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EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

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SPEECH

BY HIS EXCELLENCY Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AT THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN
MINISTERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES
(New Delhi, February 1981)

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies,

It is with great happiness that we meet here in New Delhi, the capital of India, one of the cradles of human civilization, the homeland of such world-famous figures as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and R. Tagore .

Loyal to the cause and ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the wellknown founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement, present day India, now under the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, with a foreign policy of peace, independence and non-alignment, is enhancing its considerable role in settling international problems and has become an important factor for peace and security in Asia and the world .

The Republic of India has greatly contributed to the consolidation and development of the movement in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples struggling for national independence and world peace .

For long centuries, India has maintained close and steady relations with Vietnam and the other countries in the Indochinese peninsula. In the struggle for national independence and construction, the peoples of Vietnam and India have always helped and encouraged each other. In her capacity as Chairman of the International Commissions in Vietnam and other Indochinese countries, the Republic of India has made positive contributions to peace and national independence in the Indochinese peninsula. With warm feelings toward the fraternal Indian people, the Vietnamese people are so pleased to note the constant and very successful growth of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries in recent years. The Vietnamese people are sincerely grateful to the fraternal Indian people and government for their support and assistance

extended to our national construction and defence . We value highly India's recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and this is a wise move stemming from India's policy of peace and non-alignment, a great encouragement to the three Indochinese peoples, especially the Kampuchean people, who have been reborn following the nightmare of genocide and are now victims of expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the international reactionary forces in collusion with imperialism. It is an important contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia .

Ladies and gentlemen,

Our conference is held at a time when the movement of non-aligned countries is exactly 20 years old. In the inspiring atmosphere of a grant festival and looking back at our victorious path, we feel full of hope and confidence in the bright future. The past 20 years are but a short period of time, yet they are the most seething and memorable ones in the history of our nations' development. The emergence of the movement of non-aligned countries has made international relations in the past 20 years richer and diversified, thus marking a new development in the affairs of human society .

As we are extremely pleased with and proud of the bright prospects of the future, we can not but be surprised at the noises uttered by the psywar propaganda machines of the imperialist and international reactionary forces to the effect that the Non-Aligned Movement is facing a serious crises and deep division. According to them, the cause of this situation is that our movement has deviated from its "original objectives" and is faced with the danger of losing its independent character of staying neutral "between the two blocs " . What is the truth ?

Since coming into being, the Non-Aligned Movement has over the past 20 years overcome many trials and developed vigorously and so its international prestige has been steadily growing. The Non-Aligned Movement has made a worthy contribution to the struggle of the nations for political independence and for the right to be masters of their economies, helped bring about the collapse of colonialism and aggravate the crisis of neo-colonialism. It has become an inevitable process that after gaining political independence, nations have chosen the line of non-alignment in their foreign relations in order to go on safeguarding their national interests. Our movement with less than 30 members at the beginning, has now grown to more than 90 countries including almost all developing nations in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America .

The American war in Vietnam, the biggest and bloodiest war of aggression since the Second World War, which started right after the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement and stretched into the mid-seventies, was for the movement a

