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**NEW YORK**

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

**AGENDA ITEM 37**

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

1. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): It seems that no other part of the world has suffered and continues to suffer as much from war as South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China—Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea—are victims of colonialism and acts of imperialist aggression. Today they still do not know peace and calm because the aforementioned forces are tirelessly building up tensions in South-East Asia, thereby preventing the establishment of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among the States of the region.

2. Who bears the major responsibility for such a situation? First and foremost the United States, which has not learned any lessons from its aggression in Viet Nam, is trying to dictate its will to the peoples of South-East Asia and to establish its domination in that area, which Washington has called a sphere of vital American interests. It is therefore resorting to the notorious imperialist tactic of divide and rule. The interminable campaign concerning the so-called Soviet and Vietnamese threat is a pretext for dividing the States of South-East Asia into two opposing groups in order to inflame distrust among them, thereby preserving conditions in that part of the world that would be favourable to imperialist and hegemonist interference.

3. These facts reveal the obvious fallacy in the arguments they put forward to the effect that the reasons for the tensions in South-East Asia are events that took place six years ago in Kampuchea, when the Kampuchean people, with the assistance of Viet Nam, overthrew the hated Pol Pot régime, which was carrying out genocide against its own people. The fact of harping on the so-called Kampuchean problem and playing it up favours only the forces of imperialism and hegemonism that are trying to reverse progressive development in the countries of South-East Asia and to destabilize the situation in South-East Asia. Making use of this opportunity, we should like once again to express our deepest concern over the fact that the place of Kampuchea in the United Nations continues to be usurped by those who do not represent the Kampuchean people but only themselves.

4. Acts which have been designed to stir up conflicts among States in South-East Asia include the

occupation of part of Laotian territory by Thai units. We cannot say that such a wanton act demonstrates Thailand's interest in developing relations of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence with the States of Indo-China. We fully support the position of the Lao People's Democratic Republic based on the need to defend its independence and territorial integrity and to establish normal relations with Thailand in accordance with the principles set forth in the Lao-Thai joint statement of 1979.

5. Over the past decades, the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China have struggled heroically against foreign invaders and for national independence and self-determination. Having been victorious in that struggle, they have achieved their right to be masters in their own country and freely to choose their own fate. No one can now turn back the progressive developments in the countries of Indo-China.

6. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has long had links of friendship with those countries. Therefore we are pleased at the success which has been achieved by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic in building a new, just society. We welcome the strengthening of co-operation among those countries, thanks to which they can even more successfully oppose the hostile interference of imperialism and hegemonism. We give them full assistance in their peaceful foreign policy, which is geared to a normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China are actively against confrontation and wish for dialogue and the settlement of their problems by peaceful means around the conference table. We also believe that only through the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, with full respect for the legitimate interests of all the countries involved, and free from interference from within or from outside, can the tensions in South-East Asia be eliminated. This is the only way to establish relations of mutual trust and co-operation in that area as a whole, in the interests of both the member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and the States of Indo-China.

7. Therefore we fully support the appeal of the participants in the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea [A/39/337, *annex*], for the immediate initiation of a dialogue between the countries of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China to consider vital problems of concern to both sides. The goodwill of the States of Indo-China is also shown by the fact that they suggest as the basis of the dialogue the proposals put forward by the eighth conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs on 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, *annex*], on the one hand, and, on the other, the

proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983,<sup>1</sup> as well as other proposals by both sides. All these proposals deserve equal respect and should be dealt with on an equal basis.

8. We note with satisfaction that all this shows that there is a possibility of a political settlement and return to a normal situation in South-East Asia. If this is to be achieved, however, all the States of ASEAN must take a more realistic position and show the will for the re-establishment of normal relations.

9. The improvement of the situation in South-East Asia would undoubtedly be helped by the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement on all other measures which might ensure peace and security along the Thailand-Kampuchea border, under international guarantees. In this way the subversive activities of the Pol Pot bands and other armed groups of reactionary Khmer forces which are carrying out attacks on Kampuchea from Thai territory would be stopped. This is an essential pre-condition of the full security of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Once the security of Kampuchea is ensured, the Vietnamese volunteer forces can withdraw fully from that country.

10. We welcome and support the results of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, which reaffirmed the readiness and determination of those countries to do their utmost to restore the long-standing relations of friendship between the countries of Indo-China and the Chinese people and to re-establish normal relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

11. This was quite clearly stated in the communiqué which was adopted at the conclusion of a recent visit to Czechoslovakia by a Party-Government delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, including Chan Si, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

12. The transformation of South-East Asia into an area of peace, stability and co-operation is of great importance not only for States of that region but also for the whole world. In this way, we could eliminate one of the major hotbeds of tension the existence of which is of great concern to all States and peoples that wish to live in peace. We are firmly convinced that the achievement of this important goal is also served by the present debate.

13. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian People's Republic is deeply interested in establishing lasting peace in Asia as a whole and in South-East Asia in particular. Therefore the question of peace, stability and co-operation in that area is of great importance to the Mongolian delegation.

14. The situation in that area, as a result of the continued acts of aggression and provocation by imperialist, reactionary and hegemonist forces remains tense. The continuance of such a situation is to the advantage of those forces in justifying the build-up of their military presence in that region and their policy of pressure and blackmail against the States in that region. A South-East Asia which is divided up by mistrust and enmity is in keeping with their selfish interests and with their hegemonist aspirations in the region. Hence their unabashed exploitation of the so-called Kampuchean problem and their use of the

United Nations, which they draw into their shabby schemes with a view to flagrant interference in the affairs of a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

15. In addition to this, it is the continued occupation of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations by the Pol Pot régime—whatever label it may use—a régime which has carried out the bloody genocide of millions of Kampuchean, that has really done great harm to the prestige of the authority of the United Nations, not the adoption by the Organization of the important Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, [resolution 39/11, annex], as the representative of Malaysia tried to tell us not long ago.

16. The peoples of the countries of South-East Asia, especially the Indo-Chinese States, which are to this day the subject of aggressive, expansionist activities on the part of imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces, need peace and calm. It is the duty of the Organization to foster a lasting, just peace for the suffering peoples of Indo-China and to establish good-neighbourly relations between the two groups of States in South-East Asia.

17. There is a solid basis for this. I should like to refer to the repeated constructive initiatives and proposals of the States of Indo-China, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and their serious approach to the problems of the region and their sincere wish to settle them peacefully and establish good-neighbourly relations with ASEAN. Naturally, the position of the ASEAN States should also be taken into account. As was stated in the communiqué of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos of 2 July this year [A/39/337, annex], the ASEAN proposals of 21 September 1983,<sup>1</sup> as well as the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States of 29 January this year [A/39/108, annex] and other initiatives and proposals from both sides, should serve on an equal footing as the basis for discussing problems of the region.

18. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the decision to conduct a further dialogue between the two groups of States in South-East Asia through the representatives of Viet Nam and Indonesia. We believe that if there is the necessary political determination they will be able to achieve concrete results with a view to establishing relations of mutual trust and co-operation among the States of the region and establishing a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

19. We fully support the position of the countries of Indo-China to the effect that peace and stability in that region can be achieved only if the countries of the region respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and base their relations on equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression, peaceful coexistence and co-operation; if the two groups of States solve peacefully, through negotiation, existing problems and disputes in their relations, taking into account each other's interests; if outside States respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region; if they put an end to pressures and threats which serve to build up tension and confrontation among the States of the region; and if States in the region do not allow their

territories to be used by foreign Powers as bases for aggression or for direct or indirect intervention against other States.

20. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports peace and security in South-East Asia and other areas of the Asian continent. As an Asian country it is vitally interested in lasting peace on that continent; therefore, we support the constructive initiatives and proposals to foster peace and security in Asia. For our part, as is well known, we have put forward a proposal the essence of which is the implementation, on a regional basis, of the principles of non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among States. This is precisely the way in which we might strengthen mutual understanding and trust among the States of the various regions, especially in South-East Asia.

21. In this context the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States on the conclusion between those States and China of a treaty on refraining from aggression and interference in each other's affairs. Undoubtedly this would be a positive thing for the improvement of the general political atmosphere in the region and would promote the efforts of the countries of the region to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

22. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supports the point of view that the General Assembly should consider issues pertaining to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia as a whole.

23. This entire region has been, and continues to be, a dangerous hotbed of international tension. The greedy glances of invaders from outside have long been cast on that region. Acts of aggression, one after another, on the part of the imperialist Powers have occurred and have brought death, destruction and untold sufferings to the peoples of this region. The most tragic consequence was most recently the dirty war of the United States of America. And now, when they have hardly healed their wounds from recent events, the peoples of Indo-China, whose aspirations to peace and stability are easy to understand, are having to pay special attention to their own security. The forces of imperialism and hegemonism are attempting by all possible means to regain the positions they have lost there. Through dangerous intrigues and flagrant pressure they are trying to interfere with the free development and equitable co-operation of the peoples of South-East Asia. Those forces are doing everything possible to impose their own will on the Kampuchean people and to interfere with the national resurgence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea; they are organizing a campaign of slander against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its faithful ally, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which lent assistance to the Kampuchean people in ridding itself of the genocidal régime.

24. The Kampuchean people have now begun the process of social and political development. The country is now overcoming consistently the harsh consequences of the past. Through national economic plans, great attention is being paid to the development of agriculture and measures are under way for a further resurgence of industry and transport and the establishment of all kinds of links in the economy. Work is in progress on the elimination of illiteracy

and the network of medical services is being expanded.

25. The foreign policy of the country, as stated in its Constitution, is defined by three principles: independence, peace and non-alignment.

26. All of this, however, is not in keeping with the plans of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, which regard South-East Asia as an important strategic region for their own selfish interests. That explains the comprehensive support and assistance which the United States and China are giving to the remnants of the Pol Pot bands, which were thrown out by the Kampuchean people. The United States is not only taking a direct part in covert operations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea through the financing of the Pol Pot people and other reactionary Khmer groups, but is trying also to persuade the other ASEAN countries to do the same. Such insistence has involved the establishment of the so-called Committee of Four, which includes representatives of Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia and also of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States [CIA].

27. In its efforts to turn the countries of ASEAN into cohorts in their imperialistic intrigues in the region, the United States is trying to frighten them by referring to a so-called Soviet-Vietnamese threat. At the same time it is itself expanding and modernizing its military bases in South-East Asia and trying to establish new bases there. Plans are being made or are being implemented to deploy arms supplies there for the so-called rapid reaction forces of the United States.

28. The situation in South-East Asia has recently been complicated by armed provocations on the borders between China and Viet Nam and between Laos and Thailand. The serious situation that came about as a result of the invasion by Thai forces and their occupation of part of Laotian territory was recently considered in the Security Council.

29. In spite of the many obstacles placed in the way of the stabilization of South-East Asia, Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea continue to try to find political solutions so as to normalize relations with the countries of ASEAN. These efforts are meeting with growing understanding all over the world. In determining the approach to a dialogue between the two groups of countries of South-East Asia, great importance should be attached to the host of constructive initiatives put forward at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in January 1980. Those States made a proposal for the convening of an international conference on the matter of converting South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability, with the participation of the countries of South-East Asia, the countries of ASEAN, Burma, the five participants in the former international conferences on Indo-China, that is, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, as well as India.

30. 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, points out that "although differences still exist between them, both the ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries share a common desire and a common interest to ease tension, strengthen mutual under-

standing and find ways to gradually bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia without foreign intervention, in conformity with the interests of all countries in the region and with that of world peace". [see A/39/337, annex, para. 3].

31. The States of Indo-China have favoured dialogue between the two groups of countries, with a view to discussing and settling urgent problems. A discussion on the basis of equality and mutual respect could be brought about in accordance with the proposals made by Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea contained in the Communiqué of the Eighth Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex] and the proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983.<sup>1</sup> The States of Indo-China approve the dialogue at present under way between Viet Nam and Indonesia and those with other groups of countries and call upon all those who are desirous of establishing peace in South-East Asia to help in strengthening such dialogue and to make their contribution to the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in the region.

32. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports these peaceful initiatives. We have opposed and we shall continue to oppose interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the involvement of the United Nations in such an unsavoury scheme, and we favour granting to the People's Republic of Kampuchea its legitimate seat in the United Nations and in other international organizations. The world community should make its own contribution to the establishment of constructive dialogue between the States of Indo-China and the countries of ASEAN and a political settlement of the problems of South-East Asia. In this context, we should turn our attention to the initiatives for peace of the Soviet Union, which are designed to lessen tensions in the Far East and in South-East Asia, and also the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for the concluding of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and non-use of force among the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

33. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express the hope that the confrontation and enmity caused by external forces will give way to constructive dialogue among neighbours and to a quest for mutually acceptable solutions to problems, with a view to establishing in South-East Asia a situation of lasting peace and security, which would ensure favourable conditions for undertaking the vital tasks of economic and social development.

34. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When we gather again in this hall on the third Tuesday of September next year, we shall be on the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, the first words of which give expression to the desire of the peoples to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

35. On several occasions lately mankind has been on the verge of a world-wide conflagration and if up to now peace-loving forces have managed to frustrate such attempts by the most warlike circles of international reaction, nevertheless in some parts of the world it has not been possible to bring about the enjoyment of that peace which the peoples of the United Nations undertook to preserve.

