



# SECURITY COUNCIL

## OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

*SUPPLEMENT FOR APRIL, MAY AND JUNE 1979*

UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1981





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## NOTE

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

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

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



**CHECK LIST OF SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENTS ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD  
1 APRIL-30 JUNE 1979**

The titles of the documents printed in the present *Supplement* appear in bold type.

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DOCUMENT S/13209\*

Letter dated 30 March 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[2 April 1979]

I have the honour to request that the documents published under the symbols NV/79/15 and NV/79/17 be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

ANNEX I

Letter dated 22 March 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the texts of a memorandum [appendix I] handed over by Han Nianlong, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, to the Ambassador of Laos to China on 10 March 1979, strongly protesting against and refuting the Lao Government's fabrications and false charges, against China, and a note dated 14 March 1979 [appendix II] addressed by the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China to the Lao Foreign Ministry on the unilateral decision of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to ask China to suspend the construction of a highway and to withdraw all Chinese engineers and technicians.

I request that this letter, together with the attached memorandum and note, be circulated as an official document of the United Nations.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM DATED 10 MARCH 1979 FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

1. On 6 March 1979 [S/13199, appendix I], the Lao Government issued a statement viciously attacking China and falsely charging that China was massing troops along the Lao border, threatening Laos, smuggling commandos and spies to disturb the order and security of Laos and to carry out propaganda against the line and policies pursued by the Lao Government and interfering in its internal affairs. Before that, the Director of the General Office of the Lao Foreign Ministry, Mr. Sou-banh, met the Chinese Ambassador to Laos and made the groundless charge that China had shelled Lao territory on the Laotian side of the Sino-Lao border and slanderously alleged that China had helped the troops of Kong Le to get ready to attack Laos. The Chinese Government solemnly declares that the above-mentioned charges by the Lao Government are fantastic fabrications concocted out of thin air. On 7 March, the Lao Government unilaterally tore up an agreement between the two countries and compelled us to stop the construction of highways in northern Laos and to withdraw Chinese experts. The Chinese Government feels great indignation and hereby lodges a strong protest with the Lao Government.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/154-S/13209.

2. It must be pointed out that the above are premeditated actions of the Lao Government, which constitute a grave step designed to create issues between China and Laos and to undermine the friendship between the people of the two countries. In the past few days, the Lao side repeatedly spread the lie that China's counterattack in self-defence along the Sino-Vietnamese border "posed a threat to the order and security of Laos" and made anti-China propaganda among its people, urging them "to get ready to fight at any time". Before the above-mentioned statement of the Lao Government, the Soviet and Vietnamese Governments had clamoured in their statements that China was preparing for "an invasion of Laos". Thus it can be seen that the anti-China actions on the part of Laos were instigated by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and conducted by the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and Laos in close co-ordination. By following the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in intensifying anti-China activities and undermining the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Lao peoples, the Lao authorities will only harm the fundamental interests of the Lao people.

3. China and Laos are friendly neighbours linked by common mountains and rivers. The Sino-Lao boundary has been one of peace and tranquillity. The Chinese Government and people have always valued and upheld the friendship between the two peoples. The Chinese people have always cherished a deep affection for the Lao people. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, China has for a long time rendered whatever assistance it could to Laos in the course of the latter's revolution and construction. We have never wronged the Lao people. Owing to a set of circumstances, Laos has for some time taken a number of unfriendly actions against us, but we have always shown understanding for the difficulty it was in and exercised restraint even when Laos went so far as to attack China by innuendo in its open statements. Now, acting under pressure from certain quarters, the Lao Government has taken grave anti-China steps and blamed the Chinese side for the deterioration of relations between China and Laos. This cannot but arouse the serious concern of the Chinese Government. We earnestly counsel the Lao Government to value the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Lao peoples and their traditional friendship and to refrain from doing any more things detrimental to the friendship between our two peoples.

APPENDIX II

NOTE DATED 14 MARCH 1979 FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHINA TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

In a note dated 7 March 1979 [S/13199, appendix II], addressed by the acting Lao Foreign Minister, Khamphay Boupha, to the Chinese Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, the Lao Government requested that the Chinese side suspend the construction of the highway from M. Nam Bak to Luang Prabang city and withdraw all Chinese engineers and technicians.

In connexion with the above unilateral decision of the Lao side, the Chinese Government wishes to state the following.

The highway from M. Nam Bak to Luang Prabang city is one of China's aid projects undertaken in accordance with an agreement between the Chinese and Lao Governments dated 3 October 1974. Since the construction of the highway began in

1977, the Chinese engineers and technicians, with the assistance of the local Lao people, have surmounted various difficulties and have accomplished their tasks in the project. They have won the praise of the Lao people and contributed to the strengthening of the friendship between the people of China and Laos. Now, on the pretext of the present difficult and complex situation in upper Laos, the Lao Government has suddenly made a unilateral breach of the agreement between the two Governments, requesting that the Chinese side suspend construction of the project and withdraw all Chinese engineers and technicians. This is another step taken by the Lao Government under the pressure of other countries to undermine the traditional friendship between the people of the two countries. The Chinese Government expresses immense regret at this unilateral and unreasonable act of the Lao Government.

In view of the above decision taken by the Lao Government, the Chinese Government is compelled to suspend for the time being the construction of the highway from M. Nam Bak to Luang Prabang city and to withdraw all Chinese engineers and technicians, as well as the construction equipment. The Chinese Government requests that the Lao Government provide convenience and assistance to the withdrawal of the Chinese engineers and technicians and the construction equipment and ensure the safety of such personnel and equipment. To facilitate the smooth handling of the work, the Chinese Government suggests that the Lao Government instruct the Lao departments concerned to assist officials of the Chinese Embassy in Laos to make specific arrangements in upper Laos for the withdrawal.

The Chinese and Lao peoples have cultivated profound friendship in a protracted revolutionary struggle. The Chinese Government believes that any act undermining this friendship will not be countenanced by the Lao people. We advise the Lao Government not to continue to slip down the anti-China road.

## ANNEX II

### Letter dated 26 March 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

Recently, the Lao authorities have been viciously attacking and slandering China by spreading a series of lies about China massing troops along the Sino-Lao border, engaging in combat exercises, "threatening" Laos, "invading" Lao territories, and so on and so forth. At the same time, the Lao authorities have organized large-scale anti-China rallies on a number of occasions and unilaterally torn up agreements by asking China to halt its aid projects in Laos and to withdraw Chinese technicians and experts in a deliberate attempt to worsen relations between the two countries. In connexion with the above actions taken by the Lao authorities, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already made clear the position of the Chinese Government in its memorandum dated 10 March 1979 addressed to the Lao Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Now, the Chinese side deems it necessary to elaborate further on the true state of affairs, so as to set the record straight.

China and Laos are friendly neighbours, and the boundary between China and Laos has always been one of friendship. Over a long period, the border inhabitants of the two countries have helped and supported each other. There has never been any dispute or quarrel along the border. China has not a single soldier in Laos. The Chinese Government and people have always supported the Lao people in their struggle against imperialism and for national independence and liberation, and have rendered assistance to the reconstruction in Laos to the best of their capabilities. Since last year, with the entry of Vietnamese troops into Laos, the Lao authorities have taken a num-

ber of actions detrimental to the friendly relations between the two countries. Showing understanding for the difficult plight in which the Lao authorities have found themselves, the Chinese Government has exercised restraint all along. Of late, however, the Lao authorities have suddenly escalated their anti-China activities, openly hurled venomous charges against China and even baselessly accused China of "preparing to launch an armed invasion" against Laos. The same fantastic lies were repeated in a communication dated 18 March 1979 from the acting Lao Foreign Minister Khamphay Boupha addressed to the Secretary-General [S/13199, annex]. The Chinese side has long made it clear solemnly that the Lao authorities' attacks on China are sheer fabrications invented out of thin air and with ulterior motives. Recently, it was pointed out by many fair-minded analysts in international opinion that there is "no sign of China's invasion of Laos" and that the assertion by Laos is "incredible". This is a heavy blow to those lie-mongers.

What is the real reason behind the Lao authorities' repeated false charges against China? As is known to all, in pursuit of their ambitions of national expansionism, the Vietnamese authorities have dispatched several tens of thousands of troops to occupy Laos and thousands of so-called experts and advisers to control the governmental departments of Laos, thus in fact bringing Laos under complete Vietnamese domination in the military, political, economic, cultural, propaganda and other fields. The Soviet Union has also intensified its infiltration and expansion in Laos. The recent anti-China acts have been taken by Laos at the instigation of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. Eloquent proof of this is found in the lead taken by the Soviet and Vietnamese Governments in inventing lies about China's "threat" to Laos and in issuing statements to create public opinion to that effect. At present, more than 100,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops are still occupying Kampuchea, and internationally there is an increasingly strong call for Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. In order to extricate themselves from their isolation, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, big and small hegemonism, have even resorted to the despicable means of spreading lies and calumnies in an attempt to divert public attention and cover up their own intensified acts of aggression and expansion in Indo-China. Recently, when the Lao authorities are tailing after the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in attacking and defaming China, Viet Nam has sent reinforcements to the Sino-Lao border area in a desperate attempt to whip up a war atmosphere. This cannot but arouse concern.

The Chinese Government is always opposed to aggression and expansion and has made unremitting efforts to maintain peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, Asia as a whole and the rest of the world. We hope that the United Nations and fair-minded world opinion will pay serious attention to the adventurous acts of the Soviet and Vietnamese authorities in occupying and controlling Laos and creating tension in the region. We ask the United Nations to continue its efforts to force Viet Nam to withdraw all its aggressor troops from Kampuchea and to force Viet Nam and the Soviet Union to halt immediately their control of and interference in Laos and to withdraw the Vietnamese occupation forces from Laos so as to eliminate the root cause of tension in that region and to serve the interests of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, Asia and the whole world.

I would appreciate it if you could arrange for the circulation of this letter as an official document of the United Nations.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations



DOCUMENT S/13210\*

Letter dated 30 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[2 April 1979]

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has authorized me, as Chairman of that Committee, to transmit to you its opinions with regard to recent developments concerning the situation in the Middle East.

I take this opportunity to remind you that the Committee has made recommendations on the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which were supported by the General Assembly as providing a possible basis for the settlement of the question of Palestine. These recommendations are based on the following principles:

"(a) The question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East and consequently no solution to the Middle East problem could be envisaged without taking into account the rights of the Palestinian people;

"(b) The realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty would contribute to a solution of the crisis in the Middle East;

"(c) The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations;

"(d) The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the obligation which devolved on Israel to withdraw completely and quickly from all territory so occupied."<sup>1</sup>

May I also remind you that in resolution 33/28 A, adopted on 7 December 1978, the General Assembly declared that

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/155-S/13210.

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 33, para. 58.

"the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization".

The Committee accordingly notes with regret that these principles, which were supported by the General Assembly, were not taken into consideration in recent negotiations on the question.

If statements by the Prime Minister of Israel to the Israeli Parliament, as reported in the press, to the effect that Israel would never return to the pre-5 June 1967 frontiers, that Jerusalem would for ever be the capital of the Israeli State and that there would never be a Palestinian State on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip are to be believed, it can be stated that Israel continues to oppose resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Palestine by carrying out actions that are contrary to the spirit and the letter of those resolutions and to the principles of international law.

The Committee therefore expresses its concern with regard to recent developments, the consequences of which seem to it by no means conducive to the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as defined by various organs of the United Nations, and which, moreover, do not deal in a sufficiently specific manner with the Palestinian problem, which is recognized as being at the heart of the Middle East conflict.

I should be grateful if the present letter could be distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee  
on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

DOCUMENT S/13211\*

Letter dated 2 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[2 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, a summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression during the period from 19 to 26 March 1979.

I should be grateful if the present communication could be distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/156-S/13211.

## ANNEX

### Summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression during the period from 19 to 26 March 1979 disseminated by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

The guerrilla units and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (ARK), still marching under the banner of the people's war based on guerrilla warfare, are continuing their attacks against the invading Vietnamese forces. On every battlefield they are daily inflicting heavy losses of men and equipment on those forces.

#### 1. In the vicinity of Phnom Penh

From 21 to 23 March, guerrilla troops and the ARK attacked Vietnamese troops north-west of Phnom Penh. They killed 47 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 12 weapons, including two B40s and one machine-gun, and destroyed one military vehicle, one heavy machine-gun and one two-way radio apparatus.

#### 2. South-western region

From 21 to 25 March, guerrilla troops and the ARK attacked the Vietnamese troops throughout the south-west of the country. As a result of these attacks 228 Vietnamese soldiers were killed, a substantial quantity of ammunition and 64 weapons, including three B40s, six B41s, five M79s and two transmitter-receivers, were seized, and two military vehicles and eight large-calibre enemy weapons were destroyed.

#### 3. Western region on highway 4

From 18 to 25 March, guerrilla forces and the ARK attacked Vietnamese troops at Sre Ambel and on highway 4, killed 59 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 12 weapons and destroyed three enemy vehicles.

#### 4. North-western region

(a) On 19 and 20 March and again on 24 and 25 March, in the Battambang region near the town of Battambang, the ARK killed 130 Vietnamese soldiers who were trying to leave the town in order to steal rice from the population. Throughout the region the ARK and the guerrilla units were very active. From 16 to 26 March, they:

- (i) Killed 325 Vietnamese soldiers;
- (ii) Seized 46 weapons including two B40s, four machine-guns, one 60-mm mortar, two M79s and a large quantity of ammunition;

- (iii) Destroyed 50 enemy military vehicles and one DK82.
- (b) In the Pursat and Kompong Chhnang regions and on highway 5, the ARK and the guerrillas repeatedly attacked Vietnamese troops who were trying to plunder the population's rice.

From 20 to 25 March, near the town of Kompong Chhnang, the ARK killed 120 Vietnamese soldiers at the new airfield.

From 20 to 26 March (in addition to the attacks of 15 March at Krakor and Kraing Leau), the results of attacks by the ARK and the guerrillas against Vietnamese troops in the Pursat and Kompong Chhnang regions and on highway 5 were as follows:

- (i) Three hundred and sixty-seven Vietnamese soldiers killed;
- (ii) Sixty weapons seized, including one 60-mm mortar, three heavy machine-guns, three B40s and one M79, together with a substantial quantity of ammunition;
- (iii) One T54 tank, six military vehicles and two enemy cannon destroyed.

#### 5. North-eastern region

From 16 to 23 March, in the regions of Kratie, Mondulkiri and Rattanakiri, the guerrilla forces and the ARK:

- (a) Killed 117 Vietnamese soldiers;
- (b) Seized 22 weapons and ammunition;
- (c) Destroyed three military vehicles.

#### 6. Other regions

From 23 to 25 March, at Kompong Thom, the ARK and the guerrilla units attacked Vietnamese troops who were trying to leave the town of Kompong Thom in order to plunder the population. They killed 30 Vietnamese soldiers and seized numerous weapons.

\*  
\* \* \*

Enemy losses between 19 and 26 March (with additional figures for the period from 16 to 18 March for certain fronts):

- (a) One thousand two hundred Vietnamese soldiers killed;
- (b) Two hundred and twenty weapons of various types and a substantial quantity of ammunition seized;
- (c) Thirty military vehicles, one tank and numerous heavy weapons destroyed.

## DOCUMENT S/13212\*

### Letter dated 1 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[2 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the note dated 31 March 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I request that this note be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/157-S/13212.

## ANNEX

### Note dated 31 March 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

With a view to restoring normal relations between China and Viet Nam, ensuring peace and tranquillity in the border area and then proceeding to resolve the boundary, territorial and other disputes, the Chinese Government has repeatedly declared its readiness to hold negotiations speedily with the Vietnamese Government, advanced reasonable proposals to bring them about, and designated a Chinese Government delegation headed by Vice Foreign Minister Han Nianlong, which stands ready to go to Hanoi for the negotiations. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese side has, however, deliberately complicated the matter by fabri-



cating numerous lies concerning the withdrawal of Chinese frontier troops, alleging that they have not withdrawn to the Chinese side of the boundary, and raised a pre-condition in its repeated efforts to obstruct the holding of the negotiations. In its note of 27 March 1979 [S/13202], the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry repeated its crude charges and slanders against China, stuck to its unreasonable pre-condition and tried to evade its responsibility for delaying the negotiations. The Chinese Government cannot but express its deep regret and indignation at this.

It must be pointed out that concurrent with China's withdrawal of frontier troops and its endeavours to bring about negotiations, the Vietnamese side continued to commit armed provocations and harassment along the Sino-Vietnamese border in an attempt to provoke a new military conflict. Moreover, it spared no efforts to sow dissension between China and Laos with the fabrication that China was "massing troops to threaten Laos". In resorting to such insidious tricks, the Vietnamese side tried to damage China's image while covering up its own crime of tightening its control over Laos and stepping up its aggression against Kampuchea. This attempt will, of course, prove futile.

The Vietnamese side keeps spreading the lie that "Chinese troops are still stationed in some places in Viet Nam" so as to obstruct the holding of negotiations. Sometimes it alleges that the number of places in Viet Nam in which Chinese troops are still stationed is more than a dozen. At other times, it claims the number of places to exceed 30. Ten places were listed in its note of 27 March. Such arbitrary and contradictory charges reveal not only a flippant attitude but also extreme clumsiness. The Chinese side has time and again stated explicitly that all Chinese frontier troops were withdrawn to Chinese territory as of 16 March and that there is not a single Chinese soldier on Vietnamese territory. As for the places listed in that note by the Vietnamese side, in some of them there are no Chinese troops at all, while in those places where there are Chinese troops,

these are all on the Chinese side of the boundary and have always been under Chinese jurisdiction. If the Vietnamese side holds a different opinion about the alignment of the boundary in certain sections, it should seek a resolution through negotiations. It is utterly unreasonable for the Vietnamese side to make China's withdrawal from these places a pre-condition for the holding of negotiations.

In its note, the Vietnamese side has also alleged that the Chinese side sought "to use the so-called *status quo* borderline to occupy the areas they had encroached upon". This is wilful and calumnious misrepresentation of China's correct position on the way to resolve boundary issues. Rather, it is the Vietnamese and not other people who, on the pretext of restoring the original state of the historical boundary, unilaterally and forcibly changed the extent of jurisdiction of the two sides prevailing at the time of the exchange of letters on the boundary question in 1957-1958 between the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese parties, constantly nibbling away and occupying Chinese territory. We are indeed shocked by the Vietnamese practice of turning things upside down and incriminating others.

