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THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

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NOTE

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2114th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 23 February 1979, at 5.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA (Kuwait).

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/2114)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security. [Letter dated 22 February 1979 from the representatives of Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the President of the Security Council (S/13111)]

The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the members of the Council, I should like at the outset to place on record the appreciation and admiration of all of us, and my own personal thanks, for the able, skilful and efficient manner in which my predecessor, Ambassador Mills, conducted the business of the Council. Indeed, his successful imprint on the work of the Council will remain indelible. The only problem I have is that the work could not be finalized during his term of office but has been left as a legacy for me.

Adoption of the agenda

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the provisional agenda for this meeting, contained in document S/Agenda/2114. Does any member wish to comment on that agenda?
3. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like first of all most cordially to congratulate you, an outstanding Kuwaiti diplomat, upon your discharge of the important functions of President of the Security Council. Your well-merited authority and great diplomatic talent and experience will undoubtedly facilitate the successful performance of the important tasks that are facing you. I should like also to express my conviction that the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Kuwait will be successfully developed in the future too for the benefit of both our countries and in the interests of the establishment of a lasting and just peace on earth.

4. I should also like to express my gratitude to the President of the Council for January, the representative of Jamaica, Ambassador Mills, who, in a most difficult situation, displayed the greatest possible diplomatic skill.

5. The incursion of Chinese troops into Viet Nam represents a flagrant act of aggression. The actions of the Peking leadership run counter to the principles of the United Nations and flagrantly violate international law. The invasion of Viet Nam is one more step towards the implementation by Peking of its expansionist plans in South-East Asia. It once again shows how irresponsible is the attitude of the Chinese leadership with regard to the fate of international peace and security.

6. The heroic Vietnamese people are properly and worthily resisting the Chinese aggressor on their own soil. They are relying on the help of their friends, all people of goodwill and all peace-loving States. By no attempts or devices will the Chinese leadership succeed in concealing their criminal acts or avoiding responsibility for those actions.

7. The Security Council must make its contribution to bridling the Chinese aggressors, and condemn the Chinese aggression and call for the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam.

8. On the basis of what I have said, the Soviet delegation objects to the proposal of the delegation of the United States and a number of other countries for consideration of the situation in South-East Asia. Obviously, this proposal cannot in any way facilitate the implementation of the tasks facing the Council. Quite the contrary, it can only divert the attention of the Council from the Chinese aggression and thus make things easier for the aggressor in its attempts to justify and shirk the responsibility for its actions.

9. The Soviet delegation believes that the Council must deal exclusively with the question of Chinese aggression against Viet Nam. Only in this way can the Council measure up to the tasks it faces and discharge its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security.

10. The PRESIDENT: The views just expressed by the representative of the Soviet Union will be reflected in the records of this meeting.

11. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation holds that the Vietnamese aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea has gravely menaced the survival of a sovereign State and is the root cause of the threat to the stability and peace in South-East Asia. Therefore, it should be considered with priority

as a separate item. However, in order not to devote too much time to the discussion of the agenda item, and taking into account the fact that under the present item the question of Vietnamese aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea will be considered anyhow, the Chinese delegation will not oppose the present item and holds that the question of Vietnamese aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea should be considered first.

12. The PRESIDENT: The views of the representative of China will be reflected in the records of this meeting.

13. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like first of all cordially to congratulate you on your assumption of the important post of President of the Security Council for February. The Council has already availed itself of your qualities as an experienced diplomat, and will no doubt have occasion to do so again. It is also a pleasure for me to highlight the mutually advantageous relations between Kuwait and Czechoslovakia, particularly in the economic, scientific and technological fields, and the fact that these relations are constantly developing and expanding in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

14. I should like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Jamaica, Mr. Mills, for his skilful and highly responsible leadership of the Council last month.

15. The Czechoslovak delegation cannot agree with the provisional agenda as formulated in document S/Agenda/2114. The state of affairs in Asia, which has arisen as a result of the dastardly act of aggression of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, requires only one thing as a matter of urgency: the immediate cessation of the Chinese aggression. This is precisely what should be clearly spelled out in the wording of the agenda item to be taken up by the Council today. This precisely is what the Council should be dealing with immediately. Otherwise it will only be accommodating the efforts at covering up the Chinese aggression and even encouraging it.

16. In so far as concerns the attempts of the representative of the People's Republic of China to involve the Council in a discussion of the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, surely everyone in this room knows that their clear goal is to cover up the expansionist aims of China in Asia. Surely everyone here must understand that the gentleman who presents himself as the representative of Kampuchea is acting on the directives of Peking in calling for a meeting of the Council to consider the so-called Kampuchean question on the very eve of the invasion by Chinese troops of the territory of the heroic Republic of Viet Nam, sowing death and destruction. The purpose of this move was clearly to help the leaders of China cover up the crime they were preparing and their threat to world peace.

17. Reverting to the question of the agenda for today's meeting, my delegation believes that it should clearly spell out the sole task before us: that of calling for the cessation of Chinese aggression and the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam.

18. The PRESIDENT: The reservations and observations of the representative of Czechoslovakia concerning the agenda will be reflected in the records of this meeting.

19. It was my impression during the informal meetings of the Council that such an agenda commanded the consent of the general majority of the members. If I hear no objections, may I take it that the majority is in favour of such a formulation and that therefore the agenda is adopted?

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security. [Letter dated 22 February 1979 from the representatives of Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the President of the Security Council (S/13111)]

20. The PRESIDENT: I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic, India, Malaysia, New Zealand, Poland, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam, 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 conformity with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

21. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, in connexion with the request of the so-called representative of Democratic Kampuchea to take part in the work of the Council, the Soviet delegation would like to draw your attention to document S/13090 of 16 February. That document contains a statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, to the effect that only the People's Revolutionary Council has the right to appoint representatives of Kampuchea to the United Nations. That being the case, it is clear that the person claiming to represent Democratic Kampuchea here in fact represents no one and has no right to take part in the work of the Council.

22. The PRESIDENT: I should like to respond to the observations of the representative of the USSR by saying that his views and reservations will be reflected in the records of this meeting.

23. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is totally unreasonable for the representative of the Soviet Union to raise the question of the so-called representation of Kampuchea. As is known to all, Democratic Kampuchea is an independent sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal government of Kampuchea, and this has been confirmed by the General Assembly at its thirty-third and previous sessions. The credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to the thirty-third session have been examined by the Credentials Committee and approved by the Assembly. In the report of the Secretary-General of 11 January 1979 [S/13021], the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to the Security Council are considered in order. The legal status of Democratic Kampuchea was reaffirmed during the Council meetings held from 11 to 15 January [2108th-2112th meetings] to consider the question of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. Now the representative of the USSR is again making trouble in an attempt to prevent the delegation of

Democratic Kampuchea from participating in the meeting. This is crude trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations and gross contempt for the Security Council. The Chinese delegation is firmly opposed to it. In our view, the Council should invite the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to participate in the deliberations of the Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the provisional rules of procedure of the Council.

24. Just now, the representative of the Soviet Union mentioned the so-called puppet organizations of Kampuchea known as "the Salvation Front", "the People's Revolutionary Council" and "the People's Republic". This is a political scheme on the part of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to use the United Nations to foster their puppets. As is known to the whole world, the puppet organizations in Kampuchea are all hired tools created single-handedly by the Vietnamese authorities. Those who have now shown up on the stage in Phnom Penh are nothing but a handful of national scum and traitors of Kampuchea shielded by the bayonets of the Vietnamese aggressor troops. The purpose of the representative of the USSR in raising such a preposterous question is to invent a "legal" cover for Viet Nam's armed aggression and occupation of Kampuchea.

25. This shows that the Soviet Union is the behind-the-scenes boss of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. Those puppets can represent no one in Kampuchea but are real agents of the Vietnamese authorities. Therefore, we are firmly opposed to the Soviet attempt to impose the puppet organizations of Viet Nam on the Security Council and to create a legal cover for Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea.

26. The PRESIDENT: The views of the representative of China will be reflected in the records of this meeting.

27. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall not reply to the Chinese statement. It does not deserve our wasting any time on it. I should merely like to make the following point: If we are looking for puppets, they are sitting in Peking. It is from there that they send telegrams to the United Nations in the name of so-called Democratic Kampuchea.

28. The PRESIDENT: We are now discussing procedural matters. Everyone will be able at a later stage to dwell on the substance of the item.

