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2116th

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NOTE

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2116th MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 25 February 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

President: 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/2116)

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 4.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

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)]

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2114th and 2115th meetings, I invite the representatives of Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Philippines, 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. Kostov (Bulgaria), Mr. Barton (Canada), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Thiounn Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Abe (Japan), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Yango (Philippines), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand) and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Pakistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of Pakistan to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Naik (Pakistan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, I should like on behalf of my delegation to express to you and to the other members of the Council my deep appreciation for the opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations. I should also like to extend to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February; I am confident that the Council's work will greatly benefit from your wise leadership and vast experience. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to congratulate the Council on having you to guide its work at a time when it is faced with serious challenges.

5. My delegation is happy to see that the Council has decided, in line with its responsibility, to meet and discuss the situation in Indo-China, which clearly endangers peace and security not only in the region but in the entire world. My delegation is of the opinion that, in view of the serious developments in Indo-China, it is the Council's duty to meet to discuss what action to take to defuse the threat to international peace and security.

6. Indonesia is following the events affecting the countries of Indo-China with deep concern and apprehension; they are events that may affect the peace and security not only of the entire region of South-East Asia but of the whole world. The developments of the past few days have highlighted alarmingly the dangerous nature of the situation prevailing in Indo-China since early last month.

7. My delegation would like to make it quite clear that it is Indonesia's considered view that armed intervention by any country in the affairs of another State cannot in any way be justified. In order that stability and peace may be maintained in South-East Asia, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States in the region must be scrupulously respected by all. Without such scrupulous respect there can be neither peace nor any real growth and economic develop-

ment. The current fighting in Indo-China is evidence of the dire consequences that result from not adhering strictly to the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States, irrespective of what one might think of their ideologies or internal policies. My delegation is of the opinion that relations between States must be based upon the strict observance of the accepted principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and embodied in the Bandung Declaration which, *inter alia*, call upon all States to respect one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

8. Indonesia is not only gravely concerned about the consequences which recent developments in Indo-China may have for the countries in South-East Asia, but is also concerned about the opportunity they may provide for outside Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of those States. We are particularly apprehensive of the possibility that outside Powers will make use of the armed conflict in Indo-China to serve their own purposes which may not be in the interests of the countries of the region.

9. In my statement before the Council last month [2111th meeting] I referred to the concept of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. The recent developments in Indo-China clearly underline the validity and the urgent need for the realization of that concept that is meant to help to prevent South-East Asia from being drawn into the confrontation between big Powers as a result of their rivalry.

10. Faced with the prospect of a widening conflict in Indo-China which could engulf not only the region of South-East Asia but the entire world, it is imperative that means be found to put an end to the hostilities and to resolve the outstanding issues peacefully. In this context I should like to call attention to the statement made by Mr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, in his capacity as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, on the recent developments in Indo-China [S/13106]. In that statement the Indonesian Foreign Minister, on behalf of the ASEAN countries, urgently appealed to the conflicting parties to cease all hostilities and urged that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from all areas of conflict in Indo-China. The ASEAN countries further appealed to the Powers outside the region to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any acts which might lead to further escalation and a widening of the conflict.

11. I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation to the representative of the United Kingdom for referring to the ASEAN statement as a possible basis for a draft resolution. The ASEAN delegations would be pleased if the Council wished to use the ASEAN statement for that purpose, and in that regard we should be happy to co-operate if the Council so wishes. My delegation would also like to thank the representative of Australia for his endorsement of the ASEAN statement.

12. The purpose of our deliberations, in the view of my delegation, should not be to try to put the blame of any one party, for that can only lead to recriminations and make the effort to find a solution more difficult. Our efforts rather should be directed towards preventing the armed conflict in Indo-China from further escalating into a larger conflagra-

tion which might lead to a global war. We are glad that the Council has decided to discuss the situation in Indo-China, which is undeniably a serious threat to peace and security. But it is obvious to everyone that discussing it alone is not enough. My delegation earnestly hopes that the Council will be able to agree on the appropriate action to take in order effectively to lead to the cessation of hostilities and the return of peaceful conditions to the countries of Indo-China, in accordance with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security entrusted to it by the Charter in Article 24. In this connexion my delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for making his good offices available in the search for a peaceful solution. We would urge the Council and the parties concerned to make use of the timely offer of the Secretary-General.

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

14. Tan Sri ZAITON Ibrahim (Malaysia): Mr. President, allow me first of all on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. We are pleased that the work of the Council is under your wise and skilful guidance and confident that your distinguished leadership will contribute towards a fruitful conclusion of the Council's business.

15. The unfolding of tragic events in Indo-China within the last two months causes deep concern and anxiety to Malaysia. Only a few weeks ago, the Council met to consider the armed intervention in Kampuchea. The position of my Government at that meeting was made very clear. It is unfortunate that since that meeting there has been no withdrawal of foreign troops. On the contrary, fighting continues unabated and with greater intensity, affecting seriously the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region. The situation, instead of improving, has now taken a turn for the worse with the armed conflict between China and Viet Nam, which we view with dismay and alarm. There is no need to emphasize the gravity of this latest development, particularly as the threat of outside big-Power involvement looms frighteningly over us.

16. The Malaysian Government has consistently expressed its rejection of any recourse to the use or threat of use of force to settle disputes as well as any interference in the internal affairs of another country. Such actions are contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

17. A threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia, whatever its source, is a matter of direct concern to us. Our region has been the scene of prolonged strife and warfare. Peace is most precious to all of us. It is only in a stable and harmonious environment that the States of the region can effectively co-operate for our common prosperity and well-being. As contained in my previous statement in the Council [2110th meeting], Malaysia remains strongly committed to the goals of regional co-operation and the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. In the present conflict situation in the region, our anxiety and distress is more acute, for all the parties involved are not only Malaysia's good friends but also neighbours with which we share the most cordial and

friendly relations and with which we hope to share experience in regional co-operation for the prosperity and well-being of our people.

18. It is imperative that urgent action should be taken to restore peace and stability in the region. To this end, Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries—Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore—have jointly appealed to the parties in conflict to cease all hostilities and urged that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from all the areas of conflict in Indo-China, from Viet Nam as well as from Kampuchea. Our united and clear view on this grave matter is reflected in the statement of the Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee issued at Bangkok on 20 February [S/13106]. We most sincerely urge the parties in conflict to stop causing further injury to themselves and bring their disputes to the table for a peaceful and amicable settlement, in the spirit of understanding and mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

19. The possible escalation and widening of the conflict involving outside Powers is also a matter of serious concern to my delegation. The chance of such a dangerous and dreadful development taking place must be prevented. It is our fervent hope that all outside Powers will exercise the utmost restraint and we urge them to refrain from any action which may further escalate and enlarge the current conflict.

20. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation our profound appreciation to you and the other members of the Council for affording us the opportunity to participate in this crucial debate. It is important that we should speak our mind on this grave problem. We hope that the Security Council will be able to take positive action to arrest the dangerous trend of a wider escalation of the conflict by a call for an immediate cessation of hostilities, total withdrawal of foreign troops, restraint on the part of the parties in conflict both in Kampuchea and Viet Nam, non-involvement by outside Powers and the start of negotiations to settle the disputes peacefully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In this regard, we welcome the offer of the good offices of the Secretary-General. It is our earnest hope that this offer will be accepted by all the parties concerned.