36. Among the most sorely tried regions, suffering primarily because of the aggressive policy of imperi-

alism, is South-East Asia, whose peoples have had to pay the highest toll in terms of sacrifice, in resisting and overcoming, over decades, the successive onslaughts provoked by desire for dominion and expansion on the part of various imperialist Powers.

37. In spite of heroic and unquestionable victories, the peoples of Indo-China have not yet come to know peace. Today they see their development thwarted and the blood of their children flowing, due to the still unsatisfied appetites of those who have from the remotest times regarded South-East Asia as their area of influence and Viet Nam as their most coveted prey.

38. The efforts of militarism, colonialism and imperialism have worked together to foster hostility among the Indo-Chinese countries and their ASEAN neighbours, hampering the successful development of a judicious and necessary process of negotiation which could replace confrontation by dialogue and would enable the countries of the region to dedicate all their resources and energy to working for a more worthy and proper life for all.

39. The attainment of peace, stability and co-operation must be the common objective of the countries of the region, both the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN. All would stand to benefit equally from the knowledge that peaceful coexistence, on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, is a first step towards achieving those objectives and enabling them to attain a secure and better life for their peoples.

40. If an irreversible process of mutual confidence could be put under way, there would thus be laid the basis for understanding and co-operation between both groups of countries.

41. In this connection, the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam have emphasized their views repeatedly. They have stressed in their summit meetings and in the conferences of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, that they are willing to hold a dialogue without preconditions with the member countries of ASEAN, starting from the standpoint that all differences between the countries in the area can be resolved through negotiations on the basis of principles of equality, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and respect for the legitimate interests of each nation.

42. In the Communiqué issued by the Eighth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January this year, the countries of Indo-China stated that their greatest hope is to live in peace and friendship with all other countries and they declared: "The reality of the past five years shows that the nations of South-East Asia can choose but one alternative which consists in joint discussions between the two groups of countries. . . ." [See A/39/108, annex.] Furthermore they declared their willingness to initiate bilateral consultations and immediately to commence conversations between the countries of ASEAN and Indo-China. The countries of Indo-China have expressed themselves as being receptive to the proposals of ASEAN on the subjects of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Asia, as a starting point for analysis of the conversion of the region into a zone of peace and stability.

43. In this context, it is useful to recall that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, agreed to include in its Political Declaration<sup>2</sup> its grave concern over the conflicts and tensions in the region, while it expressed the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution and urged the States of the region to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiation, to establish a zone of peace and stability and to eliminate the involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers in South-East Asia.

44. This decision of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries must serve as a starting point for a promising and constructive dialogue, circumventing the manoeuvres of the forces of reaction and the activities designed to perpetuate division in the area.

45. The States Members of the United Nations must contribute to the attainment of such a major objective and must refrain from any activity which might hamper the process of understanding between the countries of South-East Asia.

46. Our delegation is firmly convinced that over the long run positive tendencies will prevail, making it possible to lessen tensions in the region, and that the creation of a climate of peace, stability and co-operation will make an effective contribution to the interests of international peace and security.

47. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The debate in the General Assembly on the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia assumes particular importance, given the conflicts and tensions that pervade the area unendingly, and the real danger of their expansion and proliferation, to the detriment of the people of that area who have for so long been afflicted with the scourge of war and devastation.

48. The Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, underlined "the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea".<sup>3</sup>

49. In this respect, my delegation wishes to confirm, *inter alia*, certain elements reflecting the stance of my country concerning the development of the situation in that region which would contribute to maintaining lasting peace and security in South-East Asia. These matters are summed up as follows.

50. First, the achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea since the Pol Pot régime was toppled in economic, political and diplomatic spheres, have won it international respect and recognition. It is regrettable, after Kampuchea, through the will of its people, was able to overcome much hardship and difficulty inherited from the Pol Pot régime, to see that there are those who are working to restore that same régime which perpetrated acts of genocide and massacre against the Kampuchean people and, on the flimsy pretext of defending the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, are denying the fact that the achievement of the national unity of the Kampuchean people and its liberation from the

criminal Pol Pot régime are the two prerequisites for self-determination.

51. Democratic Yemen confirms its unshakeable position that the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which should occupy its seat in the United Nations. The continued illegitimate occupancy of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations does not serve peace and stability in South-East Asia. Rather, it constitutes a grave challenge to the will of the Kampuchean people and heightens tension in the area.

52. Secondly, the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries 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.

53. In this respect, we believe that the circumstances are propitious for negotiation in the area. I am referring to the ASEAN group and to that of the Indo-Chinese States which have to discuss all matters concerning South-East Asia.

54. The States of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN have a vested interest in maintaining peace, stability and co-operation in the region, without any outside intervention, in order that they may harness their energies to reconstruct their economies and attend to the welfare of their peoples.

55. The two sides have common grounds for understanding, by means of which differences have been narrowed. This bears witness to good prospects for achieving peace and stability, in keeping with the desire of all States of the region. As we welcome the negotiations between Indonesia, on behalf of ASEAN, and Viet Nam, on behalf of the States of Indo-China, we maintain that it is necessary to encourage the continuation of dialogue and negotiations between the two groups, on an equal footing and through mutual respect, in everyone's interest.

56. In this respect, the proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries, of 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex], as well as the proposals of ASEAN, of 21 September 1983,<sup>1</sup> both constitute good starting points for negotiations in order to achieve peace and stability in the region, in such a way as to reflect the common desire and interests of the peoples and States of the region, to ease tension and consolidate understanding among them.

57. Thirdly, the escalation of military activities as well as tension among the countries of the region constitutes an obstacle to dialogue between these countries and is detrimental to peace and stability. We believe that the first step in achieving this hoped-for goal is represented by mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the normalization of relations among the States of the region. Thus, a favourable climate for serious and real dialogue would be established in order to reach a comprehensive political settlement of all the outstanding problems.

58. In conclusion, we express the hope that this session will make a positive contribution to the negotiating process among the States of the region to promote the common interests of their peoples and

consolidate peace and stability in that part of the world.

59. Mr. SIV SICHAN (Democratic Kampuchea): After a lengthy debate on the situation in Kampuchea, the General Assembly adopted, on 30 October, by an overwhelming majority of 110 votes, resolution 39/5 containing a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem. This resolution states, among other things, that once a peaceful settlement has taken place, "the countries of the South-East Asian region can pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region".

60. As we have seen, the number of Member States that support the just struggle of the Khmer people against the Vietnamese aggressors continues to increase. We have set a new record compared with the five previous resolutions on the same question, which were also adopted by a large majority.

