

UNITED NATIONS



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**2110**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 13 JANUARY 1979  
NEW YORK

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#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 2110th MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 13 January 1979, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Donald O. MILLS (Jamaica).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2110)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Telegram dated 3 January 1979 from the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea to the President of the Security Council (S/13003)

*The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

Telegram dated 3 January 1979 from the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea to the President of the Security Council (S/13003)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2108th and 2109th meetings, I invite the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to be seated at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Sudan, Thailand and Viet Nam to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea took a place at the Council table; Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Halász (Hungary), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand) and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Japan, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Poland in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to

participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Abe (Japan), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Yango (Philippines) and Mr. Jaroszek (Poland) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. Miss KONIE (Zambia): Mr. President, I have the greatest pleasure in congratulating you on behalf of the Zambian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. Ordinarily, one would wish to commiserate with a representative of a Member State assuming such a burden immediately upon the commencement of his country's term of membership of this august body. However, it is the good fortune of the Council that it should be so in your case, particularly in the present delicate situation, in view of your proven capabilities and diplomatic skill, which have won you the admiration and respect of many in the United Nations.

4. Jamaica is a country that is dear to us in Zambia. We attach the utmost importance to our excellent relations with your great country and we have always greatly admired Jamaica's courageous, active and most constructive role in international relations. Jamaica today stands as one of the pillars of the forces championing the cause of justice, independence, equality, peace and development. It goes without saying that it is a matter of great pleasure and satisfaction to us in the Zambian delegation that we shall have the opportunity to work closely with the Jamaican delegation in the next two years as members of the Security Council.

5. It is also gratifying to my delegation that the other new members of the Council are Bangladesh, Norway and Portugal. Similarly, those are countries with which Zambia has excellent relations. They are countries that have also distinguished themselves in their commitment to the cause of a new world order truly compatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations as enshrined in the Charter. My delegation also looks forward to a friendly, co-operative and productive working relationship with those countries, and indeed with all the older members of the Council. Needless to say, the latter's experience of the workings of the Council will be invaluable to us. At this juncture, I wish to acknowledge with thanks the warm words of welcome to us extended by all members of the Council.

6. For the second time in its short history of 14 years as an independent Republic, Zambia has been honoured by being elected to serve on the Security Council. We did so in 1969-

1970. As then, Zambia intends to contribute its utmost to the furtherance of the ideals of the United Nations. Our commitment to the cause of justice, independence, equality, peace and development in the world is a matter of public record. We, together with others, particularly in the non-aligned movement, have spared no effort in the struggle to transform our imperfect world into the one envisaged in the Charter.

7. Zambia will continue to strive relentlessly to build a new pattern of international relationships, in which the era of oppression, racism, racial discrimination, exploitation and power politics will have gone by and will be good only for historians. During its two-year term on the Security Council, Zambia pledges to foster the cause of peace, justice and equality the world over. We hope in this regard to see change come about in southern Africa and the emergence, on a world-wide basis, of a new pattern of relations truly founded on the ideals of the United Nations.

8. The issue before the Council is both tragic and complex. My country is gravely concerned at the turmoil in South-East Asia and the continued loss of life and property. For decades the region of South-East Asia has been ravaged by war and its people have known nothing but misery. One would have hoped and expected that, after the victories of the peoples of Indo-China three years ago, they would have been allowed to enjoy peace and tranquillity and to devote their time and energies to the reconstruction of the economies of their countries. One would have wished that any misunderstandings between the countries and peoples of the region would be resolved by peaceful means in the spirit of brotherhood and good-neighbourliness.

9. The present conflict in South-East Asia of which the Council is seized concerns two countries which are important and active members of the non-aligned movement. This, to my delegation, is all the more regrettable in view of the very essence of non-alignment and the persistent efforts of the non-aligned countries to promote conditions of peace and justice in the world. The conflict that has arisen could, in the view of my delegation, seriously undermine and destabilize the cohesion of our movement.

10. The conflict involving Kampuchea and Viet Nam has serious implications both for the region and for international peace and security. It is the strongly held view of my Government that the conflict should be contained and that an honourable, peaceful and durable solution should be found without delay. We wish, in this regard, to appeal to all the major Powers to exercise restraint in order to prevent the conflict from escalating.

11. Within the context of the search for a solution, I wish to emphasize that my Government attaches a lot of importance to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respect for their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is our hope that these cardinal principles of international relations will not be compromised in the present situation.

12. Mr. NGUEMA-MBA (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation sincerely congratulates you, Sir, on your accession to the important functions of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January and wishes to assure you of our complete co-operation. Having known you at the head of another important United Nations organ and also of a group of which our two countries are

members, we have been able to appreciate your great qualities as a skilled and experienced diplomat. We are therefore convinced that you will most honourably discharge the responsibilities of your present office.