29. With the concurrence of the majority of the members of the Council, I invite the representatives of Australia, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic, India, Malaysia, New Zealand, Poland, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Barton (Canada), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Thiounn Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Jaipal (India), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand) and Mr. Le Anh Kiet (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

30. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Before I address myself to the question before the Security Council, I

should like to take the opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your diligent and patient efforts during the past week in the extensive consultations you have conducted with Council members. Your skill and devotion to the principles that should guide our work here have been amply demonstrated already and, I am sure, will be of great assistance to us as we continue our efforts towards peaceful solutions of difficult problems during the rest of this month. I would add that, though you will have served in a month of only 28 days, I am sure that you have utilized many more hours of the month than most of us are called upon to do in our terms as President. You have also spanned the globe in the scope of your efforts as our President.

31. It is also a pleasure to take public note of the very competent manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Jamaica, guided the Council's business during the month of January. He set a fine example for the rest of us to follow throughout the year.

32. We presented to the Council the agenda now before it because we felt that the very integrity of the Council was at stake, that there was a massive demonstration of military power in South-East Asia and that the Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations was being placed very much in question by what seemed to be inaction. I should like to say that we did not view this as inaction. We knew of the tremendous private negotiations which you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General were conducting. We knew, in fact, of the bilateral consultations that were taking place in many, many quarters both here and in capitals. We certainly appreciate those efforts to mould a body of world opinion privately on behalf of the peace and security of the nations of our Organization. But we still felt that it was important to have a public discussion of this issue, and we sought to cast it in the most objective terms possible. No nation is named, nor can any inference be drawn from our presentation of this agenda item. We simply want to find ways to limit the present bloodshed, the disaster, in South-East Asia.

33. The Charter charges the Security Council with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. My Government has joined in the call for the Council to meet because serious breaches of peace have occurred in South-East Asia and because the threat of broader conflict looms in that area. We firmly believe that in such circumstances the Council must exercise its responsibilities.

34. That the situation is dangerous cannot be denied. If we cut through the rhetoric, the propaganda, the charges and counter-charges of those involved, we are left with a simple, but ominous, fact: over 100,000 Vietnamese troops remain engaged in heavy fighting on the territory of Cambodia despite all efforts of the international community to bring an end to the conflict. As foreseen by many of us, this situation has led to greatly increased tensions throughout the region. And now we find an equal number of Chinese troops engaged in military action on the territory of Viet Nam. The blood of soldiers and innocent civilians is being shed on all sides. These actions have wide and dangerous implications for the peace of Asia and indeed the whole world.

35. Only a few weeks ago the Council was called together to hear a complaint about the Vietnamese attack on Cambodia. Thirteen members of the Council expressed the will of the international community that foreign forces should be withdrawn from Cambodia and that further efforts were needed to reduce the tensions in the area to prevent a still broader conflict. A veto prevented the Council from acting. Today we see the results of the more profound failure—the failure of those involved to heed the call of the overwhelming majority of the Council.

36. The United States has done everything possible to head off the dangers posed by the conflict. We have spoken out publicly. We have expressed our concerns directly to the Governments of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China about the dangers of continued and perhaps expanded fighting.

37. In our earlier deliberations, I pointed out that the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia brought into play a number of provisions of the Charter, including the following: one State must not use force against the territory of another; a State must not interfere in the affairs of another State; if there is a dispute between States, it must be settled peacefully.

38. These provisions apply to the present attack by China on Viet Nam just as they apply to the earlier invasion of Cambodia by Viet Nam. The new conflict, coming so soon after the overwhelming majority of the Council expressed their strong views on the Vietnamese invasion, is a further serious blow to the proposition that Member States are bound by their participation in the Organization to live up to the precepts of the Charter.

39. We are aware that there have been many incidents along the frontier between Viet Nam and China and that the two countries have been in serious disagreement for some time. But this in no way gives China the right to attack Viet Nam, any more than Viet Nam's dispute with Cambodia gave Viet Nam the right to overrun that country. In both cases the obligation of China and Viet Nam was to involve the mechanisms for peaceful settlement provided under the Charter.

40. My Government's position has been to urge restraint and the peaceful resolution of outstanding issues. This position applies also to the conflict between China and Viet Nam. We have stated firmly that we will not take sides in this conflict. We seek peace and a stable system of independent States in South-East Asia. We want to see an end to the present fighting, an end to the threats to regional peace and, above all, an end to the suffering of innocent people in the region. In this connexion, I should like to restate our concern for the human rights of all the peoples of Indo-China, peoples that have suffered both from outside military action and from repression from within. Concerning Cambodia, the United States position remains that the country should be one which is truly independent and neutral, with a freely chosen Government which represents the will of the Cambodian people and respects their human rights.

41. It is the view of my Government that the Council, backed by the fundamental principles of the Charter, to which all Members of the Organization are committed, can and should express the sense of concern of the international

community with regard to the violations of peace that have occurred. It can encourage the parties to move the dispute to the negotiating table, and it can help persuade the parties that military action is not a solution to existing problems.

42. What action should the Council therefore take? In our view, it should call for the following measures: an immediate cease-fire between the forces in conflict; the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territories of Viet Nam and Cambodia; a commitment by all parties to settle their differences by peaceful means and the beginning of practical diplomatic processes to that end; international efforts to assist the parties in reaching a more lasting resolution of their dispute, perhaps under the auspices of the Secretary-General. In this connexion the United States welcomes the Secretary-General's offer to make his good offices available. We believe that during our discussions the Council should explore this and other possible efforts which might lead to an end to the conflict.

43. We urge the Council, as well as Member States not on the Council, to give serious consideration to ways in which the international community can assist. We urge the parties directly involved to act with restraint and in accordance with the principles of the Charter. We urge all others to exercise similar restraint in order to ensure that passions will not be further inflamed and the conflict not further broadened. We fervently hope, and we believe, that the Council can play a key role in the solution of this serious and dangerous situation, so that there can be an end to the fighting and suffering that have plagued the region of South-East Asia for far too long.

44. The PRESIDENT: I appreciate the reference of the representative of the United States to the efforts that have been exerted since the beginning of this week.

45. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The whole world has witnessed the flagrant crime committed by the Maoist rulers of China against a sovereign socialist State, a Member of the United Nations. Divisions of Chinese aggressors with artillery support, tanks and aircraft have undertaken a massive invasion of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. They began and are continuing to wage an unprovoked aggressive war, sowing death and destruction everywhere.

46. In connexion with this criminal act of aggression on the part of China, the Government of the Soviet Union issued a statement on 18 February reading as follows:

[The speaker read out the statement contained in the annex to document S/13099.]

47. The Peking rulers who have sent troops against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have trampled on the Charter of the United Nations. With contemptuous disregard, they have rejected the serious warnings of progressive and peace-loving world public opinion. Instigated by international reaction, they have plunged into an escalation of armed adventures, and it is precisely this step that clearly demonstrates to everyone that the heirs of the piratical, chauvinistic policy of the "Great Helmsman" are in the same ranks as the most diehard enemies of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples, and the enemies of the whole of mankind.

48. As is rightly pointed out in the statement issued on 17 February by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam:

"It is obvious that the Chinese rulers, after repeated failures in their hostile policy against Viet Nam, have stepped into the ruts of the Chinese feudalists, the imperialists and the colonialists in launching an aggressive war against Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country." [S/13097, annex.]

49. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its people only recently, after shedding their blood in a long, arduous and heroic struggle, won the right to an independent existence and to peaceful development. And now once again they have been subjected to aggression, this time at the hands of the Peking hegemonists.

50. The memorandum of 14 February from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam [see S/13093] adduces facts which show that the armed invasion by Chinese troops of the territory of Viet Nam was prepared beforehand. That invasion is a constituent element of the general over-all expansionist policy of Peking with regard to neighbouring States, and primarily with regard to the developing countries of South and South-East Asia. The aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has created a direct threat to peace in that area and throughout the world.

51. The Chinese aggression against Viet Nam confirms the accuracy of the statements of those who exposed the great-Power chauvinistic and truly hegemonistic essence of the policy of the Peking rulers and warned of the dangers of the expansionist and provocative line they adopt in international affairs, including their attitude towards Viet Nam and other neighbours of China.

52. What else could we expect of rulers who attempt to put into practice the inhumane Maoist concepts of the usefulness of a new world war, of the need for China to seize neighbouring territories, to impose through violence Maoist models of bloody Fascist tyranny such as the tyranny of Pol Pot? What good could we expect from those who dream of the gradual expansion of the Celestial Empire, that is, China, beginning first of all with their neighbours and in the long run, as was put by Mao Tsetung, continuing with the conquest of the whole world.

53. If anyone still is not inclined to take seriously these truly insane ideas and practices of the Chinese leadership, in particular their recent acts of reckless provocation, and finally the unleashing of an aggressive war against Viet Nam, surely this must give anyone who wants peace pause to reflect on the real danger of the piratical designs of the Peking militarists. The most urgent and decisive measures must be taken to erect a reliable defensive screen against the armed adventures of the Chinese expansionists, so as to repulse any attempt by them in future to encroach on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries and peoples.