61. With such virtually unanimous support by the General Assembly, the cause of the Khmer people is identified with that of the entire international community. It is therefore a precious and encouraging act of justice towards a people which struggles with enormous sacrifice for its survival and freedom; a people which rejects colonialism even if the enemy, which is Viet Nam, has much more military power. At the same time, the Organization underlines its deep concern about peace and security in South-East Asia as a result of the Cambodian problem.

62. The Assembly has pointed out that the party responsible—the only party responsible, I might add—for this dangerous situation is Viet Nam, whose territorial appetite remains insatiable, to the detriment of its neighbours and regional stability.

63. Instead of responding to the consequences of its acts, condemned unanimously by the concert of nations, by withdrawing its armed forces from Cambodia totally and without conditions in order to decrease tension in South-East Asia and perhaps inaugurate a new era of regional co-operation, Viet Nam seeks to reshuffle the cards once again, hoping to continue to confuse the international community.

64. My delegation views the inclusion of this item on our agenda as a sign of Viet Nam's contempt for the 110 nations which have so clearly expressed their opinion on the subject. While we are forced to pursue this hypocritical and cynical debate in which the Vietnamese arsonist is trying to disguise himself as a fireman, Viet Nam has been increasing its forces of aggression in Cambodia, launching attacks against Cambodian civilians and killing many of them. Vietnamese forces have penetrated into Thailand and sowed death and destruction among the Thai population.

65. Another indication of Viet Nam's contempt is the fact that it dares to attempt to confuse these 110 nations, undoubtedly believing that they do not understand the meaning of their votes which have been freshly recorded in the Assembly. The issue we have to deal with is simple. It is the aggression, occupation and colonization of a country by its more militarily powerful neighbour. This action is being conducted to the detriment of every principle of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. The six ASEAN member States have set a good example of understanding, harmony and co-opera-

tion. They have demonstrated mutual respect between States of varied geographical dimensions. Only such a political will can be consistent with the principles of the Charter. However, ASEAN efforts to maintain peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia have been challenged by the regional hegemony of Viet Nam, which does not want to relinquish its anachronistic colonialist behaviour.

67. My delegation feels it is a waste of time for the Assembly to debate an issue which has been recently discussed, with the relevant resolution being adopted once again by a striking majority. The Assembly was witness this morning to the fact that the representative of Viet Nam, instead of addressing the core of the problem now prevailing in South-East Asia, that is, the war of aggression which Viet Nam is waging in Cambodia, has once again made a futile attempt to split the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and weaken international support for the just struggle of the Khmer people. This futile attempt only demonstrates the arrogance of Viet Nam, which refuses to heed the voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations.

68. If Viet Nam is so concerned with the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, all it has to do is to stop ignoring the General Assembly's repeated calls for the total withdrawal of its armed forces from Cambodia.

69. Not until Viet Nam decides to implement the General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea can peace, stability and co-operation be restored and sustained in South-East Asia. We feel that Viet Nam's actions should speak louder than its words.

70. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): For exactly five years the General Assembly has been considering the problem of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, a region whose strategic and economic importance has for decades now made it the object of the appetite of colonialist, militarist, imperialist and expansionist Powers. Those Powers, in order to subjugate the peoples of that part of the world and plunder and exploit their natural and human wealth, have not hesitated to unleash wars of aggression against them. Hence, the history of South-East Asia is one of long and heroic struggles waged by the peoples of that region to free themselves from foreign domination and to recover their national independence and freedom, with the restoration of peace—a crucial factor for the establishment of diverse and mutually beneficial forms of co-operation. But during this glorious history the three countries of Indo-China have undergone the most serious devastation and their peoples have had to endure unspeakable suffering. The Lao people, as well as the brother peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, after their complete liberation from foreign domination in 1975, uttered no more ardent aspiration than to reconstruct their respective countries, which had been so savagely devastated, and to build a new happy and prosperous life and enjoy relationships of friendship and peaceful and harmonious co-operation with all the countries of the world, in particular with their neighbours, without any distinction as to the latter's political and social régimes. Unfortunately, however, those wishes, fervent as they were, conflicted with the implacable and sinister designs of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, which, in connivance with international imperialist and reactionary forces, still dream of subjugat-

ing the three countries of Indo-China as well as the whole of South-East Asia, which for 2,000 years they have considered to be within their traditional sphere of influence.

71. The peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea express their deep appreciation to all the peoples of the world that are devoted to progress, peace and justice, and to all the international organizations that have provided and will continue to provide diverse and valuable forms of assistance to them. For, without such assistance and moral support, those peoples' respective tasks of national defence and reconstruction would be hard to discharge. The three peoples of Indo-China well realize that without peace and security, without mutual understanding and trust, no work of co-operation between all the peoples living in that part of the world could be beneficial and feasible. We are pleased that all the regional partners, in particular those in ASEAN, have become increasingly aware of this primary truth. We all know that the threats to such peace and security constitute a very serious obstacle to the mutually beneficial co-operation that is sought by all the partners in the region. For some, the climate of instability and insecurity prevailing at this moment in South-East Asia is the result of the presence of volunteers from the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea. For others, it is the strategy of domination that has been and is still being pursued in that part of the world by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the imperialist reactionary forces, both international and regional, that is responsible. It is sad that this divergence of views has not been resolved so far. My delegation has on more than one occasion expressed in this forum its views in this respect, views that we are convinced are fully founded, particularly if one examines the problem in its historical context.

72. The valuable lesson that we have learned from the recent history of South-East Asia is that the colonialist, imperialist and expansionist Powers have always had recourse to their Machiavellian policy of "divide and rule". They have applied this policy against the three countries of Indo-China, whose monolithic solidarity has been and continues to be a stumbling block to their ambitions and goals of domination. They have also sowed division and discord between the group of Indo-Chinese countries, on the one hand, and the group of ASEAN countries, on the other. The nightmarish experience of the Kampuchean people during the reign of the clique of genocidal Polpotists is still fresh in the memory of each of us.

73. We feel that it is the supreme duty of the international community to ensure that such a holocaust never again occurs in that country or anywhere else in the world. Aware of its internationalist duty and in view of the traditional links of friendship and militant solidarity that tie it to its brothers in Kampuchea, the Lao people spares no effort in coming to their aid for they are stoically continuing their work of national resurgence and reconstruction. Progressive and peace- and justice-loving humanity will, we are sure, support and hail the spirit of solidarity and sacrifice shown by the Government and people of Viet Nam vis-à-vis the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its long-suffering people. By acting in that way we, Laos and Viet Nam, will merely be contributing actively and

positively to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia.