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

22. Mr. ABE (Japan): Mr. President, I should like to express my thanks to you and, through you, to the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to speak on an issue which unequivocally bears vital importance for the maintenance of international peace and security. As we earlier made it known that we for one supported vigorously the convening of the Council [S/13112], we welcomed its decision to begin meeting the day before yesterday.

23. Mr. President, I should also like warmly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. I am sure that deliberations as difficult as those currently under way can greatly benefit from the most capable direction of a man like yourself.

24. Members may recall that, when the Council discussed the question of Kampuchea last January, Japan's deep

concern for the peace and stability in Asia led my delegation particularly to express a strong desire for the immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean territory. Japan also strongly appealed to all the countries concerned to use the utmost restraint and caution in dealing with that situation so that it would not deteriorate further. Similar views were expressed by many other countries, members of the Council as well as non-members.

25. However, the situation in Kampuchea has as yet failed to show any sign of improvement and the fighting there rages on. Furthermore, a large-scale armed conflict has now broken out between China and Viet Nam.

26. Japan strongly deplores the current situation in Indo-China and has profound misgivings that further deterioration of the situation would have an adverse effect on the peace and stability not only of Asia but also of the world as a whole. It was on the basis of this consideration that, on 22 February, we expressed a strong desire for the convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council. We believed that it would be highly detrimental to the goals and objectives of the United Nations if the Council, which the Charter invests with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, were to remain ineffective in dealing with the deteriorating situation.

27. Mr. Sonoda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, made the following statement on 18 February:

"The Government of Japan expressed its deep regret over the recent development along the Chinese and Vietnamese border. The Government of Japan had repeatedly appealed to the Governments of both China and Viet Nam to settle the problems by peaceful means. It had expressed deep concern that continuing tension might escalate to a major military conflict. However, the Government of Japan still retains a strong hope that China and Viet Nam will come to settle their problems in a peaceful way and that peace in Indo-China can be restored as soon as possible."

28. In our pursuit of restoring peace in the whole area of Indo-China, we have asked the Government of Viet Nam to contribute to a peaceful settlement through an immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all its forces from Kampuchean territory. We have asked the Government of China to contribute to a peaceful settlement through an immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all its forces from Vietnamese territory. We have asked the Government of the Soviet Union to exercise caution and restraint for the sake of peace and stability in Asia. In this connexion I should like to add that my Government fully supports the statement made on 20 February by the Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee [S/13106] appealing to all parties in conflict in Indo-China immediately to cease all hostilities and to withdraw all foreign forces.

29. I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to all the countries concerned to pay heed to the following two points, and to express the fervent wish of my Government that these points will, as the minimum requirement, be incorporated in whatever type of action the Council may eventually decide to take.

30. First, all parties to the conflicts should immediately cease all hostilities, all foreign forces should be withdrawn from all the areas of conflict in Indo-China, and all parties concerned should immediately initiate talks to settle their conflicts peacefully, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country and non-use of force. Secondly, all countries outside Indo-China, especially the big Powers, should exercise the utmost caution and restraint so that the conflicts will not be escalated and become a threat to the peace of the entire world.

31. I should like to add that my Government wholeheartedly welcomes the timely offer of good offices for a peaceful solution made by the Secretary-General on 22 February. We hope that the parties involved will seriously consider the possibility of making use of his offer.

32. It is the firm conviction of my Government that, in view of the grave situation prevailing in Indo-China, it is imperative that the United Nations should play a really effective role in resolving this situation and that the Security Council should do its utmost to restore peace and security in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. I should therefore like to reiterate Japan's strong desire that the present deliberations of the Council should result in the taking of appropriate action along the lines I have just suggested, so that peace and security can be restored in all areas of conflict at the earliest possible moment.

33. Before concluding my statement I should like to comment on the following remark made yesterday in the Council by the representative of a Member State:

"It is necessary to stress the fact that the Peking authorities launched the war of aggression against Viet Nam after the signing of the Sino-Japanese peace treaty and the normalization of diplomatic relations with the United States, and immediately after the return of Teng Hsiao-ping from the United States and Japan, where Teng publicly called for war against Viet Nam. Information has come to light showing that Washington and Tokyo gave their consent, if not their encouragement, to Peking in its aggression against Viet Nam." [2115th meeting, para. 104.]

34. I am quite confident that the overwhelming majority of Member States are well aware that such a remark is purely and simply against the facts, as far as my country is concerned. Nevertheless, I should like to take this opportunity to let Members know the relevant facts once again.

35. First, the Government of Japan concluded the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the People's Republic of China with the fundamental aim of promoting peaceful and friendly relations between Japan and China, thus contributing to the furtherance of peace in Asia and in the world as well. Secondly, when the Deputy Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China visited Japan on his way home from the United States, the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Ohira, after indicating Japan's grave concern over the mounting tension between China and Viet Nam, appealed to him to make further efforts towards a peaceful solution and to exercise the utmost caution and self-restraint in dealing with the current situation. On that occasion, the same appeal was made to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China by our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

36. As the relevant facts that I have related are already widely known to the public and nothing is concealed behind them, I hope that they will suffice to clear up any erroneous interpretation or misunderstanding.

37. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make this statement.

38. Mr HOLLAI (Hungary): Mr. President, I wish to thank you as well as the members of the Council for giving us this opportunity to participate in these deliberations. I am pleased to see you, a prominent representative of a friendly country, in the highly important post of President of the Council, and I am confident that under your guidance this body will be able to fulfil its task in a most efficient manner.

39. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic takes the opportunity of this series of meetings of the Council to speak out on a subject that is profoundly disturbing peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the whole world. The convening of the Council is in fact very timely, since the Council has to consider the situation in that part of the world and its implications for international peace and security.

40. The attention of the whole world is focused on the events that have been taking place for more than a week, and continue to take place even today, in the northern region of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam bordering the People's Republic of China. It was with sorrow and shock that my country learned about the Chinese armed forces' large-scale attack against Viet Nam along the entire Vietnamese-Chinese border and their deep penetration into the territory of that country. In an official statement issued on 19 February [S/13102], the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic expressed its deep indignation at the Chinese aggression, which, needless to say, violates all the norms of international law and the generally accepted rules of international relations. The fact that it is a permanent member of the Security Council, having special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, that is committing such actions and trampling on the Charter of the United Nations only aggravates the situation and makes that country's behaviour all the more deplorable. Such behaviour further exposes the big-Power ambitions of China's present leaders and raises new and disturbing questions about the whole general trend of Chinese policy.

41. It is primarily the countries of the region where China lies, and also the group of States towards which the People's Republic of China is making continuous advances, that should reflect on the true meaning and possible implications of such behaviour by a vast country which claims to be the defender and protector of the small and weak countries of the world in the face of super-Powers' so-called aggressive and hegemonistic endeavours. They should ponder the consequences of indulging in activities which would, in one way or another, bind them to ambitions in disharmony with their own national interests and aspirations and which would expose them, directly or indirectly, to threats stemming from irresponsible and false actions accompanied by hypocritical and dishonest assertions.

42. But, beyond those countries, all of us—nearer to or farther from the scene of the Chinese actions—should feel

concerned because in the world of today the risks of proliferation are certain and they can lead to unforeseeable consequences.