54. Surely everyone realizes now that the military preparations by Peking along the Chinese-Vietnamese frontier and its ever-growing aggressive actions have one definite purpose: to exert crude military pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to intimidate its people, to fan the rampant chauvinism in China itself and, in this way,

to prepare for the unleashing of armed aggression against the Vietnamese people. It is quite futile for the Chinese authorities to attempt, as it were, to use "problems" they have themselves fabricated to justify their aggressive actions. No one invaded China. No one violated its frontier. The armed incursion by Chinese troops into the territory of Viet Nam is the logical result of a policy of provocation and expansion that the present Chinese rulers, who have inherited the great-Power policy of Mao Tsetung, have now been pursuing for many years with regard to South and South-East Asia as a whole, and with regard to Viet Nam in particular.

55. The memorandum of 14 February from the Foreign Ministry of Viet Nam states clearly that the Chinese side began to violate the territorial integrity of Viet Nam as far back as 1957. Those provocative acts increased perceptibly in 1974. Between 1974 and 1977 there were 2,158 cases of violation, including 1,355 provocations on the part of armed Chinese patrols. From 1957 to 1977, Chinese vessels made more than 1,500 incursions into the territorial waters of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. As far back as 1974, Chinese armed forces seized the Vietnamese Paracel Islands. Further escalation of atrocities by the Peking hegemonists continued in 1978, when they undertook 583 armed incursions into Vietnamese territory. In January and during the first week of February this year, the number of such cases rose to 230.

56. At the same time, using their puppets in Kampuchea, the Peking leadership opened a new front in southern Viet Nam two years ago. Units of the Pol Pot army equipped with Chinese weapons and aided by thousands of Chinese instructors have been attacking the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. What they were banking on was that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique would involve Viet Nam in a wearying war of attrition and, when the bloody pro-Peking Fascist régime of Kampuchea collapsed, there collapsed along with it the Chinese plan to impose on Viet Nam a war on two fronts; it was then that Peking decided to go all out.

57. In all this we clearly discern one consistent line, a line that is typical of any aggressor. According to the American press, on the eve of China's invasion of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam there were concentrations of Chinese troops amounting to 180,000 men at the Sino-Vietnamese frontier supported by units of tactical air and tank forces. The increase of the Chinese armed forces along the border was recognized openly in the American press, and that increase went so far that the escalation of border crossings and even direct Chinese incursions became almost inevitable. The inevitability of the attack by the Chinese aggressor against Viet Nam was forecast by the American press, not only in connexion with Peking's military preparations along the border but also taking into account the unbridled statements made by the guest from China, in particular his cynical threats to teach Viet Nam a "bloody lesson".

58. Was it an accident that these events led to the attack by China against Viet Nam? It was no accident. The hostile aggressive policy of the Peking leadership with regard to Viet Nam did not begin today or yesterday. Its roots lie in the expansionist and annexationist ideology of Maoism, and this is true not only with regard to Viet Nam. There is no country neighbouring on China against whose territory the Peking hegemonists would not unleash their force. It is

not only a matter of the expansionist statements of Mao Tsetung and his heirs or of maps published in China on which whole countries in South and South-East Asia are marked as "lost Chinese territories". Long ago the Maoist "defenders" of the small and medium-sized countries turned from written or verbal aggression to concrete aggression. There are many facts. It is certain that China has seized and occupied other territories. It is certain that China has created and maintained armed anti-governmental groups in other countries. One has to be a die-hard chauvinist, a thorough hypocrite, a hegemonist and totally without shame to maintain official relations with a given country assuring its Government of friendship and good intentions, as Peking has done, and at the same time instigate armed struggle and warfare against that Government in order to implant an obedient régime acceptable to China.

59. As reported recently in the press, the Chinese special services have carried out an operation the purpose of which is to create a "corridor" in South and South-East Asia which would serve as a channel for intervention in the internal affairs of States situated there. It was also reported that Thailand had been chosen as a door to that "corridor", which, according to the designs of Peking will run from Thailand through Burma to the Indian states and then, when they have seized large parts of the state of Assam, it will border on Tibet. That plan is also connected with the training of gangs which are infiltrating neighbouring countries. *Asia Week*, for example, in an article entitled "What is Brewing" reproduced reports of Rangoon papers that are reminiscent of the frontier clashes of the time of the Second World War. In an article written in 1978 we find reference to today's activities, to an undeclared war waged by Peking for a number of years against certain neighbouring countries. The press agency of a neighbouring country described the true intentions of the Peking hegemonists in South-East Asia in the following terms:

"At the present time Chinese military potential is insufficient for Peking to establish its military control over this region. But the Maoists have by no means renounced the fundamental principles of their great-Power policy. The Peking strategists do not conceal their desires for and claims to more than 200 islands in the southern seas so that, having seized them, they can lord it over the seaways which are of vital importance to so many countries."

The authors of these words quite naturally have come to the conclusion that the ambitions of the Maoists are contrary to the interests of the peace and security of the peoples, particularly in Asia. The aggression in Viet Nam is just the logical result of those reactionary ambitions.

60. In Peking's plans for expansion to the south by no means the least important place is occupied by the use of the Huatziao, persons of Chinese descent. The peoples of the countries of South-East Asia, where more than 20 million Huatziao live, once again have realized from the example of Viet Nam what such a policy leads to. In order to unleash the anti-Vietnamese campaign, to attempt to influence the independent policy of Viet Nam, to interfere with the constructive labour of the Vietnamese people, Peking has resorted to lying assertions about the "persecution" of persons of Chinese descent. After these subversive actions had provoked the exodus of so many Huatziao into China,

the Peking authorities, for the purpose of further increasing pressure, started to place those deceived, misled people right along the frontiers with Laos and Viet Nam. Now it is obvious to all that the fuss raised by Peking about the problem they invented, necessarily led to armed provocations and subsequently to the unleashing of war against Viet Nam.

61. We learn from information agencies that military units have been thrown into this war which have been specially formed by Peking from the ethnic Chinese who had been provoked into leaving Viet Nam. Attempts are being made to turn those confused people into cut-throats. Instead of receiving the promised paradise they are actually being given the role of cannon-fodder. Who can say now that these new campaigns with regard to the Chinese from beyond the frontier will not be used by Peking also against other countries.

62. The recent Chinese guest of the United States in the course of his visit to the United States and Japan openly uttered arrogant threats against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. That was just a sounding out of the political situation.

63. The Chinese are of the opinion that international standards are for others and that the Chinese leaders can take it upon themselves to act as world policemen, to teach a lesson to Viet Nam, to teach a "bloody lesson" to Hanoi. It was the typical device of an aggressor when the Chinese authorities, after the invasion of Viet Nam, asserted that the fighting was on the territory of China. Then, contradicting their earlier fabrications, they talked about the so-called beginning of the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam while all the time the Chinese aggressors were continuing their offensive on Vietnamese territory. That is typical gangsterism in international affairs.

64. After all, are these not the same actions on the part of the aggressor as we witnessed in 1962 when the Chinese militarists seized a part of Indian territory which they still occupy. The same Chinese leader was delighted with the encouragement he received from the speeches delivered in the West in connexion with his invasion of Viet Nam. The piratical intrusion of the Chinese militarists into Viet Nam has shown once again that Peking views South-East Asia as a zone in which it would like to establish its own domination so as to use it as a spring-board for the conquest of the whole of Asia. Such plans are easier to implement when permanent tension exists in the region, when countries are weak, helpless and hostile to each other. Peking is trying to do everything in its power to create that state of affairs in the area.

65. By reason of its expansionist ambitions, the Peking leadership did not want the creation of a unified Viet Nam. The liberation of the south and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam undermined the designs and calculations of the Chinese leadership to bring under its control the whole of Indo-China and from there to begin the realization of the dream of Mao Tsetung: to reach the Straits of Malacca in 8 to 15 years. Peking has exerted crude pressure in its attempt to impose its own policy on Viet Nam. When it became clear that the Vietnamese people had no intention of being a tool for the implementation of Maoist policy but was actually liable to become a powerful obstacle to the aggression of Peking in South-East Asia, the

Chinese rulers began to create difficulties for the socialist changes and reforms undertaken in Viet Nam and attempted to exert pressure on Viet Nam. They cut economic and other ties completely and began to stir up around Viet Nam an atmosphere of hostility and, with the help of the bloody Pol Pot clique, to intensify military provocations including their unleashing of an aggressive war against Viet Nam.