a major trial. Determined to side with the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, the movement had successfully undergone that utmost trial and together with the victory of the Vietnamese people, has made a great step forward in its development and played an increasingly active role in settling international problems. The victory won by the Vietnamese people in their patriotic war against U.S. imperialism constitutes a victory for the forces for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world and therefore a victory for the Non-Aligned Movement. This victory has opened up a new era: the post-Vietnam era characterized by a rapid collapse of U.S. style world order and the disappearance of myth of U.S. invincible strength. The new era has created extremely favourable conditions for the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement. Along with the defeat suffered in Vietnam by U.S. imperialism, the biggest and most brutal imperialist force of our time, a series of U.S. military bases and the largest military alliances set up by the U.S. in Asia, Africa and Latin America, such as SEATO and CENTO, aimed at opposing the national liberation movement and the non-aligned countries, have disintegrated one after another, thus bringing about the downfall of the biggest tyrants of our time, lackeys of the U.S. imperialists, like Thieu and Ky in South Vietnam, Somoza in Nicaragua, the blood-thirsty despots in Iran and in Iraq and Libya earlier, etc... The collapse of the colonial system of Portuguese colonialism ushered in a series of non-aligned states in Africa and effected a fundamental change in the configuration of this continent. The non-aligned countries in Africa have become a great rear base for the complete liberation of Africa, especially for the struggle of the Southern African countries against the racial discrimination of the white colonialists in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Together with the victory of the Vietnamese people and other nations in the past 20 years, the struggle for self-liberation which has weakened imperialism militarily and politically, the oil war of the Asian, African and Latin American oil producing countries against the exploitation of Western monopolies and the struggle of the developing countries against the exploitation of the imperialist capitalists, for the right to be masters of their own natural resources and to establish a new world economic order, have seriously weakened imperialism in the economic field and stripped it of the monopoly of economic weapon against the non-aligned countries.

Because of the diversity of the Non-Aligned Movement membership which includes countries of different political, social and cultural systems, it is natural that they differ on some international issues. This difference is not

a new phenomenon, but it existed even before the birth of the movement and has been there all along the 20 years of its existence. It is regrettable that some differences have led to conflicts including armed conflicts between various member countries. They are, however, isolated cases and even in these cases, the differences are not impossible to be solved. In the main, the differences between the member countries show the diversity rather than the division or antagonism within the movement. Imperialism and international reactionaries always seek to exploit the differences of the movement but the past 20 years have demonstrated that the movement has overcome those differences and become stronger. The fact is that the movement could not have achieved successes if division and confrontation had prevailed during the past 20 years. Therefore, the differences or rather the diversity have ^{neither} undermined the unity of the movement nor hindered its success and growth. Its growth is today a historical truth that no distortion can negate.

Apparently far from suffering from crisis, split or decline as goes the propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries, the movement has steadily developed and is now stronger than ever before. This is a historical fact that no distortion can refute.

The growth and success of the movement would have been impossible had it not adopted a correct line in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples and the trend of development of our time. But why all these allegations that our movement has deviated from its course ?

Faced with the growth and success of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the decline and failure of imperialism, the imperialist and international reactionary forces are very worried and trying very hard to oppose the movement, seeking every means to step by step steer the movement into their orbit. Z. Brezinski, a strategist of U.S. imperialism has openly said : "Change (i.e. change in the world) can be channelled into our direction, and that international change can be made compatible with our own underlying spiritual values". (Speech made at the Meeting of the Trilateral Commission, Bonn, 25/10/1977).

The imperialists and international reactionaries made believe that they are most concerned with the development of the Non-Aligned Movement, loudly claiming that the movement has deviated from its course and it is necessary for the movement to return to its "original objectives" and maintain its independent character i.e. its neutrality "between the two blocs". Certain elements in

the movement are clamouring that the movement is in danger of being swayed toward one bloc against the other and that it may be losing its independent stance between the two military blocs. It is as though the present problems in international relations are born of disputes between the two blocs and the ultimate objective of the movement is to be neutral between them. This argument, in line with the three-world theory and the slogan against the "two super-powers" of the Beijing hegemonists, is aimed at creating chaos and disunity in the movement. But experience in international relations has exposed their design.

It is common knowledge that war appeared in human society from pre-historical times and in the contemporary era, all the major wars that have broken out in the 20th century, like the two world wars, the Viet Nam war, the Middle East War, and the wars of aggression launched by China ^{against} India in 1962, against Viet Nam in 1979 and a series of other wars have had nothing to do with the dispute "between the two blocs". One certainly cannot impute to the dispute "between the two blocs" the originality of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Likewise, the present struggle of the developing countries for a new international economic order cannot be considered as a consequence of the dispute "between the two blocs".

