of the victory of the national liberation struggle of the Kampuchean people, and its unquestioned success in all areas of the construction of a sovereign independent State, are irreversible. This process includes the orientation and strengthening of the positive results, the normalization of relations among all States of the region, the drafting of mutually acceptable decisions at the negotiating table and the well-known foreign policy initiatives of the States of Indo-China.

65. On several occasions the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People’s Democratic Republic have declared very clearly and unambiguously their willingness to build and develop relations with other States in South-East Asia on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, non-intervention, good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial regional co-operation.

66. Despite the fact that the foreign forces of reaction, in contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law, are continuing their attempts to undermine the independence of the sovereign States in the region, destroying their territorial integrity, intensifying the psychological war against them and even committing overt acts of aggression, every year the process leading to dialogue and an atmosphere of détente in relations between the States of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries is stronger. We are profoundly convinced that this very natural and irreversible process cannot be impeded, even by the temporary establishment for tactical reasons of a so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which, in fact, is nothing but a house built on sand, designed only to cover up the continuing intervention in the internal affairs of this region of South-East Asia. Any course other than that of constructive dialogue, any course aimed at poisoning the relations between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, will only continue and prolong the situation of tension and instability in this nerve centre of the world. The sooner this reality is recognized, the sooner there will be a real opportunity for creating a stable and peaceful South-East Asia.

67. The way is shown by the whole series of new, fundamental initiatives by the States of Indo-China adopted at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign

Affairs of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos, held at Ho Chi Minh City in July of this year [*ibid.*]. This took the form of an urgent appeal to all the States of South-East Asia to establish constructive co-operation, which would be a realistic basis for resolving regional problems.

68. Czechoslovakia fully and whole-heartedly supports these proposals. The appeal from Ho Chi Minh City bears witness to the willingness of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People’s Democratic Republic and the People’s Republic of Kampuchea to begin talks at any time on disputes with the People’s Republic of China and to sign with it bilateral or multilateral treaties on peaceful co-operation. Unfortunately, there has not yet been an adequate response to that appeal.

69. As was emphasized at the conference of Foreign Ministers, Vietnamese troops are present on Kampuchean territory at the request of the Kampuchean people, in accordance with the Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, and this in no way threatens the security of any third party.

70. It is perfectly clear that the presence of units of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is made necessary by the real need to strengthen security there in the context of the continuing threats from hegemonism and imperialism. The partial withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in July of this year clearly demonstrated the high degree of good will of the States of Indo-China and a willingness to satisfy the concern, in fact groundless, of some countries of the region.

71. Another important result of the conference was, in our view, that the Foreign Ministers of the three countries of Indo-China demonstrated maximum willingness to find a way out of the abnormal situation that developed as a result of the holding of the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981. Eloquent confirmation of their position was the proposal that an international conference should be held to consider the problems of South-East Asia, with the participation of the two groups of States of the region—the States of Indo-China and the ASEAN member countries—as well as Burma and the six States that participated in the international conferences on Indo-China, namely the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and India.

72. We believe that such an international conference could be convened and that its work could be successful provided those directly involved—that is, the countries of Asia and Indo-China concerned—agreed on the participants, the agenda and other organizational matters.

73. We agree with the comments and conclusions contained in the letter of the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic, dated 15 September 1982, addressed to the Foreign Ministers of the five member countries of ASEAN. We consider it particularly important that the letter emphasizes that:

“The realities of the past three years have shown that the ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries have the greatest common interest in maintaining peace, stability and co-operation in this region. The disagreements between the two groups of countries can be settled perfectly through dialogue and negotiation on the following principles:

“1. Mutual respect for each other’s legitimate interests;

“2. Equality and mutual agreement, without any imposition whatsoever and without interference from outside” [A/37/477, annex I].

74. Czechoslovakia fully supports the proposals of the States of Indo-China, which can be reduced to the basic requirement that the problems of South-East Asia be resolved primarily by the States of the region themselves. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have already taken a concrete and important step to ease tension in South-East Asia, and thereby have demonstrated that they are resolved to continue to do all they can to encourage this process, which is so useful to both sides. However, as a wise man of the East said, you cannot clap with one hand. It is therefore up to the other side to demonstrate a sensible, perceptive and constructive approach to this important matter.