66. In order to justify its actions, the Chinese leadership, like any aggressor, has had to resort to lying, slander and fabrications. China attempts to accuse Viet Nam of frontier incidents, and so on. But who here or anywhere else could possibly believe such fallacious nonsense? Let them not attempt to mislead people or treat them as fools. An extremely dangerous situation has been created in South-East Asia by the Peking aggressors who have invaded Viet Nam. After the launching of that aggression and after the numerous acts of criminality against other peoples, particularly after the barbarous, Maoistic genocide in Kampuchea, one does not need to be endowed with much imagination to understand how great a nightmare or tragedy might befall the peoples who live in the close vicinity of China if the Chinese adventures are not properly resisted and the aggressor severely punished.

67. The whole world is indignant and up in arms at the unbridled actions of the Maoist rulers of China. All of progressive mankind condemns the Chinese aggressors and expresses solidarity with the Vietnamese people, which has quite a few reliable friends in the world. The friends of Viet Nam will not leave it in the lurch. They will help it in its struggle against the totally unprovoked aggression of China. It would be an unforgivable error in this situation to take a neutral position with regard to the reckless, senseless policy of Peking and to wait until such times as the danger acquires irreversible and deadly proportions. All people who really cherish peace and the freedom and independence of peoples and who want calmly to engage in creative labour must combine their efforts and call a halt to the exceedingly dangerous adventures of the Maoists and other instigators of war who are playing into the hands of Peking in its hegemonistic ambitions.

68. I should like with the utmost seriousness to draw the attention of all the members of the Council to the fact that the Chinese aggression has created a serious threat not only to peace and security in that region but throughout the world. The aggression of China is an act of defiance against the whole of the international community. Any connivance at such a policy is connivance at violence and diktat, connivance at attempts on the part of the Chinese leaders to plunge the world into the abyss of a new deadly war.

69. The Security Council, which bears such important responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, must categorically condemn the Chinese Government, which has flagrantly violated the Charter of the United Nations by the aggressive war it has launched against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Council must take decisive measures to put an end to the aggressive actions of the Chinese Government. The Council must demand the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces of the Peking militarists from the territory of Viet Nam and must demand unswerving respect from China for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Council should call upon all Member

States to cease all supplies of arms to the People's Republic of China as well as the transfer of any technology which may be used for military purposes. The Council should also demand that China should make full reparation for the material damage inflicted on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a result of the armed invasion of Vietnamese territory by Chinese troops.

70. Guided by our duty immediately to halt the aggression of China against Viet Nam, the delegation of the Soviet Union intends, together with the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to introduce for the consideration of the Council a draft resolution [S/13117] containing the points which I have just enumerated. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses the hope that members will support that draft resolution. Those who are directing the policy of Peking must stop war. Peace and not war—that is what the peoples of the world, including the Chinese people, have a vital interest in. The Council must do its duty and force China to cease its aggression and to withdraw its troops from Viet Nam.

71. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and to assure you of the full co-operation of the Norwegian delegation. The Council is in good hands under your leadership, as has been demonstrated so clearly during the last week.

72. I should also like to take this opportunity, to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Mills of Jamaica, for his admirable conduct of the Council's work during the month of January.

73. For decades the seeds of violence sown in Indo-China have generated further violence and brought endless suffering and destruction to that region. Less than two months ago, the Council was actively seized of Viet Nam's armed intervention in Kampuchea and interference in the internal affairs of that country in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The present armed conflict between China and Viet Nam is yet another manifestation of this vicious cycle of violence. The continuation of armed hostilities in South-East Asia may lead to a widening of the conflict with unpredictable repercussions in the region and beyond. It may thus endanger international peace and security.

74. For these reasons, the Government of Norway considers it appropriate that the Security Council should react and take immediate action to secure the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. Norway has therefore joined other countries in requesting an urgent meeting of the Council.

75. The Norwegian Government wishes to reiterate its firmly held view that the threat or use of force cannot be accepted as a means for solving disputes between nations. It wishes to re-emphasize the obligation of States Members of the United Nations to resolve disputes by peaceful means.

76. Today, we repeat our appeal to Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea.

77. We appeal to China to cease forthwith all military operations against Viet Nam and to withdraw its forces from that country. These operations are in clear violation of

fundamental principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. They cannot in any way be justified.

78. An end to all hostilities in South-East Asia is urgently required. At the same time, it is imperative to lay a foundation for a peaceful settlement. This requires the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from the respective areas of conflict and full respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of the States involved. The withdrawal of all forces is of paramount importance, and delays by any party for whatever reason will further intensify the existing tensions.

79. In the present situation, the utmost restraint is called for on the part of all countries. The Norwegian Government urges all States to do their utmost to restore peace in South-East Asia.

80. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): Mr. President, I should like to begin by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the present month. You have succeeded a highly qualified President, the representative of Jamaica, whose endeavours towards the fulfilment of our common goals we all admired during his arduous term of office. Your task has been no easier and I should like to commend you, on behalf of my delegation, for the highly competent manner in which you have conducted the long and very difficult consultations that preceded the present meeting of the Council.

81. Sharing the deep concern of the international community, Portugal decided, together with other members, to request an urgent meeting of the Council, for it seemed clear to us that the world conscience would never understand or condone our failure to meet and openly discuss the situation prevailing in South-East Asia since January last.

82. The most recent developments in that area seem, unfortunately, to confirm that what we had feared would take place after the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea is actually taking place, that is, an increasing escalation of hostilities that will have unpredictable consequences. A month ago in this very chamber we expressed our deep dismay at the endless and ever-growing process of disagreement and friction between countries which until quite recently appeared to be friends and allies, friction which degenerated into border incidents and finally culminated in military invasions.

83. Since then the whole situation in South-East Asia has only deteriorated still further with the military action taken by China against Viet Nam, and it has now become increasingly evident that the situation is fraught with danger not only for those directly involved but also for the neighbouring countries and indeed for world peace, the defence and maintenance of which is the primary responsibility of this body.

84. However, I should like to point out that we do not look upon the Security Council as a judicial organ, to be called upon only to pass judgement on a certain complaint or question and hence bound to confine itself to that question. No matter how distant we are from the affected area or how little involved in the conflict and no matter how uncomfortable our task may be, we are all here on behalf of the whole community of nations to try to find ways to put

an end to the vicious cycles of violence referred to by the Secretary-General in his statement of 18 February as a first step towards allowing the parties to begin settling their disputes through peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

85. Having in mind this primary aim, we appeal to all countries outside the area to continue to exercise the restraint they have been showing in dealing with the present situation and to avoid taking any action that might lead to a widening of the conflict. We also address the most pressing appeal for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all foreign troops to their own internationally recognized boundaries.

86. In the present circumstances we believe that the good offices offered by the Secretary-General would be of invaluable importance.

87. Violence only breeds violence. Let the Council make it clear, on behalf of the United Nations, that the use of force will never be condoned nor accepted as a means for settling disputes between States.

88. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all allow me to extend you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the office of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. At the same time, I should like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to Ambassador Mills, President of the Council for the last month, for the outstanding way in which he performed his duties.

89. Now, I should like to make the following observations on the relevant questions.

90. First, last January, at the request of Democratic Kampuchea, the Security Council held urgent meetings to consider the grave situation of Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea with Soviet support. At the meetings, all the representatives who spoke, except for the Soviet Union and a handful of its followers, strongly condemned Viet Nam's serious crimes of flagrant armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, sternly refuted the absurd argument of a so-called civil war in Kampuchea invented by Viet Nam to cover up its armed aggression against Kampuchea, pointed out the absolute inviolability of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and called on the Vietnamese authorities to put an immediate end to the aggression and withdraw all their aggressor forces from Democratic Kampuchea without any delay. All the non-aligned members of the Council co-sponsored a draft resolution to this effect [S/13027]. As a result of the veto arbitrarily used by the Soviet representative, this draft, which had won the overwhelming majority of 13 votes, was not adopted. Consequently, the Council was rendered impotent vis-à-vis the extremely grave situation of Viet Nam's undisguised armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign State and Member of the United Nations.

91. Thereafter, the Vietnamese authorities felt emboldened and continued to expand their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea with the full backing of the Soviet Union. Recently, the Vietnamese authorities have sent another three divisions to Kampuchea to reinforce their

armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and to suppress the resisting Kampuchean soldiers and civilians. The Vietnamese aggressor forces have occupied large tracts of Kampuchean territory and have raped, burned, killed and committed all sorts of crimes wherever they have gone. With their homes burned and destroyed, the Kampuchean people have been plunged into misery and suffering and even the women and children have not been spared. The great losses inflicted upon the Kampuchean people in terms of life and property are beyond measure. The Vietnamese authorities' flagrant and expanded armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea and their large-scale bloody slaughter of Kampuchean soldiers and civilians who are resisting them constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the elementary norms of international law seriously threatening the peace and security of various countries in South-East Asia, of the Asia-Pacific region and of the world as a whole. This is an insolent challenge to humanity's cause of peace and justice, to the Security Council and to the entire membership of the United Nations. All this has aroused the utmost indignation of the people of the world and of those countries and people that uphold justice.