43. It is significant that the aggressive activities undertaken by the present rulers of China have met with general disapproval and condemnation. No country in this world—I repeat: no country in this world—has taken a stand in support of those activities. Even the Chinese people themselves have been deprived of the true information and have been kept ignorant by the rulers about the attack perpetrated against Viet Nam—although today we have seen in the newspapers that the Chinese people are getting a bit of information. China's aggressive activities are in flagrant contradiction with the general tendency of international life, with the efforts aimed at ensuring peaceful coexistence and consolidating international détente.

44. In the light of these events, we cannot help recalling the very recent visits by leaders of China to various countries, during which they blusteringly made overt and undisguised threats against Viet Nam—widely publicized by the international press—about “bloody lessons to be taught”, at the expense of that country. One may wonder who has authorized China to play the role of international policeman and reward or punish according to its own judgements and conceptions? We believe that Governments, on similar occasions, should make the best use of their abilities to make positive contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the dissuasion of potential bellicose countries from unleashing armed conflicts.

45. In this connexion, it is appropriate to emphasize the paramount and in fact, in our opinion, the vital importance of the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. It is as obvious as can be that ensuring peaceful and secure conditions in the world is largely dependent on the evolution of competitive as well as co-operative relations between these two States. All of us have to take into account these present-day realities. Our firm belief is that this two-sidedness of their relations should in no way hinder them from working together for a peaceful future on this earth. Neither side should forget that it needs the comprehension and co-operation of the other to thwart challenges endangering regional and international peace. We Hungarians have pledged ourselves to do our utmost and to make use of all our possibilities to contribute to the improvement and widening of these relations, as well as the relations among all the members of the international community.

46. My country and its people express deep solidarity with the Government and the people of Viet Nam and assure them of our full support in the face of this indescribable aggression by China. Fraternal and comradely feelings towards Viet Nam and a readiness to help it are deeply rooted in Hungarian public opinion. This sentiment found a true reflection in the way Hungarian society reacted throughout the country to the news of the Chinese armed attack on Viet Nam. We shall continue, as in the past, to be on the side of the Vietnamese people in its struggle for the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its homeland. We demand that the People's Republic of China should unconditionally cease its aggression and withdraw its forces without delay from Vietnamese territory. China must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its blatant encroachment on Vietnamese land. The

immediate halting of the invasion and an unconditional condemnation of it by the international community are the only way to restore peace to that long-suffering region of the world and to provide a chance for the peaceful work so necessary for the emergence of stable, prosperous, peace-loving countries in that area.

47. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

48. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the important post of President of the Security Council for this month and to express my conviction that under your skilful leadership the discussion of the complex matters involved will be successful.

49. I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for the opportunity afforded me to set forth the views of the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

50. The people of the German Democratic Republic learned with the most profound indignation the news of the monstrous armed attack by China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. On behalf of the people of the German Democratic Republic, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic have issued a vigorous protest against this act of aggression by China. We have seen a similar reaction throughout the world. One could not expect anything else.

51. On 17 February, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, there began an unprovoked act of armed aggression against a Member of the United Nations that had been prepared long beforehand. The aggressor itself confirms the violation of the frontier of the sovereign Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In actual fact the aggressor has not denied its occupation of Vietnamese territory. The statement of the representative of China in the Council demonstrates that Peking intends to continue its aggression. The Peking leadership, in order to justify its aggression, has been attempting to mislead world public opinion by spreading rumours to the effect that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam attacked the huge country of China, which has a population of many millions. It is clear, however, that this treacherous war against the Vietnamese people is something that cannot be justified.

52. That these armed actions on the part of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are acts of aggression is not open to doubt. The definition of aggression adopted by the United Nations characterizes as clear acts of aggression military actions such as those ordered by the Peking leadership against the independence, sovereignty and national integrity of the Vietnamese State.

53. One does not have to look very far to find the goals of and reasons for the aggression. The unprecedented invasion by China of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a continuation of the policy of blackmail and pressure that the Peking leadership has been pursuing for a number of years now with regard to South-East Asia as a whole and with regard to Viet Nam in particular. The harassment and

intervention in internal affairs and the subversive activity have been carried out in order to divert Viet Nam from the course it has itself chosen and to subject it to China's own hegemonistic ambitions. Vietnamese territory had been seized, and an economic embargo has been organized. Chinese living in Viet Nam have been incited by means of chauvinistic slogans to undertake subversive activities against the power of the people. All these actions have been accompanied by increasing armed provocations on the Chinese-Vietnamese border.

54. The Deputy Prime Minister of China, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping, when a guest of the United States, loudly declared that, as he put it, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had to be "taught a lesson". Even that statement in itself is an expression of a hegemonistic policy that denies the right of other States, particularly smaller States, to an independent position. We cannot fail to see in this a certain kind of contempt for smaller States from the standpoint of great-Power chauvinism.

55. In other words, since the imperialist colonialists were forced to withdraw from South-East Asia, a new policeman has emerged in the region, brandishing his whip. If the Governments of neighbouring peace-loving countries do not dance to his tune, measures will be taken to "teach them a lesson", including the use of military technological means, bombs and grenades, of which women and children alike will become victims.

56. If the States Members of the Organization, which was founded for the preservation of peace throughout the world and international security, permit such practices in international relations, then the danger of a new world war will be increased many times over.

57. The aggressor is a permanent member of the Security Council. As we know, the permanent members of the Council bear particular responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. If such a permanent member of the Council takes it upon itself brazenly to combine the roles of prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner, and at its own whim and discretion to attack other States, then the cause of peace throughout the world will be seriously threatened. This is something to which we must give the proper attention in the course of our discussion.

58. The treacherous attack by China on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is particularly abominable for another reason, namely, that in the case of the Vietnamese people we are talking about a people that has for decades been forced to fight for and to defend its national freedom and independence, making sacrifices and enduring privation. The wounds of the last war against foreign intervention have hardly had time to heal. The destruction wrought by years of warfare and the consequences of natural disasters have not had time to be repaired, and yet this heroic people has once again been forced to take up arms to defend its freedom, this time against the followers of the Chinese feudal lords.

59. The Vietnamese people over and over again have stated their wish to live in peace and security and to build a new life. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly proposed to clarify and resolve the outstanding questions of its relations with the People's Republic of China by means of talks. But the answer of the

neighbour to the north has always been negative. Now we know why: the Peking leadership wants the capitulation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the demands of the great-Power chauvinists. But this is something they really cannot count on. Their aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will be defeated.

60. As far as the German Democratic Republic is concerned, its highest representatives have officially assured the brother nation of Viet Nam of our active solidarity.