75. On the basis of the principles of mutual respect and friendship, Czechoslovakia is developing mutually beneficial relations with the People’s Republic of Kampuchea. Our relations were further developed, in particular, as a result of the visit of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, to the People’s Republic of Kampuchea two years ago, and the later visit of the Chairman of the Council of State of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin, to our country.

76. We fully support the freely elected organs of power in Kampuchea, that country’s foreign policy, its policy of peace, mutual understanding and non-alignment, and its efforts to broaden co-operation with all the States of the region and the world, efforts that are fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law.

77. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): It has been 10 days since, in the course of five meetings, the Assembly carried out a thorough consideration of agenda item 20, entitled “The situation in Kampuchea”, and, by an overwhelming majority of 105 votes in favour, 23 against and 20 abstentions, adopted resolution 37/6, sponsored by 49 countries, including the five member countries of ASEAN which promoted the resolution. In that resolution, the Assembly once again deplored and condemned the invasion of my country, Democratic Kampuchea, by Vietnamese troops in December 1978 and the continuing occupation of Kampuchean territory, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of non-alignment and the established and recognized norms governing international relations. In the eleventh preambular paragraph, the General Assembly has made it clearly known, for the fourth time since 1979, that “to bring about durable peace in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive

political solution to the Kampuchean problem”. In paragraph 2 of that resolution, the Assembly reiterates that the principal components of any just and lasting resolution to the Kampuchean problem are “the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea”. The resolution also recalls, in its twelfth preambular paragraph, that “after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question through peaceful means, the countries of the South-East Asian region can pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region”.

78. This resolution was adopted after the overwhelming majority of speakers had denounced from this rostrum the lies and deceit of Viet Nam over the alleged partial withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the proposals for a so-called international conference on South-East Asia and a demilitarized zone along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea—all those lies and deceptions which the representative of Viet Nam, his Lao satellite and his unconditional supporters continue to spew out and recite in this debate.

79. In his speech of 30 September last, His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, stressed the following:

“Who, in effect, menaces the security and peace and the stability of South-East Asia, if it is not Viet Nam which, with the powerful help of the Soviets, has stationed its forces in Kampuchea, menacing henceforth Thailand and other peaceful members countries of ASEAN, as well as a number of countries further away?

“It must be clear that any conference interested in peace and stability in South-East Asia must necessarily resolve, as a priority, the ‘situation in Kampuchea’. This done, my country having found its independence and its freedom to act, there would remain no problem to resolve in South-East Asia, since no country adjacent to or a neighbour of independent and neutral Kampuchea has anything to fear from us.” [11th meeting, paras. 39 and 40.]

He also solemnly stated to this Assembly that:

“. . . in conformity with United Nations resolutions, . . . as soon as Viet Nam has totally withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea all will be possible . . . between our two countries.

“We are ready to sign with Viet Nam a treaty of peace and non-aggression implying recognition of and respect for the territorial integrity of the two neighbouring nations within their present frontiers.” [*ibid.*, paras. 34 and 35.]

80. I should like to stress two facts. First of all, resolution 37/6 of 28 October last is a reminder of resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979, 35/6 of 22 October 1980 and 36/5 of 21 October 1981 and of the Declaration of the International Conference on

Kampuchea, of 17 July 1981. Secondly, the support of the international community for the settlement advocated for the problem of Kampuchea is increasingly widespread. In fact, in 1979, resolution 34/22 obtained 91 votes; in 1980, resolution 35/6 obtained 97 votes; in 1981, resolution 36/5 obtained 100 votes; and this year, resolution 37/6 was adopted by the votes of 105 States Members of the United Nations.

81. These two facts eloquently prove the following: first, that the international community has clearly understood the problem of Kampuchea and has totally rejected the lies, calumnies and machinations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; secondly, that it refuses to flout the principle of the non-use of force in international relations or the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and it categorically refuses to accept the *fait accompli* of Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, because to accept such a *fait accompli* by Viet Nam in Kampuchea would be to bow to the law of the jungle; thirdly, that it clearly sees that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea is the *sine qua non* of the restoration of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia and the building in that region of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

82. These two facts also reflect the irremediable bogging down of 300,000 Vietnamese soldiers and civilians in Kampuchea and the increasing isolation internationally of the Vietnamese expansionists of Hanoi. They translate and foster the unity and determination of the people of Kampuchea and all the patriotic Kampuchean forces, under the leadership of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in pursuing the struggle for national survival until victory is won.