92. In the face of such grave crimes committed by the Vietnamese aggressors, what should be the course of action for the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security? This is an extremely serious test. We hold that the Council would be seriously remiss in its duties should it fail to continue its consideration of this matter and adopt measures in earnest. Therefore, the Chinese delegation firmly supports the just demand of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to hold an urgent meeting of the Council and to continue the consideration of Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. In our view, the Council should take swift and effective measures to halt the Vietnamese authorities' armed invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and put an immediate end to their military occupation of Kampuchea.

93. Secondly, it should be pointed out that, while expanding their aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities are resorting to political tricks in an attempt to legalize their crime of aggression. This is, of course, futile. Recently, Viet Nam's Premier Pham Van Dong led a large delegation of military and civilian officials to Phnom Penh for an "official visit" and hastily concluded a so-called "Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" of which the master dictated the terms and which the lackey duly signed. The criminal intention of this treaty is to deceive the public and to legalize Viet Nam's annexation and permanent military occupation of Kampuchea.

94. In a different sense, the Treaty amounts to a voluntary admission by the Vietnamese authorities that it is the Vietnamese aggressor forces which carried out the armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea and that they intend permanently to occupy Kampuchea. The Treaty has also shown that the puppet régime installed by the Vietnamese authorities by means of tanks, guns and bayonets cannot survive a single day without the protection of the Vietnamese aggressor forces. This is the essence of the so-called "Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation". No one in the world will believe the outrageous lies spread by the Vietnamese authorities about the war in Kampuchea being a "civil war".

95. An abundance of irrefutable facts have already demonstrated that this war was started single-handedly by the Vietnamese authorities and that it is a war of aggression and annexation against Kampuchea where Viet Nam has thrown in about 15 divisions of its regular forces. The notorious so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and the puppet régime, the so-called People's Republic are nothing more than a fig-leaf, hastily patched together and full of holes, designed to cover up the truth about Viet Nam's aggression. The Vietnamese authorities painstakingly painted the insignia of the Kampuchean puppet régime on their tanks, but this will in no way change the irrefutable fact of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. The Vietnamese authorities' attempt to cover up the bloody truth by means of clumsy political tricks can only produce the opposite result of further revealing their guilt.

96. Thirdly, we pointed out long ago that it has been the long-premeditated plan of the Vietnamese authorities to annex Democratic Kampuchea. Their military aggression against Democratic Kampuchea is an important step in their efforts to establish an "Indo-Chinese federation" and in their quest for regional hegemonism. After the war of resistance against the United States, relying on its military supremacy over the weak neighbouring States and relying on the massive support lent by the Soviet Union, Viet Nam got carried away by its inflated ambition and immediately embarked upon the road of external expansion. It first of all brought Laos under its complete control by means of a large army of 50,000 men and hundreds of thousands of advisers of various descriptions, and at the same time stepped up its subversive activities against Kampuchea before openly launching a war of aggression. Moreover, it is making further efforts to realize its wild scheme of achieving dominance in the entire South-East Asian region. And the so-called treaty of peace and friendship signed by Pham Van Dong and Viet Nam's puppet in Kampuchea is precisely a further exposure of Viet Nam's ambition to bring Kampuchea formally into its "Indo-Chinese federation" and to use it as a stepping-stone for expansion towards other countries in South-East Asia.

97. On the other hand, it is because of the aid and abetment of the Soviet hegemonists that the Vietnamese authorities have become so reckless and frenzied in pushing external expansion and regional hegemonism. The one seeks the patronage of the big hegemonists in order to achieve its own regional hegemonism; the other wants to use the small hegemonists to serve the needs of its global hegemonism. Therefore, impelled by their respective self-interests, the two have swiftly joined in an alliance and colluded in all sorts of crimes. Though flaunting the signboard of non-alignment, Viet Nam has in fact long degenerated into a pawn of the Soviet hegemonists and another Cuba, in Asia. In its global strategy, the Soviet Union has long cast a covetous eye on South-East Asia, which occupies the important position of being the link between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. In order to control this strategic region, the Soviet Union has in recent years drastically augmented the strength of its Pacific fleet, increased its standing fleets in the Indian Ocean, and put together and energetically peddled the "Asian security system". Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea by using the planes, artillery and tanks provided by the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union wants to control South-East Asia through Viet Nam. In so doing, it will link up the activities

of the Soviet Union in seeking hegemony in the Pacific with those in the Indian Ocean, thus seriously threatening the peace and security in the vast area of Asia, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Such a state of affairs naturally cannot but cause serious concern among the countries in South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, as well as among all the countries and people that uphold justice and cherish independence.

98. It should also be pointed out that, since the war of resistance against the United States, the Vietnamese authorities, in disregard of the sufferings of their own people, have not adopted a policy of national rehabilitation and peaceful development, but have instead immediately embarked upon a road of militarist adventures abroad, invading Kampuchea, opposing China and threatening South-East Asia. At home, they have brutally suppressed the people and levied excessive taxes on them and, as a result, the national economy is in grave difficulty. There is a shortage of grain, people do not have enough to eat and lead an unstable life, and many of the inhabitants have gone abroad and become refugees. The outrageous acts of the Vietnamese authorities have further deepened the already extremely serious political and economic crises they are facing at home. The conduct of the Vietnamese authorities also runs counter to the interests of the Vietnamese people.

99. Fourthly, the Chinese delegation strongly condemns the serious crimes committed by the Vietnamese authorities with the support of the Soviet Union in their continued escalation of armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, and unswervingly supports the just struggle of the Kampuchean Government, soldiers and civilians in valiantly resisting the Vietnamese aggressors. We hold that, faced with such an extremely serious situation caused by Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea, the Security Council, proceeding from the interests of defending the Charter of the United Nations and maintaining world peace and security, should, without delay, adopt urgent and effective measures, so as to halt Vietnamese aggression, uphold justice and ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

100. The Chinese delegation entirely supports the four-point appeal contained in the telegram addressed on 12 February 1979 by Khieu Samphan, Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea to all heads of State and Government [S/13089]:

(a) To continue to expose and condemn Viet Nam for its aggression and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea, call on Viet Nam to stop such actions and withdraw all its armed forces from Kampuchea, and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny;

(b) To continue to oppose Viet Nam's scheme to obtain recognition for the régime installed by it at Phnom Penh;

(c) To stop all forms of aid, including so-called humanitarian aid, to Viet Nam, as it will use such aid to expand its aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and commit new crimes;

(d) To provide various forms of support and aid to the Kampuchean people in their just struggle under the

leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the sole legal Government of Kampuchea.

101. The Chinese delegation maintains that the Security Council should take immediate action in accordance with the above-mentioned four-point appeal to condemn sternly the Vietnamese authorities' crimes of aggression and demand an immediate end to their military actions of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and withdraw forthwith all their military forces from Kampuchean territory.

102. Although the Vietnamese aggressor forces have temporarily occupied a great number of cities and towns in Kampuchea, this does not mean the end of the war. The Kampuchean people's war of resisting the Vietnamese aggressors and defending the country has entered a new stage. Under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the heroic Kampuchean people and revolutionary army holding high the banner of great national unity and patriotism, will form the broadest national democratic and patriotic united front and wage a protracted people's war. The Kampuchean people are united as one in their fearless fight against the common enemy. Every day, everywhere, they are dealing heavy blows to the Vietnamese aggressors and scoring ever greater victories. They have both the determination and the ability to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchea. Truth and justice are on the side of the Kampuchean people. The sympathy and support of the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people in the world are with the Kampuchean people. The Vietnamese authorities will most certainly come to the ignominious end of complete defeat. Final victory surely belongs to the Kampuchean people, who cherish the independence of their country and who are valiantly resisting the aggressors.

103. With reference to the question of the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict, which is the sole making of the Vietnamese authorities, the Chinese delegation deems it necessary, first of all, to stress that Viet Nam's massive armed aggression and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea is a question entirely different in nature from China's being compelled to make a limited counter-attack in defence of the Chinese frontier, as a result of the wanton provocation of border conflicts on the Sino-Vietnamese border by the Vietnamese authorities. The former—namely, Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea—constituted a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and norms of international law and poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The latter—namely, China's self-defensive counter-attack—however, is a necessary action of self-defence taken by any sovereign State in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. Any attempt to confuse the two and treat them equally only serves to confound right and wrong and condone the real aggressors, and is therefore inadmissible.