61. The aggression of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a crime against international peace and security. It is a defiance of all peace-loving peoples. The Security Council must unequivocally condemn this aggression and those responsible for it and demand the immediate and unconditional cessation of aggression and the withdrawal without any reservations of Chinese troops from the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It would also be desirable to call upon all States Members of the United Nations to halt all arms supplies to China and transfer of any technology that might be used for military purposes. It is also just to demand that the aggressor should make full reparation for the material damages caused to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

62. The statements which have been addressed to both sides in equal measure and making equal demands—that is, the statements that have placed the aggressor and the victim of aggression on the same footing—obscure the true picture, and this can only serve the interests of the aggressor. What we need now is a decisive rebuff to China's aggression. We should not allow room for manoeuvres that are misleading; and it is misleading when attempts are made to link two radically different problems, in other words, to organize something in the nature of an imperialistic deal. With regard to Kampuchea, everyone knows that following its liberation a régime was set up which on instructions from Peking carried out something along the lines of the "Chinese cultural revolution" and doomed the people of Kampuchea to destruction. I here venture to remind members of the words of Sihanouk himself when he was addressing the international press and talking about the crimes of the Pol Pot régime. That régime, once again on instructions from China, violated the frontier of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, rejected talks and caused armed border conflicts. As a result there was a national uprising, and in the course of a few days the anti-people régime of Pol Pot was overthrown and new State bodies were set up in its place. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed, and it embarked upon a programme of peaceful democratic development with a socialist orientation. So it was possible to talk of a new situation that promised peace and stability in that region of Indo-China. Once there was a promise of stability, the Peking leadership began its aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam because such developments were thwarting their hegemonistic plans, impeding their policy of provoking division among the peoples of Indo-China and provoking international conflicts.

63. As a result of their aggression, at one fell swoop the policy of today's leadership of China was exposed. We have repeatedly had occasion to point out that the policy of Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping is aimed at the unleashing of war. He and those around him have themselves made it absolutely clear that the danger to peace and security comes from Peking.

64. It may be that individual imperialist politicians believe that the aggression of hegemonistic China against socialist Viet Nam serves the class interests of imperialism. So particular imperialistic circles hasten to limit economic relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam while increasing military supplies to the Chinese aggressor. It is typical that four countries members of NATO have imposed on this session of the Security Council a nebulous agenda, obviously in order to enable the aggressor to abuse this forum, this lofty organ, by its attempts to divert attention from its own repugnant aggression.

65. There is no doubt that China's aggression is not in the interest of the peoples, whether they be Vietnamese, Chinese or any other. Right-thinking politicians of the imperialistic world will not forget at this time that there have been instances in history when a war policy aimed at a socialist State turned out to be doom-laden for the peoples of the capitalist countries too.

66. For the non-aligned States, China's aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam could serve as a serious warning. With its present leadership, China is not a developing country that is in favour of peace and international security and a just new world order. Its leaders are aiming at goals that are in conflict with the principles enshrined in documents of the non-aligned movement.

67. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, said in his speech of 17 February in the capital of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda:

"This shameful act of Chinese aggression is fresh evidence that the Peking leadership, in its hostile policy towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is pursuing goals that are entirely consonant with the goals of the most aggressive imperialist forces. The support for the Camp David deal, the repeated demands of Peking for a build-up of armaments on the part of NATO, the unbridled speeches of incitement made by Teng Hsiao-ping in the United States against the Soviet Union and the cowardly attack by China against the Vietnamese people should all serve as sufficient grounds to encourage everyone to curb the aggressor."

68. The responsibility for the aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its consequences lies wholly and fully with China under its present leadership. The statement by its Vietnamese friends on the question of talks has met with the total understanding of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic. It believes that everything possible must be done to put an end to the aggression of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to bring about the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnamese territory and to make the People's Republic of China unswervingly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

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

70. Mr. KOH (Singapore): Mr. President, like your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Donald Mills of Jamaica, you have the reputation amongst your colleagues of being

an extremely able, knowledgeable and skilful diplomat. We are therefore confident that you will be able to provide the Council with the wise and courageous leadership which it so clearly needs during this difficult month of February.

71. The peace, security and stability of the region of South-East Asia, and indeed of the world, is being threatened by the armed conflicts taking place between Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam and between China and Viet Nam. The two wars have already inflicted death and destruction and untold suffering on the civilian populations of the countries involved. Unless arrested, these wars will not only escalate in intensity but also threaten to involve other Powers in the conflicts. It is for these reasons that my Government has given its support to efforts to convene an urgent meeting of the Council.

72. There are two armed conflicts taking place concurrently. The first is the armed conflict taking place in the territory of Democratic Kampuchea between Vietnamese forces and forces loyal to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The second is the armed conflict taking place in the territory of Viet Nam between Chinese and Vietnamese forces. The two conflicts are, in our view, related. The conflict between China and Viet Nam is, at least in part, a product of Viet Nam's armed intervention against and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea.

73. At the outset, I should like to state the principles which govern our approach. First, I wish to recall that all Member States are under an obligation to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. Secondly, they are under an obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Thirdly, they are obliged to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. The wars in Kampuchea and Viet Nam have arisen because the parties concerned have violated some or all of those principles.

74. I turn first to the armed conflict taking place in the northern part of Viet Nam between Chinese and Vietnamese forces. That conflict began on 17 February 1979. In a statement issued by the Xinhua News Agency on that same day [S/13094], the Chinese Government explained that its military operation against Viet Nam was a counter-attack against numerous incidents of armed provocations and the killing of Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants by the Vietnamese. The Chinese Government stated that it did not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory and that after counter-attacking the Vietnamese, the Chinese forces would withdraw to the Chinese side of the border. In his message of 17 February [S/13095] addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Duy Trinh, accused the Chinese of waging a war of aggression against Viet Nam.

75. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the allegations and counter-allegations made by China and Viet Nam concerning various incidents along their border. But whatever the truth of the matter and whatever the merits of the case may be, they do not, in the view of my Government, justify the action of the Government of the People's Republic of China in launching a military attack against Viet Nam. If the Vietnamese have perpetrated border incursions and have killed Chinese frontier guards and other inhabitants, as alleged by China, the proper thing would have been for

China to bring its complaint to the Security Council. China should not have taken the law into its own hands. If countries, especially those which are big and militarily powerful, take the law into their own hands and mete out punishment to other countries, then the world is not safe for small and militarily weak countries. For these reasons, we cannot support the Chinese action which is in clear violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. In line with the ASEAN statement of 20 February [S/13106], we call for an immediate cessation of hostilities. We call upon China to withdraw its forces from the territory of Viet Nam. We call upon the Governments of China and Viet Nam to enter into negotiations in order to settle their differences peacefully. In this respect we commend the offer of his good offices made by the Secretary-General, to those two Governments. Finally, we appeal to Powers outside the region to exercise restraint and not to escalate the present conflict.

76. I shall turn next to examine the situation in Democratic Kampuchea. When I spoke to the Council on 13 January [2110th meeting], I said the evidence was irrefutable that the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had sent its armed forces across an international border into Democratic Kampuchea and had intervened in the internal affairs of that country. I deplored the armed intervention by Viet Nam in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, which violated the latter's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. I urged the Council to reaffirm the sovereign right of the people of Democratic Kampuchea to determine their future by themselves free from interference by outside Powers. I also urged the Council to call for the immediate and total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

77. More than a month has passed since I spoke to the Council. Has the situation changed for the better? Has Viet Nam withdrawn or begun to withdraw its forces from Democratic Kampuchea? The answers to both questions are unfortunately in the negative. Viet Nam has not withdrawn its armed forces from Democratic Kampuchea. On the contrary, there is evidence to suggest that Viet Nam has introduced additional troops into Democratic Kampuchea. Hostilities between the forces of Viet Nam and Democratic Kampuchea continue and are taking place in various parts of the country. In addition, on 18 February, the Government of Viet Nam concluded a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation [S/13101] with the government of the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea. This shows that Viet Nam intends to perpetuate its occupation of Kampuchea and is using that treaty as a means of legitimizing its military presence there. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that Democratic Kampuchea continues to be a country occupied by the Vietnamese army and that the so-called government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by Heng Samrin is a government imposed by the Vietnamese on the people of Democratic Kampuchea.