83. This is the third consecutive year that the General Assembly has considered this agenda item without a resolution being adopted. None the less, this consideration has been postponed from year to year at the request of the sponsors.

84. This year again, the General Assembly is having to sit through sterile and futile debate, forced to waste its time and financial resources on recording hypocritical, defamatory and obfuscatory rhetoric, which seriously diminishes the authority of the United Nations. We are faced here with one of the typical instances of the Organization's being shamelessly used by the Vietnamese expansionists and their unconditional supporters, by those that flagrantly violate the Charter of the United Nations, using the Organization as a forum for their lying and slanderous propaganda and for their diversionary tactics with a view to carrying out their undeclared plans for regional and world domination. If we wish to spare the Organization the fate of the League of Nations, there must be an immediate end to such practices.

85. Further, if it has not been possible to adopt a resolution as a result of these hollow debates, it is because the "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" is just a diversionary tactic used by Viet Nam to distract attention from its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and to disguise its expansionist plans in the region, and also because this question can in no way be settled unless the

problem of Kampuchea has been settled beforehand in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions which I mentioned earlier. Not the utmost sophistry, much less arrogance and cynicism, can alter that fact.

86. Only the sincere and honest implementation by Viet Nam of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea will show that the country has abandoned the law of the jungle in international relations, and will establish among all the independent States of the region an atmosphere of mutual trust conducive to serious consideration of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, thus paving the way for the establishment of a genuine zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

87. Mr. PAPUÇIU (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The debate on the situation in Kampuchea which was held a few days ago and the present discussion of agenda item 35, entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia", once again show how complicated and dangerous the situation in that region still is and how it justifiably gives rise to serious concerns as well as gravely jeopardizes the interests of the countries in that region, which for so long bore the foreign colonial yoke and successive acts of aggression by imperialist Powers. Although the enemies of the peoples of Indo-China and of South-East Asia in general have suffered defeat, they have not given up plotting or interfering in the internal affairs of those countries and still are endeavouring to keep and gain positions of domination in that strategically important region. For these reasons, the complicated situation in South-East Asia constitutes a real danger and a serious threat to peace and stability in Asia.

88. This situation is a direct consequence of the rivalry and the policy of spoliation, expansionism and hegemonism of the American imperialists and of the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists, and of their aggressive actions and continuing intrigues to encourage quarrels and conflicts among the countries of this region.

89. Even after the great historic victory of the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples, which waged a long, heroic struggle against armed intervention and aggression by American imperialism, the United States did not renounce its efforts to re-establish its influence and to deprive those peoples of the time and opportunity to reconstruct their countries, so terribly destroyed by war. It has made use of all its agents and incited and armed the reactionary forces of the region in order to attain its hegemonistic and colonialist goals and to get its claws once again into the peoples and countries of Indo-China and of South-East Asia as a whole. With that in mind, it has continued to increase and consolidate its presence and its military bases in this strategically important region. In the framework of its counter-revolutionary alliance with the Chinese social-imperialists, it is co-ordinating its positions and actions, and those countries are plotting together against the freedom and independence of the peoples of South-East Asia.

90. The two other imperialist super-Powers, the Soviet Union and China, even during the struggle

waged by the Indo-Chinese peoples against American imperialism, while bargaining with the latter, endeavoured to bring their influence to bear on the Indo-Chinese countries. Since the humiliating defeat of the American imperialists in their war of aggression, they have followed an open policy of neo-colonialism in order to "fill the gap", and they have increased their rivalry, provoking conflicts among the various countries of the region to further their own hegemonist designs.

91. The Chinese social-imperialists have incited and helped the reactionary Pol Pot clique to implement a ferocious policy of genocide, to drown the people of Kampuchea in blood and to make that country and all of Indo-China a field station for penetration into the other countries of South-East Asia. For the same purpose, China launched armed aggression against Viet Nam, inflicting damage and other misfortunes on that country in the immediate aftermath of war. In close collaboration with the American imperialists, they are now continuing to support the remnants of the bloody Pol Pot clique. The so-called Coalition Government of Kampuchea was recently created to this end; in no way does it represent the interests of the Khmer people, and it is a tool of the Powers I have mentioned. While they engage in demagogy to mask their aggressive aims and vaunt their friendship and traditional ties with the other countries of South-East Asia, the Chinese social-imperialists are continuing brutal intervention, pressure and blackmail against Viet Nam, Laos and other countries, and threaten to launch another attack to teach Viet Nam a second lesson, even though the attempt at a first lesson had bitter results for the Chinese aggressors themselves.