Looking at the specific situation of each region in the world we see all the more clearly the identical nature of the so-called "principle of independence between the two military blocs" and Beijing's perfidious doctrine against the "two super-powers".

Everybody knows that in Europe there are two biggest military blocs in the world. Yet, relative peace and stability have been maintained there since the Second World War. In the meantime, Asia, Africa and Latin America where the majority of non-aligned countries come from are regions that have been subjected to war throughout the last 35 years. The longest and most bitter wars took place in one of these regions. But they were not wars "between the two military blocs" but wars launched by the imperialist and colonialist countries against the independence and sovereignty of the Asian, African and Latin American nations.

By carrying out the most resolute struggles the non-aligned countries have brought about the collapse of the largest military alliances set up by the U.S. in Asia, Africa and Latin America such as SEATO and CENTO. Those were struggle against the imperialist military alliances led by the U.S.. Could one stick to the assumption that the / of Non-Aligned Movement must adhere to its countries

independent stance "between military blocs" to conclude that those countries engaged in the struggle against these aggressive military alliances have deviated from their objectives ?

The long and bitter struggle of the Vietnamese people against the bloody U.S. war of aggression ended in victory thanks to the strong support of the peoples the world over, first of all the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the non-aligned countries. That was a struggle against the military alliances of imperialism headed by the U.S. The support given by the non-aligned countries to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people does not mean that they sided with one bloc against the other. Neither does it mean that the non-aligned countries have lost their independent character. On the contrary, it can only be concluded that by strongly supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against aggression, the Non-Aligned Movement has adhered to its objective of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, has maintained its independent character and thus strengthened its own power.

It would be an insult to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples if we considered that the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.- backed Israeli aggressors, the struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism, the struggle of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and South African peoples against racism and apartheid, the struggle of the El Salvadorian and other Latin American peoples against the military dictatorial regimes and U.S. intervention ... are all consequences of the dispute between the "two blocs" and the "two super-powers".

We also know that the illegal U.S. occupation of many territories under the jurisdiction of other countries from East to West, from North to South, from South Korea, Japan to Diego Garcia, Guantanamo, Puerto Rico, etc... is for the main purpose of threatening the security and independence of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. The fact that Taiwan has not been liberated and Hongkong and Macao are still under the domination of foreign powers is not a result of the dispute between the "two blocs or the two super-powers".

Is the burden of the economic crisis and inflation which the imperialist countries are laying into the backs of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples also a result of the dispute "between the two blocs" and the "two super-powers"?

The Beijing rulers have spread the slogans against the "two super-powers", but in reality they are colluding with U.S. imperialism to oppose the Soviet Union and the forces of peace and national independence in the world. Beijing's slogan of opposing the "two super-powers" and the slogan of staying neutral between the "two military blocs" obviously complement each other in the campaigns against the Soviet Union and the forces resolutely struggling for peace and national independence, including our Non-Aligned Movement.

Loyal to their policy of non-alignment, the Vietnamese people resolutely side with others peoples in their struggle for peace, detente and disarmament. We value highly the initiatives taken by various countries with a view to strengthening peace and security in Asia and the world. We resolutely condemn all attempts to play up world war III hysteria, cause great chaos in the world, step up the arms race and create world tension. We support the legitimate aspirations of the countries for conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. We express our support for the initiative taken by the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on the convening of a summit conference of the countries interested in peace in the Indian Ocean and are willing to participate in that conference. We welcome the convening of the Indian Ocean Conference this year in Colombo. We demand that an end be put to the strengthening of military build-ups and activities, to the expansion of the existing military bases, and the building of new ones in this zone. We demand the dismantling of the military bases, Diago Garcia in the first place. We demand that the U.S. abandon its design to annex Micronesia, withdraw its troops from South Korea, put an end to its interference and subversive activities against the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and other countries in the Indian subcontinent.