There is a traditional friendship of long standing between the peoples of China and Viet Nam, both of which suffered from imperialist and colonialist enslavement and oppression. Today, both peoples desire to live in peace so as to have favourable conditions in which to build up their respective countries. If the Vietnamese side is sincere about holding negotiations and wishes to have a peaceful and tranquil border, it should remove the obstacles it has set in the way of the negotiations and make a positive response to the repeated proposals of the Chinese side for negotiations. Any attempt to obstruct the holding of negotiations and to maintain or aggravate tensions along the border runs counter to the wishes of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people of the world and is, therefore, doomed to failure.

## DOCUMENT S/13214

### Letter dated 2 April 1979 from the representative of Mozambique to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[3 April 1979]

I have the honour to submit herewith a letter from Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in connexion with another criminal act of sabotage and armed aggression committed by the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

As has been the custom, this latest aggressive action was once again directed at major economic and civilian installations. In this particular odious aggression, the destruction ranged from loss of innocent civilian lives to knocking down electric lines and burning down a huge number of fuel depots of serious proportion enough to hamper the economic activities not only of Mozambique but also that of the other countries of the region such as Malawi and Zambia.

Revealing their desperation, Ian Smith and his puppets, in these latest attacks and to accomplish their macabre plan made use of traitors and renegades interested in hindering the success of the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for national independence.

In requesting that the present communication be circulated as a document of the Security Council, I

trust that you will continue your tireless efforts in search of a just solution to the Rhodesian conflict.

(Signed) José Carlos LOBO  
Permanent Representative of Mozambique  
to the United Nations

### LETTER DATED 30 MARCH 1979 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MOZAMBIQUE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Once again the enemy has perpetrated criminal action against our revolution. During the early hours of 23 March, a group of enemy agents sabotaged oil facilities at Munhava in the city of Beira.

This group of murderers, who had infiltrated into the region, blew up an electricity line and oil pipelines to the pier, fired at oil storage tanks and started an intensive shootout at positions of the People's Force for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM). The armed forces of Mozambique immediately repelled the attack frustrating the main objective of the enemy which was the complete destruction of these facilities and which could have resulted in a high number of casualties among the

population residing in the vicinity. The FPLM killed one of the enemy's agents.

The fire which was started as a result of this criminal action damaged 10 oil storage tanks and burned an estimated 32 million escudos (\$1 million) of the refined product. Nine oil tanks were destroyed, 17 tanks were damaged by gunfire, a gas pumping station was destroyed, as well as several metres of oil pipelines, and a high voltage electric tower was knocked down. According to the assessment, already made, the total losses have been estimated at 100 million escudos (\$3,125,000). Those losses include the installations of the following oil companies: Petromoc, Mobil, Caltex and BP-Shell. The indirect losses have not yet been estimated.

Because of the prompt action of the workers, who immediately combated the fire, it was possible to completely extinguish it in 37 hours after its deflagration. The workers' action also made it possible to restore electric power to the city of Beira four hours after the sabotage to the electric tower.

The response of the FPLM and the action of the workers in fighting the blaze made it possible that oil supply to the provinces of Sofala and Tete was not affected.

The greatest volume of fuel destroyed by the fire was at the Mobil facilities, which were consigned to Malawi; however, the transport of refined products to that neighbouring country has already been restored.

From this criminal action of the enemy it is important to note certain fundamental aspects.

This type of aggression is conceived and prepared at enemy headquarters at Salisbury and carried out by traitors, former PIDE agents, renegades, FRELIMO's deserters, bandits and fringe elements recruited by the illegal Rhodesian régime. They are trained in Rhodesian camps and are brought into the interior of our country by helicopters of the illegal régime. Once the criminal actions are concluded, they are brought out of the country by the same means. These reactionaries have been used for a long time for reconnaissance operations and as guides for troops of the racist régime who are engaged in systematic violations and attacks against our country.

In exchange for promises and money as reward, this scum of lackeys and traitors agrees to murder defenceless civilians, women and children. These are the criminals who lead Smith's soldiery in the kidnapping of civilians, attacks to *machimbombos* (public buses) and passenger and cargo convoys, burning of *machambas* (farms), murdering foreign workers as well as all kinds of massacres and attempts on our people's life. (See previous communications from the People's Republic of Mozambique.)

The use of these internal reactionaries represents a new tactic to escalate the aggression against our revolution. Immediately after the proclamation of our independence, the aggressions were characterized by the temporary territorial occupation and were carried out openly by troops of the illegal régime. Today, owing to our defence forces' greater capability, the enemy is forced to use new tactics.

In another connexion, Ian Smith is trying desperately to obtain international recognition of his "internal settlement". The Rhodesian régime is trying to rectify its image as a "rebel colony". Therefore, when attacking Rhodesian refugee camps or Mozambican military targets, the régime reveals its true face and claims responsibility for the attacks which are then presented as "hot pursuit" operations. However, in the case of attacks against economic and civilian targets in the People's Republic of Mozambique, it uses those murderers and lackeys as direct executors, reserving its troops for logistic support.

In the ultimate analysis, it is the same enemy who is using different tactics as a result of the increase in our defensive strength and of alternatives arising from tactical concessions of the illegal régime.

The People's Force for the Liberation of Mozambique, the defence forces of the people and of the revolution, which under FRELIMO leadership defeated the Portuguese colonial fascist army, are strongly determined to defend the sovereignty of the country, its hard-conquered independence and the security of the people and the State.

The attack against the oil facilities at Beira is an attack not only against the People's Republic of Mozambique but also against the other independent States in the region.

It is also important to note that those facilities supply countries such as Malawi and Zambia. In the future, after the independence of Zimbabwe, they will supply oil to Botswana and to Zimbabwe itself. The enemy's aim is therefore very clear. To destabilize, politically and economically, the People's Republic of Mozambique, to create insecurity in the region, to destabilize economically the neighbouring countries and to hinder the independence of Zimbabwe. The People's Republic of Mozambique calls on the international community to implement Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, 386 (1976), 31/43 and 32/95 in order to give material assistance to our country to face the enormous difficulties arising from the application of sanctions against the racist and criminal régime of Ian Smith, and the constant aggressions perpetrated by that régime. On the other hand, today we also call on Member States of the United Nations to give with priority military assistance and any other type of assistance which will allow us to increase our defensive capability in accordance with resolution 411 (1977).

In this context, we ask the Secretary-General to see whether means can be found which will make possible the implementation of those resolutions and to eliminate the growing threat of a general war in southern Africa caused by the illegal régime of Ian Smith, and to guarantee a successful struggle for national independence by the still oppressed people.

The People's Republic of Mozambique needs peace for a rapid national reconstruction and for its development.

The struggle continues.

(Signed) Joaquim Alberto CHISSANO  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the People's Republic of Mozambique

## Letter dated 2 April 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]

[3 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to enclose the statement issued by the University of Bir Zeit on the inhumane and vicious practices of the Zionist occupation authorities in the Arab land of Palestine. This statement [annex I] and the chronological events that took place on 12 March 1979 [annex II] show without doubt that the Zionist régime at Tel Aviv continues to follow its savage policy of systematic harassment of the Arab educational communities and their institutions in occupied Arab Palestinian land, namely, the West Bank.

Once more, I call upon you to do what you possibly can to put an end to Zionist acts of systematic terrorism and harassment that disrupt and intimidate Arab educational institutions in the occupied West Bank of Jordan.

I kindly request that the present letter and the enclosed statement regarding the 12-hour Zionist terrorism be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

Statement by the University of Bir Zeit issued  
on 12 March 1979

The University of Bir Zeit declares today, 12 March 1979, a day of strike to protest Israeli acts of violence which took place yesterday, including the storming of the university campus, firing at unarmed students and seriously wounding four of them, and imposing a curfew on the town. In addition, the military authorities applied collective punishment on the civilian inhabitants of the town and created among them an atmosphere of terror.

We believe that the show of excessive force is inexcusable and illogical. The entering of the town by more than a hundred Israeli soldiers, led by the Military Governor himself, the firing at the students during a peaceful political demonstration and the herding of the male inhabitants into the courtyard of the church have only contributed to inflaming the situation.

The perpetration of such acts against other educational institutions in the West Bank, at a time when the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, was visiting Jerusalem, indicates that what the occupation authorities had perpetrated is part of a calculated policy and not just sporadic acts by the soldiers.

Moreover, the creation of such an atmosphere of violence and suppression will drive away the chances of a just settlement in the area and violates the human rights of the Palestinian people.

We demand that an over-all investigation of the incident be carried out. Those Israeli officials responsible for the violence should be brought to justice and such acts of terror be stopped forthwith.

## ANNEX II

Chronological account of the events that took place  
on 12 March 1979

9:30 a.m.

A military checkpoint was set up on the Bir Zeit-Ramallah road. The soldiers turned back by the use of force people who were coming to Bir Zeit from Ramallah.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/159-S/13215.

10:00 a.m.

The student body of the university held a meeting at the meeting hall to discuss the events surrounding the visit of President Carter.

10:30 a.m.

A group of university students and students from a high school in the town marched in a peaceful demonstration of protest in the streets of Bir Zeit. A group of Israeli soldiers were watching from a distance without interfering in the demonstration.

11:45 a.m.

Sporadic gunshots were heard in the town but caused no injuries.

12:30 p.m.

Some time after the demonstration ended, the Israeli soldiers opened fire on a number of people standing in one of the main streets of Bir Zeit, hitting four of them in the back; three of them were taken to Ramallah Hospital and the fourth was taken to Hadassah Hospital. They are:

1. Fayeg Muhammad Ali, a student at Bir Zeit University. He was injured in the neck and seriously wounded in the jaw.
2. Maher Lutfy Abed el-Saych, a student from the town who sustained serious injuries in the cheek.
3. Sami Abed El-Rahman sustained serious injuries in the cheek.
4. Hassan Muhammad Ali, a student from Bir Zeit, had cheek injuries and one of his lungs was injured as well.

Meanwhile, six truck-loads of armed soldiers entered the town accompanied by a number of high-ranking officers.

1:00 p.m.

Dr. Gaby Baramky, the Vice-President of the university, went to meet with the officers to inquire about the gunfire. He was told that the soldiers were responding to gunfire from the demonstrators. They ordered Dr. Baramky to return to the university and to make everybody inside it stay in it.

1:30 p.m.

The army announced by loudspeaker from the town mosque the imposition of a curfew and warned that any citizen violating the curfew would risk his life.

2:00 p.m.

The soldiers questioned four university teachers at the gate of Ramallah Hospital. They asked them if they were journalists and allowed only two of them to enter and sent the other two away in a rough manner. After a heated argument the soldiers took their passports and did not return them before 6 o'clock, in the evening.

Meanwhile, the military authorities ordered the transfer of the four injured persons to Hadassah Hospital, an act which appeared to have been taken in order to prevent journalists from entering the hospital to take a look at the injured students. The doctors in the hospital refused the transfer of Mr. Hassan Muhammad Ali because his injuries were very serious; the others were actually transferred.

2:15 p.m.

General Benjamin Ben Elizar, the Military Governor General of the West Bank, summoned Mr. Baramky to the post office of Bir Zeit, which had been transformed into temporary military headquarters, and informed him that the curfew would be lifted in an hour and movement between Bir Zeit and Ramallah would be permitted, if all was quiet.

3:10 p.m.

The army through loudspeakers ordered all male citizens over 14 years of age to gather in the courtyard of the town's

Catholic church. The identity cards of the citizens were examined; in addition, the citizens were forced to sit on the ground while some of them were interrogated. The houses of the town were being searched for men who might have stayed behind. During the search the soldiers beat a number of women while the students and teachers of Bir Zeit were still on the university campus.

3:30 p.m.

An Israeli doctor from Hadassah Hospital arrived at the hospital of Ramallah to decide on the transfer of the injured student to Hadassah. Having barely examined the injured, the doctor decided upon his transfer. After two hours of discussion between those present and the family of the injured on one side and the Israeli doctor and the military officers on the other, the transfer of the injured student was postponed awaiting a decision of the legal adviser of the military administration.

3:40 p.m.

In Bir Zeit the university vice-president tried to see the Military Governor in the church but could not find him. He went to the post office and was told to keep the students on campus awaiting instructions.

5:10 p.m.

The Military Governor summoned Mr. Baramky to the post office and for the second time informed him that the curfew would be lifted in an hour or two "if everything went as desired" and that he would keep him informed. He assured Mr. Baramky that there was no need to trouble himself in arranging sleeping facilities for 400 students, teachers and employees on the uni-

versity campus. He said he would not prevent the girl students from going between the dormitories and the university cafeteria, assuring him that the army would not enter the university campus "this time".

6:30 p.m.

A while after he returned from his meeting with the Military Governor, Mr. Baramky met eight soldiers who had entered the university campus. When he informed them of their commander's orders, they replied with insolence and refused to leave for some time, while the movement of the girl students between the cafeteria and the dormitories continued to be prevented.

8:30 p.m.

The adviser to the Military Governor of the West Bank, Mr. Ygal Carmen, informed the city council of Ramallah which was meeting to deal with the situation, that the curfew had been lifted at Bir Zeit and that the worried families could go there to bring the students and the teachers out.

9:00 p.m.

About 50 cars arrived at Bir Zeit from Ramallah but were turned back and their drivers were treated violently by the soldiers who were checking the identities of the incoming people on the road to town. The soldiers told them that they still had orders to prevent anyone from coming into or going out of Bir Zeit.

9:30 p.m.

The students and the faculty of Bir Zeit saw the town citizens leaving the courtyard of the church to return to their homes and only then did they know that the curfew had been lifted.

## DOCUMENT S/13216\* \*\*

### Letter dated 2 April 1979 from the representative of Iraq to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[3 April 1979]

In my capacity as the representative of the host country of the Conference of Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the full text of the resolutions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the level of Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance, issued at Baghdad on 31 March 1979.

I would kindly request that the present text be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

I would also like to draw your attention to the eighth paragraph of the text which reads:

"The United Nations shall be asked to transfer its regional offices which cover the Arab region from Egypt to any other Arab capital."

(Signed) Salah Omar AL-ALI  
Permanent Representative of Iraq  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Resolutions adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States at the level of Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance

As the Government of the Republic of Egypt disregarded the resolutions of the Arab summits, in particular the resolutions of the sixth and seventh summits held at Algiers and Rabat, and

\* Incorporating document S/13216/Corr.1 of 6 April 1979.

\*\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/160-S/13216 and Corr.1.

at the same time disregarded the resolutions of the ninth Arab summit, especially the call of the Arab Kings and Heads of State to refrain from signing the peace treaty with the Zionist enemy on 26 March 1979, thus defying the Arab will and entering into complicity with the United States, it sided with the Zionist enemy and acted unilaterally in the Arab-Zionist dispute. By so doing, the Egyptian Government has violated the rights of the Arab nation and exposed the nation to dangers and challenges which threaten it. It has also excommunicated itself from its national role to liberate the occupied Arab land, especially Jerusalem, as well as the restoration of full national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their return to their homeland and their right to self-determination and the setting up of the Palestinian State on their national soil.

In the interest of Arab solidarity, unity of ranks for the sake of defending the Arab cause of destiny and in appreciation of the struggle of the Arab people of Egypt and their sacrifices along the path of Arab issues and in implementation of the resolutions of the ninth Arab summit, held at Baghdad from 2 to 5 November 1978, consequently at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Iraq, the Council of the League of Arab States met at Baghdad at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance from 27 to 31 March 1979. The Council, in light of the ninth Arab summit, studied the latest developments pertaining to the Arab-Zionist conflict, in particular following the signing of the peace treaty by the Egyptian Government with the Zionist enemy on 26 March 1979, and the Arab Foreign Ministers resolved the following:

1. (a) Withdrawal of Arab ambassadors from Egypt immediately.

(b) Recommending severance of political and diplomatic relations with the Government of Egypt, provided that Arab Governments shall take necessary measures to adopt this recommendation within a period not exceeding one month from the



date of the issuance of this resolution, in accordance with constitutional procedures valid in each country.

2. Considering suspension of membership of the Arab Republic of Egypt from the Arab League, valid as from the date of the signing of the peace treaty by Egypt with the Zionist enemy.

This implies depriving Egypt of enjoyment of its rights by virtue of its membership.

3. (a) Tunis, capital of the Republic of Tunisia, shall be the temporary headquarters of the Arab League. Its Secretariat General, the Specialized Ministerial Council and Permanent Technical Committee, with effect from the date of the signing of the treaty between the Egyptian Government and the Zionist enemy, and all international and regional organizations must be informed that dealing with the Arab League should be through its new temporary headquarters.

(b) To call on the Government of the Tunisian Republic to render all possible assistance to facilitate the setting up of the new headquarters of the League.

(c) To form a committee comprising representatives of Iraq, Syria, Tunisia, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Algeria with the aim of implementing the provisions of this resolution and to urge the member countries to give necessary assistance in this respect. The committee shall exercise all the authority of the Council of the Arab League necessary for the implementation of this resolution, including the safety of all the League's property, assets and documents and taking necessary measures against any action the Egyptian Government may take to impede the transfer of the League's headquarters or harm its rights and property. Moreover, the committee should complete its task of transferring to its temporary headquarters within a period of two months which may be extended for another month subject to a decision by the committee. The committee shall submit a report on the completion of its tasks at the first forthcoming meeting of the Council of the Arab League.

(d) An amount of \$5 million shall be put at the disposal of the committee to cover the transfer expenses. This amount shall be drawn from balances of various funds. The committee shall have the right to spend any amount when necessary, and agreement on this shall be reached by the committee or whomever it authorizes, and such expenses should be settled by the member countries, each according to its annual contribution to the League's budget.

(e) Transferring of the Arab League's personnel working in the Secretariat General at the time of the issuing of this resolution from the permanent to the temporary headquarters within the period specified in paragraph 3 (c) of this resolution. The committee referred to in paragraph 3 (c) shall be authorized to pay financial compensation to the officials in proportion to the standard of living in the new headquarters, and to organize their affairs until the drafting of a permanent regulation.