92. The Soviet social-imperialists too are striving to give the impression that they are "true friends" of the peoples and countries of Indo-China, and giving wide and noisy publicity to the "assistance" they claim to give those countries for their independence and economic rebuilding. But they are the ferocious enemies of those peoples and of the countries of South-East Asia in general. Just like the American imperialists and Chinese social-imperialists, they have profoundly hegemonist and neo-colonialist intentions concerning them. Neither the statements and false propaganda of friendship nor their demagogic proposals for making South-East Asia a region of peace, stability and co-operation can hide their real aims and the responsibility they share with the two other super-Powers for creating such a very serious situation in the region.

93. The situation created in Indo-China and South-East Asia is a clear example of the serious consequences for the peoples of the interference and plotting of the imperialist super-Powers and shows that their rivalry for hegemony and spheres of influence is on the increase and that the dangerous fires they have set in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and elsewhere are liable to become not merely local wars, but a great world imperialist conflagration. That is why it is important for the peoples of Indo-China and South-East Asia to redouble their vigilance and not to fall into the trap set by the super-Powers.

94. The Albanian people and its Government have supported and will always support strongly the just

struggle of the peoples of Indo-China and the other peoples of South-East Asia against the intervention, the threats and all the aggressive activities of the imperialist and social-imperialist super-Powers. We have supported and shall support the right of the peoples of that region to live in freedom and independence and to defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their countries against all super-Power intervention and intrigue. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania reiterates that it is against any form of intervention in the internal affairs of the Khmer people and the other peoples of Indo-China and South-East Asia, in any guise and on any pretext.

95. We hope that among the peoples and countries of this region there are no problems which cannot be resolved. The solution of those problems must in no circumstances be left in the hands of the imperialist super-Powers, because they would use this to intensify their aggressive activities. The peoples of South-East Asia have a great need to live in freedom and independence, in good-neighbourliness and harmony, because only that will enable them to concentrate all their efforts on their development and their progress.

96. Mr. NARKHUU (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian State, attaches great importance to the consideration of this item, for the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is one of the most acute problems now affecting the interests of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

97. Consideration of this item is important because the situation in South-East Asia remains extremely tense; indeed, there is still a threat to peace and stability in the region. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the main reason for this situation is, first and foremost, the policy and actions of those foreign forces which have set themselves the goal of establishing hegemony in the region. The parallel nature of the interests of imperialism and hegemonism can be seen in the flagrant intervention of those forces in the internal affairs of States of the region and in their sowing of strife and distrust among those States. These foreign forces are acquiring military bases in some countries, maintaining enormous troop concentrations on the frontiers of other States in South-East Asia and carrying on subversive activities against the legitimate Governments of those States. Unfortunately, some countries in the region are being pulled into the orbit of the policies of those foreign Powers and are making their territory available as bridgeheads for armed action against neighbouring States.

98. It is imperialist and hegemonist purposes that are to be served by the recently forged so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Such attempts to bring back the past lead only to increased tension and make the situation in South-East Asia fraught with the danger of the outbreak of armed conflict. It is perfectly clear that the establishment of this coalition of Khmer reaction, in which power would virtually be given to the Pol Pot hangmen, is a consequence of the dangerous disregard for political realities and also of the flagrant inter-

vention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

99. It is deplorable that the legitimate seat of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the Organization should still be usurped by a group of individuals who represent no one but themselves and who wear the label of a non-existent Democratic Kampuchea. It is because of this abnormal situation that the United Nations today finds itself in a position in which it cannot play the positive role that it should in normalizing the situation in South-East Asia.

100. South-East Asia can become a zone of peace and peaceful co-operation if the true reasons for the tension are eliminated and the two groups of States in the region can reach a mutual understanding and, without outside interference, combine their efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the existing regional problems. In our view, the establishment of fruitful bilateral or multilateral dialogue between them would be the one sensible way to resolve differences of view and prevent any further conflict. We believe that this constructive spirit is shown in the approach adopted by the three States of Indo-China. The Mongolian People's Republic supports and welcomes the important new initiatives taken by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in July of this year at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those three countries [A/37/334, annex]. We also agree with the comments and views in the letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, dated 15 September 1982, addressed to the Foreign Ministers of the five member countries of ASEAN [A/37/477, annex I].