The threat to peace and national independence of the peoples in the Middle-East stems basically from the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by Israeli Zionism and from the interference of the U.S. imperialists. We need to expose the false allegations that the main cause of tension in the Middle-East is the dispute "between the two super-powers". These allegations were aimed at misleading the struggle of the Palestinian and others Arab peoples. The Vietnamese people have persistently given full support to this just struggle of the Arab peoples against all schemes of division and annexation of the Israeli aggressors and the U.S. imperialists, and to the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization to regain their fundamental rights, including the right to establish an independent and sovereign state.

There are no moral reasons why our movement should be forced to stand "neutral between the two blocs" in the struggle of the peoples in Southern African countries for the right to be masters of their destinies. The Vietnamese people stand resolutely by the side of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and support the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress against the cruel domination of colonialism and apartheid. We fully support the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the front-line states in their struggle to defend and build their respective motherlands, against the South African racists. We energetically condemn the attacks and threats of aggression by South Africa, supported by the U.S. imperialists, against the People's Republic of Mozambique and resolutely support every appropriate measure taken by this country as counter attack to defend its independence, sovereignty and security. We support the struggle of the people and government of the Democratic Arab Sahraoui Republic under the leadership of the Polisario Front to exercise their fundamental national rights.

As in other areas of the world, the most dangerous threat to national independence, stability and peace in the central American and Caribbean region is not caused by the dispute "between the two blocs and two super-powers" but by the policy of aggression, intervention and threats pursued by U.S. imperialism.

Should our movement stand "between the two blocs" and oppose the "two super-powers" in the struggle of the peoples of Cuba and Latin American countries against the U.S. imperialists for their independence and sovereignty and for peace and security in the region? The Vietnamese people are resolved to stand by the side of the brotherly Cuban people demand that the U.S. put an end to its hostile policy toward Cuba and return the Guantanamo base to Cuba. We resolutely support the brotherly peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada in the defence and rebuilding of their respective countries and are determined to support the struggle waged by the people of El Salvador against the fascist dictatorship of the Salvador military junta and U.S. intervention. We demand that the U.S. scrupulously implement and strictly respect the agreements that have been signed on the Panama Canal. We fully support the peoples of Puerto Rico, Belize as well as other nations in the world in their just struggle for national independence, and the right to self-determination in order to free themselves from imperialist domination.

We are resolved to support the struggle of the Cypriot people to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

Having reviewed all the major issues of the non-aligned countries' struggle for peace and independence, we are now left with a choice : either we stand by the side of the non-aligned countries struggling against the enemies of peace and national independence or we work with certain people to condemn those who are struggling against the enemies of the non-aligned countries, arguing that they have "violated the principle of staying neutral between the two blocs and opposing neither of them".

As non-aligned countries, we resolutely remain independent from "military blocs" and we do not stand by one bloc to oppose the other. But this does not mean that we will not oppose one bloc if it is hostile to our peace and independence, and there is no reason why we should oppose the other if it supports our struggle for peace and independence. Those champions of the doctrine of "opposition to the two super-powers" and of a "neutral stance" between them, in fact want us to give up the struggle against the violaters of our peace and national independence and turn against the supporters of our struggle for peace and independence. We are resolved to oppose all forces from within and outside military blocs attempting to undermine world peace and the national independence of all countries while we regard as our friends all forces fighting for peace and national independence within and outside those military blocs. These are the most general objectives that unite our movement. Though there are differences among us, these are only temporary and can be solved on the basis of mutual discussion and agreement, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, equality, non-imposition on each other and non-interference from foreign countries.

But now, there emerges a grave situation where the U.S. imperialists and Beijing reactionaries are counting on a certain number of elements in our movement to sabotage it from within. Washington and Beijing have a deep hatred for those forces in the movement that are actively struggling for peace and national independence. They hope that by attacking those forces, the movement can be steered toward the direction in their favour, or be split up and undermined. We are not surprised to observe world-wide campaigns being undertaken by Washington and Beijing against Cuba and Viet Nam, against the resolution adopted by the 6th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in La Habana. In the Non-Aligned Movement, there are certain elements who are working exactly in this direction. Who are these elements ?