13. I wish also to welcome the new members of the Council: Bangladesh, Norway, Portugal, Zambia and, of course, your country, Jamaica. We are very happy to be able to work with them and draw closer the links of friendship for even more effective co-operation in the future.

14. Finally, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the eminent representatives whose term of office ended in December 1978. In this context, I wish to express the whole-hearted gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Ramphul, the Permanent Representative of Mauritius, who, with his well-known effectiveness, admirably defended the interests of Africa here during the past two years.

15. From everything we have heard in this chamber, essentially we see that once again the region of Indo-China is at war. Once again we realize what all this means in terms of atrocities and loss of human life and property. From the facts described here by a directly concerned party it appears—quite apart from any reasons which some may find to justify them—that particularly grave actions have been taken, since there has been an attack on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member. In other words, those acts are a clear threat to peace and security not only in that part of Asia but also in the world at large. If only for those reasons, the Council should consider this matter with all the required seriousness.

16. In consistency with the principles of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations, my delegation cannot but protest against all such actions or manoeuvres by any country which are a threat to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political régimes of other countries. Indeed, we believe that countries should refrain from resorting to force or the threat of force in their bilateral relations, from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and engaging in subversive activities against them by any means whatsoever.

17. The delegation of Gabon sincerely deplores what has happened and is continuing to happen in Cambodia. We deem it to be the Council's duty clearly to state that it disapproves of any act of the kind whether perpetrated against Cambodia or any other country.

18. The people of Cambodia has suffered too much and for too long for the Council to remain insensitive to its appeals. With that concern in mind, my delegation wishes at once to assure representatives that we shall support any initiative or decision of the Council that could lead to ensuring respect for the boundaries and the territorial integrity of Cambodia and could so order events that the peoples of those countries might at least be able to live in peace and settle their problems themselves, without any interference from third countries.

19. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): As this is the first time that I have had the privilege of speaking in the Council, I wish to address to you, Sir, the sincere greetings of the Portuguese delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the present month. Knowing your great

qualities and experience, my delegation is certain that you will conduct the Council's work in the most able manner, thus ensuring all possible successful results for our common endeavours.

20. I should also like to extend these greetings to all the other members—to those who have already been serving in this Council and those whose countries, like mine, have recently been elected.

21. It is a very great honour for my country to have acceded to the Security Council. And I thank you, Mr. President, and those representatives who have spoken before me and welcomed our presence here for the kind words that were addressed to us. I shall add only that we are well aware of the heavy responsibilities that have been bestowed upon us. We shall spare no effort to honour them and co-operate with all representatives in the common search for solutions to the problems confronting us.

22. Once again the attention of the international community is turned towards Indo-China, an area of Asia that for centuries has been torn apart by conflicts which have, if anything, grown worse in our lifetime. Let us bear in mind that, at least for the young generations of that region of the world, life has so far meant only insecurity, death, hunger, the breaking up of families, the wanton destruction of properties and of a rich cultural heritage, and an endless accumulation of terror and squalor that is the very essence of war.

23. We have all admired the courage, the dignity and the endurance of the various peoples of Indo-China. But they have surely by now paid more than whatever price may be required to gain the right to live finally in peace.

24. The whole world had certainly hoped that after their struggle for liberation those countries would at last have reached a period of the healing of wounds and national reconstruction, in the full enjoyment of their sovereignty so arduously won. It is therefore with deep dismay that we see political forces, which seemed united for so many years in defence of their right to self-determination and national independence and which both claimed to be inspired by the same ideological principles for the organization of a just society, now turned against each other, rivals and even enemies, showing a spirit of intolerance, well revealed even in this chamber by the language we have heard.

25. Even if scarce and not always completely reliable, the information at our disposal on the situation in Kampuchea soon made it quite clear that that situation constituted a threat to the peace and security of South-East Asia, and that is why the Portuguese delegation has always clearly expressed the view, without prejudging responsibilities, that it was the duty of the Council to examine and discuss it.

26. What has been stated in the Council in the last two days has not given us a totally clear picture of the situation in Kampuchea, and some aspects may therefore be subject to doubts. But, in broad outline, it seems to us undeniable that we are confronted with a clear violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

27. My delegation does not find it difficult to accept the proposition that the Pol Pot Government might have had some responsibility in the creation of the climate of mistrust

and hostility that for so long has marked the relationship between Kampuchea and Viet Nam. Neither do we have any doubts about the appalling record of violation of the most basic and elementary human rights in Kampuchea which has filled with indignation all those who respect human life and the rights of the individual.