101. We believe that the proposals in the letter are flexible and realistic and that they can serve as a good basis for talks; they are aimed at meeting the desires of the other side, and thus demonstrate the willingness of the States of Indo-China to find a common language with the other countries of South-East Asia and arrive at a mutually acceptable settlement of existing disputes.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

102. But the willingness and political will of all States in the region are required if South-East Asia is to be made into a zone of peace and stability. What are needed are not attempts to impose unilateral decisions on the other side, but sober consideration of the realities and security interests of each State. A clear appreciation of the common threat to all from outside forces is also needed. The security of each State cannot be reliably ensured unless there is a general improvement in the situation in the region as a whole. Any solution must be in keeping with the security interests of all States in the region, taking account of their legitimate aspirations.

103. My delegation considers that in South-East Asia there is an objective possibility of arriving at a mutual understanding between the States of the region and developing between them relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and with a constant increase in the understanding of the need for constructive dialogue and contacts. It is increasingly clear that there is a desire to resolve outstanding

problems by negotiation, taking account of the interests of each of the parties.

104. In our view, in the present circumstances the most useful step forward could be to do what the three countries of Indo-China propose—convene an international conference with the participation of all the countries of the region, some other countries and the Secretary-General. We are convinced that the sooner concrete measures are taken to improve relations between the two groups of countries in South-East Asia, the closer the peoples of the region will come to achieving their aspirations and seeing their dream of living in peace and tranquillity come true. Making South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation would undoubtedly be of tremendous historical significance for peace and security, not only in the vast Asian continent itself but throughout the world.

105. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): For the third consecutive year, the General Assembly is considering the very important item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

106. After nearly four decades of war and misery, the peoples of South-East Asia seem to be determined to do away with not only the remnants of the past but also all the elements which may lead once again to the creation of tension and hostilities in that war-torn region of the world. This is not to imply that at present there are no difficulties in relations among the countries of the region; on the contrary, there is a series of questions requiring statesmanlike responses in order to normalize relations among South-East Asian States. Therefore, the item under discussion gains all the significance which the international community should invest in the search for peace in the various corners of the world.

107. In order effectively and realistically to tackle the pertinent problems, we must define the scope and causes of the present abnormal situation. The roots of tension and destabilization have been attributed equally to the situation in Kampuchea and to the presence of the Vietnamese contingent there. However, my Government believes that the internal events in Kampuchea which resulted in the collapse of the inhuman Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan régime and the establishment of the Popular Government there have not negatively affected the situation in the region, and could not do so. That is because, first of all, it was entirely an internal development of that country; secondly, the ousting from power of the criminal gang of Pol Pot, which had served as an extended arm of the Chinese hegemonists, eliminated the threats to the other neighbouring countries of the region; and, thirdly, it now constitutes a major obstacle in the way of the hegemonist ambitions of China.

108. We believe that the real threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the States of the region comes from imperialist and hegemonist sources. After all, it was precisely the colonialist and imperialist Powers that for 37 years turned that region into a battlefield, bringing untold destruction, death and devastation to the people and the land. Those were the forces that used the facilities of some countries of the region to launch their bar-

baric attacks on the others. Those were the forces that split into pieces previously united countries and used one part against the other. But all the attempts, no matter from what quarter they came, were foiled through the determined struggle of the heroic peoples of the area. Repeated and shameful defeats seem not to have been enough to bring about a change of attitude in those aggressive forces, and they are still continuing to use new and old tactics to undermine the march of the people of the region towards the peaceful reconstruction of their countries and the establishment of friendly relations with their neighbours.

109. Faced with the strong resistance of the independent Indo-Chinese countries, which hold dear their political and national identities, those in the Chinese ruling circles have resorted to every means of pressure and interference, including armed invasion, to break the will of those nations and to drag them within the orbit of their chauvinistic strategy. The continued armed attacks against Vietnamese towns and villages, instigation of anti-Government activities, sabotage in Laos and arming of the henchmen of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea are some of the manifestations of that policy.