At this forum, they slanderously accuse Viet Nam of aggression but at the same time they support and cooperate with the United States and China in their

acts of aggression against Viet Nam. They demand that Viet Nam withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, while urging the U.S. to maintain its military presence in South East Asia and refusing to demand that China withdraw its troops from Vietnamese territories. It is these elements who had supported and cooperated with the U.S. in setting up such military alliances for aggression as SEATO and CENTO against peace and the independence of non-aligned countries.

Yet, now they loudly claim to be the most resolute defender of the principles of non-alignment. They demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan while protesting against the mentioning of Diego Garcia, despite the fact that the presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea or Afghanistan was requested by the legitimate Government of these respective countries. The presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and Afghanistan is justified in the sense that the legitimate Government of these respective countries has the right to request the assistance of fraternal countries as a defensive counter-measure against aggression and intervention by the imperialist and reactionary forces. The presence of foreign troops in Diego Garcia is an occupation in violation of the sovereignty of Mauritius and a serious threat to peace and security in the Indian Ocean region. Afghanistan is an independent and sovereign state and a full member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Yet, certain people demand the discussion of what they call "the Afghanistan question" although this is being protested against by the legitimate government of this country. This is a violation of the sovereignty of a member country and would create a very dangerous precedent in our movement. We strongly protest against any action taken against the sovereignty of a member country of our movement.

There are certain people who, while protesting against the mentioning of the untold crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against non-aligned countries, have devoted a greater part of their speeches to slanderous charges against Cuba as the incumbent President of the Non-Aligned Movement, and against India as the Chairman of this Ministerial Conference. We energetically reject these discourteous and undignified charges. We take this opportunity to express our full confidence in and total respect for heroic Cuba as the President of the movement and great India as the Chairman of this Conference. We all should defend Cuba and India, for this means we defend our Non-Aligned Movement against the attacks by imperialism and reactionary forces from outside as well as inside the movement itself.

We must defend the resolutions adopted by the 6th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in La Habana, defend the true non-aligned forces and resolutely

oppose the imperialist and reactionary forces which are slandering and sabotaging the movement from within.

All the imperialist and international reactionary forces are not only trying their utmost to divide our movement from within but also trying hard to isolate it from the joint struggle of the world peoples. Our strength, therefore not only comes from our unity in the movement but also comes from our alliance and unity with other peace-loving and progressive forces in the world.

The growth and successes of the movement of non-aligned countries over the last 20 years once again confirm that the path we are following is thoroughly just. This is also the road that leads to a better future.

Excellencies,

The situation in South East Asia today is a matter of concern for all/us^{of}. The three Indochinese countries have, on many occasions, put forward proposals with a view to bringing about peace and stability in South East Asia. Recently, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries, convened on January 27 and 28, 1981, proposed the signing of a non-aggression treaty with China and meeting between the three Indochinese countries the and five ASEAN countries to solve the problems in South East Asia, which are of their mutual concern. But unfortunately, China and subsequently ASEAN countries have rejected these proposals. They are of the view that instability in South East Asia is caused by the situation in Kampuchea and the presence of Vietnamese forces in that country. They all demand the implementation of the U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea.

It is common knowledge that during the last 40 years, there has been no peace and stability in South East Asia. In the course of nearly half a century, four major wars have broken out in this region. These four wars have had nothing to do at all with the so-called situation in Kampuchea and the presence of the Vietnamese army in that country. These were aggression by the Japanese militarists in the Second World War ; the colonialists' wars against Indonesia as well as the Indochinese countries ; the bloody war of aggression by the U.S. imperialists against the three Indochinese countries ; and now the Beijing's war of aggression and its threat of war against Viet Nam and the other Indochinese countries. All along with those wars of aggression has been Beijing's policy of interference and intervention by proxy of pro-Beijing rebels against the peoples of this region throughout the last 30 years.