4. The Arab organizations, commissions and federations enumerated in list No. 1, are called upon to take necessary measures to suspend Egypt's membership and to transfer any such organizations which are now in Egypt to other Arab countries temporarily, similar to the decision regarding the League's Secretariat General.

The executive councils of these organizations and commissions shall meet immediately to implement this resolution within a period not exceeding that specified in paragraph 3 (c) above.

5. To work towards suspension of Egypt's membership from the non-aligned movement, the Islamic Conference Organization and the Organization of African Unity since it has violated the resolutions of these organizations concerning the Arab-Zionist conflict.

6. To continue dealing with the Arab people of Egypt, except those directly or indirectly collaborating with the Zionist enemy.

7. Member countries shall undertake to notify all foreign countries about their stand vis-à-vis the Egyptian-Zionist treaty and to call on these countries to refrain from supporting this treaty since it constitutes an aggression against the rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, and is a threat to peace and security in the world.

8. To condemn the policy pursued by the United States of America for its role in the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Zionist treaty.

9. To consider measures taken in this resolution as temporary and to be cancelled by a decision of the League's Council as soon as there is a disappearance of circumstances justifying its adoption.

10. The Arab countries may promulgate legislation, resolutions and measures which may be required for the implementation of this resolution.

\* \* \*

The Council of the Arab League, at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance, also agreed on the following:

*First:* To stop granting any loans, deposits, banking facilities and financial or technical aid by the Arab Governments and their establishments to the Egyptian Government and its establishments as from the date of the signing of the treaty.

*Second:* To refrain from offering economic aid from Arab banks, funds and financial establishments within the Arab League to the Egyptian Government and its establishments.

*Third:* Arab Governments and their establishments shall refrain from obtaining shares and bonds issued by the Egyptian Government and its financial establishments.

*Fourth:* Consequent to the suspension of Egypt's membership from the Arab League, its membership in the establishment funds and organizations shall also be suspended, and all the benefits Egypt may enjoy from these sources shall also be terminated. In case any of these bodies are based in Egypt, they should be transferred to other Arab countries temporarily.

*Fifth:* As the Egyptian-Zionist treaty and the annexes attached to it commit Egypt to sell oil to Israel, Arab countries shall refrain from supplying Egypt with oil and its derivatives.

*Sixth:* To ban trade exchange with the public and private Egyptian establishments that engage in transactions with the Zionist enemy.

*Seventh:* (a) To apply the Arab boycott laws, principles and provisions to the Egyptian companies, establishments and individuals who deal directly or indirectly with the Zionist enemy. The Boycott Bureau shall implement and follow up this resolution.

(b) The provisions of subparagraph (a) above cover cultural and artistic works which propagate dealing with the Zionist enemy or have association with its institutions.

(c) The Arab countries stress the importance of continuing to deal with the national institutions in Egypt that refrain from dealing with the Zionist enemy and encourage them to work in the Arab countries within the framework of their field of interest.

(d) The Arab countries stress the importance of respecting the feelings of Egyptians working and living in the Arab countries and take care of their interests and consolidate their Pan-Arab affiliation.

(e) To consolidate the role of the Arab boycott at this stage and to strictly comply with its provisions, which shall be temporarily handled by the Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs, who will directly supervise the Boycott Bureau in Damascus. He shall be granted all necessary authority to reorganize the said Bureau and to submit proposals to develop the boycott in an appropriate manner. This aspect will be the subject of the first meeting of the Arab League.

*Eighth:* The United Nations shall be asked to transfer its regional offices which cover the Arab region from Egypt to any other Arab capital. The Arab countries shall take a unified stand in this respect.

*Ninth:* The Arab League Secretariat General shall be entrusted with the task of studying and laying down joint Arab projects so as to take necessary measures to protect the interests of the Arab nation in a manner compatible with the aims of these resolutions. The Secretariat General shall submit its proposals to the Arab League Council at its first meeting.

*Tenth:* To face the Zionist schemes by working out an Arab strategy for economic confrontation by exploiting individual Arab potentials and stressing the achievement of Arab economic integrity, consolidating joint Arab and regional development within the national perspective and expanding the establishment

of joint Arab projects which serve the aim of economic liberation and Arab economic integration. In addition, attempts should be made to diversify international relations and consolidate them with the developing nations. The Secretariat General of the Arab League shall urgently submit special studies on the strategy of joint Arab economic action to the Arab Economic Council in its next session. This will be the prelude to the convocation of the next Arab economic conference.

*Eleventh:* To entrust the committee referred to above with the supervision of the implementation of these resolutions.

This committee shall be charged with the task of submitting a follow-up report to the League's Council in its first meeting.

*Twelfth:* The Arab countries shall issue resolutions and legislation and take such measures as may be necessary for the implementation of these resolutions.

*Thirteenth:* These measures taken by the Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance are considered the minimum necessary to face the dangers of the treaty and the Governments shall have the option to take whatever steps they deem necessary in addition to these resolutions.

*Fourteenth:* The Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance call on the Arab nation to support the economic measures taken against the Zionist enemy and the Egyptian régime.

## DOCUMENT S/13217\*

### Letter dated 3 April 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[3 April 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Communiqué issued on 3 April 1979 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries deems it imperative to issue the following communiqué to reiterate the position of the non-aligned countries:

1. At the end of their Conference, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978,<sup>a</sup> the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned countries affirmed that a just peace in the Middle East could not be established except within the framework of a solution based on total Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and on the basis of restoring to the Palestinian people their national, legal and inalienable rights and the right to practise these rights, including the right to repatriation, self-determination and setting up their national and independent state in Palestine, independent and equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, in all conferences and international activities and spheres concerned with the Palestinian problem and offering all forms of support to the Pales-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/161-S/13217.

<sup>a</sup> See A/33/206.

tine Liberation Organization and the Arab States in their struggle to end Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories.

2. The Conference also affirmed that the attempts and endeavours of the United States of America to liquidate the Palestine issue and its assistance to Israel in realizing its expansionist, imperialistic and racist policy in occupied Palestine, through the encouragement of bilateral and partial solutions, would not lead to a just solution of the problem. Therefore, the Conference condemned such policies, attempts and endeavours and called for resistance to them. The Conference also stressed the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to reject all forms of settlements, projects and solutions aiming at the liquidation of the Palestine question and at denying the national rights of the Palestinian people.

3. The Ministers appealed in particular to the Security Council to undertake effective measures, some of which are stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to compel Israel to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations.

4. The members of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recall General Assembly resolutions 33/29 and 33/28, in which the Assembly, *inter alia*, called for the early convening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and the co-chairmanship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, with the participation on an equal footing of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX). Furthermore, the General Assembly declared that the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine required that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

## DOCUMENT S/13218

### Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[3 April 1979]

1. The President of the Security Council wishes to refer to resolution 446 (1979), adopted by the Council at its 2134th meeting on 22 March 1979 in connexion with the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

2. In paragraph 4 of the resolution, the Security Council decided to establish a Commission, consisting of three members of the Security Council to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with the members of the Council,

to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

3. In accordance with that decision, the President wishes to report that he has had consultations with the members of the Council and that agreement has been reached that the Commission will be composed of the following three members of the Council: Bolivia, Portugal and Zambia.

#### DOCUMENT S/13219\*

Letter dated 3 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]

[4 April 1979]

I would like to present you my compliments and draw your attention to the following question.

Since 7 January 1979, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary fascist and genocidal clique was overthrown by the Kampuchean people. The so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" no longer exists in reality, in politics and by law. The People's Republic of Kampuchea has been established, and the Kampuchean people are the real masters of their country. Mr. Heng Samrin, President of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, have on many occasions drawn to your attention as well as to the attention of the President of the Security Council the situation of Kampuchea after 7 January 1979 and have affirmed since that day that, besides those appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and by the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, nobody has the right to represent the Kampuchean people at the United Nations, at the international organizations attached to the United Nations, at other international organizations and international conferences [S/13063 and S/13090].

On 26 March 1979, Mr. Hun Sen once again sent a message to the Secretary-General.<sup>2</sup> The Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully supports the position expressed therein by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

However, up till now, an individual named Thiounn Prasith who represents nobody is abusing the United Nations apparatus and monitoring news fabricated in Peking to issue press releases and other documents distorting the situation in Kampuchea and spread reports on the so-called "military victories" invented by their imagination. Especially, he is disseminating through the United Nations a series of statements or documents broadcasted daily by a radio mouthpiece based in Chin-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/162-S/13219.

<sup>2</sup> See A/34/136.

ese land, making slanderous allegations about the policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in offence of the sovereignty of other Member States.

It is known to the whole world that the ousted elements of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique are now living in Peking, fomented and commanded by the Chinese authorities.

The latter used them in international forums as an instrument of their expansionist and hegemonist policy in Indo-China and South-East Asia, characterized essentially by the use of force and interference in the internal affairs and against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three countries of Indo-China, thus seriously jeopardizing peace and security in South-East Asia and the world.

It is the view of the Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that the occurrence of the above-mentioned situation in the United Nations is abnormal because it does not only flagrantly violate the sovereignty and the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people and offend Members of the United Nations, but also produces an unfavourable impression that the United Nations apparatus has been abused by a traitor of the Kampuchean people in the service of the sinister designs of his masters.

Therefore, the Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam states that it totally rejects all the fabrications, lies and grossly slanderous allegations of the man named Thiounn Prasith in the United Nations and proposes that the Secretary-General, with his authority, take appropriate measures to put an end to those evil actions.

I request that the present letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU

Permanent Representative of  
the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13220\*

Letter dated 4 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]

[4 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea

démocratique" entitled "Uniting to kill the tiger is preferable to cutting off a piece of one's own flesh in the hope of placating it".

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/163-S/13220.

I should be grateful if you would have the editorial distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
*Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX

**Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Uniting to kill the tiger is preferable to cutting off a piece of one's own flesh in the hope of placating it"**

Today the fearsome tiger, foaming at the mouth, is on the prowl and stalking us, ready to devour us at any moment. If we relax our vigilance, even for a second, it will immediately hurl itself upon us. If we are frightened of it and cut off a part of our flesh for it to eat, the tiger will eat it and then fall on us and devour us completely, for this tiger is insatiable.

To speak plainly, the Vietnamese tiger has already swallowed Laos without Laos even uttering a cry. It has swallowed it whole—the country, the people and the Lao nation. In a word, it has devoured Laos to the last morsel. And all because a handful of lackeys of the Vietnamese in Vientiane, traitors to the Lao nation and people and trembling with fear of the Vietnamese tiger, cut off the flesh of Laos piece by piece to satisfy its hunger until it had devoured Laos altogether. Now Laos exists only in name. It is the Vietnamese who are running all Laotian affairs and who rule Laos. It is the Vietnamese who hold all State power from the village level and the commune up to the central echelon. Laos has become a military base and a base for Vietnamese-Soviet espionage in South-East Asia and Asia. It has openly become their colony and their most servile puppet in South-East Asia.

The people of Kampuchea, on the other hand, together with the countries and peoples of South-East Asia which have not let themselves be intimidated and have refused to submit and capitulate to the Vietnamese-Soviet tiger, have kept aloft the banner of struggle against its threats and intimidation, have fought it tenaciously and have won a string of victories. Thanks to this struggle, the Soviet plan for "collective security" in South-East Asia and the Vietnamese plan for spurious relations of friendship and neighbourly co-operation have suffered a bitter defeat. In particular, the sinister plan for an "Indo-Chinese Federation" has been unmasked and opposed by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, and is now crumbling.

Thus, the lesson of Laos' failure and the invaluable experience of the struggle of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia have clearly shown that, in order to stop the war of ag-

gression by the Vietnamese and Soviets in Kampuchea and to prevent that barbarous Fascist war of aggression from spreading to Thailand and other countries in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific and elsewhere, all these countries and their peoples must devote all the attention necessary to the danger of this war of aggression and unite in a broad front to combat still more strongly the Vietnamese-Soviet war of aggression in Kampuchea:

1. By struggling actively and with perseverance, using every method and mobilizing all the resources at their disposal in order vigorously and resolutely to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Viet Nam's forces of aggression from Kampuchea.

2. By fighting to demand that Viet Nam should cease its war of aggression in Kampuchea and stop sending in further troops to augment its aggressive forces.

3. By fighting to prevent Viet Nam from extending its war of aggression into Thailand and throughout South-East Asia.

4. By increasing all forms of aid and support to the just struggle being waged against the Vietnamese war of aggression by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people in order to liberate the nation, country and people and for the sake of an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Democratic Kampuchea, sovereign in its territorial integrity.

The countries and peoples of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific are well aware of the obstinate, Machiavellian character of the Vietnamese. The only way, therefore, for South-East Asia to become a zone of peace is to close ranks and to fight even harder.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people are determined to fight unswervingly. They reserve the right to counter-attack all those who take part in the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people, the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation are determined to make any sacrifice for the sacred cause of national, people's liberation and for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Democratic Kampuchea, sovereign in its territorial integrity. They will not agree at any price to cut off their flesh or to be eaten by the Vietnamese and the Soviets when they choose. In a word, the Kampuchean people will not kneel and will never capitulate to the Vietnamese enemy and become its slave, as have the handful of traitors who, having sold off the Kampuchean nation and people, are the craven running dogs of the Vietnamese aggressors in Phnom Penh.

The Kampuchean people, like all the countries and peoples of South-East Asia, are absolutely convinced that their united struggle to defeat the Vietnamese-Soviet tiger will make a noble and worthy contribution to peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and throughout the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13221

**Letter dated 4 April 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[4 April 1979]

At the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. R. F. Botha, I am enclosing the text of a letter he has addressed to you on 4 April 1979.

I would appreciate it if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
*Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of  
South Africa to the United Nations*

LETTER DATED 4 APRIL 1979 FROM THE MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

At approximately 0600 on 2 April 1979, SWAPO terrorists attacked the home of the Minister of Agricul-

ture of Owambo, Mr. Josia Shikongo Taapopi, with Russian hand grenades, causing him to sustain multiple injuries.

On 31 March 1979, at approximately 1800, four SWAPO terrorists fired at a vehicle in which two civilians were travelling between Otavi and Kombot. Both passengers were injured.

At approximately 1850 also on 31 March 1979 and in the same vicinity as the latter incident, SWAPO terrorists fired on an ambulance with AK-47 rifles. When the driver of the vehicle returned the fire, the terrorists fled.

You are aware of the recent spate of atrocities committed by SWAPO terrorists against the civilian popula-



tion of South West Africa. It is our view that these acts of terror accord with the claims of SWAPO to be allowed to establish bases inside the Territory. The atrocities also appear to be SWAPO's way of establishing a measure of credibility for its claim of having "forces" inside South West Africa.

Unfortunately it seems that the sympathetic reaction to SWAPO's insistence on bases inside South West Africa to which their "forces" inside the Territory would be restricted when the cease-fire comes into effect, has had the effect of inviting increased infiltration

from across the northern border. Moreover, in a further attempt visibly to demonstrate their presence, the terrorists resort to acts of violence against civilian targets.

SWAPO is by its actions daily confirming that it is not interested in solving the question of South West Africa peacefully and in a democratic manner. It persists in its dictum that only violence will lead to the establishment of an independent South West Africa.

(Signed) R. F. BOTHA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of South Africa

## DOCUMENT S/13222\*

### Letter dated 4 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[4 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the note dated 4 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Note dated 4 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam acknowledges receipt of the note dated 31 March 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China [S/13212] and wishes to make clear the views of the Vietnamese side as follows:

1. Since 17 February 1979, the Chinese rulers have mobilized over half a million troops to wage a war of aggression against Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country. The Chinese aggressor troops have committed many savage crimes against the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people have risen up as one man in a valiant fight to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland.

For the sake of peace and justice, the people of the whole world have strongly supported the Vietnamese people's just struggle and sternly condemned the Chinese rulers' unjust war.

In their own interests and for the sake of the friendship between the two peoples, there have developed among the Chinese people and troops an opposition to the Chinese ruling circle's war of aggression in Viet Nam.

In face of this situation, the Chinese rulers have declared that they will bring home all their troops.

2. The serious position and attitude of goodwill of the Vietnamese people and Government are clear and unswerving: while exercising their legitimate right of self-defence to safeguard their fatherland, the Vietnamese people and Government, for the sake of peace and friendship, persistently stand for a

negotiated settlement of the problems in the relations between the two countries.

On 6 March 1979, one day after the Chinese rulers' statement about beginning troop withdrawals, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam made it clear: the Chinese rulers, having started a war of aggression against Viet Nam, must put a permanent end to their aggression, withdraw immediately, completely and unconditionally all their troops to the other side of the historical borderline which the two sides have agreed to respect. After the complete withdrawal of the Chinese troops, the Vietnamese side will be prepared to enter immediately into talks with the Chinese side at the level of Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs on the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

But, until now, the Chinese troops have not been withdrawn from all the points they have occupied on Vietnamese territory; moreover, they have continued digging trenches and building fortifications in these places. In addition, the Chinese rulers have sent troop reinforcements and war materials close to the Vietnamese border. The Chinese side has also claimed that Viet Nam intends to provoke a new military conflict; this is an attempt to deceive world public opinion and the Chinese people.

3. In its previous notes to the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side claimed to have brought home all its troops as of 16 March 1979. This contention does not conform to the facts. In its note of 27 March [S/13202] the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam pointed out that the Chinese troops were still stationed in over 10 places on Vietnamese territory and named each of those places. In its note of 31 March in reply to the Vietnamese note, the Chinese side also admitted the presence of Chinese troops in some of the points mentioned by the Vietnamese side. It should be recalled that the correct position of the Vietnamese side has been made clear in the previous notes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam.

As a sign of goodwill and with the desire of preserving the traditional friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and China, reaching a settlement of the disputes in the relations between the two sides, meeting the aspirations of the two peoples and of the peoples of the world, and contributing to the preservation of peace and stability in South-East Asia, the Vietnamese side declares once again its willingness to start negotiations with the Chinese side at the level of Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs in order to discuss the problems in the relations between the two countries: the urgent measures to maintain peace and stability in the border areas on the basis of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the restoration of normal relations between the two countries. We propose that the negotiations begin around 10 April 1979. The delegation of the Chinese Government will be welcomed if it is present at Hanoi at that time.