28. We do not know exactly what has been going on in Kampuchea these last two weeks, but that again is the fault of the Pol Pot Government. Had Kampuchea been an open society, all the claims now made of invasion would have been instantly verified. The Pol Pot Government certainly had good reasons not to allow the outside world to know what was happening in its own country, and the price for this is always heavy.

29. In any case, there are no nor can there be any socio-political considerations that would justify the invasion of the territory of a sovereign State by the forces of another State; and not even provocative actions or the fear of an imminent attack could excuse such an act of aggression. Differences, however serious, should be resolved through peaceful means. It is not enough to accept, or even to proclaim, this principle; it has to be respected and it has to be reflected in the actions of countries. Not even the imperatives of ideological solidarity could justify an intervention in support of a revolution against a Government which—no matter how unpalatable—was the recognized Government of a sovereign State.

30. It seems even pointless to invoke now the principles laid down in the Charter, since they cannot but be present in the minds of us all. But we believe it worthwhile to state that small countries—and we must bear in mind that the United Nations is composed mainly of small countries—cannot feel secure if those principles, although universally proclaimed, are violated with impunity.

31. The principles upon which the United Nations is based must therefore be respected and peace, security and stability must be restored in the region. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country must be upheld and the situation redressed by the suspension of hostilities and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

32. On behalf of my Government, I express the fervent hope that the Security Council, although limited in its capacity to remedy the prevailing situation, will be firm, as is its duty, in proclaiming and defending those principles without which no international order is possible.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Tan Sri ZAITON Ibrahim (Malaysia): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to convey my delegation's appreciation to you and to the other members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to express the views of my Government on the matter before the Council.

35. I should like, before proceeding any further, to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are indeed gratified to see you presiding over the deliberations on such an important matter and feel confident that under your

distinguished leadership and thanks to your diplomatic skills they will be concluded expeditiously and fruitfully.

36. My delegation welcomes the decision of the Council to consider the situation arising from the escalation of the armed conflict between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. We consider it important for the Council to meet in order to focus attention on the serious situation that has arisen in the region. No doubt, the meeting will throw more light on the developments there and, in doing so, will assist members of the Council to take a decision on the measures necessary to deal with the situation appropriately.

37. My delegation has requested that it should be allowed to participate in the debate on the problem, not only because we consider the present escalation of the conflict to be a threat to the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia, but also because we are deeply distressed that the conflict involves two neighbouring countries with which Malaysia enjoys friendly relations. It has always been the position of my Government that the countries in South-East Asia should strive to live in peace and harmony, to co-operate for the common benefit of all concerned, to seek solutions to disputes by peaceful means and refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs. Relations should be based on respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and on co-operation with each other in the strengthening and maintenance of peace, security and stability in the region. We are also committed to the goals of regional co-operation and the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia which, we hope, will secure for the region the peace and stability that we all desire, so as to enable us to pursue our destiny without outside interference. Indeed, what has taken place in Indo-China has convinced us more than ever of the urgency of translating the proposal into practical reality.

38. It is in line with this policy that my Government has observed strict neutrality in the unfortunate border dispute that has recently arisen between the two neighbouring countries in the region, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, with which we enjoy the closest of relations. We have also consistently urged both parties to settle their dispute by peaceful means through negotiations carried on in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect, and to refrain from the use of force. We have also urged outside Powers that in no circumstances should they seek to justify interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

39. However, the recent developments have resulted in an escalation which has brought about an armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The situation has now assumed a political dimension which is fraught with dangers. Above all, the armed intervention constitutes a serious violation of the fundamental principles which govern peaceful relations between nations. Clearly, armed intervention by any country, in one form or another, irrespective of its military or political justification, cannot be condoned: it is to be deplored by all, and we would be deceiving ourselves if we did not admit that that was true.

40. The armed intervention in Kampuchea is an unfortunate development principally because it is taking place at a time when the countries in South-East Asia are exerting every effort to promote co-operation and

understanding in order to build a prosperous, stable and peaceful South-East Asia. We can only hope that such intervention will not sharply escalate into a wider conflict with the spectre of a bloody and protracted war which will certainly assume dangerous proportions if compounded by big-Power involvement.

41. At their special meeting at Bangkok on 12 and 13 January 1979, the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), namely those of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and called for appropriate measures to restore peace, security and stability to the region. My Government fully supports the joint statement of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, which is contained in document S/13025. We affirm that the people of Kampuchea must be allowed to determine their future by themselves, free from any interference or influence from outside Powers. We also call for the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign forces from Kampuchea.

42. In the final analysis, it is essential that the countries concerned should fully respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration and live up to their pledges to maintain friendly and peaceful relations in a spirit of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for the principle of non-interference in and non-subversion of the internal affairs of States.