The situation in Kampuchea has now been stabilized and it is even more stable than that in many countries of the region. We are witnessing the miraculous rebirth of the Kampuchean people from the depths of the Pol Pot's hell. They are eagerly discussing the new draft constitution and preparing to hold a general election so as to elect their legitimate representatives. While civil wars still exist in many countries in South East Asia, the Pol Pot clique and other rebel forces no longer constitute a threat to the people in Kampuchea if without Beijing's continued support.

The only part of the Kampuchean territory that is still unstable lies along its border with Thailand. The instability there is due to the fact that the Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionary forces are still allowed to use sanctuaries on the other side of the Kampuchean border to intervene in Kampuchea and oppose the rebirth of the Kampuchean people. This is part of a greater design stemming from the hostile policy of the Beijing ruling circles.

It is a known fact that after the defeat of the U.S. in Viet Nam, the Beijing ruling circles have openly carried out their hostile policy against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and other countries in the Indochinese peninsula. Through the genocidal Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique they converted Kampuchea into a spring board of expansion so as to wage their war of aggression against Viet Nam from two directions : one from the southwestern border and the other from the northern border, to seriously threaten Laos and provoke confrontation between the ASEAN countries and the Indochinese countries. On the other hand, they continue to support and help pro-Chinese rebel groups in an attempt to maintain their pressure on the countries of the region.

So, the principal cause of tension and instability in Southeast Asia in the last 40 years lied in the policy of aggression and intervention by the imperialist and reactionary forces from the outside and now it lies in the Beijing's policy of expansion and hegemony.

The developments of situation in Southeast Asia during the last 40 years clearly show that the peoples of the three Indochinese countries are the victims who have suffered most from the policy of aggression and intervention of the imperialist and international reactionary forces. The peoples of the three Indochinese countries, however, have made the greatest sacrifices to safeguard their independence and maintain peace in the region.

Confronted with enemies many times their size, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have no other way than unite so as to fight and win together. The Vietnamese army stood shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea in the struggles against French colonialism and then against U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese army withdrew from Laos and Kampuchea after the French colonialist war ended, and, for the second time, after the U.S. ended its war of aggression against the 3 Indochinese countries. These two withdrawals proved Viet Nam's full respect for the independence and sovereignty of Laos and Kampuchea. This time, the presence of the Vietnamese army in Laos and Kampuchea was also at the request of the Government of Laos and Kampuchea so as to together cope with the designs of the Beijing authorities. This presence of the Vietnamese army is only temporary. Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn after the danger from China comes to an end and with the agreement of Laos and Kampuchea. Like the militant solidarity and mutual assistance among the Arab, African and Latin American people, etc, in their struggle against the common enemy, the militant solidarity between the peoples of the three Indochinese countries is only for the purpose of self-defence and for a thoroughly just cause.

Beijing's rejection of the proposed signing of a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful co-existence with the three Indochinese countries testifies to Beijing's intransigence in continuing its policy of aggression and intervention against the three Indochinese countries.

Like Beijing, the ASEAN countries loudly voice what they call "the danger of Vietnamese aggression against Thailand and the threat to peace and security in South East Asia". The truth is that in the past 35 years as well as in previous history, never has the Vietnamese army been present on Thai soil, while Thailand and some other ASEAN countries have supported and even taken part in the U.S. war of aggression against Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries. Now they once again go along with Beijing, "NATO of the East", to oppose the three Indochinese countries.

While the ASEAN countries loudly speak about the danger of aggression coming from Viet Nam and Kampuchea, they reject the proposals of the three Indochinese countries for the signing of a non-aggression treaty with them and the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The ASEAN countries want to keep up their military pressure, economic blockade and political encirclement to force the Indochinese countries to surrender. They maintain a state of confrontation with the Indochinese countries and instability

along their borders so as to interfere in the affairs of the Indochinese countries, to ask for US, aid and to make profit on the refugees problem, just as some ASEAN countries had done so in the U.S. war of aggression against Viet Nam.