We hope that the Chinese side will give an early response.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/164-S/13222.

**DOCUMENT S/13223**

**Letter dated 5 April 1979 from the representative of the Ivory Coast to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[5 April 1979]

On behalf of the Group of African States Members of the United Nations, I have the honour to request you to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to consider the situation created in South Africa by the renewed outbreak of acts of repression by the racist régime of South Africa against the African nationalist freedom fighters and against the black population of that country committed in implementation of the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government, the pursuance of which constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

(Signed) Amoakon-Edjampan THIÉMÉLÉ  
Permanent Representative of the Ivory Coast  
to the United Nations

**DOCUMENT S/13224**

**Letter dated 5 April 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[5 April 1979]

On behalf of the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka and in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to request that an urgent meeting of the Security Council be convened in connexion with the declared intent of the South African Government to execute Solomon Mahlangu.

The Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at Maputo, Mozambique in February 1979 unanimously mandated the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, Chairman of the Non-Aligned Group of Countries, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Honorary Chairman of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting, and the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia to take all necessary steps to prevent the execution of Mr. Mahlangu.

In accordance with that mandate, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, the Permanent Representative of Mozambique and myself, acting on behalf of our respective Foreign Ministers, called on the Secretary-General shortly after the Ministerial Meeting in Mozambique to request him to intercede on behalf of

the Non-Aligned Group of Countries with the South African régime to stay the execution of Mr. Mahlangu. The Secretary-General assured our delegation that he would do his utmost to stay the execution of Mr. Mahlangu. I am aware further that the Secretary-General pursued the matter with the South African authorities.

I am therefore greatly distressed to hear that the South African authorities are determined to carry out the execution of Mr. Mahlangu, despite these and other interventions made on behalf of Mr. Mahlangu.

I am aware of the consultations now proceeding on the question of an urgent meeting of the Security Council and the efforts of the African Group in this matter.

Pending consideration of the matter in the Security Council, I would earnestly urge you to contact the South African authorities in your capacity as President of the Council to secure a stay of the execution.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

**DOCUMENT S/13225**

**Letter dated 5 April 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[5 April 1979]

In recent days the South African Government has received appeals for clemency in the case of Mr. Solomon Mahlangu. At the request of the African Group at the United Nations the Security Council has today once again been called into session to concern

itself with matters which fall within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of South Africa.

For your benefit and for the benefit of others who have expressed an interest in this case, I should like to furnish the following background information on Mr.

Mahlangu and on the events which lead to his conviction for murder and subsequent sentence.

Mr. Mahlangu left South Africa and received military training and training in the use of explosives in Angola. During June 1977 he returned to South Africa together with Mr. Mandy Motloung and another accomplice. They brought with them arms, ammunition and explosives. Armed with three loaded submachine-guns and hand grenades they entered Johannesburg on 13 June. They aroused the suspicion of a taxi driver who indicated that he wished to see what was in their luggage, whereupon they fled in different directions. Whilst running, Messrs. Mahlangu and Motloung fired several shots at a number of men who were pursuing them and at uninvolved bystanders. They entered a building and encountered four men who were drinking their morning tea in an office. Without warning, shots were fired at the four men and two of these innocent persons were killed and one wounded due to their un-

fortunate encounter with Mr. Mahlangu and his companion. It was later reported that Mr. Mahlangu's fire-arm was found to be jammed when he was arrested.

Mr. Mahlangu was subsequently tried and convicted on, *inter alia*, two counts of murder and two counts of attempted murder. The court could find no extenuating circumstances. Under South African criminal law, in common with the law in most other countries, an accomplice to a crime, such as murder, is guilty of the crime itself.

Mr. Mahlangu was, therefore, found guilty of a criminal offence and was not convicted on political grounds.

I would appreciate it if this letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
*Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of  
South Africa to the United Nations*

#### DOCUMENT S/13227\*

#### Letter dated 6 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The whole world and all mankind condemns the Vietnamese aggressors more and more strongly".

I should be grateful if you would have this text distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
*Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The whole world and all mankind condemns the Vietnamese aggressors more and more strongly"

Since the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam the whole world and all mankind, from the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific to mass organizations, have condemned the Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet masters and have demanded the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea. This movement of opposition is at present continuing and gaining strength.

Confronted with this increasingly emphatic condemnation and demand of the world and all mankind, in particular of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia, Viet Nam has responded with the most insolent and arrogant attitude.

1. Viet Nam persists in continuing and building up its war of aggression in Kampuchea in the most cynical and Fascist manner.

2. In fact, it is making frantic manoeuvres to induce Laos to enter this barbarous, unjust war of aggression as well, with a view to implementing its criminal strategy to establish an "Indo-Chinese federation". Since it is unable to control Kampuchea entirely, because the people and the Revolutionary Army

of Kampuchea are heroically continuing their people's war of national liberation and are ceaselessly counterattacking powerfully and annihilating its forces of aggression, Viet Nam has resorted to the masquerades of military "treaties" that it has "concluded" with both its Vientiane lackeys (in July 1977) and its running dogs of Phnom Penh (in February 1979 following its invasion of Kampuchea), and that it also had its Vientiane lackeys and running dogs of Phnom Penh conclude with each other (in March 1979). The purpose of these "treaties" is to legalize the occupation of Kampuchea and Laos by the Vietnamese forces of aggression and transform all of "Indo-China" into a Vietnamese-Soviet military base, serving the interests of Vietnamese-Soviet expansion in South-East Asia.

3. Not only does Viet Nam have no regard for the fair and reasonable demands of the whole world and all mankind, particularly the aspirations and determination to bring about peace of the peoples and countries of South-East Asia, which are demanding that it should cease its aggression and withdraw all Vietnamese troops from foreign territories, in particular from Kampuchea, but, moreover, it is bringing arrogant and cynical threats to bear against these countries and peoples.

4. Furthermore, Viet Nam and its master, the Soviet Union, have resorted to diplomatic manoeuvres and exerted great pressure on the countries of South-East Asia, southern Asia and the rest of the world in order to achieve recognition by them of their running dogs at Phnom Penh. However, far from startling and swaying world public opinion and countries committed to peace and justice, this arrogant, cynical attitude on the part of Viet Nam only reveals the true barbarous and Fascist nature of that expansionist, aggressive country. It is for that reason that the whole world and all mankind abhor, denounce and condemn that country and fight with increasing determination, using all methods, to demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea. At the same time the countries and peoples of the world, in particular those of South-East Asia, have fully recognized the danger presented by this war of aggression and Vietnamese-Soviet expansion, which threatens their independence, sovereignty, security and stability. They are therefore joining forces and strengthening their position of firm opposition in order to demand that Viet Nam should cease its aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw all its troops from that country so as to restore peace,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/165-S/13227.

security and stability to that region of South-East Asia. It is clear that if Viet Nam is permitted to attack, invade and engulf a country as it chooses, it will become even more arrogant and its expansionist ambitions as regards other countries will be insatiable.

At present, confronted with the many manoeuvres of the Vietnamese and their Soviet masters and their policy designed to exert pressure and to intimidate, all the countries of the world, in particular those of South-East Asia, are refusing to submit to their orders. The whole Kampuchean people and the entire Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, which are keeping aloft the banner of independence and heroic, persevering struggle in order to annihilate all the Vietnamese invaders and drive them out of their territory, welcome all the forms of action undertaken by Governments of all countries, and by peoples,

mass organizations, political parties and prominent persons committed to peace and justice in the world to demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea. They express to them their deepest gratitude. At the same time the Kampuchean people are fully convinced that this movement of opposition will continue, develop and gain strength until the Vietnamese withdraw their forces of aggression from Kampuchea totally and unconditionally. For their part, the Kampuchean people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are determined to continue their struggle to annihilate all the Vietnamese forces of aggression and drive them out of their territory for the cause of independence, peace and security in Kampuchea and in order to make their contribution towards peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13228

##### Letter dated 5 April 1979 from the representative of Uganda to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[6 April 1979]

I have the honour to refer to my letter dated 28 March 1979 [S/13204], in which, upon instructions from my Government, I had requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council in connexion with the question of the aggression by the United Republic of Tanzania against the Republic of Uganda.

This is to inform you that my request has been withdrawn as a result of an appeal by the African Group in New York to the Government of Uganda that the meeting not be convened at this point, a request which was accepted by the Government of Uganda.

I should like to request that the text of the present letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Idi OSMAN  
Deputy Permanent Representative of Uganda  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13229\*

##### Letter dated 5 April 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[6 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I wish to bring to your attention the plight of the inhabitants of Halhoul—in the Hebron region of the West Bank of Jordan—who for three weeks, which ended a few days ago, were placed under total curfew and confinement in their town and subjected to collective punitive action, which has been, over the past 11 years, a notorious hallmark of Israeli racist policies and practices in the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, reminiscent of the Nazis' despicable brutality against the occupied peoples of Europe.

The citizens of Halhoul who are presently residing in Jordan have appealed to the Government of Jordan and to various international organizations to intervene promptly to save the lives of the men, women and chil-

dren imperiled in consequence of the Israeli occupation authorities' cutting-off of water, medicines and food-stuffs from the town of Halhoul.

The situation had arisen three weeks ago, when the inhabitants of Halhoul staged a demonstration to protest the attacks perpetrated against them by the Israeli colonizers in Kiryat Arba, aided and abetted by the forces of the occupation authorities. The clash had resulted in the death of two citizens of Halhoul, a young girl and a young man.

During the funeral of the two martyred victims of Halhoul, renewed and serious clashes ensued between the inhabitants of Halhoul and the colonizers of Kiryat Arba.

The prolonged siege, imposed upon the town, had resulted in depletion of whatever water reserves, medi-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/166-S/13229.



cines and food-stuffs were available in Halhoul, and the Israeli prohibition of all such supplies to the town had posed a serious threat to the lives of the children, women and men of the town.

The relatives of the citizens of Halhoul, residing in Amman, have expressed, in their petition to the Government of Jordan, their very deep concern over the Israeli occupation authorities' repeated threats of even more drastic, collective punitive action against the town

of Halhoul, in reprisal for the town's rejection of the occupation.

I kindly request that you have the present letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hazem NUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13230

##### Letter dated 7 April 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[8 April 1979]

At the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. R. F. Botha, I am enclosing the text of a letter he has addressed to you on 7 April 1979.

I should appreciate it if the present letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
Chargé d'Affaires of the  
Permanent Mission of South Africa  
to the United Nations

##### LETTER DATED 7 APRIL 1979 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

SWAPO continues to resort to cold-blooded killing in South West Africa, in implementation of its campaign of intimidation and terror, at a time when the democratic political parties inside South West Africa are engaged in serious discussions on the future of their country.

On the afternoon of 4 April 1979, Mr. B. A. Hennies was shot and killed on the farm Aloe Grove, north-east of Otjiwarango, while visiting a cattle outpost. Cartridges from a Russian-made AK 47 automatic weapon of the type used by SWAPO were found at the scene of the crime. Last night, Mr. Ono Angula, a well-known resident of Oshakati and Personnel Of-

ficer of the Economic Development Corporation of South West Africa, was shot in the back with a Tokarev automatic pistol while returning home from work in the late afternoon.

Both these victims of SWAPO's criminal acts were ordinary civilians peacefully pursuing their livelihood, and each was in his own way contributing to the development of South West Africa. SWAPO's wanton deeds are clearly aimed at terrorizing the peoples of South West Africa and at influencing at gunpoint the important deliberations now taking place between the democratic parties. SWAPO's actions give clear expression to their aim of seizing power through the barrel of a gun.

If any hope is to remain of the settlement proposal being implemented, this violence by SWAPO must cease. Although neither my Government nor the peaceful inhabitants of South West Africa will be intimidated, SWAPO's tactics could have a decisive influence on the decision the representatives of the South West African people will shortly take on their future. I, therefore, call upon you most urgently to take steps to bring about an immediate cessation of SWAPO's killing. I believe you can still, even at this late hour, make a historic contribution to peace by insisting that SWAPO should forthwith desist from the senseless murder of innocent people.

#### DOCUMENT S/13231\*

##### Letter dated 9 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[9 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a note dated 6 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I request that this note be circulated as

an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/167-S/13231.

## ANNEX

### Note dated 6 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and, with reference to the Vietnamese note dated 4 April 1979 [S/13222], has the honour to state the following.

In its note, the Vietnamese side has again turned things upside down and twisted the facts to crudely slander and attack China for the armed conflict on the Sino-Vietnamese border. The Chinese Government hereby categorically refutes all these allegations.

The Chinese Government and people have always cherished the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The Chinese Government has spared no effort to uphold the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and seek a peaceful settlement of their disputes. But the Vietnamese authorities, pursuing their set policies of opposition and hostility to China and of aggression and expansion against other countries, caused a drastic deterioration in the situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border by greatly escalating their armed provocations in Chinese border areas, incursions into Chinese territories and other disruptive activities. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance and with a view to defending the frontiers of the motherland and ensuring the safety of the life and property of the people, the Chinese frontier troops were compelled to exercise their right of self-defence and launched a counter-attack. This was a totally just action. After fulfilling the mission set for them in striking back in self-defence, all the Chinese frontier troops withdrew to Chinese territory. Meanwhile, the Chinese side never stopped in its efforts to seek a negotiated settlement of the disputes between the two countries.

and it was the Chinese side which proposed the holding of this round of negotiations. The serious armed conflict between China and Viet Nam was entirely the making of the Vietnamese side. All peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people of the world have formed their own fair judgement on the rights and wrongs of the case, and no amount of calumny, invectives and sophistry by the Vietnamese side can disguise or alter them.

In its note, the Vietnamese side repeated the shop-worn theme that "Chinese troops have not yet been totally withdrawn". What is more, it brazenly distorted the Chinese side's note of 31 March 1979 [13212] in such a base manner as to exceed the imagination. The Chinese Government declared long ago that China does not want an inch of Vietnamese territory, that all Chinese frontier troops have been withdrawn to Chinese territory, and that there is not a single Chinese soldier on Vietnamese territory. The Chinese Foreign Ministry stated explicitly in its note of 31 March that the places where there are Chinese troops are all on the Chinese side of the boundary and have always been under China's jurisdiction. The disregard for facts and the ceaseless repetition by the Vietnamese side of long-exposed lies serve only to further reveal its insidious aim of seeking to create new tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border.

The Chinese Government wishes to reiterate that the Chinese side earnestly hopes that China and Viet Nam can hold negotiations at an early date in a joint effort to search for practical measures to ensure peace and tranquillity along their border, restore normal relations and then proceed to settle their boundary, territorial and other disputes so as to contribute to peace, tranquillity and stability in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole. The Chinese side has noted that the Vietnamese side no longer insists in its note on its earlier unreasonable precondition for the holding of negotiations. If the Vietnamese side creates no further complications, the delegation of the Chinese Government headed by Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Han Nianlong will arrive at Hanoi on 14 April 1979.

## DOCUMENT S/13232\*

### Letter dated 9 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[9 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression during the period from 27 to 29 March 1979.

I should be grateful if you would have this communication distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression during the period from 27 to 29 March 1979, disseminated by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

Continuing their attacks, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (ARK) and the revolutionary guerrilla fighters of Kampuchea have daily inflicted heavy losses in men and equipment on the invading Vietnamese troops.

#### 1. In the vicinity of Phnom Penh

From 25 to 27 March, the ARK attacked the Vietnamese troops at various localities situated north-west of Phnom Penh.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/168-S/13232.

Vietnamese losses were: 26 soldiers killed, 12 weapons seized, including two B40s, one B41 and three machine-guns.

#### 2. South-western region

Numerous Vietnamese soldiers were annihilated in the province of Kampot and on National Highway 3. Vietnamese losses from 25 to 28 March were:

- (a) 98 soldiers killed;
- (b) 34 weapons seized, including three machine-guns, three M79s, one 60-mm mortar and two transmitter-receivers;
- (c) Four military vehicles destroyed, with all their occupants killed.

#### 3. Western region on highway 4 and at Koh Kong

On 27 and 28 March, the ARK attacked the Vietnamese troops at Trapeang Kraloeng and west of Moha Saing on highway 4. Enemy losses: 25 Vietnamese soldiers killed, two vehicles destroyed, with all their occupants killed.

On 26 and 27 March, the ARK launched attacks at Koh Sralao and Sre Ambel. Enemy losses: 25 Vietnamese soldiers annihilated, one military vehicle destroyed, with all its occupants killed.

#### 4. North-western region

(a) In the Battambang region, the ARK and the revolutionary guerrilla fighters continued their attacks against the

Vietnamese enemy around the town of Battambang, at other localities and on highway 5. Enemy losses from 24 to 29 March:

- (i) 29 Vietnamese soldiers killed;
  - (ii) 23 weapons and ammunition seized, including two B40s and one machine-gun;
  - (iii) Two military vehicles destroyed, with all their occupants killed.
- (b) In the Pursat and Kompong Chhnang regions and on highway 5, the Vietnamese troops tried repeatedly to leave the towns of Kompong Chhnang and Pursat in order to steal rice. On each occasion, they were intercepted by the ARK and the guerrilla fighters who, from 27 to 29 March:

- (i) Killed 117 Vietnamese soldiers;
- (ii) Seized 45 weapons and ammunition, including two B41s, two machine-guns, one M79, one 60-mm mortar and one transmitter-receiver;
- (iii) Destroyed a military vehicle, all of whose occupants were killed.

#### 5. Northern region

In the Siem Reap and Oddar Meanchey regions, the ARK and the guerrilla fighters, from 23 to 27 March, killed 48 Vietnamese soldiers and seized 10 weapons and ammunition, including one machine-gun and one B41.

#### 6. North-eastern region

In the Kratie, Mondulkiri and Rattanakiri regions, from 24 to 28 March, the ARK and the guerrilla fighters annihilated 121 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 36 weapons and destroyed two military vehicles with all their occupants.

\* \* \*

Enemy losses from 27 to 29 March (with additional figures for the period from 23 to 26 March for certain fronts):

- (a) More than 700 Vietnamese soldiers killed;
- (b) 163 weapons of all types and a substantial quantity of ammunition seized;
- (c) 12 military vehicles destroyed.