43. We note in this connexion the pledge of the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the effect that his Government will seek to strengthen good relations and co-operation with countries in South-East Asia on the basis of these principles. Indeed, a commitment to them would not only help to solve the present problem but would also strengthen the foundation of friendly relations among the States of South-East Asia, promote mutual understanding, confidence and trust, and pave the way for us to increase our co-operation in our common efforts to secure a peaceful and stable South-East Asia for the well-being of our people.

44. In conclusion, we hope that the Security Council will be able to adopt a resolution which will affirm respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, affirm the right of the people of Kampuchea to decide their future for themselves without outside interference, call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and create the necessary conditions conducive to the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

45. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Singapore, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. KOH (Singapore): Sir, it is fortunate for the Security Council to have a man of your high intelligence and great diplomatic skill as its President for this month.

47. My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak before the Council on the complaint of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea against Viet Nam for two reasons: first, because the escalation of the armed conflict between

Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam poses a particular threat to the peace, stability and security of the region of South-East Asia, of which Singapore is a part; secondly, because all countries should be concerned when a stronger and more powerful country resorts to force in its international relations and intervenes in the internal affairs of a smaller and weaker country, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations. This concern is particularly felt by small and militarily weak countries such as my own.

48. My Government strictly upholds the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. If the conflict in Democratic Kampuchea were a conflict of an exclusively internal character, we would not have asked to speak to the Council. The fact of the matter is that the conflict is not of an exclusively internal character. The evidence is irrefutable that the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has sent its armed forces across an international border into Democratic Kampuchea and intervened in the affairs of that country.

49. It has been said by others that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, led by Pol Pot, has treated its people in a barbarous fashion. Whether that accusation is true or false is not the issue before the Council. We hold the view that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is accountable to the people of Democratic Kampuchea. No other country has a right to topple the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, however badly that Government may have treated its people. To hold to the contrary principle is to concede the right of a foreign Government to intervene and overthrow the Government of another country.

50. It is the sovereign right of the people of Democratic Kampuchea to choose and to change its government. No other country has the right to do so. It is the sovereign right of the people of Democratic Kampuchea to choose its own political, social and economic system. No other country has the right to do so. In short, it is for the Kampuchean people and the Kampuchean people alone to determine their own destiny, and Viet Nam must respect their right to do so.

51. Less than three months ago the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, visited my country as well as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. In his discussions with the leaders of the countries members of ASEAN, the Prime Minister of Viet Nam said that Viet Nam would respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that it would not subvert the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries in South-East Asia. The visits of the Vietnamese Prime Minister and the statements he made in the five ASEAN capitals were positive contributions to the promotion of friendly co-operation between Viet Nam and the other countries of South-East Asia.

52. The leaders of Singapore said at the time of the Prime Minister's visit that we expected Viet Nam's deeds to match its words. We regret to say that, after Viet Nam's armed intervention in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, my country as well as other countries in South-East Asia will have serious doubts about the credibility of Viet Nam's words and about its intentions. Viet Nam can, to some extent, re-establish its credibility by

immediately and unconditionally withdrawing its forces from Democratic Kampuchea and by respecting the sovereign right of the people of that country to determine their future by themselves, free from foreign interference.

53. The Security Council will no doubt wish to consider what appropriate action it should take in this matter. In the view of my delegation, any resolution of the Council should contain the following four elements. First, it should deplore the armed intervention by Viet Nam in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea which thus violates its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Secondly, it should reaffirm the sovereign right of the people of Democratic Kampuchea to determine their future by themselves, free from the interference or influence of outside Powers. Thirdly, it should call for the immediate and total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the territory of Democratic Kampuchea. Fourthly, it should request the Secretary-General—or send a United Nations mission—to verify the withdrawal of foreign forces from Democratic Kampuchea.

54. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

55. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): Mr. President, I would congratulate you on Jamaica's accession to the presidency of the Council. You have shown great skill in conducting the Council's work and we all owe you a debt of great gratitude. I would also thank the members of the Council for allowing my delegation to take part in the debate.

56. New Zealand is greatly concerned about recent developments in Indo-China. This is a region which has for decades been plagued by instability and warfare. More recently, however, we had begun to hope that there were, at last, real prospects for peace and stability. We saw evidence of a slow but sure improvement in the relationship between the countries of Indo-China and their neighbours to the west and to the south. New Zealand has tried to do what it can to encourage that process. That has been a basic principle in guiding our own relationship with the countries of the area. We attached and continue to attach the utmost importance to building the foundations for peaceful coexistence and co-operation between the nations of the region.