110. In those circumstances, the advancement of the cause of peace and stability calls for major concrete steps on the part of all countries of the region to meet the wish of all the peoples, big or small, for cordial and mutually beneficial relations with one another. We are happy to note that, in pursuit of their foreign policy, which is based on principle, the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have time and again put forward proposals which could serve as an important basis for the solution of all outstanding issues pertaining to the relations among countries of the region and to the re-establishment of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

111. It gives us satisfaction that the countries of Indo-China reiterated their peaceful proposals during the sixth conference of their Foreign Ministers, held at Ho Chi Minh City on 6 and 7 July of this year. On 15 September 1982, the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in a letter addressed to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five ASEAN countries, on behalf of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and on his own behalf, reaffirmed the sincere willingness of the three Indo-Chinese countries to start negotiations immediately on the normalization of their relations with the countries of ASEAN.

112. Those proposals take due account not only of the concern of the Indo-Chinese countries but also that of the ASEAN countries. By assigning a major role to the United Nations in the search for a comprehensive settlement, the Indo-Chinese States have accepted an important condition put forward by the ASEAN countries. Recognizing the important fact that cordial relations between Viet Nam and China can have an effect on the overall situation in the region, the countries of Indo-China have urged the early resumption of negotiations between Viet Nam

and China. Viet Nam, for its part, has undertaken some tangible measures, including, in particular, the partial withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea, to help create an atmosphere of trust and confidence.

113. If the convening of an international conference along the lines suggested by the three Indo-Chinese countries can be brought about, we have every reason to hope that an appropriate forum will be created for serious and businesslike negotiations directed towards the working out of a comprehensive and realistic settlement of the situation in South-East Asia, thus paving the way for the elimination of all sources of tension, destabilization and hostility in a region where peace has been denied to the people for decades.

114. Mr. VILLA (Philippines): As a country belonging to the South-East Asian region, the Philippines is naturally concerned for and desirous of peace, stability and co-operation among the nations in the area. This we have striven to achieve along with our ASEAN partners over the years, and we shall continue to do so until we reach that desirable end. However, as in the case of treating an ailment, we have to go straight to the cause first before we can succeed in eliminating the disease.

115. Late last month, the Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes—a larger majority, indeed, than ever before for a resolution on the subject—resolution 37/6 on the Kampuchean conflict, which, to my delegation and 104 others, is the immediate and root cause of the present tensions in the South-East Asian region. In that resolution, the General Assembly expressed, among other things, its conviction that, to bring about durable peace in South-East Asia, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which will provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination free from outside interference. The Assembly, likewise, urges the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

116. My delegation submits that those two provisions of General Assembly resolution 37/6 have two clear meanings: first, that the General Assembly recognizes and acknowledges the fact that the Kampuchean problem is the fundamental cause of the present tensions in the South-East Asian region; and secondly, that peace and stability in the area can be achieved only when the Kampuchean problem is solved in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and declarations and the pertinent provisions of the Charter.

117. I might recall that the resolution to which I have referred is not the first that the General Assembly has adopted on the fundamental cause of the problem affecting the South-East Asian region. It is, in fact, the fourth in a series of such resolutions, all of which contain provisions similar to the ones I quoted earlier.

118. In other words, the General Assembly has already pronounced itself in no uncertain terms, and

repeatedly, on the question now before us. It therefore now behoves the proponents of this item to heed the call of the international community for a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem leading to conditions of peace and stability in South-East Asia, as desired by all of us.

119. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): South-East Asia, because of its geographic position, its ethnic and political diversity and the abundance of its natural and human resources, represents a strategic factor of importance for international peace and security.

120. Thus, consideration by the General Assembly of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" has great significance inasmuch as it directly concerns the present and future existence not only of the peoples in the region but also of those in other regions.

121. During the past 40 years, most countries in the region, after freeing themselves from the colonial yoke and foreign domination, have been able to profit from their newly acquired independence and devote themselves to development in relative tranquillity; however, during that time, the three countries of Indo-China had to pursue the struggle against neo-colonialism and, above all, against the imperialist war of aggression imposed upon them, until, in 1975, they managed to chase the aggressors from their respective countries.

122. That historic victory was won by the three peoples of Indo-China fighting shoulder to shoulder, at the cost of heavy sacrifices by their valiant sons. Consequently, they are more determined than ever to safeguard their gains.

123. During consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" over the past few days, my delegation noted, not without some disappointment, that one representative, with no good intent, was pleased to recite refrains dear to the new Mandarins of the Celestial Empire, concerning "the greed of Viet Nam in regard to other States of South-East Asia after its conquest of Kampuchea and its domination over Laos" or "the Vietnamese dream of creating an empire", seeking without doubt to bring back Uncle Sam's troops to co-operate with those of the Mandarins in the region, with a view to bringing military pressure to bear on the countries of Indo-China. If it was the intention of that representative to pin all his hopes whole-heartedly on those troops, that would merely bear out a popular saying in my country, that for a mouse there is no stronger animal than a cat.