104. Now I should like to present the true picture of how Viet Nam wantonly provoked the conflicts along the Sino-Vietnamese border, and to expound our position and views on the relevant questions.

105. First, the present grave situation on the Sino-Vietnamese border is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities. For a long time they have deliberately pursued a hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China. Over

a period, in addition to large-scale persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities have massed a large number of troops in an organized and planned way along the Sino-Vietnamese border, ceaselessly creating incidents and carrying out armed provocations and hostile acts there. According to incomplete statistics, in 1974 Viet Nam provoked over 100 incidents on the Sino-Vietnamese border, in 1975 the figure rose to 400 or more, in 1976 it dramatically increased to over 900, in 1977 to 752, and in 1978 to a total of 1,108. In the past six months alone, the Vietnamese authorities have encroached upon the Chinese border in 162 places, carried out armed provocations against China on more than 700 occasions and killed or wounded more than 300 Chinese border guards and inhabitants. Recently, the Vietnamese authorities have frequently sent armed troops to encroach upon Chinese territory, and attack Chinese frontier personnel and inhabitants, thus seriously menacing the peace and security of China's border. These are grave armed provocations and aggressive acts against China committed by the Vietnamese authorities.

106. Now we would only enumerate a number of incidents that have occurred this year, which will suffice to show the bloody crimes committed by the Vietnamese aggressors.

107. In early January, taking advantage of midnight darkness and morning fog or under the cover of gunfire, Vietnamese armed personnel intruded into 10 Chinese border areas of Hekou and Maguan Counties in Yunnan Province and Longzhou of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region on more than 50 occasions. They laid landmines, disrupted communications, attacked and even attempted to kidnap sentries of Chinese frontier troops.

108. On 11 January, Vietnamese troops even opened fire with machine-guns and heavy machine-guns on the Longbang area, Jingxi County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China and threw hand-grenades. This lasted as long as 10 hours and 5,000 bullets were expended. Many houses were damaged and great losses were inflicted upon the peaceable inhabitants.

109. From 11 to 17 January, four Chinese villages belonging to Longbang Commune, were subjected to shooting by Vietnamese armed personnel on 27 occasions. As a result, houses of Chinese border inhabitants were seriously damaged, many commune members had to leave their homes and large tracts of farmland were left unsown. All this has aroused the utmost indignation among the local population.

110. On 28 January, at dawn, when the Chinese people were having happy Spring Festival gatherings, Vietnamese armed personnel suddenly strafed a large Chinese area in Hekou County of Yunnan Province, causing damage to many civilian houses.

111. On 29 and 30 January, while patrolling in Ningming and Jingxi Counties, Guangxi, 20 Chinese frontier guards were killed or wounded by mines planted within Chinese territory by Vietnamese armed personnel.

112. On 1 February, at 2.20 p.m., when four commune members of the vegetable brigade in Chengguan Town, Hekou County, Yunnan Province, were working in the

field, one of them was killed and another wounded in a Vietnamese surprise attack.

113. From 15 January to 7 February, in rabid provocations made by Vietnamese armed personnel, more than 70 Chinese frontier guards and border residents were killed or wounded.

114. In a short period of five days, from 8 to 12 February, Vietnamese armed personnel encroached upon Chinese border areas on nearly 30 occasions in Fangcheng, Ningming, Longzhou, Jingxi and Napo counties of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Funing, Maguan, Malipo and Hekou Counties of Yunnan Province, killing or wounding 34 Chinese personnel. Ten of them were killed and 18 wounded by mines laid by Vietnamese personnel who stole into Chinese territory; the other four were killed and two were wounded by gunfire.

115. On 12 February, at 5 p.m., trains 8704 and 2992 of the Kunming Railway Sub-Administration, running from Hekou to Kaiyuan, Yunnan, came under heavy rifle and sub-machine-gun fire from Vietnamese armed troops at a point 2.5 kilometres away from Hekou. The trains were hit by many bullets and seriously damaged. Chinese railway transport in this section was thus suspended and the people's economic life and the safety of passengers gravely threatened.

116. These bloody crimes were by no means accidental but were committed deliberately by the Vietnamese authorities. Over a period, the Vietnamese leaders have been clamouring about fighting a "new war" with China as the target. They have whipped up war hysteria throughout the country and stepped up arms build-ups and the recruitment of troops. At the same time, they have intensified their so-called acts of "clearance" and "purification" in the various provinces near the Sino-Vietnamese border. They have deployed large numbers of troops, built fortifications and carried out frequent military manoeuvres with China as the target along the Sino-Vietnamese border. On 20 December last year, the newspaper *Guan Doi Nhan Dan* carried an article openly clamouring for "carrying forward the offensive strategy ready at all times to attack enemy with superiority". The Vietnamese Defence Minister, Vo Nguyen Giap, also clamoured for "identifying the new target of fighting" and for "preparedness to wage a large-scale war". On the other hand, the Vietnamese authorities have been playing the trick of a thief crying "catch the thief" in the international arena. They have made statements or presented memoranda in an attempt to confuse right and wrong, falsely accusing China of "threatening Viet Nam's security", "creating tension", and so on. Yet how can one palm shut out the sky? There are abundant facts and evidence about the despicable deeds of the Vietnamese authorities in launching large-scale anti-China campaigns, inciting national hatred, provoking border incidents of bloodshed, ceaselessly encroaching upon China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and worsening the relations between the two countries. They are known to everyone. Lies and denials are of no avail.

117. Secondly, the above-mentioned acts of aggression on the part of the Vietnamese authorities have been long premeditated. Following the ending of the anti-United States war and the realization of unification, Viet Nam quickly embarked on the path of aggression and expansion abroad.

To begin with, it placed Laos under its control; then it launched a massive war of aggression against the one-time ally Kampuchea, occupying the capital, Phnom Penh, and large tracts of other territories, in an attempt to realize its wild ambition of a "Greater Indo-Chinese federation". At present, Vietnamese aggressor forces are expanding the flames of war to the Kampuchea-Thai border, thus greatly menacing the peace and security of South-East Asia and the Pacific region as a whole and subjecting the countries and peoples in this area to the threats of Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonism. It is only natural that the Vietnamese authorities should have been opposed by the Chinese Government and people for committing external aggression in such an unscrupulous way. The Vietnamese authorities have regarded China as the main obstacle to their pursuit of expansionism. They have regarded China as their "No. 1 enemy", the country they piously called "comrade and brother" previously, thereby showing their bad faith. As a result, while waging a massive armed invasion of Kampuchea, they have become more and more rampant by repeatedly provoking and escalating border conflicts. Their frenzied acts of aggression have been aimed at inciting military conflicts on the southern border of China, intensifying tension and sabotaging China's programme of socialist modernization. The facts show that Viet Nam's invasion and harassment of Chinese border areas are closely linked with its acts of aggression and expansion against its neighbours in Indo-China and other parts of South-East Asia. The Vietnamese authorities are the root cause of the grave situation prevailing along the Sino-Vietnamese border.

118. In order to cover up their features of regional hegemonism and evade criminal responsibility for their armed provocations and attacks on China, the Vietnamese authorities have cynically capitalized on the question of a "small nation" and "big Power", as stated earlier by the Soviet representative, trying to confuse the public by disguising themselves as a "victim" with the status of a "small nation". The Vietnamese authorities think that, as long as Viet Nam claims to be a "small nation", sympathy will naturally go to it irrespective of what evil it has done. Whether or not a nation has ambitious designs, whether or not it is carrying out aggression and expansion, depends not on its size but on its political line and foreign policy. While history has seen instances of a big Power committing aggression against a small nation and bullying it, there is no lack of instances of a big nation being the victim of aggression and being bullied by a small one. Is it not true that a small island State, Cuba, hiring itself out to Soviet social-imperialism, has dispatched tens of thousands of mercenary troops across the ocean to become the hatchmen of the USSR? Viet Nam is following in its footsteps and has even surpassed it. In order to realize its ambition of dominating Indo-China and South-East Asia, Viet Nam is bullying all its neighbours, whether big or small. Today, Viet Nam is bullying China in the north and invading Kampuchea in the west. Is this not a most powerful rebuttal of its false accusation against China?

119. Thirdly, it is by no means accidental that Viet Nam's acts of aggression have all along been backed and abetted by the Soviet Union. Viet Nam's aggressive and expansionist activities abroad and armed incursion into China have suited very well the needs of Soviet greater hegemonism. The Soviet Union uses Viet Nam as a pawn and accomplice in establishing its spheres of influence and

carrying out aggression and expansion in South-East Asia and Asia as a whole. With the backing of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam wants to form the so-called "Indo-Chinese federation", become its master and dominate the whole of South-East Asia through the use of force. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam, the greater and lesser hegemonists, working hand in glove with each other, are the root cause of the threat to peace and tranquillity in the Asia-Pacific region.