57. It has therefore been with growing dismay that we have watched the deterioration of relations between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Of course there is a long history behind this hostility between two neighbouring States. But that only adds to the importance of making real efforts to negate that sorry heritage in the wider interests of the harmonious development of each country. Tragically, not enough effort has been made on either side. A resurgence of old animosities has been a grave setback to the cause of peace in the region and, by extension, in the world at large. This is a matter of grave concern to us all, however far one's country may be from the region—and mine is closer than many. The conflict between Kampuchea and Viet Nam has brought with it the wider danger of the involvement of the great Powers in the affairs of South-East Asia and the extension of unwanted rivalries into an area that can well do without them. We have time and again expressed our concern over

this wider aspect of the conflict in our discussions with other Governments. It is important, we believe, to reiterate this concern in this forum.

58. The situation the Council is considering today is complex and confused. It is one in which many elements are far from clear. One thing, however, that is clear is that Vietnamese forces have entered Kampuchea and are fighting the forces of Democratic Kampuchea. They have violated the territorial integrity of another State. My delegation can only deplore such an action as contrary to the central principle of the Charter of the United Nations. We are fully aware that Democratic Kampuchea has not always followed the principles of the Charter either in its internal affairs or in its dealings with other States. We do not regard it as an entirely innocent victim. But the misdeeds of one State do not, in our view, justify the invasion of its territory by another. My delegation must therefore add its voice to those calling on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea without delay and fully to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

59. It is not with any desire to add to the recriminations which have already marred the earlier parts of this debate that we have asked to be allowed to speak before the Council. Events have created instability and danger in the South-East Asian region. That danger and instability have to be eliminated for the benefit of all concerned. It is the task of the Council, and of all of us individually, to defuse the tensions and to begin working towards a peaceful settlement. As the New Zealand Minister for Foreign Affairs said on 9 January in a public statement:

“Such a settlement must be based on the fact that there are three separate countries in Indo-China, and that they have to live closely together. There can be no stability unless the independence of Cambodia is assured, and unless Cambodia is prepared to co-operate with its neighbours.”

60. It is to this end that we must work. My Government will contribute in whatever way it can. We seek good relations with all countries in the region without exception, and with the great Powers on the fringes of the region. Thus we address the Council today not in a spirit of recrimination but in the hope that from these deliberations new constructive ways may be found of moving towards a settlement of the grave problem with which we are faced.

61. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, before I turn to the matter on the agenda I should like to welcome Jamaica as a member of the Security Council and to welcome you particularly in your capacity as President during Jamaica's first month of membership. It is already clear that this will be a busy month in the Council. My delegation are glad to know that the business of the Council is in the hands of someone with your wide experience of United Nations affairs. We are also pleased to begin the new year under the guidance of a representative of a fellow Commonwealth country.

62. I should like to take this opportunity too to welcome Bangladesh, Norway, Portugal and Zambia and to pay a tribute to the co-operation which we all received over the past two years from those members of the Council whose

terms of office have just expired. In this last connexion, I should like to record my delegation's thanks to Ambassador von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany for his efficient conduct of the business of the Council during December.

63. The situation and the sequence of events with which the Council is concerned today are of great seriousness not only for Democratic Kampuchea but for the whole South-East Asian region. There is uncertainty about details, but the important features of the problem before the Council are clear. The issue which has been put before the Council is nothing less than the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Kampuchea itself.

64. Since the Council took up the complaint by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea much has been said about violations of human rights. Let me therefore say one or two words on the subject at the outset. We hold no brief for the deplorable behaviour of the Pol Pot Government towards its own population. My Government has repeatedly voiced its grave concern at the inhumanities which have taken place in Kampuchea. We have also tried, with other like-minded countries, to persuade the international community to do something about it. I am therefore not surprised at the remarks on this question made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Cuba and others in the Council during the last two days. But I do regret that their concern has found only such recent expression. When the Commission on Human Rights last year adopted a decision on this matter<sup>1</sup>—following the submission of a draft resolution by the United Kingdom—the representatives of the Soviet Union and Cuba, among others, declined to support it. The former Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Zorin, then said that the matter was being raised “purely for political ends”. But there it is. I welcome their recent conversion. It is said that there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth. One sinner's repentance? This is more like a mass baptism of the socialist bloc. It is immediate, unanimous, enthusiastic even—and, if I may say so, somewhat suspect as to its permanence. They will understand, therefore, if I still feel doubtful as to whether their conversion to the cause of human rights is real rather than tactical.

