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President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 37

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I propose that, if there are no objections, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 12 noon.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): For the past 40 years, South-East Asia has experienced successive wars of unprecedented scope and ferocity. The volume of bombs and explosives used in Indo-China alone has been five times larger than that used during the Second World War.

3. At the end of the second Indo-China war everyone believed that peace and stability had truly returned to the region. But there once again appeared a threat to peace and stability in Indo-China and the rest of South-East Asia. When the Western aggressors were forced to withdraw from Indo-China, the expansionists and hegemonists to the north set their minds to subjugating Indo-China, to satisfy their ambitions. They believed that the countries of Indo-China were too exhausted by 30 years of continuous war to stand up to them, even though they were so much weaker than the Western imperialist Powers. Moreover, they regarded themselves as having certain advantages that the imperialists from the distant West did not have. Therefore, they spared no efforts in their many attempts to subjugate Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China to open the way to the whole of South-East Asia, in order to realize their long-cherished ambition to "recover South-East Asia at all cost", the "extremely rich South-East Asia, which, with its wealth of minerals, is certainly well worth conquering", in the belief that "once South-East Asia is conquered, the wind from the east will blow away the wind from the west".

4. One of the pernicious manoeuvres of those expansionists and hegemonists is to pit one country against another, one group of countries against another, in order to provoke "universal chaos", allowing them quietly to impose their "supreme suzerainty". In so doing, they hope that in the not too distant future the countries of Indo-China and South-East Asia will be so weak that they themselves will be four times more powerful, and then the conquest of the whole of South-East Asia will be near at hand.

5. In past centuries, and especially in the last 40 years, all threats against the independence, peace and stability of South-East Asia always arose from the colonialist, imperialist, expansionist and hegemonist forces outside the region. Between the countries of South-East Asia there exist problems of a historical nature as well as disagreements; yet, such differences are minimal compared to the danger that weighs over the independence, peace and stability of the region.

6. In order to carry out their designs of domination and aggression with regard to the countries of South-East Asia, the colonialist, imperialist and expansionist forces resorted to their customary manoeuvre of dividing the countries of the region and striving to train a certain number of them in the wake of their opposition to other States in this part of the world.

7. In the past 40 years, the countries of Indo-China have been subjected to aggression and domination by the colonialist, imperialist, expansionist forces, which believed that once the Indo-Chinese countries were conquered it would be easy to establish domination over the whole region. That is why Indo-China has fallen victim to the most bloody wars of aggression and the most perfidious schemes and manoeuvres.

8. Now, however, the forces of peace and independence in South-East Asia, steadily growing stronger, are able to defeat those schemes and manoeuvres. The States of the region are today more aware of the threat from outside and realize the need to strengthen understanding and co-operation in the face of that threat. The lesson of history, for which the countries of South-East Asia had to pay dearly, is that they must oppose any division in the region and all attempts by outside countries to provoke confrontation between the different groups of nations; they must promote mutual understanding and co-operation in order to defend the peace and stability of the whole region and safeguard the independence and sovereignty of each country.

9. Having been deprived of peace and stability for so long, South-East Asia, more than any other part of the world, needs peace and stability. The countries of Indo-China in particular, victims of the most bloody wars of aggression, yearn for peace and stability so that they may heal the wounds of war and devote themselves to national reconstruction.

10. After 1975 Viet Nam extended the hand of friendship to the other States of the region in order to establish good-neighbourly relations and contribute to the immediate establishment of peace, stability and co-operation in the whole of South-East Asia. At one time relations between the countries of the region were making encouraging progress. Afterwards, despite the efforts of certain powers behind the scene to set the two groups of countries of Indo-China and of the Association of South-East Asian

Nations [ASEAN] against one another, Viet Nam persevered in its friendly attitude, and avoided falling into the trap set for it.

11. Today the situation in Viet Nam and in the other countries of Indo-China has improved. The illusion that it is possible to bring about their collapse has been destroyed. On the contrary, Viet Nam is stronger and more robust than ever. The same is true of all three Indo-Chinese countries, whose solidarity is growing day by day.

12. The biggest change on the Indo-Chinese peninsula is the recovery of Kampuchea, delivered from the horrors of genocide. The 6 million Kampuchean are now making extraordinary efforts to make up for the disappearance of 3 million of their countrymen and the enormous material, spiritual and cultural losses under the Pol Pot régime. Life is back to normal today in the cities and the countryside, and it is gradually improving. The Kampuchean people, the true master of its own destiny, is devoting itself entirely to the reconstruction of its homeland. Kampuchea's security and national defence are daily being strengthened. The people's armed forces of Kampuchea are carrying out their duties more efficiently with every passing day, thus making possible partial annual withdrawals of the Vietnamese volunteer forces. As this trend continues and in the absence of a political solution, most of the Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn within several years and the question of Kampuchea will thus be resolved of itself. Naturally, an appropriate political solution will help to speed up the settlement of all differences and contribute to an early restoration of regional stability.

13. Peace and stability are an immediate need for the South-East Asian States, especially those of Indo-China, since they constitute the prerequisites for national reconstruction. In the longer perspective, these two factors will assume even greater importance, for without peace and stability or a sound economy, it will become increasingly difficult for the countries of the region to cope with hostile forces from outside, which will become several times stronger than they are at present. Therefore, more than anywhere else and more than ever before, South-East Asia needs peace and stability. Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries have been struggling tirelessly for a South-East Asia of peace, stability and co-operation. Peace is indivisible. Tension and confrontation carry with them the danger of extended escalation in South-East Asia. In contrast, restored peace and stability in this part of the world will contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to world peace and security.

14. Fully aware of the immediate and long-term threat to their independence and sovereignty and to the peace and security of the region as a whole, Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries believe it is necessary to take the path of peaceful negotiations to settle all intraregional differences. If all the countries of South-East Asia sit down together jointly to consider all regional issues on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests, then all these issues will be settled one after another. Everyone agrees that dialogue offers the best solution to these problems, while confrontation is obviously the trap set by outside forces to weaken the countries of South-East Asia.

15. The Indo-Chinese countries note with satisfaction that the developing trend of dialogue in the region has been welcomed and encouraged by many well-intentioned countries in the world, as well as by the Secretary-General himself.

16. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has adopted a constructive approach to the problems of South-East Asia. The Movement's resolution on these problems provides a sound basis for a peaceful solution. Addressing the Kampuchea issue alone, without solving South-East Asian problems, will not lead to a lasting settlement. The Indo-Chinese countries are not against a solution of the international aspect of the Kampuchea issue. The three problems on which there is unanimity or disagreement between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN are the following: the two groups of countries agree on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces without permitting the return of the Polpotists, but differ on the method to eliminate Pol Pot and his associates; the two groups of countries agree on respect for the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, but differ on how this right should be exercised; the two groups of countries agree on the need for having international guarantees and supervision whose terms will be a matter for further discussion.

17. In order to speed up the process of dialogue between the two groups of countries, both sides have delegated their respective representatives: Indonesia for ASEAN and Viet Nam for Indo-China. Viet Nam is of the view that both sides should meet and exchange views so as to further their mutual understanding and, points of agreement being determined and points of difference being put aside, gradually to solve all problems on the basis of an agreement between the two groups. Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries are prepared to engage in negotiations with ASEAN countries in the following spirit.

18. First, mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; equality, mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries; establishment of a South-East Asia of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation.

19. Secondly, settlement of disputes and differences in relations between the countries of the two groups, as well as between the latter and other countries in the region, by peaceful means and through negotiations, with the understanding that South-East Asian problems are to be solved by South-East Asian countries on the principle of equality, friendship, mutual respect and joint agreement, without imposing the will of one side on the other, respecting each other's legitimate interests, free from any outside interference and from resort to the use or threat of use of force.

20. Thirdly, respect on the part of the countries outside South-East Asia for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in the region; an end to all external pressures and threats causing tension and confrontation between the countries in the region; denial of permission by the countries in the region to use their territories as a base for aggression or for direct or indirect intervention against any of the countries of the region.

21. Viet Nam feels gratified by the concern shown by many countries of the world for the peace and stability of South-East Asia. This strongly stimulates

the tendency, evident in dialogue between the two groups of countries, to develop specific acts leading to heartening results.