78. The issue in Democratic Kampuchea is clear. Viet Nam has no right to send its armed forces into Democratic Kampuchea and to impose a régime on that country. The Security Council must therefore renew its demand for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Democratic Kampuchea. Let the people of that country choose their own government. Let Kampuchea regain its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Let it live in peace and in amity with all its neighbours. If these objectives can be

achieved by convening a new international conference on Kampuchea, my Government will support such an initiative.

79. The peace, security and stability of the region of South-East Asia are being threatened by an intensifying rivalry between two of the great Powers. This rivalry has fanned the flames of war in both Kampuchea and Viet Nam. Unless checked, the flames of war could spread to other areas. We, who live in the region of South-East Asia, must resist this danger. We must not allow ourselves to become pawns in the rivalry between the great Powers. We should learn to live with one another in peace and in amity. If we have differences, let us settle our differences by peaceful means, not by resort to force. Let us together make of South-East Asia a zone of peace, of freedom and of neutrality.

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

81. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. With your well-known diplomatic skill and experience in the work of the Council, I do not hesitate to say that we can all look forward to a positive result of the deliberations in which the Council is now engaged. And I am happy at this opportunity to refer to the recent agreement between our two countries to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

82. I also wish to felicitate Ambassador Donald Mills of Jamaica for creditably presiding over the work of the Council during the preceding month, a month in which my delegation was able to make a modest contribution.

83. Through you, Mr. President, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to all the members of the Council for allowing us to participate in the present deliberations.

84. After a short span of about five weeks the Council is once again confronted with a tense situation in South-East Asia. As before, we are assembled to consider the peace, security and stability of the area. The Philippines, like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, as well as other countries in our region, cannot help but be gravely concerned at the recent turn of events in our part of the world. When we addressed the Council in the middle of January last [2111th meeting], we drew attention to the armed intervention by a State against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. On that occasion we expressed the firm conviction that non-interference in the domestic affairs of any State was the basis of international law and the very embodiment of the Charter of the United Nations and that disputes should be resolved in accordance with the Charter through peaceful means. We then voiced a fervent appeal for a return to rational discourse among nations, in particular a return to the principle of peaceful coexistence, which in essence embodies respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; the peaceful settlement of issues, the renunciation of the use or threat of force in the solution of conflicts and, above all, mutual respect, equality and understanding among nations. Today we maintain our firm conviction that the principles we have just cited should serve as the guiding light in the deliberations of the Council.

85. The present situation in Indo-China is cause for great alarm not only in South-East Asia but also in other parts of the world. In view of our deep concern, my delegation extends its full support to the statement issued at Bangkok on 20 February by the current Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia [S/13106]. This statement voices grave concern and anxiety about the fact that the situation in the region to which ASEAN belongs has seriously deteriorated. In the view of my delegation, that situation has become much worse and has reached a very dangerous point. In view of these circumstances, the ASEAN countries, which are endeavouring to create a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in their area, cannot but reiterate their firm commitment to the principle of peaceful coexistence, to the Charter of the United Nations and the accepted principles of international law. Therefore, in order to avoid further disruption of peace and stability in the South-East Asia region, they urgently appeal to the conflicting parties to cease all hostilities and urge that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from all the areas of conflict. Furthermore, the ASEAN countries earnestly appeal to Powers outside the region to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any acts which might lead not only to a further escalation of the conflict but also to an expansion of the area of controversy.

86. We welcome the current deliberations of the Security Council on the situation in South-East Asia. Had the Council not met at this time, its image would have been seriously impaired as the guardian of international peace and security. But, having decided to meet, the Council can now show to the world that it is conscious of its grave responsibility under the provisions of the Charter. The challenge of that responsibility should, however, be met swiftly and purposefully in the present situation, in order to put a stop to the mounting friction and growing tension in that part of the world. It is therefore the fervent hope of my delegation that the Council will arrive at a resolution which will be satisfactory to the parties in the conflict and effectively contribute to peace, security and stability in the areas of conflict.

87. My delegation is encouraged by the offer made by one of the parties to the conflict to negotiate, which, we hope, will eventually be reciprocated by the other parties. The offer of good offices made by the Secretary-General is indeed a step in the right direction.

88. In conclusion, I wish to say my delegation is ever ready and willing to help in any way it can in the endeavours of this august body at a solution of the present crisis, in order to uphold independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in all the areas of conflict in Indo-China.

89. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Philippines for the kind words he addressed to me. I too respond with happiness to the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries.

90. The next speaker is the representative of Thailand. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): Mr. President, as an Asian I should like to add to those of the speakers who have preceded me my warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. I am confident that, with your diplo-

matic skills and long experience in United Nations affairs, the work of the Council under your leadership will be ably guided towards a successful conclusion. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Mills, the outgoing President of the Council, for a job well done the last month. I wish also to express to you and, through you, to all the other members of the Council our thanks and appreciation for allowing us to participate in the current debate.

92. In keeping with Thailand's firm commitment to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the peaceful settlement of international disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the accepted principles of international law, my delegation has fully supported the initiatives to convene without delay meetings of the Council to consider and find peaceful solutions to the growing conflicts in Indo-China.

93. The fact that violence has begotten more violence is both tragic and alarming. This vicious circle must be broken quickly, for violence and conflict might otherwise spread even further, with most serious consequences for us all.

94. My delegation has requested to be allowed to take part in the deliberations of this august Council for the second time in five weeks, because the item at present before the Council is one of special interest and particular concern to Thailand, a country bordering on or near to the scenes of armed conflict. It is also a known fact that my country entertains close and cordial relations with all the States involved and has throughout maintained strict neutrality. We should like once more to appeal to all concerned to refrain from the use of force and to settle their differences by peaceful means.

95. Regrettably the Council was unable in mid-January this year to adopt the draft resolution submitted by the seven non-aligned members [S/13027] calling upon all foreign forces involved in the Kampuchean conflict to observe scrupulously an immediate cease-fire, to put an end to hostilities and to withdraw forthwith from that country. Since then, growing tensions and frictions in and around the region wherein we also live have resulted in a further escalation and widening of the conflict. Both conflicts pose a grave threat to the peace and security of South-East Asia and indeed of the world and are matters of deepest concern to my Government.

96. Our partners in ASEAN—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore—fully share our grave concern. Consequently, ASEAN has once again demonstrated its unity and solidarity and has expressed its common view on this matter in the statement issued on 20 February at Bangkok by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia in his capacity as the current Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee [S/13106].

97. It is my delegation's earnest hope that, in order to avoid further disruption of the peace and stability in South-East Asia, the Council will be able to find a solution in the form of a resolution which would, first, affirm full respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all the States involved; secondly, urge the parties in conflict to cease all hostilities and exercise maximum restraint; thirdly, call for total withdrawal of all foreign forces from all areas of conflict in Indo-China; and,

fourthly, appeal to the Powers outside the region to exercise the utmost restraint and refrain from any act which may lead to a further escalation and widening of the present conflict.

98. My delegation welcomes and commends the Secretary-General's offer of good offices. We urge the parties involved to accept this timely offer, in the search for a peaceful solution.