65. Whatever is said about human rights in Kampuchea, it cannot excuse Viet Nam, whose own human rights record is deplorable, for violating the territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, an independent State Member of the United Nations. I have been moved by the accounts which the Council has heard from Prince Sihanouk, whose sincerity and love for his country are known to all. The people of Kampuchea are justifiably proud of their historical heritage, and Prince Sihanouk has eloquently pleaded for the right of his small country to preserve its territorial integrity. The fact that one who has himself suffered at the hands of the Government of his country is nevertheless prepared now to speak out in defence of its nationhood enhances rather than diminishes the force of his arguments and the credibility of his position.

66. Respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Member States is one of the corner-stones of the Charter and of the United Nations

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 4, chap. XXVI, sect. B, decision (XXXIV).*



system. The countries of Indo-China have for too long been denied the benefits of peace. It must be the Council's aim to ensure that its present deliberations will help to advance the cause of peace and stability not only for Kampuchea but for the countries of the region as a whole.

67. Her Majesty's Government welcomes the united, clear and firm joint statement issued at Bangkok on 12 and 13 January by the special meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*S/13025*], to which we believe special importance should be attached as representing the views of the other countries in the area most directly concerned. Like them, we deplore the armed intervention against Kampuchea, and, like them, we wish to see the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchean territory. Like them also, we attach importance to the right of the people of Kampuchea to decide their own future without outside interference. These concerns reflect fundamental principles of the Charter, and my delegation will be ready to support action by the Council to give effect to them.

68. This is the third consecutive day of our discussion of this issue. I suggested last night that we should meet again today because I believe it is now urgent that the Council should reach conclusions. It is already clear from the statements made and from the reports we have all read what conclusions have been reached by the overwhelming majority of Member States and by world opinion. Two members of the Council have suggested forms a resolution might take. It is now time for the Council to decide how it will act.

69. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, I would first take this opportunity to welcome you, as the representative of Jamaica, and the representatives of the other new members of the Council, Bangladesh, Norway, Portugal and Zambia. My delegation looks forward to working with all in the same co-operative spirit that guided us during the membership in the Council of the five countries which have just completed their terms. We valued highly the contributions made by the delegations of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela and are confident that the new members will similarly help us to make the work of this body increasingly effective.

70. I must also congratulate you, Mr. President, for the patience, sensitivity and skill you have already shown in your direction of the Council's work during these first weeks of the new year. We are fortunate to have in you a diplomat with long experience of United Nations matters. We count on your wisdom and skill to provide a bridge between the differing interests and the essential leadership needed to make the Council fully effective in tackling the world's problems.

71. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to Ambassador von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany for the able and effective manner in which he presided over our work during the month of December.

72. The invasion by Viet Nam of Kampuchea presents to the Council difficult political and moral questions. The issue is affected by history, rival claims and Charter principles. It appears complex because several different provisions of the Charter are directly relevant to our

deliberations. These are that: the fundamental principles of human rights must be respected by all Governments, one State must not use force against the territory of another State, a State must not interfere in the affairs of another State, and, if there is a dispute between States, it must be settled peaceably.

73. There is little doubt that all these provisions of key importance to the international community have been violated. One country has been attacked by another; its Government has been overthrown. There was no recourse to the various international mechanisms to assist in the settlement of international disputes. Within Indo-China, and particularly within Kampuchea itself, some of the worst violations of human rights in recorded history have taken place. In these circumstances, what is the responsibility of the Council?

74. In answer to that question, my Government believes we must look at one essential, contemporary fact. The troops of one country are now occupying the territory of another and have imposed a new government upon it by force of arms. That fact leads us to the conclusion that the solution to the problem we are discussing is clear: Viet Nam must immediately withdraw its armed forces from Kampuchea, must respect that country's territorial integrity and must make credible its intention to respect the territorial integrity of other States in the region. It must respect those principles which have been stated, reiterated and amplified countless times by every member of the Council. Viet Nam has that obligation to every member of the Council and every member of the Organization because it is a signatory to the Charter. That Viet Nam is aware of these obligations is clear from the statements made by its own Prime Minister during his recent tour of South-East Asia and quoted only just now by the representative of Singapore.

75. During the past year, as the situation in Indo-China became more critical, my Government repeatedly drew attention to the dangers present. We urged both sides to show restraint. We asked that they should relax cruel demands on their own people, not only in the name of decency and human dignity but also for the purpose of reducing tensions. We encouraged other Governments to take more seriously the dangers present. On 1 November 1978, we took the carefully considered step of addressing a letter to the Security Council [*S/12911*] which underscored the security risk along the border with Viet Nam and expressed deep concern over the human rights situation in Kampuchea itself. In a parallel move with others, we encouraged the Secretary-General to visit the area to promote peaceful settlement. Unfortunately our warnings were not heeded. Viet Nam refused to receive the Secretary-General on an urgent basis, and a military solution, carefully prepared over a period of months, was unfolded last week.