### DOCUMENT S/13233\*

#### Letter dated 9 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[9 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the note dated 7 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, and request that this letter and its enclosure be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Note dated 7 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam acknowledges receipt of the note of 6 April 1979 of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/169-S/13233.

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China [S/13231] and wishes to make clear the views of the Vietnamese side as follows:

1. In the previous notes sent by the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to its Chinese counterpart, the Vietnamese side has already made clear its position. It has also on many occasions expressed its correct views regarding the allegations repeated by the Chinese side in the note of 6 April 1979.

2. In its note of 4 April 1979 [S/13222] the Vietnamese side proposed that the talks at the level of Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs to discuss problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China start around 10 April. In the note of 6 April, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Vietnamese side that the Chinese Government's delegation headed by Vice-Foreign Minister Mr. Han Nianlong would arrive at Hanoi on 14 April. The Vietnamese side is prepared to receive it on that date.

The Chinese side is kindly requested to provide the Vietnamese side with a list of names of the Chinese Government's delegation and other relevant details for the sake of arrangements to be made in due course.

### DOCUMENT S/13234\*

#### Letter dated 9 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam dated 15 March 1979 concerning the Chinese authorities' provocations and territorial encroachments in the border region of

Viet Nam and request that this letter and its enclosure be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/170-S/13234.

## ANNEX

### Memorandum dated 15 March 1979 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam concerning the Chinese authorities' provocations and territorial encroachments in the border region of Viet Nam

#### I. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HISTORICAL BORDER BETWEEN VIET NAM AND CHINA AND THE 1957-1958 BORDER AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

1. Viet Nam and China are two neighbouring countries having common borders both on land and sea (Bac Bo Gulf). These borders have been established through a long historical process. Before it was placed under French colonial rule, Viet Nam had been an independent and sovereign country having clearly drawn and stable borders with China.

Nearly 100 years ago, the French Government and the Chinese Ch'ing dynasty signed the 1887<sup>a</sup> and 1895<sup>b</sup> Conventions to solve the frontier question between Viet Nam and China, officially recognizing, in the main, the existing border.

The delimitation of the borderline was carried out jointly by the two parties, section by section, from January 1886 to March 1887; on 26 June 1887, the two aforesaid Governments signed a border-delineating convention at Peking.<sup>a</sup> Article 1 of that convention delimited the portion of border between Viet Nam and the Chinese provinces of Kwang Tung, Kwang Si and part of Yunnan. Article 2 of the convention delimited the borderline in the Bac Bo Gulf and the portion of border between Viet Nam and the remaining part of Yunnan up to the Da river. Then, the French Government and the Ch'ing dynasty signed at Peking the 20 June 1895 convention<sup>b</sup> to complement the 1887 convention, and to give further clarifications on the portion of border between Viet Nam and the Chinese province of Yunnan.

The planting of border-stones was carried out from early 1890 to June 1897. A system of over 310 border-stones concretized the borderline on the terrain. Generally speaking, these border-stones still exist now.

As a matter of fact, since the signing of the conventions, successive administrations on both sides have been exercising their sovereignty on the land and in the Bac Bo Gulf areas delimited by this border. But reactionary régimes in China prior to 1949 had seized more than 60 places in Vietnamese territory.

Thus, the whole borderline between Viet Nam and China on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf has been clearly delineated by the conventions signed in 1887 and 1895 between the French Government and the Ch'ing dynasty, and officially marked out (on land). This is a complete borderline both on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf, having a historical basis in the age-old political life of the two nations, a solid international legal value, and all practical elements for recognition on the terrain.

Through their exchanges of documents, the Vietnamese and the Chinese Governments have on many occasions confirmed this historical borderline.

However, it is noteworthy that the negotiation and signing of the border-delineating Convention was carried out concurrently with the negotiation and signing of the trade Convention between France and the Ch'ing dynasty. The latter strove to link the two questions to bring pressure to bear on France. In the course of the negotiations, in order to achieve an early expansion of trade with China, the establishment of French consulates on Chinese territory, and a prompt fulfilment of pacification programmes in Viet Nam, France cut off and gave to the Ch'ing dynasty Bac Luan Cape, the Giang Binh area, Bat Trang-Kien Duyen Canton, Deo Luong Canton, Tu Long Canton and a number of other places, to the detriment of the Vietnamese people.

2. Nevertheless, in November 1957, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (the Communist Party of Viet Nam today) proposed to the Chinese side that the two sides

<sup>a</sup> Convention entre la France et la Chine relative à la délimitation de la frontière entre la Chine et le Tonkin [*British and Foreign State Papers*, 1892-1893, vol. LXXXV (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), p. 748].

<sup>b</sup> Convention entre la France et la Chine, complémentaire de la Convention de délimitation de la frontière entre le Tonkin et la Chine du 26 juin 1887 [*ibid.*, 1894-1895, vol. LXXXVII (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900), p. 523].

maintain the *status quo* on the borderline left by history; the national border question, in view of its importance, should be settled in accordance with the existing or reaffirmed legal principles, and decisions should be made by the two Governments; all eventual border or territorial disputes should be settled through negotiations. That is a correct, reasonable and sensible policy, in keeping with historical reality and international law. In April 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China answered that it agreed to the Vietnamese proposal.

The aforesaid agreement between the two parties has a great significance in principle and in practice not only for the settlement of border and territorial differences but also for the building of a borderline of lasting friendship between the two countries. This is the sincere thinking and real desire of the party, Government and people of Viet Nam. That is why the Vietnamese side has always strictly honoured the agreement between the Central Committees of the two parties.

The Chinese attitude is, however, just the reverse. The Chinese side has violated this agreement more and more seriously and failed to respect the principle of maintaining the *status quo* on the borderline left by history. It has encroached since 1949 on Vietnamese territory in 90 other places along the whole borderline between Viet Nam and China.

#### II. CHINESE ENCROACHMENTS ON VIETNAMESE TERRITORY SINCE 1954

In the past quarter of a century, the Chinese authorities have carried out encroachments on one area after another of Vietnamese territory, from smaller to larger ones, from militarily important to economically important ones. They have resorted to every trick, including odious ones that had not been used even by China's previous reactionary régimes. Hereunder are a number of main tricks:

##### *From encroachment for cultivation and settlement purposes to land-grabbing*

Turning to account the special feature that in many places the two countries have contiguous mountains and are watered by the same rivers, and that the inhabitants on the two sides of the borderline are linked by bonds of parenthood and nationality, the Chinese side sent Chinese to cultivate lands in Vietnamese territory and settled them on the spot and, finally, the Chinese authorities arrogantly considered those areas as belonging to Chinese territory.

The Trinh Luong area in Quang Ninh Province constitutes a typical example of this type of encroachment. That area has been clearly determined by documents, maps and border-stones to belong to Vietnamese territory; the historical borderline which passes here through a range of high mountains clearly indicates that Trinh Tuong village and the surrounding area belong to Vietnamese territory. In practice, for generation after generation, the Trinh Tuong inhabitants and the Chinese who came and practised cultivation in Trinh Tuong paid taxes to the Vietnamese authorities. But since 1956, the Chinese side has tried to extend control over the Chinese who had been earning their living in Trinh Tuong by supplying them with ration cards to purchase sugar, cloth and other commodities, and enlisting them into Tung San Commune, Tung Hsing District, Chwang Autonomous Zone, Kwangsi Province. Thus the Chinese authorities overtly shifted a Vietnamese territory 6 kilometres in length and 1.3 kilometres in width into the collective ownership of a Chinese commune and turned it into a Chinese territory. Then they drove away the Vietnamese inhabitants who for many generations had been earning their living in Trinh Tuong, set up telephone lines, arrogated to themselves the right to patrol the area, and unilaterally shifted the borderline to Vietnamese Khau Thuc Hill. Subsequently, they indulged in beating and kidnapping members of Viet Nam's armed security forces patrolling the historical borderline and destroyed crops of the local population. Trinh Tuong is not an isolated case. Over 40 other places have been encroached upon by the Chinese side with similar tricks, for instance, Thanh Loa village in the Cao Loc District (border-stones Nos. 25, 26 and 27) in Lang Son Province; Kham Khau (border-stones Nos. 17 and 19) in Cao Bang Province; Ta Lung, Lan Phu Phin, Minh Tan (border-stone No. 14) in Ha Tuyen Province; Nam Chay village (border-stones Nos. 2 and 3) in Hoang Lien Son



Province; and an area of over 300 hectares, over 4 kilometres in length and over 1 kilometre in width.

It can be said that this is a silent type of land-grabbing.

*Turning to account the construction of friendship projects to move the borderline deep into Vietnamese territory*

In 1955, in the Friendship Gate area, when helping Viet Nam restore the railroad from the Viet Nam-China border to Yen Vien near Hanoi, the Chinese side, abusing Viet Nam's trust, laid the junction of the Viet Nam-China railway over 300 metres deep inside Vietnamese territory as compared with the historical borderline, and it came to consider this railway junction to be a point on the borderline between the two countries. On 31 December 1974, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam proposed that the two Governments instruct the two railway services to readjust the railway junction in conformity with the historical borderline, but the Chinese side flatly refused by promising examination of this question when the whole border problem was discussed by the two sides. Up to now, it has still contended brazenly that this area with the 300 metres of railroad was Chinese territory, claiming that "there cannot be a railroad of one country on the territory of another".

Also in this area, the Chinese side wrecked border-stone No. 18 on the national highway, 100 metres away from the Nam Quan Gate in order to remove all traces of the historical borderline, and planted the zero-kilometre milestone over 100 metres inside Vietnamese territory, considering this a point on the national borderline between the two countries.

Thus the Chinese side has encroached on a whole area stretching from the railway to the highway in Bao Lam village, Van Lang District, Lang Son Province; it is 3.1 kilometres long and situated half a kilometre deep inside Vietnamese territory. In 1975, in the area of border-stone No. 23 (Bao Lam village), a similar attempt was made in the course of the joint laying of a pipeline across the border: the Vietnamese side proposed that the junction of the pipeline be located right on the borderline, which was rejected by the Chinese side; the project was therefore left unfinished.

In the construction of bridges across border watercourses the Chinese side drew up engineering projects so as to shift the borderline to China's advantage.

The Hoanh Mo ford in Quang Ninh Province was built in 1968 with Chinese aid. Over a long period after its completion the borderline along the medial line of the river was honoured by both sides; spare building material for repair work was stored on both sides in equal quantities as calculated on the basis of the borderline running along the medial line of the river. But as China with ulterior motives had built only one water culvert close to the Vietnamese bank, the current shifted its course totally towards the Vietnamese side; then the Chinese side moved the borderline on the ford further towards Vietnamese territory. This trick was also used with regard to the Po Hen ford (Quang Ninh), the Ai Canh Dam (Cao Bang) and the Ba Nam Cum Bridge (Lai Chau).

*Unilateral construction of works at the border encroaching on Vietnamese territory*

Both at portions of the border on continuous ground and at those running along watercourses, the Chinese side has undertaken, on its own, construction works with a view to gradually encroaching on Vietnamese territory.

In the vicinity of border-stone No. 53 (Dam Thuy village, Trung Khanh District, Cao Bang Province), the Ban Gioc Falls on the Quy Thuan river have long been Vietnamese, and the Peking authorities have also recognized this fact. On 29 February 1976, the Chinese side mobilized over 2,000 people, including members of the armed forces, to establish a dense defence ring round the whole area of the Ban Gioc Falls on Vietnamese territory, and sent Chinese workers there to hastily build a solid concrete dam across the border river; with this fait accompli, it encroached on Vietnamese territory on the river and at Con Po Thong and then cynically claimed that this islet belonged to China.

The township of Ai Diem (opposite Chi Ma, Lang Son) and Pinh Menh (opposite Soc Giang, Cao Bang) situated close to border-stones Nos. 43 and 114, has been expanded by the

Chinese side, encroaching on Vietnamese territory from tens to hundreds of metres with houses, schools and streets.

By establishing forest exploitation sites, afforestation work, and setting fire-belts, high-voltage electric lines and telephone lines encroaching on Vietnamese territory, China has turned many other Vietnamese territories into Chinese ones.

*Borrowing Vietnamese territory and then turning it into Chinese*

In a number of areas, complex topographical features cause difficulties to the Chinese population; at the request of the Chinese side, Viet Nam has lent China highways, water points, pasture-lands, firewood sites, graveyards.

However, abusing the goodwill of Viet Nam, the Chinese side has gradually come to regard these borrowed lands as Chinese. The Phia Un area (border-stones Nos. 94-95) in Tra Linh District, Cao Bang Province, is a typical example of this type of encroachment. At first the Chinese side borrowed a trail which was later expanded into a motor road leading to Chinese mines, electric lines were installed, the population grew and new villages were established. Basing itself on this fact, the Chinese side has come since 1956 to deny that the historical borderline runs over the top of the Phia Un mountain but instead claims that the borderline runs quite a distance south of the above-mentioned trail, over 500 metres inside Vietnamese territory. It argues that were it not Chinese territory, how could they have built a motor-road and established a telephone line and so on. The main reason for its encroachment lies in the existence of a manganese deposit in the Phia Un area.

*Removal and legal distortion of national border-stones to change the borderline*

In addition to the illegal occupation of Vietnamese territory under cover of the shifting at an earlier stage of border-stones, at variance with the principle of maintaining the *status quo* of the historical borderline, the Chinese side has also shifted, on its own, border-stones at various places; further, it has secretly destroyed or taken away those border-stones which are unfavourable to them, such as in Chi Ma (Lang Son) and at border-stone No. 136 in Cao Bang Province. In such cases, it has turned down all Vietnamese proposals for joint investigation and establishing records of the facts. Even in a number of places where the position of the border-stones corresponds to the historical borderline, it has sought to distort the facts; thus, it has refused to admit the borderline running between two border-stones in the area of Kim Ma-Kim Ngan-Mau Son (border-stones Nos. 41, 42 and 43) in Lang Son Province, a distance of over 9 kilometres with a width of 2.5 kilometres inside Vietnamese territory and an area of approximately 1,000 hectares; and in the area of Na Pang-Keo Trinh (border-stones Nos. 29, 30 and 31) in Cao Bang Province, 6.45 kilometres in length, 1.3 kilometres in width and about 200 hectares in area.

*Building border roads to encroach on Vietnamese territory*

To prepare for aggressive attacks against Viet Nam, the Chinese side has carried out for many years a big plan of building border roads, allegedly for the purposes of "mechanizing agriculture". Especially since 1974, it has undertaken massive projects of road building; in some places, 8,000 people were mobilized at a time for this job. While building these roads, they destroyed vestiges of the historical borderline, in many places, they have encroached upon Vietnamese territory; from October 1976 to 1977 alone, they encroached upon Vietnamese territory at dozens of points, some with an area of over 32 hectares, 1 kilometre deep inside Vietnamese territory. This was the case in the area between border-stones Nos. 63 and 65 in Tra Linh District, Cao Bang Province and in the area between border-stones Nos. 1 and 2 in Cao Ma Po, Ha Tuyen Province. There the encroachment was 4 kilometres long and 2 kilometres deep inside Vietnamese territory.

*To draw wrong borderlines on maps printed for Viet Nam*

In 1955-1956, Viet Nam requested China's aid for the re-printing of maps of Viet Nam at the 1:100,000 scale. Abusing Viet Nam's trust, the Chinese side drew some portions of the borderline further towards the Vietnamese side, thus turning Vietnamese territories into Chinese. For instance, it changed the

drawing in the area of the Ban Gioc Falls (border-stone No. 53) which it wanted to occupy in parts along with Con Po Thoong (Cao Bang Province).

#### *Resorting to threats of armed forces and stationing troops to occupy land*

In some important areas, the Chinese side has openly used armed forces for encroachment purposes. In Tra Man-Suoi Lung area (border-stones Nos. 136-137), Bao Lac district, Cao Bang Province, China in 1953 sent a number of Chinese families to settle on Vietnamese territory and stay there with Vietnamese people; later on, it continued sending out more people, thus establishing three hamlets (with 16 households and 100 persons) called Si Lung after the name of a nearby Chinese village. However, up to 1957, the Chinese side still recognized this area to be Vietnamese. From 1957 onwards it built schools, installed a loud-speaker network, exploited graphite, then brazenly hoisted flags as a sign of Chinese territorial sovereignty. In June 1976, Chinese armed forces were impudently sent in to suppress the struggle of the people and to obstruct Viet Nam's patrolling activities in the area, occupying a Vietnamese area of over 3.2 kilometres possessing a graphite deposit.

A similar situation occurred in the area between border-stones Nos. 2 and 3 in Nam Chay village, Muong Khuong District, Hoang Lien Son Province. In 1967-1968, a number of Meo families from Ma Kwan District, Yunnan Province (China) came to settle down there. The Vietnamese side requested the Chinese side to take these people back to China. Nevertheless the Chinese side turned a deaf ear, and further increased the number to 36 households comprising 152 persons; it levied taxes and supplied the people with ration cards for the purchase of cloth; this Meo hamlet was called Sin Sai Thang after the name of a Chinese village, 3 kilometres from the area, on the other side of the border. In spite of repeated protests from the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side failed to take these people home; instead, the Chinese armed forces were sent in early 1976 to occupy the area. The Chinese side has now established telephone lines, installed loud-speakers, built schools and set up production teams, regarding the area as a Chinese territory.

#### *Occupying the Hoang Sa Islands (Paracels) of Viet Nam*

The Hoang Sa Islands (Chinese name: Si Sha) are about 193 kilometres east of Da Nang. The Vietnamese side possesses documents clearly showing that both these islands and the Truong Sa Islands (Chinese name: Nam Sha) farther to the south are Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people have, for a long time now, discovered and exploited the Hoang Sa Islands, over which the Nguyen Dynasty officially exercised Vietnamese sovereignty. After establishing its protectorate over Viet Nam in the middle of the nineteenth century, France, in the name of Viet Nam, set up on the islands two administrative units and one weather station, which has supplied the World Meteorological Organization with data on a continuing basis over the past decades under the code name of Htang Sa (Spratley). Viet Nam has always exercised sovereignty over these islands. This is clear and undeniable.