The ASEAN countries claim that they themselves respect the U.N. Charter and demand the implementation of the U.N. resolution on Kampuchea. But the truth is that they have trampled upon the U.N. Charter when they supported and took part in the U.S. war of aggression against the three Indochinese countries, and now when they are supporting China's policy of aggression and intervention against these countries. They have supported Indonesia's occupation of East Timor against the U.N. resolution on East Timor. And what principle of the United Nations allows them to openly support the genocidal Pol Pot criminals against the Kampuchean people ? By demanding the implementation of the U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea, they mean to force the reviving Kampuchean people to accept a genocidal regime which has been swept away and now want to return to Kampuchea to accomplish the mission that has been assigned to it by the Beijing expansionists. By such a demand, they also mean to give the Beijing ruling circles the right to start aggression and intervention against the three Indochinese countries and to deprive the latter of the right to seek mutual assistance against aggression. So, should this conference take side with the Beijing aggressors or with the non-aligned Indochinese countries, victims of aggression ?

No ! Never will the Non-Aligned Movement support the aggressors against the non-aligned countries of Indochina ! Nobody can prevent the three Indochinese countries from exercising their sacred right to self-defence !

The 6th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in La Habana in 1979 has decided on the vacancy of the seating of Kampuchea. The U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea, however, run counter to the decision taken by the Havana Summit Conference. Yet, the ASEAN countries, failing to achieve their aim in that Non-Aligned Summit Conference, are now demanding the imposition of these erroneous U.N. resolutions on the Non-Aligned Movement.

The three Indochinese countries maintain that all South East Asian problems must be solved by the South East Asian countries themselves on the basis of equality, mutual agreement, non-imposition of will by some countries on others and non-interference from outside.

There are only two alternatives : either to continue confrontation and imposition just as ASEAN has done in the past two years or to seek mutual

discussion and settlement of the matters to be raised by each side on the basis of equality and mutual agreement. The first alternative would only undermine peace and cause instability in South East Asia whereas the second alternative would, step by step bring about peace and stability in South East Asia .

The proposals by the three Indochinese countries mean negotiations and agreement. The ASEAN's position, on the contrary, means demanding that the three Indochinese countries accept their view and means imposing their will on the Indochinese countries. In the last 35 years, the French, the Americans and then the Chinese have resorted to war as a mean to impose their will on the Indochinese countries. Recently, China imposed the genocidal Pol Pot regime on the Kampuchean people. But all bloody attempts of imposition have failed. The ASEAN countries should not harbour any illusion of imposing their will on the Indochinese countries.

The current conflict that threatens peace and stability in South East Asia is the conflict between China and the three Indochinese countries, and not between the three Indochinese countries and the ASEAN countries .

The three Indochinese countries call on the ASEAN countries to cooperate with the Indochinese countries to end the confrontation and to turn South East Asia into a zone of peace and stability in the interests of their own countries and that of the region of South East Asia. The three Indochinese countries call on the non-aligned countries to help effect a reconciliation and an end to confrontation among South South East Asian nations and to refrain from doing anything contrary to the interests of peace in South East Asia .

Excellencies,

The success and growth of the Non-Aligned Movement in the last 20 years have given us the confidence that we will certainly achieve still greater successes in our cause of peace and independence . No reactionary forces in the world can reverse the progress of the wheel of history.

The imperialist and reactionaries are trying hard to take the Non-Aligned Movement away from its objectives in order to sabotage the struggle of the non-aligned countries for peace, independence, against imperialism and colonialism . But, it is the struggle of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples for peace independence, against imperialism and colonialism that has given birth to the Non-Aligned Movement ~~does not go along with that struggle, it will lose its ideals and its strength;~~ but the struggle of the peoples for peace and independence will not fail to advance forward for that reason. I hope that the forces struggling for peace and independence in the Non-Aligned Movement will foil those schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries. Thank you, Mr. Chairman !