22. It is our view that, looking straight at the facts and dispensing with selfish motives, it will be possible to find a reasonable solution. In the course of the past 40 years, the settlement of conflicts in Indo-China has three times been reached through negotiations between the parties concerned. This time a similar settlement can be achieved, provided that good will is forthcoming on all sides.

23. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): By taking up the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, the General Assembly once again has a major opportunity to contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. In this regard we must note with deep regret that the situation in South-East Asia remains tense. Despite the consistent and continued efforts of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, the international community has not witnessed the much desired and long-overdue improvement of the situation in that region of the world.

24. The Hungarian Government's approach to the establishment of peace in South-East Asia is three-fold: first, proceeding from a position of principle, we advocate in this regard that disputes among States or among groups of States be settled exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations. There is and can be no alternative to the peaceful coexistence of States in any part of our contemporary world; secondly, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia with its far-reaching implications has a direct bearing on international peace and security. The history of the past four decades is ample proof of this; thirdly, we cannot lose sight of the historical events, their lessons and their consequences that have shaped the current realities in the region.

25. It has been appropriately recalled here that the peoples of the region had been victims of outside aggression for a number of decades. They have successfully stood against outside interventions and attained their independence by making enormous sacrifices. History has taught us once again that no military might can suppress the aspirations of peoples to self-determination, independence and national unity. We have expressed our unequivocal support for and sympathy with the peoples of the region in their struggle for sovereignty and social progress. We are determined to continue to do so.

26. A realistic assessment of the situation in South-East Asia cannot ignore the fact that the struggle of the peoples in the region in the course of the past four decades has resulted in the formation of two groups of States—the Indo-Chinese and the countries members of ASEAN—with different political and socio-economic systems. By the same token, those two groups of States continue to share a common heritage of history and culture. Their geographical proximity and circumstances challenge them to find a common ground for the resolution of outstanding issues. In this context, we whole-heartedly support the view that the only feasible course for them to follow is that of dialogue, to consider jointly the proposals presented by them and to begin to conduct negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests, free from any outside interference.

27. That approach was also reiterated in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984. The Ministers and heads of delegation "urged 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" [see A/39/560, para. 72].

28. The Hungarian delegation has consistently stressed that direct talks between the interested parties are invaluable and irreplaceable. The legitimate interests of every State involved can be respected within that framework and on an equal footing.

29. The Hungarian People's Republic has committed itself to contribute, within the limits of possibilities, to bringing about lasting stability in South-East Asia. This policy, along with the strengthening of our bilateral relations, is served by the current trip to the area by the Hungarian head of State, Mr. Pál Losonczi, who is paying an official visit to Indonesia, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

30. It is our strong belief that any attempt to reduce the comprehensive question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia to the artificially created "situation in Kampuchea" serves only those who are not interested in a genuine lessening of tension in the region. It remains an undeniable historical fact that restoration of the former genocidal Pol Pot régime in the People's Republic of Kampuchea is inconceivable. Disguised attempts to achieve that ill-conceived aim are doomed to failure and can only lead to an undesirable increase in tension.

31. The Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in pursuing peace-loving and non-aligned foreign policies, have indicated time and again in crystal-clear terms their readiness to reach out in good faith to the ASEAN States for a genuine dialogue with the aim of restoring peace and security in South-East Asia. That approach is clearly reflected again in the communiqués of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam adopted at their eighth and ninth conferences held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex] and 2 July 1984 [A/39/337, annex], respectively. Their initiatives derive from sincere endeavours firmly to establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the member States of ASEAN.

32. We are more than ever convinced that solutions to the problems between those two groups of States can be achieved only through negotiations, on the basis of equality and with due regard for each other's legitimate interests. In this connection, we welcome and support the call for an international conference of the countries of South-East Asia aimed at settling the questions of peace and stability in the region.

33. We take note with satisfaction of the forthcoming Vietnamese proposal on the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations and we have not failed to point out that Viet Nam has reaffirmed time and again its willingness to settle all problems with the United States. Those initiatives deserve our closest attention, for they open the road towards a construc-

tive system of relations as yet another manifestation of peaceful coexistence.

34. At this juncture my delegation wishes to give full support to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to convene a conference of the Asian and Pacific countries aimed at concluding an agreement on the non-use of force and on non-aggression, which would make another positive and genuine contribution to the resolution of problems in South-East Asia as well.

35. The Hungarian delegation continues to believe that the role of the United Nations is to help to create conditions for countries of a region to engage in dialogue and, in the course of that dialogue, to negotiate a solution of their problems without outside interference.

36. Our discussion could give impetus to efforts being made to address a complex problem with an eye to resolving the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, to which both the peoples of the region and the community of nations look forward with great expectations. It is in this spirit that my delegation has offered its views on the agenda item before us.

37. Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): The situation in South-East Asia is still far short of genuine peace and stability. That is why the inclusion of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is so commendable. It gives this body of the Organization an opportunity to devote some time to discussing the situation in that area of the world where, for so many years, tremendous human sacrifices have not brought peace to the peoples living there, who for all that time have fought against aggression, and for their independence and peaceful development. The debate on this agenda item is a good occasion for all Member States concerned about promoting peace and security in that region to make a positive contribution to it.

38. During previous debates on this agenda item, as well as at this session of the General Assembly, much information has been submitted on the historical background of the problems existing in the region, their causes and nature. Facts have been presented concerning the struggle, over 2,000 years old, of the Indo-Chinese nations against foreign intervention, aggression and domination. This area is the only part of the world which, during the past 40 years, has enjoyed no peace at all. Successive wars have devastated the region, decimating its population, destroying its property and adding new initiatives to the already difficult and complex problems.

39. Today, remembering all those historical experiences, let us look towards the future. Let us give a helping hand to the new initiatives for achieving peace and stability that are under way there.

40. Poland, which knows very well from its own tragic experiences the full meaning of war, has great sympathy and understanding for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. For over 20 years my country was actively involved in international efforts to establish peace in that region. As a member of the Indo-Chinese Commissions of Control, established after the Geneva Conference on the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China of 1954 and the Paris Conference on Viet Nam of 1973, my country tried to contribute to the process of bringing peace to the war-torn nations of Indo-China.

41. After the historic defeat of American forces in Viet Nam in 1975, it looked as though peace might finally come to the region. But such was not the case. Once again the people of that area were forced to defend themselves against a foreign scheme to subjugate them.

42. In spite of that, the past five years have also brought new signs of hope and opportunity that should be encouraged and sustained. This favourable evolution of the situation was stressed in the Communiqué of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 2 July 1984 [A/39/337, annex].

43. Historical conditions have led to the formation in South-East Asia of two groups of States, the Indo-Chinese States and those of ASEAN. The countries belonging to those groups have different social and political systems, but they share the same fate and the same desire for peace and independence.

44. It is our firm belief that the peoples of that region, in spite of all the political and other difficulties and existing differences, share a common desire to ease tensions, to strengthen mutual contacts and to find ways of bringing durable peace and stability to their respective countries. They also all belong to the developing world desirous of achieving accelerated social and economic progress. It goes without saying that the international community, especially the United Nations, should help the trend towards negotiations and improved relations between the two groups of South-East Asian countries.

45. There already exists a good basis for fruitful dialogue among them. There is a general desire that the problems of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia should—as they indeed can—be solved through negotiations among interested Governments without any foreign interference.

46. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have for some time demonstrated their willingness to conduct such talks. They have put forward an important proposal to establish in South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. This proposal deserves due attention. They reiterated this and other proposals at the aforementioned conference at Vientiane in July. In the communiqué of that conference, the position of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea was clearly stated as follows:

"(a) The three Indo-Chinese countries consider that striving for durable peace and stability in South-East Asia constitutes a long process that demands understanding and co-operation from all sides concerned. To start this process, a dialogue should be immediately initiated between ASEAN and the three Indo-Chinese countries with a view to discussing urgent problems of concern to both sides;

"(b) The three Indo-Chinese countries hold that the ASEAN proposal of 21 September 1983 and that of the three Indo-Chinese countries put forth in the 29 January 1984 Communiqué of the Eighth Conference of their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, as well as all other proposals from both sides, should be taken as a basis of discussion on an equal footing and in mutual respect;

"(c) In response to ASEAN's approval of Indonesia's continued dialogue with Viet Nam on the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia, the three Indo-Chinese countries welcome Viet

Nam's continued dialogue with Indonesia as well as with the other ASEAN countries on questions of mutual concern to both groups of countries.