However, after the withdrawal of the United States from Viet Nam under the provisions of the Paris Agreements of 27 January 1973 and at a moment when the Vietnamese people were stepping up their struggle for the liberation of South Viet-Nam and the puppet régime in South Viet-Nam was about to collapse, the Chinese authorities brazenly used armed force to occupy the Hoang Sa Islands.

The way in which they occupied the Hoang Sa Islands was the same as that used to encroach on the territory of neighbouring countries. This was an odious betrayal in view of their boasts. The following is a rough account of the event:

(a) On 26 December 1973, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam informed the Government of the People's Republic of China of Viet Nam's intention to prospect for oil in the Bac Bo Gulf and proposed that negotiations be started in order to officially delimit the border between the two countries in the Bac Bo Gulf.

(b) On 11 January 1974, the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the Si Sha (Hoang Sa) and Nam Sha Islands (Truong Sa) were Chinese territory and that China would not tolerate any encroachment on its sovereignty and territory.

(c) On 18 January 1974, an answer came from the Chinese Government, saying in substance that it agreed to the proposed negotiations regarding the Bac Bo Gulf, but did not agree to the involvement of any third country in the exploration and exploitation of the Gulf. In fact, it wanted to prevent Viet Nam from co-operating with Japan, France and Italy in the exploration and exploitation of the Vietnamese continental shelf in the Bac Bo Gulf.

(d) On 19 January 1974, mobilizing great naval and air forces, China attacked the Saigon administration's troops stationed on the Hoang Sa Islands. This aggressive military operation was dubbed "a counter-offensive in self-defence".

Prior to 1973, the Chinese side had indulged in encroachments and provocations in many places on the Viet Nam-China border. Since its occupation of the Hoang Sa Islands, border incidents and land encroachments provoked by the Chinese side against Viet Nam have been increasing in number: 1974—179 cases; 1975—294 cases; 1976—812 cases; 1977—873 cases; and 1978—2,175 cases.

### III. THE TWO ROUNDS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENTS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BORDER QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

In 1957-1958, the two parties agreed that, along with the maintenance of the *status quo* on the borderline left by history, talks at the provincial level would be held to settle specific questions relating to the people's life and the security and order of the border region of the two countries. Since that date there have been a great number of meetings between local authorities which resulted in the working out of certain regulations on the movement, trade, mutual visits, etc., between the population of the frontier provinces. However, the territorial question should be negotiated and settled by the two Governments.

That is why there were two rounds of negotiations at the vice-foreign-minister level in 1974 and in 1977-1978.

#### *The first round of negotiations*

With a view to furthering national construction, on 26 December 1973, the Vietnamese Government proposed to the Chinese Government that negotiations be held to officially delineate the borderline between Viet Nam and China in the Bac Bo Gulf.

On 18 January 1974, the Chinese Government agreed to negotiate, but insisted on prospection work not being carried out in the rectangular area formed by the 18th to 20th parallels and the 107th and 108th meridians, and on "no third country being allowed to explore the Bac Bo Gulf"; the purpose was to prevent Viet Nam from exploiting the resources of its continental shelf.

The negotiations started on 15 August 1974 at Peking.

The 1887 Convention between France and the Ch'ing dynasty, article 2, stipulates: the meridian 105° 43' east of the Paris Meridian (i.e., the meridian 108° 3'13" east of the Greenwich Meridian) is the borderline between the two countries in the Bac Bo Gulf. The Vietnamese side was prepared to hold discussions with the Chinese side in order to determine the mouth of the Bac Bo Gulf, and thence to determine officially the borderline in the Gulf.

The Chinese side categorically refused to accept article 2 of the 1887 Convention, and to consider the aforesaid meridian as constituting a borderline. They claimed that there had never been any borderline in the Bac Bo Gulf, and that the two countries had to discuss and delineate it. Although the Vietnamese side expressed their readiness to listen to the Chinese views, the Chinese spoke only in general terms, saying that if this meridian was to be adopted China's share would be "too small" while Viet Nam's would be "too large", therefore, there must be a fair and reasonable division; but they did not put forward any concrete plans, and deliberately dragged the negotiations on.

By the end of November 1974, the talks had to be suspended.

#### *The second round of negotiations*

On 18 March 1975, the Chinese Government proposed to the Vietnamese Government that in 1975 negotiations be opened on the land border question between the two countries.

On 12 April 1975 the Vietnamese Government replied that it agreed in principle, but that, as in the immediate future it had



a lot of work to do in view of the developments in the liberation of South Viet-Nam, it proposed that the negotiations be postponed to an appropriate date. In the meantime, the Vietnamese side proposed that the two sides resume the talks between border provinces; however, these negotiations also failed to bring about any results; meanwhile, Chinese violations and provocations at the Viet Nam-China border kept increasing in number.

On 7 October 1977, the negotiations were started at Peking between representatives of the Vietnamese and Chinese Governments to solve the questions relating to the border on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf.

The Vietnamese side once more reaffirmed that both sides should strictly respect the 1887 and 1895 Conventions relating to the land and sea borders and that it was, therefore, necessary to discuss the whole border question. The Chinese side adamantly insisted on discussing only the question of the land border.

The negotiations were facing difficulties. With a view to bringing them forward, the Vietnamese side agreed to discuss first the land border question, then the question of the border in the Bac Bo Gulf. Nevertheless, the Chinese side refused the discussions. It insisted on the Vietnamese side giving up its view to the effect that there already existed a borderline in the Bac Bo Gulf. And only in that case, would it agree to discuss the land border question.

To seek a way out, the Vietnamese side again proposed that the two sides discuss at once the land border question; as for the differences over the Bac Bo Gulf, each side might maintain its respective views and the question could be discussed later.

On the basis of the proposals made by Viet Nam and China, the Vietnamese side put forth a draft agreement on the national land border between the two countries for joint discussions.

The full text of the draft agreement is as follows:

**DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE NATIONAL LAND BORDER BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Government of the People's Republic of China,

Proceeding from the desire to unceasingly consolidate and strengthen the militant solidarity and the great traditional friendship on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China, between the Vietnamese and the Chinese peoples,

With a view to building up a frontier of lasting friendship between Viet Nam and China, in conformity with the earnest aspirations and fundamental interests of the two peoples,

On the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and complete equality and on the principle of respect for the borderline left by history,

Have agreed as follows:

**Article 1**

The High Contracting Parties officially recognize that the frontier between Viet Nam and China, as delimited and marked out under the documents on the frontier line signed by the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Chinese Ch'ing dynasty, is the national frontier line between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China.

These documents on the frontier line include:

1. The Convention on the delimitation of the borderline between Tonkin and China signed on 26 June 1887 along with the *procès-verbaux* and delimitation maps enclosed.

2. The complementary Convention to the 26 June 1887 Convention on the delimitation of the borderline between Tonkin and China, signed on 20 June 1895 along with the *procès-verbaux* and delimitation maps enclosed.

3. The *procès-verbaux* and maps of the border-stones in implementation of the above Conventions, signed from 15 April 1890 to 13 June 1897, date of the completion of the marking out of the borderline between Tonkin (Viet Nam) and Yunnan Province (China).

In the following articles, the above documents on the borderline will be referred to as "the 1887 and 1895 Conventions".

**Article 2**

The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect the national borderline between the two countries referred to in article 1.

The areas administered by either Party beyond the border mentioned in article 1 must be returned to the other Party.

**Article 3**

The national borderline between the two countries referred to in article 1 is clear in general. In case, after repeated comparisons and studies in conformity with the provisions of the 1887 and 1895 Conventions, it cannot be ascertained to which Party a small number of places on the frontier line belong, the two Parties shall try, through on-the-spot inspections and friendly consultations, to reach a settlement on a fair and logical basis.

**Article 4**

Both with regard to the border portions running along watercourses and to the islands on the same and in case these border rivers shift course for natural causes, the two Parties shall strictly abide by the provisions of the 1887 and 1895 Conventions concerning the borderline along these watercourses.

No matter how the borderline along watercourses is delimited under the provisions of the 1887 and 1895 Conventions, the borderline on the bridges spanning these watercourses runs exactly along the medial line of the bridges.

**Article 5**

Within one year of approval by the two Governments of the decision of the Joint Commission referred to in article 7 below regarding each border portion, the population of the area returned by one Party to the other will go back and live in the country of which they hold the nationality.

In case anyone wants to remain, he must register with the local administration so as to become a citizen of the country to which the land is returned.

**Article 6**

Neither side shall allow its population to cross the border for farming and illegal occupations on the territory of the other side.

In the areas returned to each other, an end shall be put to farming activities across the border immediately after the decisions of the Joint Commission referred to in article 7 below on each section of the borderline are approved by the two Governments.

Those persons who have grown crops on the territory of the other side shall be allowed to come and care for them until the crops are gathered in, and must respect all laws and regulations of the country.

**Article 7**

After this agreement comes into force, the two sides will set up a joint Viet Nam-China border commission (the Joint Commission) comprising representatives of the two sides in equal numbers. The Joint Commission shall base itself on the provisions of this Agreement to perform the following duties:

1. To determine concretely on the ground the entire length of the national land border between the two countries under article 1 of this Agreement.

2. To solve on the ground the question of the border sections referred to in articles 2 and 3 of this Agreement. The decisions of the Joint Commission on each section of the borderline are subject to approval by the two Governments.

3. To solve questions related to one party's returning lands to the other.

4. To verify and locate the national border-stones under the 1887 and 1895 Conventions, to put in place the national border-stones which are not in the right positions under the above-mentioned Conventions and to plant complementary border-stones in the places the two sides deem necessary, to solve questions related to the maintenance of the national border-stones.

5. To draft protocols to delimit on the terrain the national land border between the two countries and to draw maps of this borderline with detailed mention of the location of the borderline and the border-stones.

The Joint Commission will begin operations right after its establishment and terminate its duties after the signing of the above-mentioned protocols.

#### Article 8

The protocol along with the enclosed map referred to in article 7, paragraph 5, will be signed by the two Governments and will be an integral part of this agreement.

#### Article 9

This Agreement shall be ratified and shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification.

After this Agreement comes into force and the protocol referred to in article 7, paragraph 5 is signed, all Conventions and documents relating to the land border between the two countries shall immediately lose effect.

DONE in ..... on the ..... day ..... of the year ..... in duplicate in the Vietnamese and Chinese languages, both texts being authentic.

For the Government  
of the Socialist Republic  
of Viet Nam:

For the Government  
of the People's Republic  
of China:

\* \* \*

The Chinese side refused to consider the draft agreement. It put forward another proposal which was in fact an amended version of an old one. It was its design to maintain the present state of the borderline (not the *status quo* of the historical borderline) so as to keep the areas it had occupied by encroachment and to change many border portions to its advantage.

The negotiations dragged on for 10 months without any result. Even at a time when the Chinese side intensified its border provocations, created the Hoa problem, and cut its aid to Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side patiently pursued the talks. But finally, no result was achieved as events proved that the more the Vietnamese side showed goodwill, the more the Chinese side pushed forward its demand. It obdurately tried to carry out its designs of big-Power expansionism; as a result, it did not respond to any proposal of the Vietnamese side. The negotiations on the border question ended in failure; the responsibility for it rested entirely on the Chinese side.

#### IV. CHINESE PROVOCATIONS AND VIOLATIONS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORY OF VIET NAM SINCE 1978

From early 1978 to 17 February 1979, date of the massive invasion of Viet Nam, the Peking authorities, on the one hand, deadlocked the negotiations on the border question and, on the other, openly pursued a hysterical anti-Viet Nam policy.

In the border region, the Peking authorities escalated the use of force, intensified provocations and encroachments on the border, sovereignty and territory of Viet Nam:

(a) From early 1978 to August 1978, the Peking authorities provoked, through enticement or constraint, an exodus to China of Hoa people who were leading a peaceful life in Viet Nam, mainly in border provinces, in an attempt to create political, social and economic disturbances in Viet Nam which had then to cope with the heavy aftermath of natural calamities without precedent in the past 100 years; at the same time, they prepared the formation of a number of agents required for future aggressive operations. With this perfidious scheme, they enticed about 170,000 Hoa people to go back to China. The most despicable trick was their sudden decision to close the borders while Hoa people were pouring into China in a steady flow. This was to serve as a pretext to instigate these people to oppose the Vietnamese authorities. That was the situation they brought about at the Bac Luan border bridge (Quang Ninh Province) and at the Friendship Gate (Lang Son Province); while large numbers of Hoa people were blocked, they sent out their agents along with hooligans to indulge in acts of violence and create disturbances, at the Bac Luan Bridge on 8 August and at the Friendship Gate on 25 August, killing two members of the Vietnamese security forces and wounding 25 others.

(b) The Peking authorities massed troops (infantry, armoured, air force and artillery) close to the border, built fortifications, arranged military positions on the heights all along the border, and evacuated Chinese civilians in the border region to the hinterland. At the same time, the huge propaganda machine of Peking slanderously accused Viet Nam of "violating Chinese territory", and Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping, disregarding all the principles of the United Nations, uttered repeated threats about teaching Viet Nam "a lesson" and "punishing Viet Nam".

(c) The Chinese armed forces made repeated encroachments on Vietnamese territory, destroyed barbed wire fences, mine fields and other defensive works of the Vietnamese side.

(d) They intruded into Vietnamese territory and attacked guard posts of the Vietnamese militia and border-guards, opened sniper fire and kidnapped Vietnamese to China. Hereunder are some examples:

- (i) On 13 October 1978, the Chinese armed forces intruded deep into Vietnamese territory in Pha Long village, Muong Khuong District, Hoang Lien Son Province, ambushed a working group on duty, killed two border guards and abducted Nguyen Dinh Am to China;
- (ii) On 1 November, on Chong Mu Hill, Cao Bang Province, hundreds of Chinese troops, together with over 1,000 Chinese militiamen entered Vietnamese territory, opened fire and attacked a Vietnamese militia group doing their duty on Vietnamese soil;
- (iii) On 23 December, Chinese armed forces crossed the border and launched an attack on a Vietnamese militia group who were doing their duty on Vietnamese territory in the area of border-stone No. 2 (at Binh Nhi, Lang Son Province) and took four persons away to China.

Similar provocations on the whole borderline can be counted by the hundreds.

Since early 1979, the Chinese provocations have been carried out on an increasing scale and involving ever-increasing forces:

(a) Artillery based in China (heavy machine-guns, 82 mm mortars, 75 and 85 mm recoil-less guns) brazenly opened fire in the direction of Viet Nam, in waves or for many successive days. A civilian walking on the road, a village, a hamlet, a residential quarter of a town, a workyard, a forest exploitation site, a State farm—all are targets for shelling. Hereunder are some examples:

- (i) On 14 January, Chinese forces shelled Phai Lau hamlet, Binh Lieu District, Quang Ninh Province;
  - (ii) On the same day, they shelled the main streets of Lao Cai provincial capital in Hoang Lien Son Province during a rush hour;
  - (iii) On 2 February, they shelled the Phuc Hoa sugar refinery and Hung Long hamlet, Qui Thuan village, Quang Hoa District, Cao Bang Province;
  - (iv) From 10 January to 25 January, with different types of infantry weapons and 82 mm mortars, they fired at a Vietnamese border-post in Tra Linh, Cao Bang Province.
- (b) With big infantry forces and strong fire support, they attacked and encroached upon Vietnamese territory, for instance:
- (i) On 10 February, over a battalion of the Chinese regular army entered Viet Nam over a distance of 2 kilometres and occupied the militia posts in Thanh Loa village, Cao Loc District, Lang Son Province;
  - (ii) On 11 February, a company of the Chinese regular army occupied the Hang Na-Coc Pheo area, Can Yen village, Thong Nong District, Cao Bang Province;
  - (iii) On 15 February, a company of the Chinese regular army crossed the border to occupy Na Ke hamlet of Bao Lam village, Van Lang District, Lang Son Province.

All the brazen and increasingly serious acts of provocation, carried out by the Chinese side, especially since 1978, have no other purpose than to make frenzied preparations for a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. This has been borne out by the facts.

At dawn, on 17 February 1979, the Peking authorities unleashed a war of aggression against Viet Nam involving 600,000 troops from 11 army corps and many independent divisions

(among them, a number of divisions specializing in mountain fighting and including people who had been helping Viet Nam to build roads in border areas, and Hoa people who had previously lived in Viet Nam), over 500 tanks and armoured cars, and over 700 planes of different types. On the very first day, about 20 Chinese infantry divisions simultaneously attacked six Vietnamese provinces bordering on China: Quang Ninh, Lang Son, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son and Lai Chau.

Because of the defeats inflicted by strong ripostes from the Vietnamese people, strong condemnation by world public opinion and opposition from the Chinese people, the Peking authorities are withdrawing their troops to China.

Since the beginning of the aggression in Viet Nam, the Chinese aggressors have indulged in wanton shooting, arson, looting, rape, and pitiless massacres using extremely barbarous methods. They crushed the victims' skulls with rifle butts, bayoneted them, beheaded them, cut their bodies into pieces, threw grenades into shelters, rounded people up and opened fire on them. The victims were mostly old people, women and children. In Cao Lau, Van Lang (Lang Son), they tore to pieces the body of Vi Viet Luong, a pupil of the fourth form, woke up seven children who were sleeping, shot them dead, then cut their bodies to pieces, and threw them out into the yard. In Thanh Loa village (Lang Son), four Chinese soldiers dragged a school mistress of Tay nationality to a hill, raped her and shot her. In the brick and tile works of Quang Kim village, Bat Xat District (Hoang Lien Son) they killed all the male workers with their B40 guns, raped the women workers and abducted them to China.

What is more serious, at the Bat Xat market, they beheaded and disembowelled about 100 children and scattered their bodies.

In the process of their slow withdrawal, the Chinese aggressors have continued to commit numerous crimes against the Vietnamese people. They have shelled and blown up everything still left standing, thus completely destroying Lang Son, Cao Bang and Lao Cai townships. Moreover, they have laid mines everywhere and even poisoned water wells, killing or poisoning a number of civilians.