74. As we have seen, problems, misunderstandings and suspicion have indeed existed among the nations in that part of the world. For five years now, both groups of countries—Indo-China and ASEAN—have exerted considerable efforts to overcome all pending problems, in order to restore peace and security to their region. They have identified certain points of agreement and of disagreement. Both have seen that it is vitally necessary to free the countries of the region, including Kampuchea, from the presence of foreign troops. What is involved here is not a difference of kind but a difference of degree, one that can be resolved through negotiation or dialogue. The same applies to the question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. What is subject to debate is, rather, the rate or the conditions of that withdrawal; the principle itself is already established. Is it a matter of guaranteeing and internationally supervising the implementation of any agreement that could be reached by the two groups of countries? This question, like many others, can be dealt with through discussions between the two groups. Some may say that this is a simplistic view of things. We would answer: of course it is not; for what is involved is a palpable, tangible reality. To grasp it, each group of nations need only show good will and good faith.

75. Speaking of goodwill, my delegation wishes to say here that that is something the three nations of Indo-China have always shown. In this respect, my Government warmly welcomes the agreement reached last July between the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the withdrawal—the third since 1982—of a sizeable contingent of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Our Government fully supports the fair and consistent position of the Vietnamese Government both on the timetable for subsequent partial withdrawals and on the conditions under which the complete withdrawal of its troops could be carried out, a position explained in the statement to the Assembly on 9 October last [27th meeting] by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country.

76. With regard to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, I cannot pass over in silence the aggression against, and occupation since 6 July of, three Lao villages by ultra-rightist reactionary troops of the Thai ruling circles. In addition to infringing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, this blatant act of aggression violates the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and also represents a serious threat to peace, stability and security in South-East Asia. That is why my Government recently raised the matter at the highest levels in the United Nations—that is, the General Assembly, on 2 October, at the 17th meeting, and the Security Council, on 9 October.<sup>4</sup> If I raise the question again today it is because fundamentally it has still not been resolved.

77. It is true that the local authorities recently resumed the administration of these three Lao villages, which clearly represents a great victory for us, but it is only partial, in that the Thai troops—as can be seen from the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 27 October last [4/39/612]—have not completely withdrawn from the area surrounding one

of those three Lao localities. The Thais have not yet permitted the villagers that their troops deported to Thailand *en masse* to return to their homes. Thailand has not yet paid fair compensation to the inhabitants of the Lao communities concerned for the loss of life and property that they have suffered.

78. Furthermore, the Thais have so far refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Laos over the three villages. The Lao Government, as proof of its goodwill and peaceful intentions, has already—in the Government statement to which I have already referred—declared its readiness to send a delegation to Bangkok to resume the negotiations that the other side unilaterally broke off last August, in order to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem. A positive response by the Thais to our appeal is more than desirable.

79. Admittedly, this matter is essentially bilateral in nature, but it is none the less true that its settlement could act as a catalyst and hence contribute decisively to a comprehensive solution of problems relating to peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia. We are convinced that there is no other alternative than a peaceful, negotiated solution to the problem still confronting that part of the world.

80. We are also sure that the majority of the ASEAN countries share our views in this regard and take as seriously as we do the spectre of expansionist and hegemonist ascendancy in the region. According to the magazine *South—The Third World Magazine*, in its September 1984 edition, a Malaysian official at his meeting with the United States Secretary of State in Kuala Lumpur last July conveyed to the Secretary of State his concern about this expansionist threat. The article reported as follows:

“The Malaysian leader warned that U.S. technological support (for China’s modernization programme)—military aid was not mentioned—could create a prosperous China, strong enough to threaten the rest of the region. The Malaysian leader said that China had little interest in modernizing its economy, and wanted technological aid to strengthen its armed forces, a view rejected by Shultz. China has worked closely with ASEAN to press for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, but has refused to break its links with the Malaysian Communist Party. Other ASEAN Governments fear that Chinese support for armed opposition groups could be resumed at any time. . . .”\*

81. The time has surely come for the peoples of South-East Asia, in order to avert the threat to their collective security presented by this sword of Damocles, to work together and understand each other, the only path to which is frank and constructive dialogue. Such a dialogue can begin only on just and equitable bases which take account of the legitimate interests and aspirations of each group of countries concerned. This implies the exclusion of the imposition of one party’s point of view on any other party, as well as the exclusion of all outside interference. In our view, those bases must consist of, first, the South-East Asian portion of 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,<sup>2</sup> and, secondly, the proposals already made by the ASEAN countries and

the countries of Indo-China, particularly those of 21 September 1983<sup>1</sup> and 29 January 1984 [A/39/108, annex], respectively. We are pleased to learn that very soon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, representing the countries of Indo-China, will have important new official discussions with his Indonesian counterpart, acting on behalf of the ASEAN countries. Similarly, we warmly welcome the fact that the Australian Government has offered Canberra, its capital, as the venue for meetings and discussions between Laos and Viet Nam, on the one hand, and the six ASEAN countries, on the other.

82. The Lao Government pays a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative for their recent ceaseless efforts to make a positive contribution to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problems of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in that troubled part of the world. Similarly, we hope that the Assembly will give a more vigorous impetus to the trend towards dialogue, which seems to be a vital reality of the moment. May the fervent hopes of the peoples of South-East Asia in this regard not be disappointed.

83. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): Discussion of questions pertaining to peace, stability and co-operation requires a sense of urgency because of the fact that safeguarding peace, the preservation of stability and the expansion of mutually beneficial co-operation among nations are the main purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This is particularly so in the case of South-East Asia if only because of the magnitude of the suffering that the people of that region, in particular the peoples of Indo-China, have gone through during the whole period following the Second World War as a result of the lack of these three elements at different times and in different degrees.

84. It is indeed regrettable that for a full four decades the peoples of Indo-China have witnessed successive wars of considerable duration and the destruction and suffering brought about by these wars. It is more regrettable that the lack of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia has been caused not by factors originating in the region itself, but by foreign aggression, intervention and interference.

85. The occupation of Indo-China by the Japanese militarists during the Second World War was not completely over when the old colonialists arrived back to subjugate the people of the region. Unfortunately, however, the defeat of the French colonialists after the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indo-China did not bring with it for these peoples the blessings of peace, tranquillity and the conditions necessary for rapid social and economic development. The criminal war that was imposed on the people of Viet Nam by United States imperialism, which was quick to replace French colonialism, was of such duration and magnitude that the destruction caused by it was unprecedented during the post-Second World War era.

86. United States aggression was defeated after much sacrifice and heroism by the Vietnamese people, and progressive humanity hoped that finally the peoples of Indo-China would have an opportunity to reap the fruits of peace and tranquillity, channelling their efforts towards building a new life on the rubble left behind by United States aggression.

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.