"The Conference considers that the dialogue between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries will provide an important prelude for the easing of tension and the progression towards peace and stability in the region. The Conference calls upon the countries of the world that show concern for peace in South-East Asia to help foster this dialogue and to contribute to the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in the region." [*Ibid.*, para. 3.]

As one can see, this is a very constructive set of proposals and, in the opinion of the Polish delegation, it deserves full support.

47. The urgent need for a meaningful dialogue in South-East Asia is generally recognized, but progress towards it is still not sufficient. In our view, both sides—the Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN group—should start negotiations without delay. They should meet and talk on an equal footing and with mutual respect for each other's positions and interests.

48. There seems also to be a general feeling that there is sufficient basis for negotiations. Both sides accepted the resolutions on South-East Asia adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.¹ Both sides have put forward their own proposals: the ASEAN group on 21 September 1983 and the three Indo-Chinese countries in the 1984 communiqué I have just quoted.

49. In the past year, the two groups seem to have come somewhat closer together, for they have nominated Indonesia from the ASEAN group and Viet Nam from the Indo-Chinese group as representatives to take up the dialogue. To facilitate that dialogue one must, first of all, acknowledge existing realities in the area. The so-called situation in Kampuchea should not be used as an excuse for building up tension and creating obstacles on the way towards peace and dialogue. As was underlined once again during this debate by the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Hoang Bich Son, "addressing the Kampuchea issue alone, without solving South-East Asian problems, will not lead to a lasting settlement".

50. The Polish delegation hopes that the negotiations proposed by Indo-Chinese countries, based on equality and mutual respect, will not only bring favourable results for peace and stability in that region, but also contribute to the relaxation of tension in the world at large.

51. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): In the endeavour to return international developments to normal and predictable channels, all initiatives which could lead to diminishing tension and promoting mutual understanding are becoming increasingly important. In this context, growing importance has to be attached to securing peace on the regional level, for, in the final analysis, the edifice of international security will be stable only when all its parts are stable. This is true not least of South-East Asia, a region which, as is well known, has not had peace or stability for the last four decades.

52. What is the basic pre-condition for a normalization of the situation in South-East Asia? It lies, above

all, in a recognition of the realities and in taking into account the legitimate sovereign interests of all States and peoples of the region. One of these irrefutable realities is the existence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The fact that that State is still being illegally deprived of its place in the United Nations cannot alter that reality in any way. The problems in the region can be solved only with the People's Republic of Kampuchea—not against it.

53. Led by its democratically elected Government, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has achieved remarkable results in the political, social and economic fields. The considerable progress which has been made in the supply of food and in building the educational and health systems testifies to the impressive successes achieved in the difficult process of national and social rebirth. Many countries are rendering broad support for that development. Among them is the German Democratic Republic, which maintains fraternal relations with Kampuchea under the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed at Berlin on 18 March 1980 by both countries. Since 1979, the people of the German Democratic Republic has provided solidarity and support worth 104 million marks, which was funded largely through donations from the population. More detailed information about assistance from the German Democratic Republic to the People's Republic of Kampuchea is contained in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for co-ordination of Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes.

54. The growing political and economic stability of the People's Republic of Kampuchea coincides with its active policy of peace and understanding, which aims at co-operation and good-neighbourly relations with all States of South-East Asia. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a constructive policy for improving the political climate. Thirty-two States and two liberation organizations have recognized the young State under international law.

55. In the interests of peace and stability, it is imperative now that all the partners of South-East Asia give up unjustified mistrust of and hostility for the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Differences should be pushed aside and the road to the normalization of relations should be taken, for it is obvious that the tension in the region is not caused by the peaceful road being followed by the Kampuchean people. It is not a result of the overthrow of the totally ostracized murderous Pol Pot régime. It is rather the result of constant outside imperialist interference, especially by the United States.

56. It is well known too that that main Power of imperialism considers the Asian continent to be its so-called zone of vital interests. From Lebanon in the Middle East to the islands of Micronesia in the Pacific Ocean, in South-West and South-East Asia, and in the adjacent waters, its policy is gross interference in the internal affairs of other States.

57. For South-East Asia that policy has, over the last 40 years, resulted in war, tensions and discord. Trampling underfoot the national interests of the peoples, the aggressive imperialist forces have committed countless crimes there in the interest of their monopolies. Those that with barbaric air raids, napalm and the use of chemical agents brought untold suffering and destruction to Indo-China, whose dirty war of aggression against Viet Nam

caused world-wide indignation, those that are responsible for the plight of tens of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees, are trying again today to jeopardize peace and understanding. Economic pressure, political discrimination and demonstrations of political strength are used as instruments of their adventurist course.

58. Without scruple, Washington ignores all norms of international law. With the "big stick" it presumes to teach the peoples its version of freedom and democracy. It rages against progress everywhere in the world.

59. Especially at this time, the people of Nicaragua and its freely and democratically elected leaders are faced with aggravated threats, blackmail attempts and acts of aggression. Obviously, the Pentagon wants to move from covert, undeclared war against free Nicaragua to direct military intervention. The scenario elaborated by the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] is known only too well. It is the same screenplay as was used 20 years ago in the provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin as a pretext for the dirty war against the Vietnamese people. The same pattern was used one year ago in the invasion of Grenada. And today the world public is presented with the lie of an alleged threat emanating from Nicaragua.

60. The gunboat politicians of today should note that the developments in Nicaragua, as well as those in Kampuchea and other countries, are irreversible and that these peoples will do everything to defend their hard-won freedom.

61. The German Democratic Republic goes along with the world-wide demand to end all acts of imperialist aggression and interference and the call for solidarity now more than ever before.

62. As is well known, the course of history cannot be halted. Let that be a lesson to those that oppose realities.

63. Normal conditions in South-East Asia must emanate above all from the deeds of the States in that region. Tensions can only be reduced in a dialogue with one another. Constructive co-operation presupposes acknowledgement of the equality of the partners and respect for their sovereign interests. In this sense, the States of Indo-China have, over the last five years, submitted constructive proposals which show realism and a sense of responsibility. The offer of negotiations was reaffirmed once again at the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam on 2 July this year [A/39/337, annex].

64. Those three States, realistically assessing the situation, proceed from the fact that the creation of peace and stability in South-East Asia is a long-term process. They propose to start it immediately through a dialogue between the two groups of States. This initiative calls for immediate action. It starts from common positions of both groups of States on fundamental questions and from similar positions with regard to details. Those that really want peace and co-operation cannot ignore those proposals; those that really want a peace agreement for the region must not join the ranks of the propaganda and military front against the States of Indo-China.

65. There is only one way to strengthen mutual understanding and diminish differences of views, that is, by joint consideration of the problems raised by each side. Negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect are possible when they are based

on the proposals of both groups of States. This is also true of the proposals submitted by the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the relaxation of tensions on the border between Laos and Thailand.

66. The German Democratic Republic supports the endeavour by the States of Indo-China to bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia through dialogue and co-operation among all countries of the region, to reject any outside interference and to focus their efforts on solving the urgent problems of the countries. On the occasion of the most recent visit of the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Chan Si, to the German Democratic Republic, the head of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, reaffirmed the firm solidarity of our country with the fraternal countries of Indo-China. The concrete signs of the goodwill of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos—such as the withdrawal of part of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea or the visits of the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to countries members of ASEAN—have, without doubt, a positive influence on the political climate in South-East Asia.

67. Dialogue instead of confrontation—that is and remains the only reasonable means of improving the political climate to which the United Nations is deeply committed.

68. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation believes that in the circumstances of the current exacerbated international situation one of the most important and urgent tasks is the adoption of practical measures to eliminate the present hotbeds of tension in the world.

69. For this very reason we whole-heartedly support consideration at this session of the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The situation in this part of the world continues to arouse the concern of all States that favour the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. What are the reasons for this alarming situation?

70. We are witnessing in South-East Asia infringements on the independence and territorial integrity of sovereign Indo-Chinese States. The aim of the initiators of this policy is to impede a settlement of problems in relations between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN and to incite the members of ASEAN to undertake hostile action against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. We cannot fail to see that the persistent tension in South-East Asia is the result of the incessant intervention of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism. There are those that would like to regain the positions they lost as a result of the victory of the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos in the struggle for their national independence and freedom; there are also forces at work that would like once again to assert the authority of the followers of Pol Pot in Kampuchea.