76. Whatever the origin or the character of the so-called Salvation Front, which now claims to govern Kampuchea, there can be no question that Viet Nam has conquered its neighbour. The use of Vietnamese troops, weapons and supplies, supported by Vietnamese aircraft, permitted the takeover of much of Kampuchea in a very brief period of time. The number, reliability and consistency of reports on this developing situation over the months leave no room for doubt. The claim of the Salvation Front is that it has the support of the Cambodian people. The facts are that it now

rules thanks to Vietnamese bayonets and that there has been no effort to determine the wishes of the people of Cambodia.

77. My Government has repeatedly expressed its support for a stable, peaceful system of independent States in South-East Asia. After decades of conflict, the peoples of that region, particularly the Kampuchean people, deserve nothing less. Mankind would be impoverished if a people who in the past attained glories of civilization and art virtually unrivalled in history were now to be submerged by others. Indo-China must include an independent Kampuchea.

78. Regarding the brutal violations of human rights which took place under the Pol Pot Government in Kampuchea, we believe the international community long ago should have brought the full weight of international condemnation to bear. We believe the Cambodian people deserve a Government that will protect the fundamental human rights of all citizens in that country.

79. There were legitimate concerns raised by Viet Nam about Kampuchean activities against Vietnamese citizens within Kampuchea and along the common border of the two nations. But Viet Nam's responsibility as a Member of the United Nations was to bring its complaint to the United Nations. Border disputes do not grant one nation the right to impose a government on another by military force.

80. I wish to express my country's sympathies to the Vietnamese people. This new conflict imposes still further hardships on them. The squandering of national resources to wage war on a neighbouring country is tragic and senseless. It is not only the waste of national resources and the economic dislocation that occurs when resources are devoted to war, but more importantly, it is the loss of human resources, as individuals die needlessly in a dispute which could have been settled by negotiation or mediation. It may now increase even more the numbers fleeing Viet Nam because of a sense of personal insecurity or economic hardship.

81. I also wish to express my sympathies to the Kampuchean people for the additional horrors and hardships added to their burden by the Vietnamese attack. Innocent people there, as always in war, pay an intolerable price.

82. The peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia must have the opportunity to live in peace. They must have the chance to prosper through enlightened policies geared to development of their respective resources and the talented people who live in their region.

83. My Government therefore calls upon all countries interested in peace, stability, and an independent State system within South-East Asia to counsel restraint on the parties to the conflict, to press urgently for withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, to act to ensure the integrity of all frontiers in the East Asian region, and to try to find ways to avoid any expansion of the geographic area of conflict. My Government stands ready to work vigorously with all others to assist in this important task.

84. I also wish to address a message to members of the Council and indeed to the membership of the United

Nations as a whole. At stake in our deliberations today is not the security of States in South-East Asia but also the norms of international behaviour that help to minimize the chance of war. The international community cannot allow to pass in silence the acts that have just taken place. To do so will only encourage Governments in other parts of the world to conclude that there are no norms, no standards, no restraints. It will accelerate what is already a disturbing trend among many Governments of refusing to refer their disputes to international organizations and of taking action through military means. Let us therefore assume our responsibilities as members of the Council.

85. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Viet Nam has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

86. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I would thank you for allowing me to exercise my right of reply to the slanderous allegations against my country made by the representative of China and Mr. Sihanouk, who represents the blood-thirsty Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique which has just been overthrown by the heroic people of Kampuchea. I am also exercising my right of reply in respect of the unwarranted allegations of certain representatives who have spoken this afternoon on the alleged armed intervention by Viet Nam in Kampuchea.

87. First, once again I most categorically reject these gross slanders. As regards the frontier war unleashed against Viet Nam by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, acting on the orders and with the assistance of the authorities of Peking, on 11 January last, I proved before the Council [*2108th meeting*], with enough facts to support any statement, that it was the Peking authorities who had made use of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to start the border war against Viet Nam, for the purpose of weakening Viet Nam and subjecting it to their policy of hegemony and expansion in South-East Asia. Just as any other country which found itself in a similar situation would not have failed to be, Viet Nam was determined to exercise its right to legitimate self-defence, recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to safeguard the traditional friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea. Viet Nam gave obvious proof of moderation and restraint. It was because of the persistence of the aggressive activities of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and their Peking masters that we were determined to repel aggression, to punish the aggressors and to destroy the forces which began the war of aggression against us, so that our enemies would not be able to resume their aggressive activities.

88. As further proof in support of what I am saying, I shall confine myself to mentioning that *The Christian Science Monitor*, in its editorial of 11 January, recognized that Cambodia had been the first to attack Viet Nam and Cambodian troops had committed an invasion against Viet Nam. That is sufficiently clear to settle the question of ascertaining who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression in the problem of Kampuchea.