#### V. THE CORRECT WAY TO A SETTLEMENT OF THE FRONTIER QUESTIONS BETWEEN VIET NAM AND CHINA

The facts expounded above have clearly illustrated the following:

(a) A historical frontier has existed between Viet Nam and China for a long time. It was defined by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions and subsequently clearly marked out along the entire length of the 1,400 kilometres of land border;

(b) Over the past 21 years, the Chinese side, in violation of the agreement between the two countries on the maintenance of the *status quo* of the frontier, left by history, has committed thousands of encroachments on the border, sovereignty and territory of Viet Nam;

(c) The Chinese side has deliberately deadlocked the talks on the border problem between the two countries; it has been intensifying armed provocations against Viet Nam and, on 17 February 1979, it embarked on a massive invasion of Viet Nam.

In order to conceal the extent of the war, to mislead the peoples of China and the world, the Chinese rulers have uttered base lies to the effect that the Vietnamese side indulged in "provocation" and "aggression", thus compelling China to launch a "counter-offensive in self-defence". The same contention about "counter-offensive in self-defence" was made in 1962 during the aggression against India and in 1974 when the Vietnamese islands of Hoang Sa were occupied. When the Chinese rulers talk about a "counter-offensive in self-defence", they are acting like all aggressors.

The Peking rulers have even said that this is only "a limited war" waged by "border-guard forces". In fact, they are clearly waging a large-scale war of aggression aimed at annexing Viet Nam, a war involving, at the outset, the participation of dozens of regular divisions with a troop strength equalling that of the United States at the peak of the United States war of aggression in Viet Nam.

The peoples of the five continents, the Governments of many countries including Deng Xiaoping's friends in the West, have

all called this China's aggression against Viet Nam. The ordinary people in China have also begun to be aware of the adventure that the Chinese rulers are pushing their country into with incalculable consequences.

Why did the Chinese rulers embark on an aggression against Viet Nam although this laid bare their real nature of big-nation expansionism and their nature as aggressors?

The current war of aggression in Viet Nam has its origin in the Chinese rulers' policy of trying to weaken and subjugate Viet Nam, to make it dependent on China, and at the same time, to annex Lao and Kampuchea in order to turn the Indo-Chinese Peninsula into a spring-board for the implementation of their big-nation expansionism in South-East Asia. They have suffered repeated setbacks in using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique for attacks against Viet Nam from the south-west, in indulging in armed provocations and increasing military pressure from the North, in using the Hoa people to cause trouble and violence from within, and in trying to stifle Viet Nam by causing other countries to cut their aid at a moment when Viet Nam was facing economic difficulties.

They have also closed the three Vietnamese consulates general at Kunming, Nanning and Kwangchow, cut off the international railway and terminated the agreement on exemption of visas for officials of the two countries with a view to covering up their preparations for military attacks against Viet Nam. Finally, the Chinese rulers have rashly embarked on a war of aggression against Viet Nam.

In attacking the six provinces on the northern border of Viet Nam, they have also attempted to change the borderline, that is to hold on tightly to the areas they have previously occupied by encroachment, and at the same time to occupy other positions. They themselves have brazenly made this clear when they said that the Chinese troops would withdraw to the other side of "the borderline recognized by China". According to first reports, they have moved border-stones Nos. 41 and 45 at Chi Ma (Lang Son) deep inside Vietnamese territory. Yet they have often declared "China does not want an inch of land from any country"!

The stand of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been made clear in the note dated 2 March 1979 [S/13134] to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the Chinese rulers having provoked a war of aggression in Viet Nam must put a permanent end to their aggression; withdraw immediately, completely and unconditionally their troops to the other side of the borderline left by history, as agreed upon between the two sides, and strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

On 6 March 1979, the Vietnamese side stated:

"If China really withdraws all its troops from Vietnamese territory as it has said it will, after the total withdrawal of the Chinese troops to the other side of the historical frontier which the two sides have agreed to respect, the Vietnamese side will be disposed to begin immediately with the Chinese side negotiations at the level of Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs on the re-establishment of normal relations between the two countries. The place and date will be agreed upon between the two sides". [S/13144, annex.]

If the Chinese rulers pursue their policy of aggression against Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people and army, exercising their sacred right of self-defence, will resolutely fight against the aggressors to defend their motherland, and to preserve peace in South-East Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people are determined to spare no effort to preserve the traditional friendship with the Chinese people.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly demands that the Chinese rulers:

1. Put a permanent end to their aggression, withdraw immediately, completely, and unconditionally all their troops, stop all criminal acts against Viet Nam, strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, respect the borderline left by history as agreed upon between the two sides, immediately stop the shifting of border-stones and other acts aimed at changing this borderline.

2. Start, at an early date with the Vietnamese side, the negotiations mentioned in the note sent on 15 March 1979 by the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Chinese



Ministry of Foreign Affairs [S/13174], with a view to bringing about peace and stability in the border areas, and restoring normal relations between the two countries.

The Vietnamese Government and people are firmly confident that the fraternal socialist countries, the member countries of

the non-aligned movement, the national independent countries, the friendly countries, and peace-loving and justice-loving people in the world will strengthen their solidarity with and support for Viet Nam, in the interests of independence, peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world.

## DOCUMENT S/13235\*

### Letter dated 9 April 1979 from the representative of Zambia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to circulate the attached study entitled "An analysis of the illegal régime's 'Constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia'", prepared by the Commonwealth Secretariat, as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

My Government considers the study by the Commonwealth Secretariat as timely and of utmost importance in exposing the facade of the so-called internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia, stage-managed by the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith. As the dates for the sham elections to be held in Southern Rhodesia under the "internal settlement" scheme draw near, it is necessary that this study be given the widest possible dissemination.

(Signed) P. J. F. LUSAKA  
Permanent Representative of Zambia  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### An analysis of the illegal régime's "Constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia"

##### Introduction

1. The draft "constitution" published on 2 January 1979 by the illegal régime in Salisbury has been heralded by its proponents as ushering in both majority rule and a non-racial society. It is under this "constitution" that "elections" are scheduled to be held on or about 20 April 1979. The "elections" are to be staged in a country where a war is raging which presently claims more than 1,000 lives a month, where martial law imposed by a minority prevails and where the present illegal régime wields absolute power of censorship so as to control and distort the flow of information and the portrayal of events even more effectively internally than it does abroad. No election held in such circumstances can possibly be either "fair" or "free", nor can an election campaign from which major parties with large popular followings are excluded be so described.

2. Any action of sending "observers" to Zimbabwe tends to lend credibility to what is internationally accepted as being a tragic charade, but present controversy over this issue also tends to obscure the fundamentally repugnant nature of the "constitution" under which the elections are being conducted—and which is by any standards a most extraordinarily one-sided, racist and anti-democratic document. The present analytical note seeks to reveal the grim realities of the "constitution".

##### Illegality

3. The so-called "Constitution of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" will be no more legal or valid than the UDI constitution it replaces. The régime it produces will not be any less illegal than that at present in Salisbury. Nor is this merely a technical matter. The major political movements of Zimbabwe have had no hand in

framing the constitutional provisions—which were put for approval only before the white community, some 3 per cent of the population.

##### President

4. The Head of State provided for in the "constitution" is a President, to be elected by a simple majority of the members of the Senate and the House of Assembly meeting as an electoral college. As the representatives of those on the "Black", or "common" roll, outnumber those of the "White" roll, they may be said to be given an opportunity of choosing the President. He would hold office for a term of six years and be bound to act on the advice of the Executive Council or such other person or body as the "Constitution", in the circumstances, stipulates.

5. He would therefore be a titular, and not an executive President. He may be Black, but he would be nothing more than a figurehead.

##### Parliament

6. The Parliament under the "constitution" would consist of:

(a) A Senate of 30 members, of whom ten are "Black Senators", ten are "White Senators" and ten are "Chiefs". An additional two Senators may be appointed on the advice of the Executive Council so that they may serve on the Senate Legal Committee. The qualifications are such that these two additional senators would almost certainly be White.

(b) A House of Assembly of 100 members, of whom:

- (i) 72 "shall be Black members" elected by voters on the common voters role;
- (ii) 20 "shall be White members" elected by voters on the "White voters roll";
- (iii) 8 "shall be White members", chosen by an electoral college in which "Black members" form the majority but from 16 candidates nominated by an all-White electoral college.

7. The Black members would have clear majorities in both the Senate and the House of Assembly but these majorities are illusory, as later provisions render them inadequate to effect any real change. The "constitution" is so framed as to restrict the powers normally exercised by such a Legislature to the point where it may fairly be asked whether, in fact, the "majority" would be left with any power with which to "rule". The ways in which the powers which might be exercised by the Legislature are circumscribed are now examined in turn.

##### Amendments to the "constitution"

8. The specially entrenched provisions of the "constitution" could only be amended with the affirmative votes of 78 members of the House of Assembly. The requirement of the affirmative votes of more than three quarters of the membership of the directly elected House gives the "White members" a power of veto over any proposed amendment to key constitutional provisions. The active support and participation of at least six of the "White members" are required if there is to be any change.

9. The full implications of these provisions, and the extent of the power retained by the minority over virtually every facet of social and economic life can only be fully appreciated when the number and the nature of the specially entrenched provi-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/171-S/13235.

sions is understood. Fully 123 of the 170 Articles fall into this category. They include provisions relating to:

- (a) The composition of the Legislature;
- (b) The procedure of Parliament;
- (c) The Executive Council;
- (d) The declaration of public emergencies;
- (e) The Judicature and the Judicial Service Commission;
- (f) Every aspect of the public service.

*Retention and perpetuation of the  
existing establishment*

10. Further, among the miscellaneous "transitional provisions" are those which would automatically preserve in office the present (White) incumbents of such key posts as judges of the High Court, Chairman and members of the present Public Services Board, and commissioned ranks in the Defence and the Police Forces. In the context of Rhodesia, such provisions effectively ensure the perpetuation of the *status quo*; and, as the posts to which these officers succeed are given special constitutional protection, this state of affairs is guaranteed to continue until such time as at least six of the "White members" and all of the "Black members" are united in demanding to change it. Meanwhile the hand-picked appointees of the Smith régime are preserved in office.

11. Allied to this are the qualifications required for appointment to each of the key posts established by the "constitution" and given special entrenchment. These offices and institutions are carefully designed to interlock, to interreact, and to perpetuate themselves. They hold enormous power over the day-to-day life of the country, yet the qualification requirements, in the context of Rhodesia, are drawn up in such a way as effectively to exclude over 96 per cent of the population from participating in their processes for at least a generation. The posts include:

(a) Appointees as *judges of the High Court* (both of the Appellate and of the General Division), who must have been a judge of a superior court "in a country in which the common law is Roman-Dutch and English is an official language" or have been qualified for not less than 10 years to practise as an advocate either in Zimbabwe or in a country where the common law is Roman-Dutch and English is an official language. The effect is virtually to rule out appointments to the bench of Zimbabwean and other African lawyers and to facilitate the appointment of South African judges. The retention of the existing all-White judiciary, of course, preserves in office the judicial overseers of the illegal régime, who have so debased and discredited the country's judicial system.

(b) Members of the *Judicial Service Commission* (whose major function is to make recommendations to the President for appointments to the High Court) who comprise the Chief Justice, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, and one other member (appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Chief Justice) who has either been a judge of the High Court, or qualified to practise as a lawyer for at least 10 years in Zimbabwe, or has stood for election to either House of Parliament or to a local authority.

(c) The *Attorney-General* (who controls prosecutions in the independent exercise of his discretion), who is appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission, and must both be qualified for appointment as a judge of the High Court, and have served in the Attorney-General's Department for at least 10 years.

(d) Members of the *Public Service Commission*, who are to be chosen for "their ability and experience in administration or their professional qualifications", and the majority (including the Chairman) must be persons who have held designated senior posts in the public service for at least 5 years.

(e) The *Commissioner of Police*, who is appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission with not even the Prime Minister having any effective say in the matter and must have held no lesser rank than Assistant Commissioner of Police for at least 5 years; and in turn, the Commissioner of Police advises the President on all appointments to and above the rank of Inspector.

(f) Appointees to the *Police Service Commission*, which has as its Chairman, the Chairman of the *Public Service Commission*, and at least half of whose other members must have held the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police or above, for not less than 5 years.

(g) The *Commanders of the Army, the Air Force and any other branch of the Defence Forces*, who must have held the rank of Colonel or Group Captain or above (as the case may be) in the existing defence forces for at least five years. Each is appointed by the President on the recommendation of a Board which comprises two of the Commanders (including the retiring Commander as Chairman), and a third member, who is a Secretary of a Ministry in the Public Service. In these appointments, as elsewhere, not even the Prime Minister has any real role. The "majority rulers" again exercise no authority: as in the other instances cited, the appointments are effectively of Whites, and made by Whites.

(h) Appointees to the *Defence Forces Service Commission* (which has over-all responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the defence forces); the Commission consists of the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, at least two members who have held the rank of Colonel or Group Captain or above for not less than 5 years, and no more than two other members chosen for "their ability and experience in administration".

(i) The *Ombudsman*, who requires no special qualifications but is appointed by the President on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission.

(j) Appointees to the *Senate Legal Committee* (whose main function is to scrutinize proposed legislation to ensure that it would not contravene the Declaration of Rights set out in the "constitution") who must be either retired judges of the High Court, or have been qualified for not less than 10 years to practise as advocates or attorneys in Zimbabwe, or have been magistrates in Zimbabwe for at least 10 years.

(k) The *Comptroller and Auditor-General*, who is appointed by the Public Service Commission and must have held a designated high office in the public service for at least 5 years.

(l) The principal *diplomatic representatives* of Zimbabwe abroad, who can only be appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, after the Prime Minister has consulted with the Public Service or other appropriate Commission.

12. It will be noted that the qualifications are pitched so high that it would be decades rather than years before the vast majority could be said to have been afforded a real opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes of government and in the public life of the country. Nor is there any chance of accelerating Black participation in the public service by reversing the historical legacy of deliberate exclusion of Africans, however well educated, from responsible positions. White domination is further guaranteed by the Public Service Commission being compelled to appoint the candidates who are "the most efficient and suitable".

*Ministries*

13. Under the "constitution", for at least the first five years the number of Ministries would be divided among the various parties in proportion to the number of seats they hold in the House of Assembly. As the "White members" number 28, a minority bloc of only 3 per cent of the population would control between one fourth and one third of the Ministries. This would seem to ensure that, politically speaking, the "White" bloc will hold the balance of power. The opportunity is thereby created for the minority to select and perhaps even to provide the Prime Minister.

14. Further, despite the designation of their office, the Ministers would have no effective say in the appointment of their principal advisers (to whom they would look to supervise the execution of their policies). In the fields of the police, and of defence and security, the Ministers are rendered virtually irrelevant, with all effective power being in the hands of the (necessarily White) Force Commanders and the Police Commissioner, who are not answerable to their Ministers. Only the Prime Minister or such other Minister as he may authorize may

give any directions at all to any of them, and then they may only be "general directions of policy with regard to the [maintenance of law and order] [defence of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia]". Each of them is, in specific terms, "not . . . in the exercise of his responsibilities and powers . . . subject to the direction or control of any person or authority". Should all or any of them choose flagrantly to disregard any "general direction", such are the semantics of the "constitution" that no Minister, nor even the President, would have power to dismiss them. This could only be done by the (unquestionably all-White) Defence Forces Service Commission or Judicial Services Commission—and then only if it "deemed" such action "fit".

#### *Review Commission*

15. The "constitution" provides for a review of the composition of Parliament after a defined period, when a Commission would decide what changes, if any, should be made. It might be thought that this review assures eventual transition to "majority rule" in the true sense of the expression. However, if and when such a review were to be carried out (and it would not be for at least ten years at the earliest), the Commission conducting the review would comprise:

- (a) The Chief Justice or his nominee (as Chairman);
- (b) Two members elected by the "White members" of the House of Assembly;
- (c) Two members appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

16. The realities of life in Rhodesia and the appointment procedures are such that the minority group is certain to provide the Chief Justice. Thus, the majority of the membership of the Commission, whose role ought properly to be to usher in a real democracy, would unquestionably be White. Even at so late a stage—when the scene is supposedly set for the abolition of the separate Black and White electoral rolls and for the elimination of the separate Black and White seats other than those of the Chiefs—the White minority would still hold the power of veto.

#### *Health, education, housing and electoral law*

17. Health services, education and housing are the areas of critical need for the vast majority of the population today. They are also the areas in which White minority domination has been at its most repressive. One would normally look to the provisions of a constitution as seeking to redress inequities and to guarantee basic rights in those fundamental areas of human need. Yet this "constitution", far from expressing resolution to redress the inequalities of the past and present, goes so far as specially to entrench key provisions in existing legislation.

18. Thus, for all the "constitution's" apparent concern with the quality of life in all its aspects, it actually goes so far as to guarantee and perpetuate White domination and White privilege wherever it now exists—and until such time, if ever, as the Whites voluntarily surrender it.

#### *Land reform and compensation*

19. At present, fully half of Rhodesia's disposable land is held by the minority group. Any attempt to redress the institutionalized inequalities of the past must inevitably involve a substantial programme of land reform.

20. The "constitution", however, places considerable, perhaps even insuperable, barriers in the path of any such action. The Legislature and Executive are denied any power compulsorily to acquire land other than under the authority of a law which:

- (a) Requires the High Court to determine whether the acquisition is necessary in the public interest; and
- (b) Requires the High Court to refuse any application compulsorily to acquire land unless "it is satisfied that, having regard to its area and suitability for those purposes, that the piece of land in question has not been substantially put to use for [agricultural] purposes for a continuous period of at least five years immediately prior to the date of application" . . . periods of non-use for reasons of "any public disorder" are to be disregarded; and

(c) Requires the High Court, should it approve the acquisition, to fix as adequate compensation an amount which would not be "less than the highest amount which the land . . . would have realized if sold on the open market by a willing seller to a willing buyer at any time during the period of five years immediately prior to the date of the acquisition" (emphasis added). [And the owner of land so acquired (if a citizen or if ordinarily resident) is given the absolute right to remit the compensation anywhere abroad, free from any "deduction, tax or charge", other than ordinary bank transfer charges.]