71. At the present time, a special danger is posed by the plans to hitch the ASEAN countries to the wagon of the imperialist military-political blocs and to convert South-East Asia into one more front in the military-political confrontation with the socialist States.

72. Unfortunately, we cannot fail to note that some States members of ASEAN, while paying lip-service to the desire to see a political settlement to the

problems of the area, are actually showing a lack of political realism and are still banking on the possibility of forcing the countries of Indo-China to accept one-sided concessions and decisions. They are attempting to make it appear that the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, which pursued a policy of genocide against its own people, the establishment in Kampuchea of the people's power and the carrying out in the country of progressive social and economic reforms account for the exacerbation of the situation in South-East Asia. In this regard, they are distorting the role of the Vietnamese volunteers who have given the Kampuchean people brotherly assistance in defending their achievements from encroachments from outside. Every year the General Assembly is forced to engage in a discussion of the situation in Kampuchea, a discussion which is being exploited by attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of that country.

Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

73. The worst example in this connection is, unfortunately, that of Thailand, which not only is giving asylum to fugitives from the people's wrath, the Polpotists and other Khmer reactionaries, but also has been actively supporting their raids into the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Furthermore, this very year Thailand, apparently having decided to broaden the front of its actions against the countries of Indo-China, has occupied part of the territory of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, thus creating a hotbed of tension on the Thai-Lao frontier.

74. We cannot close our eyes to the serious consequences for the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia inherent in the plans for involving the ASEAN countries in a direct and more active confrontation with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. From time to time the United States press reveals that the United States is behind these plans. For example, *The Christian Science Monitor* reported on 12 October that, in order to co-ordinate assistance for the coalition of Polpotists and other Khmer reactionaries, a special quadripartite committee has been set up, including representatives of Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and the United States. At the same time, it is pointed out that since 1982 the CIA of the United States has been carrying out secret operations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, financing external propaganda for the coalition and assisting in the procurement of weapons for their gangs of marauders. Millions of dollars have already been spent on these activities.

75. On the basis of this and similar information, we are relentlessly driven to the conclusion that the most important and primary condition for the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia is the cessation of intervention by outside forces in the affairs of the region, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region and the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among them.

76. The view of the Soviet Union in this regard was expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, in a speech at a reception in honour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, on 29 October this year, when he said:

"We are convinced that the only sensible path to a settlement in South-East Asia is that of constructive dialogue between the countries located there and a search for peaceful, mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems. The alternative—and attempts are being made by States outside the region to impose such an alternative—is a policy of confrontation and political, economic and military pressure. Such a course will not yield the results which some people are still counting on. It is divorced from political realities, short-sighted and hopeless."

77. We must realize that in spite of the difficulties caused by the policies of certain countries, in spite of the differences between the countries of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China, a trend is emerging and gradually gaining ground towards the broadening of mutual understanding and a search for ways and means of gradually establishing lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia. We believe that the conditions exist for improving relations between the two groups of countries in the region.

78. The problems of South-East Asia can be solved only on the basis of equality, respect for the legitimate interests of each group of countries, renunciation of attempts by either side to impose its will on the other and the elimination of the possibility of outside intervention.

79. It is clear to all impartial delegations in this Hall that Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have consistently made every effort to replace confrontation by dialogue, in the course of which controversial issues would be settled by political means and South-East Asia would once again become a zone of peace and co-operation. Having suffered through the most cruel and bloody of wars, having struggled with foreign aggressors in the defence of their right to independence, the peoples of the States of Indo-China, perhaps more than any others, crave peaceful relations with their neighbours and all other States. This aspiration is reflected in the day-to-day conduct of their Governments in the international arena in general and in the United Nations in particular.

80. The proposals of the countries of Indo-China put forward at the eighth conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of these countries, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex], provide for the possibility of both a comprehensive and a partial solution to the problems connected with peace and stability in South-East Asia. At the subsequent conference, also held at Vientiane on 2 July 1984 [A/39/337, annex], the Ministers for Foreign Affairs confirmed their desire and determination to do everything possible to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, believing this to be an important factor in ensuring peace and stability in South-East Asia. They have expressed their wish to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Thailand and to turn the Lao-Thai and Kampuchean-Thai frontiers into frontiers of peace and friendship.

81. Convincing proof of the will and the sincerity of the desire of the countries of Indo-China to settle the immediate problems of the region by means of dialogue with the countries of ASEAN is their declaration that the proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983 and the initiatives of the three Indo-Chinese countries contained in the communiqué issued by the eighth conference of Ministers

for Foreign Affairs, as well as all other proposals by both sides, should be considered as a basis for discussion on a footing of equality and in circumstances of mutual respect.

82. An important common ground in the positions of the two groups of countries—which could promote a successful dialogue—is the fact that each of them has signified at one time or another its approval of the decision of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, with regard to the position in South-East Asia. This decision was confirmed at the Meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, held in New York from 4 to 7 October 1983 and 1 to 5 October 1984, respectively.

83. Clearly, if we want to achieve the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, there is no alternative to dialogue. As was stressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, in a speech at a reception in honour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Kusumaatmadja, in Moscow on 2 April 1984:

“The only sensible means of settling the problems of the region is by negotiations and constructive dialogue among neighbours in the search for realistic, mutually acceptable solutions. There are no issues outstanding between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries which cannot be resolved around the conference table, no matter how difficult they may appear at first sight”.

84. The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction that the idea of settling the region's problems by means of negotiations between the Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN countries is winning ever wider recognition and support. In this regard, the statement by Indonesia that the ASEAN countries are ready to enter into such a dialogue with Viet Nam at any time and at any level is worthy of note. We also note the efforts of Australia, which is attempting to promote the development of dialogue between the countries of South-East Asia.

85. The contacts by Viet Nam, on behalf of the three Indo-Chinese countries, with Indonesia and some other ASEAN countries and the meetings of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of a number of ASEAN countries at this session of the General Assembly give us grounds for hoping that dialogue between the two groups of countries will develop further.

86. The Soviet delegation believes that the efforts of the United Nations and all those that cherish the interests of international peace and security must be directed towards promoting a successful dialogue between the two groups of South-East Asian countries. We believe that the debate on the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia in the General Assembly should promote dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries and the normalization of relations between them. However, in this connection, we cannot permit the Organization to be exploited for the imposition of one-sided decisions, which could only further complicate the situation in that part of the world.

87. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are ready to associate ourselves with the efforts of all those who wish to see the establishment in South-East Asia of relations of peace, stability and a genuine good-neighbourliness.

88. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): It may be recalled that in 1975 momentous events took place in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea which changed the geopolitical configuration of South-East Asia. To many in the region, the historic changes offered at least the hope that the long era of relentless armed conflict would finally be brought to a close. The States of the region responded well to the changed circumstances around them. By 1976 the States of South-East Asia enjoyed, for the first time in modern history, formal diplomatic relations, trade and other exchanges with one another. My country was among the very first to recognize and establish contacts with the new Governments in Laos and Kampuchea and the Government of a unified Viet Nam. In 1975 the nations of South-East Asia had the opportunity to set aside past differences, to look to the future without suspicion or enmity, to enter a new era of fruitful co-operation and to build upon their common cultural and ethnic heritage. There was indeed a growing sense of hope and optimism in the region. But hopes were dashed by the foreign military intervention in Kampuchea which began in earnest on 25 December 1978.

89. It is not possible, therefore, to consider the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia without reference to the ongoing foreign military occupation of Kampuchea where, as a consequence, instability and armed conflict, not to mention human suffering, continue undeniably to be the tragic events of South-East Asian life. It would also be unrealistic and callous to ignore the clear and present threat posed to the very existence of a regional country from within the region itself. To overlook the clear violations of international norms and principles is to open wide the door to future regional instability and catastrophe.

90. Thailand and the other member countries of ASEAN are therefore of the view that the major impediment to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is the situation which at present obtains in Kampuchea. The framework for a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean problem has been put forward in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea. The resolutions adopted by the Assembly, as well as the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea,² also take into account the legitimate security interests of all States in the region, including Viet Nam, by calling, *inter alia*, for guarantees of a neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea that would not pose a threat to its neighbours. The Assembly resolutions also look forward to a future in which, after the settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the countries of the region would be able to co-operate in efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia which would contribute not only to peace and stability in the region but also to international peace and security.