124. Thus, in the view of that town mouse, there is nothing stronger or more powerful than the imperialist cat, but it seems to be forgetting that the imperialist cat has already broken its teeth once on the field rats of Indo-China. The three peoples of Indo-China have good memories, and they still remember those that directly or indirectly took part in the war of aggression against them and inflicted enormous loss of human life, suffering, destruction and devastation upon them.

125. However, aware of the fact that the peoples of the region strongly aspire to live on good terms, in good-neighbourliness and in close co-operation with one another, and aware that, indeed, it cannot be

otherwise since they are bound to coexist for all time, the three countries of Indo-China fervently wish to put the past behind them and look forward with other countries to a more stable and more harmonious future, in which they will all be able to devote themselves fully to their economic and social development, following the path of their choice, with mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, equality and mutual advantage.

126. It was in this spirit that they expressed to the countries of ASEAN—which, together with them, form the core of South-East Asia—their desire to foster conciliation and co-operation between the two groups of countries.

127. At the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, on behalf of the three countries of Indo-China, submitted to the Assembly a memorandum³ setting out seven principles to govern relations between these countries and those of ASEAN. The memorandum stressed that there still exist a number of divergences regarding evaluation of the cause of the tension in the region and the ways of eliminating it. It also pointed out, however, that this is not and must not be an obstacle preventing the two groups of countries from making sincere and sustained efforts to reconcile and eliminate those differences.

128. For the ASEAN member countries, the cause of tension stems from what they call the situation in Kampuchea and the presence of Vietnamese troops in that country. For the three countries of Indo-China, the cause dates back to before 1979 and stems from the policy of intervention and aggression of the imperialists and hegemonists of the large nations which, in past years, tried to destabilize the region by supporting the pseudo-revolutionaries gathered around the so-called Communist parties in some ASEAN member countries in their anti-Government activities—the attempted *coup d'état* in Indonesia in 1965 was a striking example of this—by supporting the subversive activities of exiled Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer reactionary elements against the legal Governments of those three countries, and by creating obstacles to dialogue and reconciliation between the two groups of countries and inciting them to confrontation.

129. With reference to China, according to the Bangkok paper *The Nation*, of 26 January 1982, a high official of the Thai armed forces said:

"A super-Power is backing and directing the activities of the insurgents in the country. There is a tendency that both clandestine and open methods have been applied to push our nation into a near-war situation with neighbouring countries with different political ideologies."*

Attempts were also made to destabilize the region by a massive buildup of Chinese troops along the Sino-Lao and Sino-Vietnamese borders, causing constant pressure on the two countries, and by the maintenance of American military bases in the region.

130. *The New York Times* of 4 November 1982 reported on statements made by the United States

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

Secretary of Defence, Mr. Caspar Weinberger, during a visit to the region, to the effect that:

“the United States remained ‘fully committed’ to the security of Thailand under the 1954 Manila Pact and that Washington would, if requested, consider military aid to the new anti-Vietnamese Cambodian coalition, though apparently in the context of aid to Thailand.”*

131. This policy of intervention and confrontation is the main threat to the security of countries of Indo-China and to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

132. Furthermore, the memorandum also stressed the need to continue the dialogue between the two groups of countries, which would make it possible to promote understanding and mutual trust, to eliminate differences, and together to seek means of eradicating the causes of the threat to the independence and sovereignty of States and, generally speaking, to peace and stability in the region. Such a dialogue is in keeping with the Final Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in 1981², which appealed to all States in 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”.

133. However, thus far, the ASEAN member countries have always categorically rejected the proposals of the three countries of Indo-China, claiming that these are subterfuges or propaganda clichés. But, despite this negative attitude, the countries of Indo-China, anxious to promote confidence between themselves and their neighbours, addressed to them in July 1982 new proposals which take into account the legitimate interests of each party and the special concerns of the ASEAN member countries. These proposals were set out in a letter from the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, dated 15 September 1982, addressed to his counterparts in the ASEAN member countries [A/37/477, annex I].