99. Thailand will support any measure which the Council may deem appropriate in order to put an end to these armed conflicts and to provide ways and means for the parties involved to disengage in the shortest possible time in response to the call from the Council.

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

101. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, I would, at the outset, express to you and the members of the Council my gratitude for giving my delegation the opportunity to take part in the Council's deliberations. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend to you the warmest and most sincere congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of February, when the Council is called upon to discuss and take decisions on highly important matters. In paying a tribute to you for your great diplomatic skill, prestige and profound experience in United Nations affairs, qualities which are appreciated by all in the Organization, I should like also to stress the satisfaction we feel at seeing as President of this body the representative of a country with which Bulgaria has traditionally enjoyed friendly relations.

102. For the ninth day in a row we have been witnessing the continuance of the war of aggression unleashed by China—a permanent member of the Security Council—against a sovereign and independent State, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. A new conflagration has been kindled, threatening world peace and security. In my delegation's view, that is the only question which, for the moment, deserves to be discussed in this body.

103. From the point of view of facts, the matter is starkly obvious: On 17 February, Chinese troops crossed the Sino-Vietnamese border and launched a massive offensive, an unprovoked attack against the border forces of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, penetrating deeply into Vietnamese territory, causing great loss of life and inflicting severe material damage on its people. By committing more and more troops and weaponry to the conflict, the Chinese side has embarked on military operations on a wide front.

104. From the political and legal point of view, there is at hand a classic example of direct and overt armed aggression against a neighbouring country, aggression which is dangerous to peace not only in the region of South-East Asia but also on a global scale. China's actions constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of fundamental principles of international law. These actions establish the political, moral, international and legal responsibility of the Chinese leadership.

105. The Bulgarian people received the news about the Chinese aggression with feelings of profound indignation.

The whole country is literally submerged by spontaneous rallies and protest meetings, at which the people are condemning the Chinese aggression and expressing their total support for the just struggle and legitimate self-defence of the Vietnamese people. The National Assembly, that is, the Bulgarian Parliament, and all political and mass organizations have come out with declarations condemning the Chinese aggression. The Bulgarian Government has issued a statement which has been circulated as document S/13110. In that statement we read, *inter alia*:

"In unleashing the aggressive war against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese leadership have proved that they have turned China into a striking-force of the most reactionary imperialist circles, a real threat to international peace and security.

"The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has sharply condemned the adventurist aggressive actions of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and joined the appeal by world public opinion for immediate cessation of the aggression and for withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Viet Nam's territory.

"We are deeply convinced that, as in the past, when the Vietnamese people successfully defeated the foreign intervention, its just struggle against the Chinese aggression will now in the present be crowned by total success. A guarantee of that is the full support of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries and all progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

"Our Vietnamese brothers, can rely on the complete fraternal solidarity of the Bulgarian people. As in the past, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people now resolutely support the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the Chinese aggression, for the defence of their independence and sovereignty, for guaranteeing peace and security in South-East Asia and in the whole world."

106. In perfect compliance with the traditions of aggressors and conquerors, the rulers in Peking are now attempting to present their acts as actions in defence of China's borders, as legitimate self-defence, and even, odd though it may sound, as actions in the interest of the Vietnamese people. They even have the impudence to state that they started the war because they cherished the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Such brazen talk may well be exerting some influence over certain parts of China's population, which lives, as a matter of fact, under a tight political lid, totally isolated from the rest of the world. World public opinion, however, and those who have even a slight knowledge of history cannot be deceived. For in fact the acts of China's rulers are not different in substance from the well-known, and for that matter well-worn, methods to which aggressors of the near and distant past have resorted.

107. The truth lies elsewhere. The Chinese aggression is the result of long-standing ideological, political and military preparation. Even for laymen in history it is perfectly clear that the Chinese troops are now following in the steps of the Chinese mandarins who for centuries oppressed the Vietnamese people, using even the same roads and basic direction for their invasion.

108. The great-Power chauvinism and the aggressive ambitions of former Chinese emperors have not simply been inherited by the present rulers of Peking. Today they have been amalgamated and absorbed by Maoism, assuming appalling proportions and underlying the course of the Maoist foreign policy of world domination. That course and its political ramifications are nowadays a real threat to world peace and security. Today it has become perfectly clear that the liberation of South Viet Nam in 1975 and the reunification of the country were a serious blow to the Maoist leadership in China, an obstacle to their expansionist designs in South-East Asia.

109. To the appeals of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for a peaceful solution of contentious issues, the Chinese Government responded by carrying out a continuous build-up of troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, and in the end it chose a path fraught with extreme danger both for world peace and for the Chinese people itself.

110. In the past some have been tempted to see in Peking's militarist sloganeering just short-lived propaganda noise. As events continue to unfold, however, the world is becoming increasingly aware of quite another sinister turn. The psychological pounding inflicted upon the Chinese population in a chauvinistic spirit, the stirring-up of the so-called danger from the north and the ill-grounded territorial claims on almost all neighbouring countries are being accompanied by frenzied militarization and full preparation for war. During Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the United States, wide publicity was given to the so-called new course of the Chinese leadership, particularly the modernization drive, that is, the advancement of the tasks of domestic economic development so as to improve the livelihood of the people in town and country and restore basic human rights by expanding democracy and establishing a legal system. Those are indisputably noble purposes which would do honour to any administration that cherishes the interests of its people.

111. Regrettably, however, very soon—even sooner than expected—it became clear that this new line was just another gimmick aimed at nurturing the interest of world public opinion and predisposing Western business circles in China's favour, at embellishing the image of China's current leaders and deluding those quick of belief about the true intentions of China. For, indeed, can it still be possible seriously to talk about a drive towards modernization and economic development when, barely two months after its proclamation, a large-scale war is undertaken against a neighbouring country, involving almost the entire military machine of the aggressor? Can there still be room for serious talk about the promotion of human rights when the very fact that Chinese troops are waging a full-scale war on Vietnamese territory is kept from the Chinese people?

112. The claims of the Chinese leadership about the limited scope of their actions is yet another proof of the tremendous gap existing between their words and their deeds. We are directly witnessing how intensive are the efforts deployed here at the United Nations to spread the version of the "limited nature" of the aggression, efforts accompanied by promises to halt that aggression. It has by now become quite clear that the "limited nature" version was intended to lull the credulous and to afford time to the aggressor for new actions on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

113. In the course of the current debate, we have listened to statements claiming to be neutral, even-handed, and so forth. However, what does it mean to be neutral when an overt and flagrant war of aggression is being conducted, putting world peace to a serious test? How strange, indeed, is the neutrality which in fact is encouragement to the aggressor. It recalls the historic parallel of the well-known policy of the "Munich plot". When one hears some people in this chamber speaking with an equal degree of concern about the use of force by the people of Kampuchea itself in bringing down the genocidal régime in Kampuchea and about the direct armed aggression of China against Viet Nam, one cannot escape the question whether this is a case of political simplicity or an attempt to reap political advantage for selfish interests. The latter is much more probable.

114. It has already been said that the Chinese warmongers have characterized their action as a punitive action, as the administration of a bloody lesson. In this way they are resurrecting in international practice doctrines which until yesterday had been considered as belonging irreversibly to the past. The Chinese nation itself knows from bitter experience their application in practice. It has more than once in the past been taught a bloody lesson by colonialism and imperialism. The Chinese leadership has assumed the role of the former oppressors of the Chinese people vis-à-vis the Vietnamese people, claiming also the role of policeman of the world. Its unswerving policy course remains, as before, a course leading towards a world war. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and President of the State Council, recently stated.