91. What is now required, therefore, is a sincere effort by all the countries concerned to bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the situation in Kampuchea. Once the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea were

restored, the climate in the region would become conducive to further efforts to secure durable peace, stability and co-operation in the region on the basis of mutual trust, confidence and goodwill.

92. Goodwill has been a major element in the defusion of the recent incidents along the Thai-Lao border. Restraint on both sides will continue to be called for in order to achieve final resolution of the misunderstandings and problems that have arisen. We in Thailand feel confident that the age-old friendship with Laos and the bonds of close co-operation between our two peoples can be renewed, to our mutual benefit, as well as to the benefit of peace and stability in the region as a whole. Differences that arise between the countries of South-East Asia can undoubtedly be resolved through reasonableness, goodwill and sincerity.

93. With reference to the earlier statement by the Soviet representative making false allegations against Thailand on this matter, I wish simply to say that this is indeed a good example of the kind of external interference in the bilateral affairs of countries in the region that was mentioned earlier by the representative of Viet Nam.

94. Among the six member countries of ASEAN, peace, stability and co-operation have indeed been achieved, encompassing the greater part of the geographical area of South-East Asia and a vast majority of its peoples. There is no reason why other countries should be denied the benefits of mutual and constructive co-operation with the major part of South-East Asia. The interests of all the peoples of the region and those of the international community as a whole would be well served. Thailand and the other member countries of ASEAN stand ready to join with other countries in the search for lasting and just peace in the region. Indeed, dialogues are continuing between the countries concerned on the Kampuchean issue and other matters, and such dialogues are not new.

95. My delegation, therefore, would like to urge all States interested in the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia to join in the efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions as a necessary first step towards the creation of a climate of trust, confidence and goodwill in South-East Asia that would enable the countries of that region to secure a stable and lasting peace for themselves.

96. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Two weeks ago when the General Assembly was reviewing the item concerning the situation in Kampuchea, representatives of many countries pointed out explicitly that the root cause of tensions in South-East Asia today lies in the foreign armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. For this reason, the General Assembly once again adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea.

97. It is regrettable that the Vietnamese authorities not only have refused to listen to the international community's call for justice but also have gone so far as to attack the General Assembly resolution. They have continued to distort in every possible way the truth about the root cause of tensions in South-East Asia by taking advantage of the item "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia"

and dressed themselves up as champions of peace in the region in an attempt to hoodwink world opinion and cover up their acts of aggression in Kampuchea. All this shows that they have to date obdurately stuck to their aggressive and expansionist position and that they have been doing nothing but playing tricks on the question of Kampuchea.

98. Indeed, South-East Asia needs genuine peace, stability and co-operation. But who is the saboteur of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia? Who is it that has occupied Kampuchea for years and refused to pull out even to this day? Who is it that has controlled and interfered in the internal affairs of Laos? Who is it that has incessantly encroached on the border of Thailand and instigated incidents of bloodshed? And again, who is it that has invited the naval and air forces of a super-Power to Indo-China, menacing the safety of the entire Western Pacific as well as sea-lanes between two oceans? Is it not all too clear what the Vietnamese authorities have been doing?

99. It is absurd that the Vietnamese authorities always repeat their concocted old tale of the so-called China threat to cover up their own acts of aggression. Their representative even asserted in his statement on 9 October that China's gigantic military machine was the "real threat" to all Asian countries. Anyone with a bit of common sense knows that whether or not a country constitutes a threat to its neighbours is determined not by the size of its armed forces, but by the kind of policies it follows. For 35 years, since its founding, New China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, has firmly stood for the maintenance of world peace and relaxation of international tensions and has always been ready to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has all along opposed wars of aggression and has no need for overseas aggression and expansion. It does not have a single soldier stationed outside its territory. Besides, in terms of the ratio of a country's total area and population to the number of its troops, Viet Nam has a far larger percentage of troops than China, not to speak of Viet Nam's well over 200,000 troops occupying other countries. If armed invasion and occupation of a neighbouring country are not considered a breach of peace then, according to the peculiar Vietnamese logic, Israel and South Africa could very well style themselves as champions of peace.

100. China enjoys friendly relations with countries in South-East Asia and it has no ambitious designs whatsoever on that region. Peace and stability in South-East Asia conform with the interests of the people not only of that region but also of China. The Chinese Government, therefore, has consistently supported the proposition initiated by the ASEAN countries for the establishment of a peaceful, free and neutral zone in South-East Asia and supported the just stand of South-East Asian countries for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

101. As for the tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border it is, as is commonly known, the sole making of the Vietnamese authorities and the responsibility does not rest with the Chinese side. If only Viet Nam ceased its military provocations against China, tranquillity would be restored promptly along the border. Viet Nam has taken pains to create tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border, making a big issue out of it

in an attempt not only to divert attention from its invasion of Kampuchea but also to disrupt the unity of those countries that support the resistance forces in Kampuchea and, in particular, to sow discord between China and South-East Asian countries. Its schemes will certainly fall through and nobody will be taken in by them.

102. The Vietnamese authorities are well aware that their lies about the so-called China threat can no longer find support, so sometimes they have to make a few gestures such as proposing the "multi-channelled dialogues" aimed at peddling their stuff of so-called group dialogue and new international conferences. They have even attempted to use the statement of the so-called eighth Indo-Chinese Foreign Ministers meeting, which they themselves concocted, as the basis for such "dialogues". To put it bluntly, their sole objective is to divert the Kampuchean question from the correct course charted by the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea of the International Conference on Kampuchea,² legitimize their occupation of that country and impose the puppet régime propped up by them on the international community.

103. It should also be pointed out that in order to defend their acts of aggression and expansion in Indo-China, the Vietnamese authorities had no scruples in distorting the facts of history, deliberately lumping together the different stages of the 40-year post-war history of Indo-China and the three Indo-Chinese wars of different nature. They shamelessly describe their invasion of Kampuchea and control of Laos as protection of the sovereignty and the territory of these countries. Claiming to be the representative of the three Indo-Chinese countries, they have arbitrarily monopolized all the rights of Kampuchea and Laos in international affairs. Can there be any other explanation for all this than that the Vietnamese authorities regard these two countries as their protectorates?

104. The maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia is a pressing and serious matter. On this issue, no country is allowed to distort the truth, confound right and wrong and divert public attention for its own ulterior purposes. The Chinese Government has all along adhered to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and is ready to join all the other justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples in the continued endeavour for peace and stability in South-East Asia. China has consistently stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question at an early date and holds that the key to the settlement lies in the complete withdrawal of all the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. China wishes to see a peaceful, neutral, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea after Viet Nam's troop withdrawal.

105. Both the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea have long since pointed to the correct way to the settlement of the Kampuchea question and the relaxation of tensions in South-East Asia. If only the Vietnamese authorities abandon their policies of aggression and expansion, withdraw their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and agree to settle the Kampuchean question in compliance with resolutions of the General Assembly, the situation in South-East Asia will be relaxed, peace and stability in the region will be restored and the fundamental obstacles to inter-State co-operation in the region will be eliminated. This is

the clear-cut position of the Chinese Government on the question of Kampuchea.

106. Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): For the fifth successive year, Viet Nam has proposed for the consideration of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". We have met five times. We have discussed this issue five times. No resolutions have been adopted. Why?

107. The answer is that there is only one problem affecting peace and stability in South-East Asia—the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia. The ASEAN countries are at peace with each other. Until the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978, there were no problems between ASEAN and Indo-China. Until Viet Nam agrees to withdraw its forces from Cambodia, there can be no real progress towards peace and stability in South-East Asia.

108. This has also been the view of the United Nations, for each year it has adopted, by overwhelming majorities, resolutions calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw from Cambodia. If Viet Nam sincerely wants to heed the views of the international community on South-East Asia—and we presume that that is why it insists that this item be inscribed on the United Nations agenda each year—we urge it to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cambodia.

109. In its statements under this item, Viet Nam constantly reiterates certain themes. First, it claims that there has been some progress in the dialogue between the States of South-East Asia. Secondly, it refers to the decision of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on South-East Asia. Thirdly, it claims that the unstable situation in South-East Asia is the result of external intervention, especially Chinese hegemonism. Please permit me to explore these three themes.