89. Secondly, I wish yet again to denounce the slanderous propaganda of the Peking leaders and their henchmen, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which would have the world

believe that the fall of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime was due to the alleged invasion of the Vietnamese Army.

90. In my statement on 11 January, I had occasion to review the living reality of the last four years of the heroic struggle of the entire Kampuchean people against the monstrous régime, abhorred and hated not only by the people of Cambodia but also by all mankind. I particularly made it clear that the more ferocious the repression the stronger the struggle against it. If in the past world public opinion was not sufficiently informed of this struggle, that was because of the closed system of the infernal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime. To deny that would be unfair to the heroic people of Kampuchea which upholds as its own the traditions of the Angkor civilization, of patriotism and of unflagging spirit in the face of oppression and violence. The recent mass uprising of the entire Kampuchean people provided the overwhelming force which, in a relatively short time, overthrew the abhorred Pol Pot-Ieng Sary dominant clique. Furthermore, it was CBS which, on 11 January, provided quite conclusive information to the effect that, in the face of the powerful offensive of the revolutionary forces of the Kampuchean people, 80 per cent—I repeat, 80 per cent—of the men in the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army had deserted and joined the ranks of the people's army. Once again, the truth is that that army of young people transformed into professional killers, the sole support of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, when enlightened as to the criminal role assigned to them, did not fail to turn with hatred against their former leaders and become their executioners.

91. These are the profound reasons that explain the striking victory of the Kampuchean people in these past few days. In this respect, I prefer to invite members of the Council to listen to the words of Mr. Rua Samay, the Secretary-General of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea. According to information from the Agence France Presse of 11 January, during a meeting held at Hanoi on the same day, Mr. Rua Samay accused the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of having embarked "on a ferocious act of genocide causing the death of close to 3 million people". He added:

"More than 3.5 million citizens have been chased out into the countryside and shut up in Chinese-type communes, which are really concentration camps, where they died of starvation, thirst, disease and as a result of torture. The entire country was reduced to nothing. One would have had to live through that hellish time to understand how that corrupt, dictatorial, Fascist and blood-thirsty régime could have been swept away in little more than a month."

92. Today, the heroic people of Kampuchea has become the master of the entire country. As was affirmed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea in its recent manifesto, dated 11 January 1979:

"The powerful uprisings of the Kampuchean people to save themselves and their country were crowned with complete victory...

"The dictatorial, militarist and nepotistic administration of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique crumbled totally...

"As of that day, Kampuchea will be an independent and free country and the Kampuchean people will be masters of their own country and their own destiny."

The People's Revolutionary Council further

"... solemnly declared the total abolition of the dictatorial, Fascist, genocidal régime of the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the founding of the People's Republic of Kampuchea".

93. From all the preceding, I believe that it is quite simple to draw a conclusion as to who grossly interfered in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and who is responsible for all the misery caused to the Kampuchean people during the last four years as well as for the constant threats to the security of Kampuchea's neighbours and to the peace and stability of the entire South-East Asian region. It is the Peking authorities with their anti-Vietnamese policy, their great-Power chauvinism and their hegemonic and expansionist aims in South-East Asia.

94. In this respect, I prefer once again to invite members of the Council to listen to the words of Mr. Rua Samay, the Secretary-General of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, as reported by the Agence France Presse on 11 January:

"Shortly after the May 1975 victory, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique joined the employ of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. Tens of thousands of advisers of all kinds were sent to Cambodia, taking over the apparatus of power and the army. Hundreds of thousands of tons of Chinese arms were delivered, and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique tried to bring about a cultural revolution which started by an ongoing purge of the party, the armed forces, the administration and the population.

"The former régime became also the shock troops of Chinese expansionism by attacking Viet Nam. On 23 December 1978, 19 divisions of Pol Pot's army were deployed at the border between the two countries. Three of them penetrated into Vietnamese territory to attack the province of Tay Ninh."

95. After all this, it would be vain for the Peking authorities to attempt obstinately to confer the right of representation on the very corpse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which has been revealed by the international press as being the true intention of the scenario so noisily put on recently in Peking and which also has as its stage the United Nations itself. It would therefore be fitting for the Security Council formally to condemn the Peking authorities for all their intrigues in the question of Kampuchea.

96. Before concluding, I should once again like to express my unshaken confidence that a new era of peace and stability will now begin in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and in all of South-East Asia with the appearance of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. At the same time, I should like once again to express the hope that at these meetings the Council will come to a decision in accordance with its great responsibilities to the international community and to history.

*The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.*

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