120. Fourthly, over the past two years and faced with the continued armed provocation and acts of hostility by the Vietnamese authorities, the Chinese Government and people, treasuring the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, have always exercised the maximum restraint and forbearance and given repeated advice and warnings to the Vietnamese authorities about their incessant armed provocations and hostilities along the Chinese border, so as to avoid aggravation of the situation. That was why, in spite of the Vietnamese side's arrogant resort to the use of force along that border, the Chinese frontier troops and civilians, witnessing the killing and wounding of their kith and kin, strictly observed orders for a long time and refrained from shooting or fighting back. In a spirit of conciliation, they hope the Vietnamese authorities will repent and mend their ways. We have always stood for the reasonable settlement of disputes between States through negotiations on an equal footing and in adherence to the purposes of the United Nations and the five principles of peaceful coexistence without resort to force. But, as the Chinese saying goes, "The tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside". With Soviet support, the Vietnamese authorities have felt emboldened and have mistaken the Chinese restraint and desire for peace as a sign of weakness, turning a deaf ear to the mild advice and warnings of the Chinese side. They have gone from bad to worse, asking for a yard after getting an inch and wantonly escalated their acts of armed aggression in the Chinese border areas. The facts show that, in dealing with the Vietnamese aggressors, conciliation and forbearance no longer work. The Vietnamese authorities have gone too far in bullying others. Driven beyond forbearance, Chinese frontier troops have been forced to rise in limited counter-attacks in defence of their own border. Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates that Member States have the inherent right of self-defence if an armed attack occurs against them. The counter-attack made by the Chinese frontier troops, who are driven beyond forbearance, is in full accord with the principles of the Charter and is a just action. This is also an action which any sovereign State would be forced to take in similar circumstances.

121. The Chinese Government and people have been consistently guided by the principle that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack". The Chinese people ardently love peace. We want to build up our country and need a peaceful international environment. We do not want to resort to armed force. We do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory, but neither will we tolerate wanton incursions into Chinese territory. All we want is a peaceful and stable border. After counter-attacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserve, the Chinese frontier troops will return and strictly keep to defending the border of their own country.

122. Fifthly, sharing the same border, the people of China and Viet Nam have gone through thick and thin. In their

long revolutionary struggles, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, sympathizing with and supporting each other, have forged a profound friendship. The Chinese Government and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, made world-known national sacrifices for the liberation of the Vietnamese people, and after the war they actively assisted the Vietnamese people in their national reconstruction and rehabilitation. Unfortunately, the profound friendship forged by the peoples of China and Viet Nam through their long revolutionary struggles has now been wilfully undermined by the Vietnamese authorities. This pains the Chinese people profoundly. However, the Chinese Government and people still treasure and uphold the friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. They have done so and will continue to do so in future. The Chinese Government appeals to the Vietnamese authorities to treasure the friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam, to stop on the precipice, to retract from the wrong path and not to go any farther.

123. Sixthly, the purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. Faced with the grave situation of threat to and destruction of peace and security caused by Viet Nam's acts of aggression, the Security Council has the unshirkable responsibility to condemn sternly the acts of aggression committed by the Vietnamese authorities, to call upon them to stop at once their armed incursions, provocations, attacks and sabotage in the Chinese border area, to withdraw all their armed personnel from Chinese territory and to respect for ever China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

124. The Chinese Government has always stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the disputes between the two countries through peaceful negotiations. Past negotiations have all failed because of lack of good faith on the Vietnamese side. The Chinese Government now proposes again that the two sides should speedily hold negotiations at any mutually agreed place between representatives of an appropriate level to discuss the restoration of peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries and proceed to settle the disputes concerning the boundary and territory. The Chinese Government is prepared to enter into concrete negotiations on any constructive measures that can ensure peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries. The foregoing position of the Chinese Government is entirely reasonable. We believe China's position will enjoy the sympathy and support of all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice.

125. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): For some years now the ruling circles of China have been systematically stepping up their dastardly provocations against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in general, and their military activities on the border with Viet Nam, in particular.

126. China's feverish preparation for war against the heroic Socialist Republic of Viet Nam ended a few days ago in the open aggression and incursion of Chinese troops into its territory. In a message addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13095], the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh stated that several Chinese divisions of infantry, armoured vehicles and artillery with air support launched massive attacks along

the entire Vietnamese-Chinese frontier. In spite of the wave of indignation aroused throughout the world by this arrogant adventure of China's present leaders, the attacks are still going on.

127. The Security Council must take steps immediately to see to it that the irresponsible game of the current Chinese leaders in playing with fire which may engulf the whole world is immediately halted. Chinese aggression against Viet Nam is a constituent part and a logical result of the expansionist and great-Power policy which the Chinese rulers have been carrying out for many years, not only with regard to Viet Nam but throughout South-East Asia. On this subject the statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in document S/13097 reads as follows:

"It is obvious that the Chinese rulers, after repeated failures in their hostile policy against Viet Nam, have stepped into the ruts of the Chinese feudalists, the imperialists and the colonialists in launching an aggressive war against Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country.

"By invading Viet Nam, the Chinese rulers have totally revealed, their expansionism, big-Power hegemonism and reactionary policy, which run counter to the interests of the Chinese people."

128. Having committed that criminal act of aggression, encroaching directly on the sovereignty and security of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Peking in its propaganda has been hypocritically asserting, in cynical disregard of the facts, that the Chinese People's Republic only carried out a counter-attack after Viet Nam, as it claims, had invaded Chinese territory.

129. The representative of the Chinese People's Republic spoke just before me in that same spirit. Whom does he think he is going to convince with this talk about the self-defence of China? Unfortunately, I do not have the records of the League of Nations to hand, but I am sure that the same kind of words were used in justification and self-defence by the representatives of Fascist Germany in regard to Czechoslovakia, as are now being used in regard to Viet Nam. The falsity and absurdity of these statements are obvious also in the light of the visit of the Deputy Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Teng Hsiao-ping, to the United States and Japan. In the course of that visit he haughtily asserted that "Viet Nam must be taught the necessary lesson" and that "Viet Nam must be punished". It is obvious to everyone that the Chinese guest even in the course of his visit to the United States had in mind the launching of an open act of armed aggression against Viet Nam. The cynicism and irresponsible adventurism of the Chinese leaders are clear. In particular there is their assertion that they are ready to punish Viet Nam "even if that involves a certain risk".

130. We in Czechoslovakia are very sensitive to that kind of assertion. Those words in the lexicon of Teng Hsiao-ping remind us of the period of the second half of the 1930s when the Nazis of Fascist Germany were preparing the ground for the seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1938. Those words and their consequences also remind us that they are trying to lull world public opinion with assertions that the goals of the Peking expansionists in Viet Nam are limited ones.

131. The risk which the Peking expansionists are ready to assume and to have on their own conscience is an extremely high risk affecting not only Viet Nam but all of us, because it affects peace and security throughout the world. The absurd "motivation" which the Chinese representatives have been using to justify their aggression against Viet Nam is totally out of place and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. China has no right to teach any lessons to anyone, still less by means of armed aggression. It is time for the Peking leaders to recognize the fact that we do not live in the Middle Ages. It is time for them to remember the gloomy fate of Hitler's supporters.

132. The open aggression committed against Viet Nam had its beginnings in the varied but hostile anti-Viet Nam policy of the Peking leaders. When it became clear to the leaders in Peking that a free Viet Nam would not allow itself to be used as a tool for the implementation of Chinese expansion in South-East Asia, they light-heartedly sold out their ally and friend and quickly forgot their eloquent words which not so long ago they had hypocritically uttered with regard to the Vietnamese people, words about a "firm and long-standing friendship" and to the effect that "China and Viet Nam are as close to each other as are the lip and the tooth".

133. Everyone knows that the Peking leaders did not welcome the victory won by the Vietnamese people at such a heavy cost and did not want it to create a unified State. After all, the war in Indo-China was still not concluded but the Chinese leadership had already begun to take steps designed to weaken the position of Viet Nam. The Chinese occupied the Paracel Islands, fabricated border incidents and stepped up subversive activity among the Chinese minority in Viet Nam. Without wishing to recognize the true state of affairs, the Peking leadership exerted crude political, economic and military pressure on Viet Nam in its attempts to impose upon it its own policy. As an example of that pressure the Peking ruling circles exploited the anti-people and bloody clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. In the final analysis what Peking could not achieve by threats, pressure or provocation it is now trying to achieve by direct aggression.

134. The principal task of the Security Council is to halt Chinese aggression against Viet Nam. Attempts to divert the attention of the Council by slandering Viet Nam and by distorting the true state of affairs in Kampuchea constitutes connivance with the aggressor and, in the concrete political context, the virtual encouragement of the aggressor to continue his actions.