110. The first major theme that Viet Nam has put forward is that there is a growing dialogue between the States of South-East Asia. We agree. There have been regular meetings between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of many South-East Asian States. Only one State has been excluded, deliberately, by Viet Nam from this dialogue. That State is Democratic Kampuchea, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

111. If Viet Nam is really sincere in its claim that it wants to see a dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the countries of ASEAN, we invite Viet Nam to convene a meeting where the three Indo-China States Members of the United Nations and the six ASEAN States Members of the United Nations get together for a dialogue. As soon as Viet Nam agrees to such a dialogue, tremendous progress will have been made towards a peaceful and stable situation in South-East Asia. If Viet Nam decides not to accept such a dialogue, we should perhaps ask: Why not? Why should Cambodia not be represented at this dialogue by its legitimate Government, which has been recognized at the United Nations? Even Viet Nam has not challenged the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea for the last two years.

112. We in ASEAN firmly believe that South-East Asia is on the verge of a new era of peace, prosperity and stability. Through a process of close regional co-operation, the ASEAN States have been gradually developing their societies. ASEAN has worked be-

cause it is based on one simple principle: each member State respects the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of its fellow member States.

113. We would welcome the creation of a similar organization among the three Indo-Chinese States. However, like ASEAN, an Indo-Chinese organization can succeed only if each of the member States respects the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of its fellow member States. Viet Nam has yet to do that in respect of Cambodia. As soon as Viet Nam grants Cambodia its independence, we are confident that the countries of Indo-China will also achieve an era of peace, prosperity and stability, just as the ASEAN countries have done.

114. Perhaps I should remind my Vietnamese colleague that the principle that ASEAN is based on is the principle that was once enunciated by the great Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, who said: "Nothing is more precious than freedom and independence". We urge Viet Nam to grant Cambodia its freedom and independence.

115. The second theme that Viet Nam constantly refers to is the decision of the non-aligned meetings on the situation in South-East Asia. That decision is contained in two paragraphs which were first adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981.³ The same two paragraphs have been endorsed by each subsequent non-aligned meeting. The paragraphs have not changed in the last three years. Yet we recall that when they were first drafted in 1981 Viet Nam announced its opposition to them because they referred to the situation in Kampuchea. We are therefore puzzled about how Viet Nam could reject these two paragraphs in 1981 and then endorse the same two paragraphs since 1982. We have not solved this puzzle.

116. Finally, Viet Nam claims that the unstable situation in South-East Asia is the result of external intervention—in particular, by Chinese hegemonism. We have all heard Viet Nam speak often and eloquently about what it calls the Chinese threat. We agree with Viet Nam that it is sometimes uncomfortable to be situated beside a larger neighbour. Yet it was only a decade ago that Vietnamese leaders used to declare that Viet Nam and China were as close as "lips and teeth". It would appear that some teeth have bitten into the lips. We believe that as long as Viet Nam and China are situated side by side geographically they will continue to be as close as lips and teeth. Since Viet Nam's relations with China deteriorated only after Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia, perhaps Viet Nam's withdrawal from Cambodia could solve this one major problem that worries Viet Nam.

117. We also agree with Viet Nam that South-East Asia has been the focus of external intervention. We agree with Viet Nam that such external intervention should cease. We firmly believe, however, that the external intervention will cease only when Viet Nam agrees to resolve the problem of Cambodia. By invading Cambodia, Viet Nam has flung not only itself but also the rest of South-East Asia into the Sino-Soviet conflict. It would have been wiser for Viet Nam not to jump into this conflict between two major Powers. By proposing a reasonable comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian problem, ASEAN hopes to extricate both Viet Nam and the rest of South-East Asia from their involvement in

this conflict. That is why we urge Viet Nam to support such a comprehensive political settlement.

118. Earlier this morning, the representative of the Soviet Union referred to the support that Singapore and the other ASEAN States are giving to the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is not just ASEAN, but the international community, that supports the struggle of the Kampuchean people. However, we regret that the Soviet Union continues to support the illegal puppet régime imposed upon the Cambodian people by foreign occupation forces. Such support from a super-Power has disrupted the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

119. Since Viet Nam has claimed that it seeks to end external intervention in South-East Asian affairs, we are frankly puzzled by Viet Nam's insistence upon retaining this item on the agenda of the General Assembly each year. Viet Nam claims that the purpose of these discussions is to foster peace and stability in South-East Asia and to reduce external intervention in the affairs of South-East Asia. Yet, as I look at the list of speakers for this debate—which includes, if my list is complete, Viet Nam, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Thailand, China, Singapore, Bulgaria, Malaysia, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen and Laos—I am genuinely concerned that, apart from the South-East Asian countries, the majority of speakers participating in this debate are from the Soviet bloc. It appears as though Viet Nam is inviting the Soviet bloc to interfere in the affairs of South-East Asia. This worries us. Perhaps Viet Nam only wants the Soviet bloc to provide South-East Asia with friendly assistance. If this is so, I hope that the peoples of South-East Asia will not have to go to bed each night, like many religious people in Eastern Europe, praying that the Lord will spare their countries from the friendly assistance of the Soviet Union.

120. Mr. SHEDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Byelorussian delegation attaches great importance to the consideration by the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, because we are firmly convinced that it is precisely on the basis of positions of principle aimed at the establishment of lasting peace and security that the United Nations should approach its assessment of the prevailing situation in the region and the search for realistic ways and means to bring about a just political settlement of the problems that have arisen there through the forces of imperialism and reaction.

121. There is a pressing need for improvement of the political climate in that part of the Asian continent, because the task of building peace there is proving a fragile and unstable process. The methods proposed by the countries of Indo-China for normalizing relations and bringing about mutually advantageous co-operation between the countries of the region has still not met with the proper response from the other side.

122. Recent events and incidents have made it absolutely clear that, as has been the case over previous decades, the main reason for the prevailing tension in the region is the incessant intervention by external forces of imperialism and hegemonism in

the internal affairs of the countries of the region, and their encroachment on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of Indo-China.

123. In order to pursue their selfish interests in the region, those forces—primarily the United States—rely on local reactionary circles. They have been continuously provoking friction between the countries of the region, cynically exploiting the differences and the mutual suspicion inherited from the past, and pursuing a course of intimidation, using the trumped-up Viet Nam threat. They are trying to get the countries members of ASEAN to convert it into a military-political group, to which they would accord a place in their strategy, which imperils the cause of peace, and to incite those countries to open, hostile acts against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) returned to the Chair.

124. Furthermore, using various kinds of propaganda devices, those forces are attempting to confuse the Kampuchean question—which is something they themselves once trumped up—and use it as a reason for intervening in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its brotherly neighbours in Indo-China, and also to make sure the ruling circles of certain ASEAN countries maintain a position of confrontation with Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

125. It is regrettable that, against the background of this openly hostile policy of the imperialist and expansionist forces against the peoples of South-East Asia, there are some people who, while declaring their concern about the situation in that part of the world, in fact are not averse to hiding behind artificial, hypocritical arguments about what they allege to be "differences in approach to assessing the reasons for the tension and current state of affairs in the region".

126. This applies particularly to the position of individual ASEAN countries. Under pressure from outside and not without the participation of certain forces in those States, periods of active contacts between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN on questions of normalizing relations between them in recent years have inevitably been interspersed with periods of artificially heightened tension.

127. Among those which are particularly zealous in pursuing such a course we find certain Thai circles, which have made Thai territory available for bases, training and rearming of the Pol Pot gangs and their accomplices, which to this very day are increasing tension on the Thai-Kampuchean and the Thai-Lao borders, where an act of aggression has been committed and three Lao villages occupied. Those circles are claiming the role of "master of the situation" and "guarantor" in case it proves possible to impose on the Kampuchean people a "settlement" planned far from the region itself. Under pressure from the United States of America and its partners, these Thai circles are permitting the direct participation of their country in actions hostile to Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam and are attempting to involve the other countries of ASEAN in such actions. There can be no doubt that such actions are not in keeping with the interests of Thailand or the present or long-term interests of the peoples of that region.

128. Everyone knows that the victory of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples in their

heroic, bloody and long-drawn-out struggle against the American aggressors and their henchmen marked a decisive turning-point in the destinies of the peoples of Indo-China and for the first time created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation among all the countries of South-East Asia, primarily between the countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, which embrace almost the whole region.