Unfortunately that was not to be. Not drawing the obvious lessons from the defeat of the greatest imperialist Power on the soil of the Vietnamese, the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists decided to continue the policies of Chinese imperial dynasties, which, century after century, did not tire of attacking their neighbour to the south.

87. One of the tragic results in the region of the hegemonist and expansionist policies of the Chinese leadership was the imposition of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on the people of Kampuchea. With the active support and assistance of its Chinese masters, the clique managed to change the whole of Kampuchea into a concentration camp which in its magnitude and the murder and torture practised therein surpassed even the Nazi concentration camps in Germany. A whole nation was the victim of the most inhuman, barbaric and cruel murder, torture and repression that history has ever known. Three million sons and daughters of the Kampuchean nation perished in the genocidal drive of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary criminal clique to eliminate the whole nation.

88. However, the spirit of the Kampuchean people lived. Hundreds of thousands of them joined the National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea in the struggle to free their country from the inhuman régime and the devious designs of its Chinese masters for the Kampuchean and other peoples of Indo-China. The disintegration of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army during the aggression against the border of Viet Nam that was launched to assist the Chinese expansionists who were attacking Viet Nam from the north gave the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, led by Heng Samrin, the opportunity to topple the bloodthirsty genocidal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

89. The nightmare for the Kampuchean people was over. The People's Republic of Kampuchea came into being and the Kampuchean people redoubled their struggle for the reconstruction of life in their country. The fraternal assistance of Viet Nam played and is still playing a significant role in the national rebirth of Kampuchea.

90. However, with the assistance of its imperialist friends, China has not abandoned its designs for the subjugation of the three Indo-Chinese nations. Soon after the victory of the Kampuchean people the remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique were put together in an attempt to undermine the work and struggle of the Kampuchean people for the reconstruction of their country. The territory of Thailand was, and unfortunately still is, being used to disrupt the tranquillity of the Kampuchean nation. Thus it is still being denied the opportunity to live in peace. The creation by the hegemonist and imperialist circles of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea non-entity is nothing but an attempt to dress up the Pol Pot genocidal clique under a new name.

91. It is indeed regrettable that this non-entity, which represents no nation or country, is still represented in the United Nations, and thus the Kampuchean people are denied their legitimate right to be represented by their sole authentic representative, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

92. It is the firm conviction of my delegation that the return of the Kampuchean seat to the true and legitimate representative of that country is a neces-

sary step towards serving the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. It is also important to take note of the fact that the Organization's recognition of a non-entity which represents no people and no country is against both the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

93. Under the leadership of their legitimate Government, the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have achieved great victories in the struggle for the rebirth of their nation and the reconstruction of their country. They deserve every support and assistance from the international community and the United Nations in this noble effort to build a new life on the mass graves left behind by the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The deplorable undeclared war waged against them must be condemned in the strongest possible terms by all those who are committed to the cause of peace, stability and social progress and justice.

94. The Government of my country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, demands the immediate cessation of the criminal undeclared war of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We also demand the immediate withdrawal of Thai occupationist forces from the three border villages of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The continued provocations and aggressions perpetrated along the borders of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam by the Chinese hegemonists are also condemned by my Government as a grave threat to peace and security in the region.

95. Allow me to reiterate the full support of my Government for the constructive proposals of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for dialogue, the cessation of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of these three Indo-Chinese countries and co-operation among the nations of South-East Asia. There is no alternative to settling the differences between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN groups through negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, free from outside interference.

96. In this regard, my delegation welcomes also recent positive signs on the part of the ASEAN countries concerning the beginning of dialogue. The international community and the United Nations must not fail to encourage such a development. The best national interests of the ASEAN countries are served by constructive dialogue with their neighbours aimed at peace, stability and co-operation in the region, not by falling into the trap of outside forces which are striving to foment discord among the nations of the region in order to implement their hegemonist and imperialist designs.

97. After decades of suffering and anguish caused by armed aggression, intervention and interference by colonialist, imperialist and hegemonist forces from outside the region, the three Indo-Chinese peoples have every right to be left in peace to continue their work of building a new life in their countries. Every opportunity must be provided for their wounds caused by long years of war and destruction to heal. It is also in the interest of peace, stability and co-operation both in South-East Asia and in the world as a whole for differences between Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN group to be solved through dialogue that will open the way for co-operation between them in the mutual interest of

both sides. The international community and the United Nations should encourage the beginning and continuation of dialogue and put their moral weight behind the initiatives taken towards this end.

98. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate and no draft resolution has been submitted under this item. It has been proposed, after consultations, that, in pursuance of the efforts for peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, consideration of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" be adjourned and that the item be included in the provisional agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided (decision 39/406).*

99. The PRESIDENT: I call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply.

100. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): After hearing the statements made this morning by the representatives of China and certain member countries of ASEAN, my delegation would like to make the following brief comments.

101. First, in spite of the hopeless efforts to convert black into white, the representative of China in fact was able to add nothing to the false and slanderous allegations that his country usually heaps on Viet Nam. Nevertheless, I should like to ask him: who exactly is the aggressor and who is threatening almost all the countries bordering on China with intervention, subversion and infringements on territory?

102. Who will assume in the history of Kampuchea and more specifically, in the memory of more than 3 million Kampuchians, victims of Polpotist genocide, the grave responsibility for that horrible massacre? That terrible responsibility is on the expansionist and hegemonist circles of Peking and it cannot vindicate those who had complete control over the Pol Pot clique which ruled over Kampuchea from April 1975 to January 1979.

103. Who is responsible for the frontier-zone war between Viet Nam and Kampuchea that lasted from 1975 until January 1979? The truth is it was indeed aggression launched by China against Viet Nam on its south-west border; a Chinese war of aggression with Pol Pot as the intermediary.

104. Who subsequently unleashed a war of aggression by sending 600,000 troops against Viet Nam on its northern border in February 1979? Once they had extricated themselves from the dirty American war, the Vietnamese found themselves exposed to a new Chinese aggression on its south-western and northern borders.

105. Those criminal acts of war took place with the full knowledge and in the full view of the world and have in fact been condemned by all. But that is not all.

106. After the failure of its February 1979 aggression against Viet Nam, while threatening to launch another attack against Viet Nam, Peking amassed troops in impressive numbers along the northern border of our country and exerted constant pressure on Viet Nam which gave rise to explosive tensions and made uninterrupted armed attacks on our national territory. Such activities of provocation and territorial encroachment have been intensified against Viet Nam since the beginning of last April.