135. The Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has once again demonstrated that Peking views South-East Asia as an area in which Chinese domination should be established so that it may serve as a spring-board for the long-term conquest of the whole of Asia. They would like to see the countries of that region weak, helpless, hostile to each other and unable to repel China's aggressive actions. It is precisely for that reason that Peking was so worked up about the recent changes in Kampuchea, where the people took their fate into their own hands and rejected the feudal Maoist experiments of the Chinese advisers carried out by the bloody Pol Pot régime.

136. In the final analysis, Chinese expansionist ambitions and the subversive activities of Peking are becoming known

through their own experience to the other peoples of Asia. There is hardly any need here to remind members of the recent experience of the peoples of India, Burma, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Afghanistan and other countries. The invasion by Chinese troops of Viet Nam demonstrates not only the unshakeable thirst of Peking to determine the fate of the Asian peoples and to teach them lessons in how to conduct themselves, but also demonstrates how irresponsible is the attitude of the Peking leadership to the future of peace and security. The aggressive actions of China are a flagrant violation of the elementary principles of international relations and an arrogant defiance of all progressive forces, advocates of peace and international détente. It also proves that Peking is guided only by its great-Power interests and has not given up its dangerous nihilistic and destructive concepts of Maoism in international relations.

137. The aggression of China against Viet Nam is also a warning to its "new friends" who, as they put it, together with China want to defend Asia against "hegemonism". For the moment, the first country to be defended is Viet Nam.

138. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic condemns the military aggression committed by the Chinese ruling circles against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We view it as an extremely serious threat to international peace and security. The fraternal Vietnamese people, which for decades waged a heroic struggle against colonialism and imperialism and which has once again had to take up arms to defend its independent sovereignty and territorial integrity has, in the Czechoslovak people, a true friend and ally. Czechoslovakia wishes to assure the Vietnamese people of its total solidarity and support. We should like to express our firm conviction that this ordeal will form one more heroic page in the history of their just struggle against foreign annexationists.

139. Czechoslovakia is convinced that all the peace-loving forces in the world which in the past have supported the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence will now most vigorously come out in support of its struggle against the Chinese aggressors.

140. The Czechoslovak delegation is seriously concerned about the aggression committed by China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Together with the delegation of the Soviet Union, we have submitted for the consideration of the Council the draft resolution contained in document S/13117. In the interests of averting the threat to peace and security, the Council should take an urgent decision categorically condemning the Chinese aggression and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory. It should also call upon all States to cease all arms deliveries and the transfer of military technology to China and demand that China should scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and also make full reparation for the material damage inflicted on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a result of the Chinese aggression.

141. The ruling circles of China must bear total responsibility for the consequences of the aggression committed by them against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

142. Mr. ROLON ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased that you are presiding over the Security Council in these difficult circumstances, and we support all your actions, whose wisdom we acknowledge because we have witnessed them personally.

143. We also wish to pay a tribute to Ambassador Mills of Jamaica, for the very wise and able manner in which he presided over the Council last month.

144. Bolivia has witnessed with great concern the regrettable evolution of the fighting in South-East Asia. Our interest, like that of all third-world countries, is free from any material or economic expediency. We are moved by human solidarity and we merely wish to promote peace and understanding among peoples, especially among those who have been victims of colonialism and who have been caught up in the competition among the major Powers for spheres of influence. We sincerely want peace to reign everywhere in the world. But we are particularly concerned, and indeed dismayed, when war accentuates the backwardness and dependence of the poor peoples of the world. In such cases our solidarity is complete, for we cannot help but feel that we too have been attacked.

145. No sooner had violence broken out in South-East Asia than my delegation received express and concrete instructions from the Government of Bolivia to take an active part in the urgent task of promoting an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of the invading troops from all areas and the restoration of peace and security in that region. As a genuinely non-aligned country, Bolivia has as its primary aim strict respect for the principles of non-intervention and the non-use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

146. War is not only a particularly brutal extension of politics; it is also a frustrating extension, the last resort of colonialism. The dependent peoples of the world have always been victims of imperialist and colonialist conflicts and disputes. What is particularly deplorable is that today this has become a world-wide phenomenon. What we are witnessing in South-East Asia is the sorriest spectacle imaginable and a lesson to people everywhere about what violence means when it is directed against the small and weak peoples, against dependent peoples who are made even poorer, more despairing and more dependent by war. These continuing confrontations and this division in the world are indeed disheartening.

147. The uncommitted countries, which are in the majority in the Security Council, do not officially represent the non-aligned, and this has been incorrectly understood. We took a clear and constructive stand when this chain of wars broke out and began to sow destruction and grief in that martyred and heroic region of the world.

148. For my delegation, there can be no explanation or rational justification for these acts of violence, even less so if the idea is to teach a lesson, as might have been done in medieval times, or to extract an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth. It bodes ill if death and destruction are intended to convey a pedagogical message. One can, of course, speak out against peace, but that is not only tantamount to denying reason and the progress of civilization in recent times, but it

would also be to challenge the entire international legal system, which is based on international peace and security.

149. Bolivia once again expresses its solidarity with all dependent peoples and small countries of the world, whose sovereignty and self-determination we will defend as if it were our own. We wish to make common cause with the non-aligned members of the Security Council. In the case of Democratic Kampuchea last January, my country was a sponsor of draft resolution S/13027, which received a majority of the votes of the Council. But unfortunately the Council was then paralysed, thereby bringing about a dangerous pause which only favoured the continuation of war.

150. Guided by our full support for the principles of the Charter, we are prepared to join in any draft resolution which reaffirms the effectiveness of the Charter. Notwithstanding the seriousness of events, my delegation does not wish to act as a judge or an arbiter of the actions of other States. With that thought in mind, we hope that the spirit that will guide our decisions will be the same that produced the draft resolution last January; that is, we hope that we shall shun condemnations which, far from having a calming effect and promoting solutions, can only stir up resentment.

151. For that reason, the delegation of Bolivia would appeal for a full understanding of the problem and of the possible grave consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security. We propose that the Council should call for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal from all territories invaded by force in a resolution which, as indicated in the agenda, covers the entire conflict in South-East Asia.

152. In the same resolution, or perhaps in a subsequent one, the following measures might be adopted: first, to call on the Secretary-General, whose good offices have already been used with the full support of Bolivia, to visit the area and report back within a brief period of time, within two weeks at the most; secondly, to establish a mediating committee made up of one member from each of the geographical regions in the Organization, whose task would be to study the Secretary-General's report and to propose to the Council the measures that it deemed appropriate to restore peace in the area.

153. Mr. ADMINA (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I have the signal honour to congratulate you, on behalf of the delegation of Gabon, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of February. The delegation of Gabon attaches the greatest importance to our excellent relations with your great and beautiful country, Kuwait, and admires the courageous, active and constructive role it plays on the international scene. Because you are known by your lofty qualities as a skilful and experienced diplomat ready to defend the causes of justice, independence, equality and peace, it goes without saying that we are happy to work jointly with you during our term of office in this international body.

154. My delegation would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Mills of Jamaica for the eloquent and effective manner in which he presided over our work during the month of January, at a time when his country was taking its first steps as an active member of the Council.

155. Although the Sino-Vietnamese conflict is one of long standing, once again, as a result of that conflict, that part of the Asian continent is experiencing tragic moments. This situation constitutes a threat to peace and security not only in Asia but also in the rest of the world. The principles of the Charter are at stake. The rights and freedoms of man defined in 1789 and enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 are being trampled underfoot. Likewise, the principle of settling disputes between countries by peaceful means remains a dead letter in the annals of contemporary history. More than ever the peoples of the third world must show that they are vigilant, so as to foil the manoeuvres of the great Powers aimed at the establishment of their hegemony by sowing disarray throughout the world.

156. In consistency with the above-mentioned principles, my country, Gabon, cannot but rise against all actions or manoeuvres of whatever country that jeopardize the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political options of other countries. Indeed, we believe that coun-

tries must refrain from having recourse to force, from intervening in the internal affairs of other countries and from carrying out subversive activities by one means or another.

157. It is in this spirit and bearing in mind the number, the credibility and the uniformity of the reports on the evolution of the situation in Kampuchea and along the length of the Sino-Vietnamese border that my delegation wishes at once to assure the Security Council that it will support any initiative or decision of the Council calling on the parties concerned: first, to evince the utmost moderation; secondly, immediately to withdraw their troops; thirdly, to respect the territorial integrity of the violated countries and to make credible their intention to respect the territorial integrity of other States of the region by so acting that the populations of those countries may finally live in peace.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

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