129. Since that time a certain amount of experience has been built up in relations between these two groups of States which shows that the differences and contradictions between them are by no means of such a nature that given goodwill it would not be possible to solve them at the conference table on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

130. Of course the colonial past, the imperialist aggressive wars and the expansionist policy of neo-colonialists of various stripes as always have left behind them in this region also quite a few complicated and controversial problems. The settlement of those problems will undoubtedly require a certain amount of time, bearing in mind that all these external forces and the reactionaries within the region will not give way without resistance.

131. At the same time, evincing the maximum common sense and objectivity in appraising the situation in South-East Asia, we cannot fail to notice a number of positive factors which can serve as a real basis for a search for ways and means of genuinely realizing the hopes and aspirations of all the peoples of the region to live in peace and to direct their efforts to the struggle against poverty and for accelerating economic and social development.

132. It is well known that the overall heritage of the historical and cultural links between all the countries in this part of the world, their similar economic and geographical conditions and the identical nature of their fundamental interests in the long term make it not merely desirable but absolutely necessary to narrow their differences regarding their aspirations for a common search for a peaceful settlement of outstanding controversial issues.

133. A sufficiently broad group of questions has already been identified on which the countries of the region in one form or another have shown interest in joint discussion and in a search for mutually acceptable solutions.

134. In comparing the fundamental principles by which both sides claim to be guided in their foreign policies, it is easy to discern a certain degree of similarity in points of departure.

135. Now more than ever before it should be absolutely clear that a constructive and peaceful settlement of the problems and the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia can be based only on the cessation of outside intervention in the affairs of that part of the world, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region, the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation and recognition of the equal interest of all parties in the maintenance of peace, the principle of equal security and respect for each other's legitimate interests.

136. Any attempt by any State or group of countries of South-East Asia, alone or with outside support, to compel the States of Indo-China to accept one-sided terms will inevitably be duly rebuffed and doomed to failure. This applies fully to the continuing provoca-

tive hullabaloo that has been raised concerning the "Kampuchean question", by means of which attempts are again being made at this session to impose upon the Kampuchean people the bloody régime of the Pol Pot butchers, which is now camouflaged as part of a "coalition".

137. The time has come to understand that the orientation and content of the progressive social and economic reforms being carried out by the peoples of Indo-China—and this of course also includes the Kampuchean people—are irreversible in character, regardless of whether some people like it or not.

138. We should like to think that the ASEAN countries are interested in improving the climate in South-East Asia no less than the countries of Indo-China. Therefore, a direct and constructive dialogue between them, and not confrontation whipped up from outside, and joint concerted efforts to seek mutually acceptable solutions, and not hegemonist ambitions, provide the only reliable and true path to the creation of a genuinely peaceful and stable region moving towards the development of fruitful co-operation.

139. It is well known that the States of Indo-China have demonstrated unswerving readiness to develop good relations with their neighbours and with all countries regardless of their political or social systems based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. True to their peace-loving policy, over the last five years they have put forward a whole series of constructive initiatives and concrete measures aimed at the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and converting that part of the world into a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. Striking proof of the consistent peace-loving policy of the States of Indo-China and their realistic and objective approach to the solution of the urgent problems of the region can be found in their extremely clear proposals which take account of the interests of all parties, proposals that were put forward at the eighth and ninth conferences of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January and 2 July this year, respectively.

140. These proposals provide for the possibility both of a comprehensive solution to the problems connected with peace and stability in South-East Asia and of their partial solution with individual countries of the area. They are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence among States and good-neighbourly relations and on the premise that the borders of the countries of Indo-China with Thailand should be borders of peace and friendship and that all outstanding issues should be resolved by means of negotiations. These proposals have been favourably received and approved by people of goodwill, who view them as a concrete and business-like approach to easing tension in South-East Asia.

141. In 1983, the States of Indo-China displayed their readiness to adopt as a basis for dialogue the proposal of the ASEAN countries put forward in 1971 that South-East Asia be made a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from outside interference in any shape or form.

142. Undoubtedly, positive changes in South-East Asia would be facilitated by the implementation of certain proposals of the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, the countries of Indo-China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, covering

such matters as the elaboration of confidence-building measures in the Far East, the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific basin and turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and friendship. From what I have said, it is clear that there is no lack of official realistic proposals and initiatives aimed at normalizing the situation in South-East Asia, and here I should like to point out that the attempt which the representative of Singapore has just made from this very rostrum to cast aspersions on the sincerity of the position of the socialist countries was an unsavoury one.

143. The main task before us is to see to it that those proposals do not just hang aimlessly in the air but actually are brought to the table for open, sincere, honourable and purposeful talks between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries.

144. The United Nations must do everything in its power to promote the development of constructive dialogue in a spirit of realism and goodwill in order to bring about genuine and lasting peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic continues actively to promote that end.

145. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Bulgaria attaches primary importance to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Indeed, for the past 40 years South-East Asia has not ceased to be one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension.

146. We are obliged to note once again that there has been no improvement in the situation in South-East Asia and that the political climate in that region remains exacerbated and tense.

147. Without a doubt, the main cause for that situation is the interference of outside forces in the affairs of States in the region, the attempts on the part of those forces to impose their will on the peoples in that part of the world and to prevent them from embarking on a constructive dialogue.

148. It would appear that those forces have not learned the lessons of history and the disastrous consequences of aggression against Viet Nam and endeavour to impose their domination in that region through other means taken from the repertoire of imperialism.

149. The course of events this year has shown once again that that policy is the main obstacle to the normalization of the situation in that region.

150. One aspect of the imperialist policy of interference is the application of the classical principle according to which it is necessary to divide so as to rule. A clear illustration is provided by its continued efforts to pit the States of ASEAN against those of Indo-China and provoke confrontation between them.

151. The obvious target of that policy of imperialism are the three countries of Indo-China, and in order to achieve it they resort to the good offices and territory of neighbouring countries.

152. We are witnessing continued direct interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at undermining the achievements of the Kampuchean people, destabilizing the country and overthrowing its legitimate Govern-

ment. It was in behalf of that objective that in July 1982 there was created, with the active and generous assistance of the United States and some of its allies and friends, the so-called Coalition Government which is no more than a disguise for the former criminal Pol Pot régime.

153. In the light of the foregoing, we strongly deplore the fact that in the United Nations, the place which rightly belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea continues to be occupied by persons whom history has condemned and repudiated for their crimes against their own people and against humanity.

154. In the course of these past months the territory of Laos, an independent and sovereign State, has also been the object of acts of aggression. Without the least provocation, Thai troops entered Laos on 6 June last and occupied three villages. The illegal occupation of those villages has already lasted five months. Those are alarming developments in the complex and tense situation prevailing in that tense region and can only poison relations between two neighbouring countries.

155. At the same time, pressures against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have increased, namely, armed attacks against its territory and a slanderous campaign on the pretext of a Vietnamese danger, the purpose of which is to discredit Viet Nam in the eyes of other Asian States.

156. We are also witnessing another dangerous trend, that is, endeavours to revive militarism and the formation of new military and political groupings in South-East Asia and the Pacific region.

157. Those are, in our view, the true causes of tension and conflict in South-East Asia, not the situation in Kampuchea as certain circles claim and endeavour to prove.

158. Their assertions are the fruit of their refusal to recognize that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is in the process of redressing and strengthening the country's political structure and that the changes that have taken place in the life of the Kampuchean people are irreversible. That people has chosen the path of its own development and no repudiated politician or outside force will change its destiny.

159. The positive corollary to the consistent policy of peace and good-neighbourliness among the three Indo-Chinese countries has been a radical change in the situation in the region. Whether there are those who like it or not, a political centre exerting its positive influence on international relations in favour of peace and security has taken shape in South-East Asia. The international prestige of the countries of Indo-China grows daily; it is a political reality that cannot be disregarded.

160. Allow me to take this opportunity to declare from this important rostrum that the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports and will not cease to support the efforts of the three countries of Indo-China to eliminate the painful consequences of the colonial past and to build a new socialist society.

161. In the light of the present deterioration of the international situation, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia has become more topical and important than ever.

162. Bulgaria is convinced that it is possible to find ways and means that will lead to a normalization of the situation in that part of the world. In our view,

the sole reasonable and real option for the overall solution of that region's problems is the gradual establishment of a climate of confidence and co-operation among all countries of the region through negotiations on the basis of the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the legitimate interests of each State.