107. The Chinese representative bragged that there was not one Chinese soldier on foreign territory. I ask: how many Chinese soldiers are still left on the hills, inside Vietnamese territory, hills that the Chinese troops have continued to occupy after their February 1979 debacle and have recently encroached on since April 1984? How many Chinese soldiers are still stationed right now in the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa? How many Chinese soldiers are still in territories belonging to countries bordering on China, which are still illegally occupied by that hegemonist Power?

108. Secondly, I should like to address a few comments to my colleagues from the ASEAN countries, especially those who spoke this morning. I should like to say to them, quite frankly and quite modestly, that it is high time for all of us in South-East Asia to be vigilant and not continue to fall constantly into the trap of those who cause trouble and fish in troubled waters. The hegemonist circles wish at any cost to hang on to the Pol Pot clique as an instrument for their strategy in South-East Asia.

109. If we want South-East Asia, so dear to us, to become a zone of peace, stability, neutrality, freedom and co-operation, we, the countries of Indo-China and of ASEAN, should all begin actively and in good faith a constructive dialogue, free of any interference by trouble-makers, to smooth out the existing differences among the two groups of countries, including differences on Kampuchea. That is what we need for success.

110. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): On at least two occasions in the course of this debate, my delegation has heard remarks to the effect that there exists a committee or group of four, which includes my country and which allegedly is fomenting or assisting in carrying out subversive activities against Kampuchea. We are indeed surprised to hear those remarks, which we regret and categorically reject.

111. I must also state clearly that my Government will not be surreptitious about its policies towards Kampuchea or, for that matter, on any other subject. To the contrary, our policies towards Kampuchea are fully in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations. We have nothing to hide; we have nothing to apologize for.

112. But why are we talking about the policies of Member countries of the United Nations towards another State Member of the United Nations, the representatives of which sit in this hall and which are fully in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations?

113. Instead, the relevant question is: what are the attitude and policies of Member countries towards the resolutions of the United Nations on Kampuchea which call for the withdrawal of foreign forces, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the exercise of self-determination by the people of Kampuchea? We all know very well the response of certain Member States to this call.

114. But no innuendo, no subterfuge, should be allowed to distract us from that fact.

## AGENDA ITEM 24

**Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: Report of the Secretary-General (concluded)\***

115. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1, which was distributed on Tuesday, 13 November, is now before the Assembly. I call on the representative of Iraq to introduce the revised draft resolution.

116. Mr. AL-ZAHAWIE (Iraq): On behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour to present draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1, which deals with two main issues: the first is the Israeli aggressors' refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and the second is the standing Israeli threat to repeat its armed attack against Iraq and other countries.

117. The preambular paragraphs are self-explanatory.

118. As to the operative paragraphs, paragraph 1 deals with Israel's continuing refusal to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and is a repetition of paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 38/9.

119. Paragraph 2 is concerned with the unsatisfactory statements presented by the aggressor régime as proof of its peaceful intentions regarding nuclear reactors dedicated to peaceful purposes. It has been widely noted during the debate that those statements make no reference whatsoever to the safeguards system and leave the way open to the Zionist régime to arrogate to itself the right to pass judgement on the status of nuclear reactors and to repeat its attack against a reactor which it considers to be non-peaceful. In fact, as my delegation demonstrated during the debate on the item, if the full text of Shamir's speech on 2 May is taken into consideration, the Israeli statements amount to an open invitation to others to join Israel in its policy doctrine of attacking nuclear installations. The wording of paragraph 2 is, furthermore, closely based on paragraph 1 of resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency,<sup>3</sup> which was adopted by an overwhelming majority last September in Vienna.

120. Paragraph 3 is the same as paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 38/9.

121. Paragraph 4 is also based on paragraph 4 of resolution 38/9, but spells out unequivocally what would constitute a withdrawal of the Israeli threat to repeat its attack; the paragraph also closely follows the wording of paragraph 3 of resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

122. Paragraph 5 is based on paragraph 5 of resolution 38/9, but adds to it the request to the Security Council to consider the necessary measures to ensure Israel's compliance with Security Council resolution 487 (1981). This is a matter that has wider implications concerning the United Nations system as a whole.

123. Paragraph 6 is a reaffirmation of paragraph 6 of resolution 38/9.

124. Paragraph 7, requesting the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and on the consequences of Israel's non-compliance with that resolution, is based on the Secretary-General's diagnosis of the malaise from which the United Nations system as a whole is suffering and his own recommendation as to what the remedy should be. His assessment of the situation and his advice to the Member States is contained in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] submitted to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

125. Paragraph 8 follows automatically in view of the request made to the Secretary-General in paragraph 7.

126. In his statement before the Assembly, the representative of the Zionist entity, in his efforts to remove all strictures on his régime and to allow it to pursue its aggression and its threats with total impunity, has called upon the Assembly to defeat the draft resolution before us this year so that there may be no draft resolution next year and the Israeli régime would be let off the hook which it swallowed when it committed its unprecedented act of aggression.

127. The sponsors of the draft resolution sincerely hope that the Assembly's answer to the aggressor's request will be a resounding no.

128. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1.

129. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador rejects the use and the threat of force in international relations and any concept of armed reprisals, particularly against any future danger perceived on the basis of subjective unilateral analyses that could serve to justify the unacceptable sophism of preventive war. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States is a fundamental principle of the Charter, and the international system implies renunciation of the use or threat of force and the obligation to seek to resolve disputes by peaceful means. All these principles shape Ecuador's international policy and it has unswervingly defended respect for them.

130. The United Nations has repeatedly expressed its views on this matter and on those occasions Ecuador has voted in favour of the resolutions on the subject—matter of this debate, which could henceforth be dealt with in the First Committee. Hence Ecuador will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, bearing in mind the positive statements made in this respect in this and other forums of the Organization.

131. Mr. SVOBODA (Canada): The Canadian position strongly condemning Israel's June 1981 military attack against the nuclear reactor in Iraq is well known. It has been repeated in many forums, including this one, and it was on this basis that we voted in favour of last year's resolution on this subject. Canada, however, cannot support the text we now have before us in draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1 as it fails to take fully into account the statements made by Israel earlier this year [A/39/349] in compliance with the requests of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Therefore, while acknowledging that the text before us is substantially improved as compared with that which

\*Resumed from the 56th meeting.

we saw earlier in the proceedings, Canada will abstain on the current version.

132. Furthermore, we also wish to recall and support a comment made last week by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the European Economic Community. Canada, similarly, as we noted in this debate last year, is far from convinced that any useful purpose would be served should this issue become a matter of annual discussion in the General Assembly. In our view, international public opinion has been adequately registered regarding the 1981 incident at Tammuz. Indeed, unless there were something further for the Secretary-General to report upon, Canada would not support either a request to the Secretary-General to report to a future session of the General Assembly or a decision to include this item in the annual agenda.