"The Chinese leadership not only do not conceal but have elevated to the rank of State policy the preparations for war. This policy runs counter to the essence and interests of socialism, to the interests of the Chinese people themselves and of all the peoples of the world."

115. The Chinese militarists must be reminded that the times of gunboat diplomacy and big-stick policy in relations between States are long gone. There now exist in the world forces capable of curbing the aggressor and preserving peace.

116. We hope that the concern for peace will prevail in the Security Council and that measures will be taken on the basis of the draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union [S/13117], to which my delegation gives its strong support.

117. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

118. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, first of all I should like to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me an opportunity to speak here and to outline the position of my Government on the question before the Council, namely, the question of the Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I also take this opportunity to extend to you our sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

119. A month ago, my delegation warned that

“the mass concentration of Chinese troops and arms in the Viet Nam-Chinese border areas . . . constitutes a serious threat to the territorial integrity and independence of Viet Nam and also to peace and security in Asia as a whole” [2111th meeting, para. 60].

Today we are witnessing a most wanton and predatory aggression perpetrated by great-Power chauvinistic and expansionist forces against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, an integral part of the socialist community, one of the leading members of the non-aligned movement and a full-fledged Member of the Organization. The great Vietnamese people, who are just recovering from a 30-year war against imperialism and neo-colonialism, have once again become the victim of a large-scale war of aggression, launched by the Peking authorities along the entire Vietnamese-Chinese border.

120. As is being reported in the world press, the Peking régime is currently continuing its massive operation against Viet Nam with a 200,000 strong army, bringing death and destruction to the innocent Vietnamese people.

121. It is with great wrath and indignation that the Mongolian Government and people have learnt of such a full-scale and perfidious act of war launched by the ruling circles in Peking against the heroic Vietnamese people, to whom my country is bound by long-standing and traditional ties of friendship and brotherhood in the family of the socialist community. The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic immediately voiced their strong condemnation of and resolute protest against the treacherous act of Chinese intervention against Viet Nam. This wave of strong indignation and condemnation by our people of the latest crime of the Chinese authorities is expressed in the statement of my Government which has been circulated as document S/13100. As that statement emphasizes:

“The Mongolian people and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemn the criminal aggression by the ruling circles in Peking against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and demand the immediate cessation of military operations and the withdrawal of their forces from the territory of Viet Nam without delay.”

122. Comrade Batmunkh, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, stated at a mass meeting on 23 February that, “by unleashing a war against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Peking's rulers perpetrated a vile crime against the world of socialism and against all progressive mankind”. Indeed, the massive attack launched by China against the Vietnamese people represents a serious crime not only against Viet Nam and its friends but also against all the progressive peoples of the world who cherish independence and freedom as well as international peace and security. The rabid action undertaken by the Chinese leadership under the false pretext of acting in self-defence or of teaching a lesson to a sovereign nation poses an open challenge to the most elementary norms and principles of international law and constitutes a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The strange concept of “teaching a bloody lesson” to a sovereign State is nothing but a mockery of contemporary international law. History shows, on the contrary, that alien

invaders and aggressors have themselves always been taught proper lessons.

123. The large-scale armed attack launched by the Peking régime against Viet Nam and against its territorial integrity, national independence and freedom once again proves that the adventurous policy of the present Chinese authorities represents a real danger and threat to peace and international security. We regard the armed aggression committed by China against the Vietnamese people as a natural result of the great-Power chauvinistic and expansionist policy that the Chinese ruling clique has pursued vis-à-vis all the neighbouring countries in general and those of South-East Asia in particular. It is common knowledge that the Peking leadership has long been resorting to such a reactionary course, designed to trample on the independence and freedom of neighbouring countries and, if possible, to annex a part or the whole of each of those countries and ultimately to establish Chinese hegemony and domination in Asia and throughout the world. The Mongolian people have constantly experienced the blackmail, pressure and aggressive chauvinistic aspirations of the Peking leaders, who regard the Mongolian People's Republic as one of their “unliberated” territories and undertake numerous provocations at our borders.

124. Another glaring example of the expansionist policy followed by the Chinese leaders can be found in the fact that the total number of provocations undertaken by China during the last 10 years of Mao's rule along its 20,000-kilometre border exceeded the number of frontier conflicts that occurred during that period throughout the world. Such border wars provoked by Peking, the invasion of a part of the Indian territory in the Himalayas and the armed seizure of the Paracel Islands that belong to Viet Nam, as well as China's territorial claim to other neighbouring countries and its plan to use overseas Chinese to undermine stability in the countries of South-East Asia are but a few of the facts that shed light on Peking's true aims and its great-Power ambitions. The present aggression launched by the Chinese leaders against Viet Nam is part and parcel of the Chinese global policy of hegemonism. These and other facts strikingly testify to the very origin of the present massive aggression unleashed by the Chinese ruling circles against Viet Nam as an attempt to intimidate and suppress any forces opposing Chinese domination in South-East Asia. This time the Peking leaders have undertaken an armed intervention against Viet Nam because the valiant people of Viet Nam and the Government of that country have rejected the adventurous policy of the Chinese leaders, and have thus constituted a mighty obstacle in the path of Peking's expansionism in South-East Asia.

125. Against this background, my delegation considers that it is essential for all the peace-loving nations and peoples of the world to voice the most unequivocal and unconditional condemnation of the treacherous invasion by China of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Viet Nam. My delegation also fully shares the view that all the damage and losses inflicted upon Viet Nam by the Chinese aggressors must be paid for by the Chinese side.

126. My delegation considers likewise that any condoning or encouragement of the rabid action by the Peking authorities should be viewed not only as a crime against the Vietnamese people but also as a crime against all humanity which

favours international peace and security. In this regard, we submit that any attempt to link the Chinese invasion of Viet Nam to the internal affairs of Kampuchea is nothing more than an effort to justify Peking's aggression and entails serious damage to the cause of peace and security. Moreover, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic maintains that heavy responsibility resides with those imperialist circles in the West, which flirt with China and are eager to supply the present Chinese régime with the most up-to-date weapons, including the so-called Harrier war planes.

127. It is our firm conviction that the heroic Vietnamese people, led by their Communist Party and Government, will achieve complete victory over the Chinese aggressors just as they earlier defeated the most powerful forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism. In this connexion my delegation notes with satisfaction that the Vietnamese border guards and militiamen, in the discharge of their sacred duty to defend and uphold the independence and freedom of their motherland, are inflicting heavy losses upon the Chinese aggressors and thus bringing closer the day of complete victory.

128. The Government and people of Mongolia, which forms an integral part of the socialist community and is an Asian socialist country, firmly stand by their Vietnamese brothers and sisters in their struggle against the Peking invaders. In the above-mentioned statement of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic we read the following:

"The Mongolian people express their warm fraternal solidarity and their unwavering support for the heroic Vietnamese people in the defence of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their socialist homeland."

129. In conclusion, my delegation expresses its full support for the draft resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union [S/13117] and we entertain the hope that the overwhelming majority of Council members will favour that draft, which truly corresponds to the vital interests of the Vietnamese people as well as to the interests of restoring peace and security in South-East Asia.