163. The constructive proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries, put forward at the eighth conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of said countries held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex] and at nine periodic meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those countries, are a good point of departure for normalization of the situation.

164. Bulgaria highly appreciates the active peace policy pursued by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and fully supports their untiring efforts aimed at establishing a constructive dialogue with the ASEAN countries in order to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. As proof of their goodwill, those countries have confirmed their readiness to accept as a basis for discussion between the two groups of States, together with their own proposals of 29 January 1984, those contained in the joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries on 21 September 1983.⁴ Furthermore, with a view to facilitating the earlier initiation of a constructive dialogue, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has declared its readiness not to avail itself of its right to participate in the negotiations.

165. In addition to that, in keeping with the agreement between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the third consecutive withdrawal of a contingent of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea took place this year.

166. The constructive initiatives of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos meet the vital interests of the peoples of South-East Asia. They are consistent with the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries embodied in the Political Declaration issued by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.¹ Those proposals are based on the premise that there is no objective reason for hostility and confrontation between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries and that their differences and disputes stem from the intrigues of outside forces that deliberately exacerbate the situation in their own interests. That is the meaning of the urgent appeal launched to all the States of South-East Asia at the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, for the establishment of a dialogue that could enable those countries to resolve their differences and establish lasting peace and stability in the region, as well as to eliminate the interference and threats of interference from outside.

167. Bulgaria welcomes that important appeal to all the countries in the region and fully supports it, because we believe it to indicate the most appropriate way to solve that region's problems, namely,

through the immediate initiation of negotiations, without pre-conditions and free from outside interference.

168. My delegation also considers that, despite the difficulties and differences that exist, the bilateral consultations and contacts under way between the two groups of countries in the region give reason for optimism. That positive trend deserves encouragement and support.

169. We therefore welcome the agreement reached between the two groups to be represented in the negotiations by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and by Indonesia, respectively.

170. We also greatly appreciate the efforts of all States desirous of contributing in one way or another to the success of the dialogue between the two groups of South-East Asian States.

171. The delegation of Bulgaria is convinced that the United Nations can make its contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in this region. We therefore believe that the present debate could contribute to the normalization of the situation in this region and to its transformation into a true zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

172. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): As has already been said many times in the course of the debate, this is the fifth occasion on which the General Assembly has considered the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". We also all know that at the conclusion of each of the debates at previous sessions the Assembly did not proceed to consider a draft resolution. Indeed, no draft resolution has ever been submitted and instead the Assembly has agreed to remit the item to the following session. My delegation believes that, in the circumstances that then obtained, that decision was justified and, as I shall explain later, even generous. It seems to us therefore that the question before the Assembly today is: Have circumstances changed to justify any other decision? And, in answering that question, we need to ask ourselves a prior question, namely: What were the circumstances that led to that decision by consensus at four previous sessions of the General Assembly?

173. In the course of the debate at the thirty-eighth session, the representative of Laos said, among other things, "whether one likes it or not, there are in fact two different schools of thought, two divergent points of view, in this respect" [*see 59th meeting, para. 258*]. We agree with him. However, he was referring only to differences on the principal cause of tension and instability in South-East Asia, which Laos and Viet Nam attributed mainly to the policies of two Powers external to the region—I prefer to use this neutral expression rather than the more colourful language of our Lao colleague. My delegation believes that he should have gone further to note that there were also differences on how best to proceed. On the one hand, Laos and Viet Nam indicated that they were prepared to talk generally about the problems of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, subjects in which, somehow or other, the question of Kampuchea would be subsumed. That still remains their position. On the other hand, Malaysia and the countries members of ASEAN—and, indeed, the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, as they showed once again in supporting General Assembly resolution 39/5—believe that first things must come first, namely, that

the Vietnamese aggression in and continuing occupation of Kampuchea must, first of all, be ended.

174. We, the ASEAN countries, are of course always ready to talk. Indeed, we have been talking to Laos and—even more to the point—to Viet Nam these past five years here in New York, in the region and elsewhere; we are talking and we will continue to talk to them. We need no urging from anyone to continue the process of dialogue and discussion. The difference between us and Laos and Viet Nam is not whether to talk; the difference is what to talk about.

175. These were the circumstances which led the General Assembly at four previous sessions to adopt no draft resolution or decision beyond remitting discussion on this subject to the following session. The question before us, therefore, is: Have circumstances changed to justify any other decision?

176. My delegation believes that the answer is clearly no. These differences continue to exist. And these differences, it bears repeating, are not differences merely between Viet Nam and Laos on the one hand and the ASEAN countries on the other. The fact is—and it is a vital fact—that the differences are between Laos and Viet Nam and the overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly, which, in adopting resolution 39/5 echoing similar resolutions adopted at the five preceding sessions of the Assembly, urged "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".

177. It follows from this that, if the Assembly should adopt any resolution at all on the present item, the only resolution which it can adopt consistent with the resolutions which have been adopted on Kampuchea would again urge Viet Nam first of all to respond to the repeated calls of the international community to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, to restore Kampuchean sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and to allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination. These indeed constitute the indispensable starting-point for peace, stability and co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia.

178. Despite the fact that some of the statements made this morning give the impression that we are going through a second debate on Kampuchea, my delegation does not believe that it benefits the Assembly very much to make that call for a second time at this session. But my delegation also insists that this debate must not be allowed to become a subterfuge to circumvent the clear decision that the General Assembly had earlier arrived at. In a very real sense, the General Assembly, having adopted resolution 39/5 and similar resolutions since 1979, has also pronounced itself on the particular item that is before us today; and we can assert therefore that this item has been dealt with and that we need not do any more. That is what I meant when I said earlier that the Assembly has been generous because, in considering this item, it has accepted a procedural device to remit the discussion to the following session. Malaysia would raise no objection if the Assembly were similarly disposed to be generous this year.

179. We take this view because, while the General Assembly has already made its position very clear on the issues raised, we believe that, in the interest of

harmony and goodwill, it need not belabour the point further in the context of this debate. Malaysia is indeed committed to a future of peace, friendship and development in South-East Asia—to adopt for the present the phraseology of this item—and we would continue to work towards that objective. We believe that the objective can be achieved once the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea, which is as unjustified as it is unwise, is brought to an end.

180. In this context, I shall remind the Assembly that as long ago as 1971 Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries adopted a declaration on the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia,⁵ which would create conditions conducive to regional peace and harmony, eliminate major-Power rivalries for spheres of influence and prevent the region from being embroiled once again in conflicts which have nothing to do with us. Even as the Viet Nam war came to an end in 1975 we offered our hand in friendship and co-operation to Viet Nam and Laos, not merely in words, but in deeds, by way of assistance in their economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Subsequently, in 1976, the ASEAN countries adopted a Treaty of Amity and Co-operation in South-East Asia⁶ and invited all other States in the region to associate themselves with it. These were concrete and specific steps which advanced the objective of peace and harmony in South-East Asia.

181. If these steps, if these offers of friendship, are now suspended, it is not for reasons of our making. The obstacle is and remains Vietnamese aggression in and continued occupation of Kampuchea. Vague calls for negotiations or general appeals to principles of peaceful settlement, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-aggression, the equality of States, peace, stability and co-operation sound hollow in the face of the reality in Kampuchea.

182. For how can we honestly talk of peace when today there are some 200,000 Vietnamese troops in

Kampuchea? How can we genuinely espouse stability when the Government in Kampuchea today is nothing other than a puppet régime set up by Vietnamese forces? How can we foster genuine co-operation when Viet Nam, by its action in Kampuchea, has impaired mutual trust and confidence among the States of the region and has blatantly violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations? But once the obstacle of Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea is removed, the path towards a more peaceful, stable and co-operative future in South-East Asia becomes more clear.

183. The Assembly can best assure the dawning of that day by reminding Viet Nam that, first of all, there are General Assembly resolutions with regard to Kampuchea which must be implemented. For reasons I have indicated, my delegation does not insist that the Assembly repeat that call again in considering this item, however justified it would be to do so. But at the very least it must do nothing which would dilute the call that it has already—and repeatedly—made.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2.

²*Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

³A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex, paras. 84 and 85.

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

⁵Declaration and joint communiqué issued at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (see A/C.1/1019).

⁶United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1025, No. 15063.