133. Mrs. QUINTANILLA (United States of America): The United States will vote against this draft resolution because we believe it serves no useful purpose. To bring this matter up in the General Assembly year after year and now three and a half years after the first debate is an unproductive and ritualistic exercise.

134. The Security Council spoke definitively on the matter shortly after the 1981 raid. The United States supported Security Council resolution 487 (1981) condemning the attack. That resolution, adopted unanimously after careful deliberations by the Council, represented the considered judgement of the body vested with primary responsibility for consideration of such questions. This debate has added nothing to the resolution of this matter. We believe, therefore, that this item should be dropped from the Assembly's future agenda.

135. In addition, this draft resolution under item 24 unfairly condemns Israel. It fails to give due credit to the repeated statements of the Israeli Government that it has no policy of attacking peaceful nuclear facilities. These statements, made at the highest levels of the Israeli Government, clearly specify that "Israel holds that nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes [must] be inviolable from military attack" and that "it has no policy of attacking nuclear facilities and certainly has no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere" [*ibid.*]. As we have said, we believe that this is a clear and fully responsive statement on this matter.

136. This draft resolution implicitly accuses Israel of threats "to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries", and says that this constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. We do not believe this to be anything but a prejudicial characterization of Israeli policy and we deplore this kind of language and pre-emptive judgement.

137. Finally, the draft resolution is detrimental to the work of IAEA. It does not serve the interests of any member State of IAEA for the General Assembly to perpetuate a divisive political debate in the Agency on this issue. That aspect of the debate is extraneous to the Agency's important technical work. IAEA should be allowed to concentrate on its own proper role, and other United Nations bodies should respect and promote the useful role that IAEA is trying to carry out in keeping with established United Nations procedures.

138. Mr. LUNDVIK (Sweden): Sweden is on record as having condemned in the most unequivocal terms the Israeli attack in 1981 on an Iraqi nuclear installation as a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and as an affront to the safeguards system of IAEA. My delegation does not therefore object to the continued presence on the agenda of the General Assembly of an item devoted to the follow-up of Security Council resolution 487 (1981) as long as Israel fails fully to live up to the terms of that resolution.

139. It is to be noted however that, in comparison with earlier statements, a clearly more forthcoming attitude on the part of the Government of Israel has been reflected in pronouncements to the Assembly as well as to the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Against that background it does not appear appropriate for the Assembly to pronounce itself against the Israeli attitude in terms that are stronger than those applied last year.

140. With some hesitation, my delegation has decided therefore to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us.

141. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): Many delegations, as we have just seen, have wisely seen through the Iraqi exercise. It does not seek a solution to the complex and important problem of protecting nuclear facilities. Rather, it aims to use the issue as a pretext for an annual anti-Israel spectacle.

142. Our position on the inviolability of nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes has now been stated clearly four times in recent months: by my predecessor, by the Director of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission, by Minister for Foreign Affairs Shamir [*18th meeting*] and in my statement in the General Assembly on 8 November 1984 [*55th meeting*]. It needs no repetition. I would only add that it reflects our support of international efforts to reach agreement on this matter as soon as possible.

143. Iraq's attitude is quite different. This is a country that has recently gassed people in war, that has harboured and still promotes the deadliest terrorist groups and that bombs neutral shipping in international waters. From such a country, solemn and repeated invocations of international law border on the farcical; but when to this sorry record we add Iraq's recent bombing of a nuclear power plant, we have crossed that border.

144. This is why we shall vote against the Iraqi draft resolution. We urge all those concerned with the integrity of this forum to indicate by changing their vote that they believe the time has come to end such misuse of this body's time.

145. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kenya,

Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Israel, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Zaire.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 106 votes to 2, with 33 abstentions (resolution 39/14).*

146. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

147. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1. However, it did not become a sponsor of the draft resolution, as it had done in previous sessions, in view of the wording of the present text, which is not in keeping with the main goal of the resolution. In addition to omitting the expression "Israeli threat", which appeared in paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/39/L.13, the following paragraphs from the same draft resolution were omitted in their entirety:

"4. *Reiterates its condemnation* of the Israeli threats, in violation of the Charter, to repeat its armed attack on nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries;

"7. *Reiterates its requests* to the International Atomic Energy Agency to suspend all co-operation with Israel until it complies with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and with paragraph 5 of the present resolution;

"8. *Further requests* the International Atomic Energy Agency to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the implementation of paragraph 7 above;"

148. Thus the draft resolution is not commensurate with the magnitude of the criminal action by Israel, contrary to international law, in attacking the nuclear reactor, on the one hand, or with the danger that such action will be repeated by Israel as carried out by South Africa against the nuclear installations for peaceful purposes belonging to developing countries, on the other.

149. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations. It fully agrees with the concern of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution over the piratical

act of Tel Aviv, which has serious consequences for international peace and security and the right of States to use the fruits of nuclear energy for economic and social development.

150. We are firmly in favour of ensuring that Israel respect the relevant United Nations resolutions and are against allowing Israel to repeat such attacks.

151. The Soviet delegation would like to emphasize that it supports the provisions of the resolution, which are aimed at preventing armed aggression against nuclear installations or threats of such armed aggression, and regards this as an important contribution to the prevention of dangerous uses of nuclear energy, which should be used for peaceful purposes.

152. Mrs. DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium's attitude to the Israeli attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations has been and remains clear. My country considers that that attack violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. By voting in favour of earlier resolutions on this subject, that attack was unequivocally condemned.

153. Despite the efforts of the sponsors to improve the draft resolution submitted today, my delegation was unable to cast a positive vote. In view of the declarations made and the policies followed by Israel since that attack, my Government considers that there is no real danger of another similar occurrence. Accordingly, it is not correct to refer to threats that will continue to endanger peace and security in the region.

154. Furthermore, making this subject a permanent item on the agenda of the Assembly, would not appear to us to further the prospects of reaching the peaceful solution to the conflict in the Middle East that we desire.

155. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation abstained in the voting on the resolution just adopted. Although we continue to believe that the Israeli military attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations was a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of international law, we have some reservations about the resolution.

156. First, it does not reflect our assessment of the Israeli statements distributed in document A/39/349 as a positive step in the right direction. Secondly, further consideration of the item and the Israeli statements should be undertaken within IAEA, where constructive practical work can be performed. Repeated condemnations are not conducive to promoting that work. Thirdly, we are not convinced that the "Israeli threats" referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph continue to exist. We do not see any evidence for that contention. Fourthly, for the sake of strengthening the United Nations system, the Secretary-General has recommended in his annual report that duplication of effort and unnecessary repetition of items should be avoided. While realizing the seriousness of the Israeli act, we believe that no useful purpose would be served if this issue were to become a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.*