130. The PRESIDENT: The last speaker is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

131. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the members of the Council for allowing my delegation the opportunity to speak before the Council on the situation in South-East Asia.

132. Before I explain the considerations which have led my delegation to seek this opportunity, I would extend to you our warm felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. For me personally it is a special privilege to address the Council for the first time under your presidency both because of our personal friendship and because of the fraternal ties that exist between Kuwait and Pakistan. It is indeed an extremely fortunate coincidence that I am addressing the Council on the auspicious occasion of the national day of Kuwait. On my own behalf and on behalf of the people and Government of Pakistan I extend to you our sincere good wishes and

prayers for the welfare and continued prosperity of the brotherly people of Kuwait. May I also fully associate myself with the tributes which previous speakers have addressed to you for your outstanding ability, diplomatic experience and sagacity in guiding the deliberations of the Council during this month.

133. The Government of Pakistan has watched with deep anxiety the grave developments in the immediately neighbouring region of South-East Asia. These developments not only affect the security of all countries in that region but could have much wider implications for international peace and security. It is our firm conviction that strict adherence to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations is the only guarantee against the disruption of peace and stability in the world. Among these principles are those of respect for the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in their internal affairs and the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter.

134. In keeping with our consistent and deep attachment to those principles and since Pakistan is a country which is profoundly aware of the imperative necessity for the international community to uphold those principles, my Government expressed its deep concern over the developments in Democratic Kampuchea last month. In an official statement issued on 16 January, the Government of Pakistan declared:

"The external military intervention to overthrow the lawful Government of that country constitutes a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law governing the rights and duties of States. It is the international duty of every State to respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States and refrain from interference in their internal affairs."

The statement continued as follows:

"Considerations of human rights cannot be invoked to justify external military intervention. In accordance with these universally recognized principles, the Government of Pakistan fully supports the international call for immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Democratic Kampuchea."

135. When the Council considered the grave situation in Democratic Kampuchea at that time, it did not succeed in taking decisive action to effect an immediate cease-fire, put an end to hostilities and ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country. Had the Council performed its primary responsibility under the Charter, the underlying causes of the increased tension and violence in the region would have been removed.

136. Now that the Council is once again seized of the situation in South-East Asia, it must address itself to the urgent task of finding a comprehensive solution to the problems of the region. We are conscious of the opportunity that the occasion provides to the Council and indeed to the international community to adopt prompt and effective measures to bring back peace and stability to an area whose tranquillity has been disturbed by the violation of Kampuchea's sovereignty and the provocations across the Viet Nam-China border areas.

137. In this context, we have noted the statement made by the Government of the People's Republic of China on 17 February [S/13094], which has been reiterated in the Council by the representative of China, to the effect that the Chinese troops would withdraw from Vietnamese territory [2114th meeting].

138. All the participants in the debate have underlined the need for scrupulous respect for State sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We support these principles. We support the call for an immediate cessation of hostilities in all the areas of conflict and withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and Viet Nam. These immediate steps should lead to the initiation of the process of restoring stable peace and tranquillity in the region through negotiations among the parties directly concerned as well as through the good offices of the Secretary-General.

139. We should like here to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace and for making his good offices available to the parties involved. However, in order to set in motion any process for peace and stability, my delegation need not re-emphasize the necessity for the Council to adopt appropriate decisions to effect the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from all the States of the area.

140. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind, warm and friendly sentiments which he expressed to me and to my country and also for the good wishes that he expressed on the occasion of the national day of my Government and my people.

141. The representative of the Soviet Union has indicated that he wishes to speak at this juncture, and I now call on him.

142. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Yesterday I set forth the position of the delegation of the Soviet Union and I shall not expatiate on the questions that were raised and clarified yesterday.

143. During the discussions which have taken place in the Council, the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully and convincingly unmasked the Chinese aggression against his country and showed quite clearly how it was prepared and perpetrated. He revealed the full extent of the danger of the aggressive policy of Peking for neighbouring States and for international peace. I must say that it is necessary here to call a spade a spade. It is not simply a conflict situation we are dealing with here; we are faced with Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and nobody can avoid that clear and definite fact.

144. In the statements of many representatives that aggression was in fact condemned. In one form or another everyone in fact said that they were in favour of the cessation of Chinese hostilities and the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam. Obviously in this situation the Security Council, in order to fulfil the duties incumbent on it, should take urgent measures to condemn the Chinese aggression, to call for the immediate cessation of the Chinese aggression and for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the aggressor from Vietnamese territory.

An appropriate draft resolution [S/13117] containing such a provision was submitted by the delegation of our country and by that of Czechoslovakia.

145. It is quite clear that the attempts of the Chinese leadership and certain Western circles to try to justify the aggression in Viet Nam by referring to the so-called Kampuchean question are quite pointless. The Chinese aggression against Viet Nam and what took place in Kampuchea are two completely different phenomena. To tie them together, as certain speakers have tried to do, means willy nilly to shelter the aggressor by putting him on the same level as the victim of the aggression and to encourage Peking further in its reckless and aggressive policy.

146. Therefore, my delegation would like to state quite clearly and definitely that the statements of certain representatives, including those of countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, which have expressed thoughts about a draft resolution containing general appeals instead of a clear-cut demand that the Chinese aggressor should cease its aggression and withdraw its troops from the territory of Viet Nam cannot promote a solution by the Council of the problems before it. The adoption of such a resolution would only create an extremely dangerous precedent. It would provide justification for present and future aggressors on various pretexts to carry out armed invasions against the territories of other countries.

147. The Soviet delegation considers that members of the Council should adopt a responsible attitude towards the task facing the Council and should support decisions which condemn the Chinese aggression and demand its immediate cessation.

148. No one in the United Nations, whether in the Security Council or in any other body, has asked China to be a gendarme or to teach Viet Nam by bloodshed. Viet Nam did not flinch in the face of aggression committed by a great Power which attempted to dominate the entire world. Viet Nam will stand fast. Its friends will help it in this task, because the defence being conducted by Viet Nam against the aggressor is a noble undertaking. Viet Nam is defending its national honour, freedom and independence.

149. The Security Council must assist the long-suffering heroic people of Viet Nam to maintain and defend their sovereignty and existence, their right to build their life without interference from the Chinese aggressors, without interference from outside by any champions of Chinese aggression.

150. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, before this meeting began you informed me that it would be adjourned after the statement by the representative of Pakistan, and appealed to me to cooperate with you. Just now the Soviet representative made another statement, once again viciously attacking and slandering China and resorting to sophistry in order to justify Vietnamese acts of aggression and expansion with the support of Soviet social-imperialism. However, I still intend to heed your appeal and for the time being to ignore the attack just made by the Soviet representative and to reserve my right to make a statement later to refute it.

151. Nevertheless, I wish to point out one thing here. Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict are two questions which are entirely different in nature. In fulfilling its responsibility, the Council must first of all condemn Viet Nam's military aggression against and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea with Soviet support and demand that Viet Nam should immediately withdraw all its armed forces from Democratic Kampuchea.

152. Now, in order to show respect to you, Mr. President, and also in celebration of your national day, I shall say nothing more at this stage. However, I shall make the necessary reply at a later stage.

153. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his co-operation.

154. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I do not intend to take any more of the Council's time to answer the representative of China. But I reserve the right to answer him appropriately. There should be no doubt about that.

155. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the USSR for his co-operation.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

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