134. The member countries of ASEAN seem primarily concerned by the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and unilaterally call for their total and immediate withdrawal, without taking into account the security interests of the three countries of Indo-China. The latter have repeatedly said that this presence is no threat to the security of any country; its purpose is to confront the threat to the security of Kampuchea posed by the troops of Pol Pot and other reactionary Khmer factions, assisted by China, the United States and other reactionary elements in the region.

135. Furthermore, Thailand itself has recognized that there is no threat of Vietnamese aggression against it. As a sign of good will, a partial withdrawal of these troops was carried out last July.

136. The People’s Republic of Kampuchea and Viet Nam have given assurances that the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea as soon

as the partial withdrawal has been met with an understanding response by the ASEAN member countries.

137. Moreover, in order to avoid unforeseeable incidents and to eliminate tension at the border between Thailand and Kampuchea, the three countries of Indo-China, taking into account Thai sovereignty, made a new proposal in July of this year to establish a security zone along the border, from which any forces belonging neither to Thailand nor to the People’s Republic of Kampuchea will be withdrawn. They are ready to come to an understanding with Thailand on a form of international supervision and the removal of refugee camps from that zone.

138. Furthermore, the disarming, as a security measure, of the Pol Pot and other armed gangs which have mingled with refugees in Thailand is the responsibility of the authorities of that country, particularly if it claims to be neutral, as is their transfer to a place far from the border, which would make it easier for Thailand to monitor their activities. International humanitarian relief would thus be better used, in accordance with the wishes of the donors, and the voluntary repatriation of the refugees, under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, could then be better coordinated.

139. Always desirous of finding a solution to the situation of tension prevailing in the region, the three countries of Indo-China recently proposed the convening of an international conference on South-East Asia, with the participation of the nine countries of the region—namely, the three countries of Indo-China, the five member countries of ASEAN and Burma—and also six countries outside the region—namely, the Soviet Union, India, France, the United Kingdom, China and the United States. Further, the Secretary-General, or his representative, would be invited in a personal capacity.

140. In proposing the convening of such a conference, the countries of Indo-China have taken into account not only the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries but also the practice followed by other international bodies, such as the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of American States, which have always insisted that regional problems should be settled primarily by the States of the region concerned. Such a meeting would be fully in keeping with the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes advocated in the Charter.

141. This conference would be convened only if the countries directly interested, namely the countries of ASEAN and those of Indo-China, reached agreement on participation, agenda, place and date. Thus, we are imposing nothing on anyone. Experience has shown that an international conference is useful only if the parties directly interested approve of and participate in it. Anything organized and convened against their will or in their absence could lead only to a stalemate. This was true of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea of 1981.

142. What we are seeking is a dialogue both with the other countries in the region and with those who are a threat to us. We do not want, as some might be tempted to think, the member countries of ASEAN

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

to come to an understanding with us against China or the United States, any more than we want them to enter into collusion with those two countries against us. We note the statements of those two countries that they wish to remain neutral. However, it is important to remind them that neutrality involves two fundamental virtues, namely, abstention and impartiality. In other words, anyone declaring himself to be neutral, or who wishes to be so, must strictly abide by these two virtues. There must be no favouring of one of the parties to the detriment of the other, and what is given to one must also be given to the other. This is our concept of neutrality.

143. In recent years, the three countries of Indo-China have made incessant efforts to enter into dialogue with the countries of ASEAN in order together to find means of guaranteeing the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and of prohibiting the use of the territory of one country for purposes hostile to the others. This is the proof of our good will and of our desire to see peace, stability and co-operation restored in South-East Asia.

144. It is encouraging to note that dialogue has now been established between the two groups of countries. It is important to preserve and intensify this atmosphere of dialogue and détente, or at least to do nothing to cause it to deteriorate.

145. My delegation hopes that the efforts of the three countries of Indo-China will meet with the understanding of the international community and

that all those countries which, like us, would like to see peace and stability reign in South-East Asia will assist us to create conditions favourable to exchanges of views in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, with the aim of making progress towards the settlement of all the problems concerning relations between the two groups of countries and of regional problems. My delegation ventures to hope, too, that the United Nations will make a positive contribution to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

146. The PRESIDENT: No draft resolution has been submitted and the sponsors of the item, after consultation, have proposed that the debate be adjourned and that the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I take it that there is no objection to that proposal?

It was so decided [decision A/37/405].

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

² A/36/116, annex.

³ A/36/561, annex.