21. In the context of Rhodesia today, the combination of an economy ruined by war, a novel method to maximize the minimum compensation payable, an absolute right to remit proceeds abroad taken with a chronic balance-of-payments situation, vast imbalances of wealth between the two sections of the community, and the very broad discretion given to a judiciary (whose composition is, at best, unrepresentative), all only serve to frustrate essential land reform and to perpetuate a denial of the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the people. In such a setting, this clear-cut conflict between public need and private interest calls to be resolved on the side of humanity. However, it is difficult to conceive of any way in which a progressive Government's task could have been made more onerous. In matters of land, as well as those of education, health and housing, the domination of the minority has been constitutionally secured.

#### *Discrimination*

22. As has been noted, in all of the major facets of life, the special, privileged status of a racially defined minority is perpetuated. Nor is any attempt made even to outlaw discrimination in places of public resort, shops, hotels and entertainment.

23. Although, and as one would expect, the "constitution" outlaws discrimination in all its forms in the customary resounding terminology, some of its own major provisions offend against this principle. Not only are specified statutes especially entrenched, but the validity of *all* existing laws is preserved. Such a preservation is, in other contexts, a common provision: however, in the prevailing situation it preserves and protects the entire statute book of a racially discriminatory régime. Nor is this done merely to provide a breathing space in which to phase out objectionable legislation—except for existing legislation relating to the compulsory acquisition of property, which alone is singled out as requiring immediate attention if it is not to be struck down by the courts. All else remains.

24. Indeed, not content with merely fortifying the minority's stranglehold, the "constitution" would render it impossible for a government to remedy the imbalance. Any programme, legislative or otherwise, designed to redress the legacy of more than a century of sustained deprivation, would most assuredly founder on the very provisions which are expressed in terms that prohibit discrimination but which are carefully circumvented and rendered inapplicable where Whites are the beneficiaries.

25. As in all constitutional matters, the decision as to whether or not a specific proposal infringed against the "constitution" (in this instance as being discriminatory by being designed to assist the deprived majority) would be determined by the (unrepresentative) High Court.

#### *Conclusions*

26. As this brief analysis shows, virtually every lever of institutional power has been retained in White hands: those few surrendered have been effectively emasculated. Only the election of the President could be said to meet the claim of being democratic, and it is significant that his role is simply that of a figurehead. Rather, the people at large are bequeathed a government bereft of the power to govern effectively and a Legislature denuded of all means either to change the *status quo* or to advance the legitimate aspirations of the nation as a whole. Taken as a whole and judged by the democratic standards claimed for it by its proponents, it is revealed as a carefully woven, carefully contrived subterfuge for sustaining a wholly anti-democratic régime.

22 March 1979



Letter dated 10 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[10 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The courageous struggle of the non-aligned countries to safeguard the principles of non-alignment".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The courageous struggle of the non-aligned countries to safeguard the principles of non-alignment"

At present, the non-aligned countries are playing a very important role in all international problems, particularly by their contribution to the defence of world peace. Fearful of the numbers and the role of the non-aligned nations, Soviet expansionism is engaging in manoeuvres and frantic activities, first, to win over the non-aligned countries, involve them with it and place them under its influence and use them for its own expansionist interests, and secondly, to divide and destroy the non-aligned movement as an independent force opposed to blocs. Viet Nam and Cuba, which are pawns of the Soviet Union in the non-aligned movement, are faithful and active henchmen serving Soviet policy and plans. This fact has become increasingly apparent since the Summit Conference held at Colombo in 1976 and at other conferences held subsequently. Many non-aligned nations have fought against the manoeuvres and the treacherous and criminal activities of Viet Nam and Cuba, successfully preserving the solidarity and unity of the non-aligned movement. Democratic Kampuchea has played an active and important part in this struggle.

Since the aggression and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea by more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops from 25 December 1978 to date, Viet Nam and its master, the Soviet Union, and the other pawn, Cuba, have intensified their manoeuvres in an attempt to enlist the non-aligned nations to defend them, serve their expansionist strategy and recognize their running dogs in Phnom Penh. They have engaged in diplomatic manoeuvres and seductive manoeuvres, and have resorted to all kinds of pressure, threats and intimidation to force these countries to refrain from denouncing and condemning the aggression and invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam, from supporting the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea and to recognize their running dogs in Phnom Penh. In so doing, they are seeking to win over the non-aligned countries and force them to take their side or, at

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/172-S/13236.

least, ensure that they dare not defend the principles of non-alignment. By means of these tactics they seek to rob the principles of non-alignment of their content and, ultimately, to destroy them.

But the non-aligned countries have seen through all these stratagems quite clearly. The barbaric aggression and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea by Viet Nam are flagrant acts and constitute a brutal violation of the principles of non-alignment. If the non-aligned nations are coerced into recognizing the running dogs of the Vietnamese at Phnom Penh by the pressure and manoeuvres of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and Cuba, that would mean the abandonment of the principles of non-alignment. But the non-aligned nations have fought with determination and courage against the threats, the pressure and the deceitful manoeuvres of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and Cuba. They have waged this struggle in order to defend and preserve not only the principles of non-alignment but, first and foremost, their position and policy of non-alignment. This is why they have:

(a) Refused to recognize the running dogs of the Vietnamese at Phnom Penh;

(b) Supported the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea;

(c) Fought to secure the complete and unconditional withdrawal from Kampuchea of the Vietnamese forces of aggression.

This steadfast position of the non-aligned countries in defence of the principles and policy of non-alignment was clearly demonstrated at the United Nations General Assembly in January, at the Security Council meetings in January, February and March, at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at Maputo, at the session of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific at Manila, at the Commission on Human Rights at Geneva, and in other forums. This is why the prestige and reputation of the non-aligned movement is steadily growing and being enhanced on the international scene. The countries of the third world have confidence in this movement, and an increasing number of them want to join it. Pakistan and Iran have both already announced their candidature.

In order to promote the influence and reputation of the non-aligned movement and preserve its original content, steps would have to be taken to expel Viet Nam from the movement, since it is allied politically, militarily and economically with Soviet expansionism and has blatantly violated the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement by its aggression and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and its occupation of Laos, which are both fully fledged members of the non-aligned family.

As for the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, they are determined to hold aloft the banner of independence and non-alignment, to continue their heroic struggle to destroy and expel the Vietnamese aggressors from their territory, to defend their independence, their sovereignty and their right to decide the destinies of their own country and nation, to preserve the position and policy of non-alignment of Democratic Kampuchea and to uphold its sacred principles.

#### DOCUMENT S/13237\*

Letter dated 10 April 1979 from the representative of the Lao's People's Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[10 April 1979]

I have the honour to call your attention to the fact that, for some time, a certain individual, known as

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/173-S/13237.

Thiounn Prasith, who represents no one, since the notorious régime which he claims to represent was overthrown and swept away by the people of Kampuchea on 7 January 1979, is shamefully abusing the machinery

of the United Nations to disseminate a series of untruthful statements containing defamatory material and treacherous attacks against certain Member States of the United Nations, and particularly against my own country, Laos, and its leaders.

While strongly and most contemptuously rejecting all the lies, fabrications and slanderous allegations contained in those statements, the Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes to make a clarification, explaining the position of its Government both with regard to the situation in Kampuchea and the representation of that country and of the people of Kampuchea in the United Nations and all its related agencies.

Since 7 January 1979, the date of the overthrow of the fascist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which was practising genocide within its frontiers and a policy of overt provocation and aggression towards the neighbouring countries of Laos, Viet Nam and Thailand, the self-styled "Democratic Kampuchea" has ceased to exist. A new régime, that of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has been governing and is governing the country and effectively exercising control over the entire territory at present.

These are irrefutable facts which cannot be disregarded or distorted if justice is to be done to the heroic people of Kampuchea, who for three long years have suffered under a régime practising the most barbarous repression and who have not yet finished counting their dead, who amount to over three million, because of the policy of genocide practised by the defunct Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime.

Besides, by overthrowing the tyrannical Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the heroic people of Kampuchea have merely exercised their sacred and inalienable right to self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. They have not infringed on the independency, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any neighbouring country. On the contrary, they have quenched a hotbed of war which was threatening to break out at any moment, as a result of the repeated acts of provocation and aggression perpetrated by the bellicose Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against Laos, Viet Nam and Thailand.

However, completely misrepresenting the facts, the ousted Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, in an effort to confuse international public opinion, at the instigation and with the logistical support of its masters in Peking, set about distorting the truth, dividing and slandering neighbouring countries, such as Laos and Viet Nam, and accusing

them of being behind its overthrow, which was the inevitable consequence of its practice of genocide and transformation of Kampuchea into a testing ground for the cultural revolution which went bankrupt elsewhere during the 1960s.

These are treacherous manœuvres which no people and none of the Governments of the three countries of Indo-China can tolerate as they constitute blatant interference in their internal affairs and seek to represent criminals as martyrs of "independence". Worse still, behind these manœuvres lurk the most serious dangers to peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia, since they are designed to serve the interests of Peking's implementation of its policy of hegemony and great-Power expansionism in that part of the world.

The people of Kampuchea are one; the nation of Kampuchea is one and indivisible. The representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations and all its related agencies must reflect these facts, or else it would be a travesty detrimental to the proper functioning of the United Nations which, according to its Charter, should consist of sovereign and independent States and not of puppet régimes.

Consequently the self-styled "Democratic Kampuchea", already dead and buried on 7 January 1979 by the people of Kampuchea, has no semblance of right or authority to appoint the Permanent Representative of Kampuchea and of the people of Kampuchea to the United Nations. Furthermore, the fact that this puppet régime, which never during its lifetime dreamed of performing this diplomatic duty, hastened to do so during the two months following its overthrow, merely provides further proof of its growing subjection to Peking, which has sought at all costs to use it in international forums as an instrument of its expansionist policy in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

Consequently the device of publishing through the United Nations the most inventive editorials and documents, taken directly from China, which the puppet Thioung Prasith has been employing for some time is an affront to the principles of the United Nations since it serves as a cover for the treacherous manœuvres of the Chinese authorities and must be stopped.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this letter to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Vithaya SOURINHO  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic*

#### DOCUMENT S/13238\*

#### Letter dated 10 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

*[Original: French]  
[10 April 1979]*

I have the honour to bring to your attention the following denial, dated 7 April 1979, issued by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea:

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/174-S/13238.



"The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is authorized to issue the following denial.

"The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, in an effort to deceive world public opinion, has stated that the leadership of the people's war for the liberation of Kampuchea has taken refuge in Thailand. This is yet another misleading fabrication invented by this clique.

"In actual fact, the leadership of the people's war for the liberation of Kampuchea is in Kampuchea and in the process of directing the people's war. It is determined to fight on and to spare no sacrifice for the national safety and to ensure the perpetuity of the nation of Kampuchea."

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this denial to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

### DOCUMENT S/13239\*

Letter dated 10 April 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[10 April 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your urgent attention to a terrorist outrage perpetrated today, 10 April 1979, by the so-called PLO in the city of Tel-Aviv. At about 1210 hours local time, an explosive device went off at the Carmel open air market, which was teeming at the time with Passover shoppers. As a result of the explosion, one woman shopper was killed and 28 persons were injured, 5 of them seriously. A few hours later, in a broadcast over the radio station operated by it in Lebanon, the terrorist PLO announced its responsibility for this cowardly crime.

This latest terrorist atrocity comes in the wake of a number of criminal activities perpetrated by the terrorist PLO during the past week.

On Thursday, 5 April, at 1530 hours local time, a bomb exploded at a bus stop on Salah A-Din Street at Jerusalem, one of the main commercial thoroughfares of the city, injuring 13 persons, including 3 children. In a broadcast on 6 April from Lebanon over its radio station, the terrorist PLO admitted its responsibility for this crime.

On Friday, 6 April, at 2315 hours local time, the interior of a Jerusalem restaurant was wrecked by a bomb, injuring 16 persons, including 8 women. In a broadcast of 7 April by the terrorist-operated "Voice of Palestine" from Lebanon, the criminal PLO took responsibility for this outrage.

On the morning of Sunday, 8 April, a rocket launcher aimed at downtown Jerusalem with a katyusha rocket mounted on it was discovered on a hill in south-east Jerusalem. The rocket, first spotted by an alert passerby, was dismantled by police sappers about 15 minutes before a timing device was to have launched it, thus providentially foiling the completion of another ter-

rorist outrage and what might have been a major catastrophe.

Since the beginning of 1979, the criminal activities of the PLO have resulted in the deaths of 7 persons and the injury of 169, all the casualties being civilians.

All these criminal activities reflect the barbaric pattern regularly followed by the terrorist PLO throughout its existence. It is the work of international criminals of the worst kind, bent on the indiscriminate murder of civilians, while masquerading under the banner of a national liberation movement. These criminal acts are also designed to give violent expression to the implacable opposition of the terrorist PLO and of other opponents of peace, both in the Arab world and beyond, to any step forward in the direction of peace and reconciliation. In their attempts to undermine the ongoing peace process in the Middle East, most recently manifested by the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty on 26 March 1979, the opponents of peace use as their instrument the terrorist PLO which has been granted irregular privileges at the United Nations, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and other organs of the Organization.

Given the violent aims of the criminal PLO, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/175-S/13239.

## Letter dated 11 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/French]  
[11 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, the text of the message dated 29 March 1979 from Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this message distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Message dated 29 March 1979 from Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries

Your Excellency is certainly aware of the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries to be held in June 1979 at Colombo. A number of questions will be examined, among which, first of all, is the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of all States.

Your Excellency has always paid lasting attention to the affairs of our non-aligned movement and participated in the defence and strengthening of the principles of non-alignment as well as in the development and reinforcement of the solidarity and unity of our movement.

Desirous of making a contribution towards the examination of questions laid down in the agenda for the Colombo meeting, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency of the present situation in Democratic Kampuchea and the viewpoints and position of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the problems which are confronting our movement.

Majority world opinion is opposed to the Vietnamese aggression and invasion against Democratic Kampuchea, an independent and sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations and member of the non-aligned movement. The peace-loving and justice-loving countries have expressed their concern over the menace of the extension of this war and have demanded the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in order to let the people of Kampuchea themselves decide the destiny of their country.

The Security Council of the United Nations has met twice and voted for the draft resolution presented by the non-aligned countries in January 1979 and for that presented by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in March. The two draft resolutions demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. However, the Soviet Union, which actively supports the Vietnamese authorities in their aggression against Kampuchea, has each time resorted to its right of veto.

The Vietnamese authorities, although they are extremely isolated in the world, persist nevertheless in their aggression and invasion against Democratic Kampuchea. Moreover, they are arrogantly undertaking the escalation of their aggressive war against Kampuchea. Recently, the Vietnamese authorities have decreed the most fascist martial law of general mobilization in order to reinforce the effectiveness of their aggressive troops in Kampuchea. In the meantime, the Vietnamese troops are pursuing systematically their criminal strategy of "burning all, destroying all and killing all", causing ruin and devastation with an unparalleled ferocity, so as to eliminate once for all the nation of Kampuchea. In effect, in a number of our localities, after massacring and driving out all our people, the Vietnamese authorities have settled there instead their own armed nationals for the purpose of permanent occupation.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/176-S/13240.

For camouflaging their acts of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and genocide against the people of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have plotted manoeuvres for legalizing their invasion of Kampuchea through the recognition of the régime of their running dogs installed at Phnom Penh.

In the political aspect, the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" has claimed repeatedly to be the "advanced post of the Socialist bloc" with the Soviet Union as its chieftain.

In the economic aspect, as a member of the CMEA, the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" belongs entirely to the Soviet economic bloc.

In the military aspect, the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" has allied itself with the Soviet Union by the Vietnam-Soviet "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation" signed on 3 November 1978.

Besides, as an active member of the Soviet bloc, the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" has exerted every effort to gather partisans within the non-aligned movement and incite one group to oppose the other by making a distinction between "progressive countries" and "reactionary countries". Its goal is to reduce the role of the non-aligned movement in international affairs and to make the movement deviate from its principles in the interests of its bloc.

In such a situation, does the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" still have the criteria of a non-aligned country? The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has already raised solemnly this question before the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-aligned Countries held in July 1978 at Belgrade. The events which followed have clearly confirmed that the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" not only has no longer the criteria of a non-aligned country but becomes a very active aligned country.

For all these reasons, people can no longer tolerate the presence of the "Socialist Republic of Viet Nam" in our big family of non-aligned countries, because this presence constitutes an affront to the principles of non-alignment as well as a peril to the solidarity and unity of our movement.

Democratic Kampuchea, as a non-aligned country and in front of the danger of losing her territory and seeing herself disappear as a nation, raises high the banner of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, honour and national dignity and is determined to defend her right to decide her own destiny herself and has risen up to carry out an unyielding struggle. Never will she capitulate before the Vietnamese aggression.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has the firm conviction that Your Excellency and the Government of Your Excellency will continue to give their understanding and sympathy to its position stated above, and to support actively its just struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, honour and national dignity, for the right to decide its own destiny itself, all this being the sacred principles of our non-aligned movement.

It is in this spirit that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea calls upon all non-aligned countries to take concrete measures in order to stop the escalation of the Vietnamese aggressive war against Democratic Kampuchea, to frustrate—by refusing to recognize the régime of its running dogs at Phnom Penh—the perfidious manoeuvres of Viet Nam aiming at legalizing its aggression, to demand the immediate withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, and, at the same time, to preserve the principles of non-alignment and the unity of the movement.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea would like to renew to Your Excellency and his Government its deepest thanks.

(Signed) IENG SARY  
Deputy Prime Minister  
in charge of Foreign Affairs  
of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea

**DOCUMENT S/13241**

**Letter dated 11 April 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[11 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the dastardly attack by Israel against defenceless refugee camps.

I would request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
*Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations*

**LETTER DATED 10 APRIL 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I wish to call to your attention the latest series of Israeli violations.

This afternoon, the Israeli Air Force carried out severe raids on the towns of Damour and Tyre, killing

three children and a woman and wounding three men in Damour, and killing one civilian and wounding four others in Tyre. Several houses were destroyed during the raids.

Last night, Israel naval forces attempted to make a landing near Rashidiyeh Camp, but met with resistance from our fighters, who prevented them from landing.

I am instructed to call on you to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to this series of provocations and violations, which will inevitably lead to escalation and aggravate the already explosive situation, constituting a real threat to peace and international security.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
*Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/13242\***

**Letter dated 11 April 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[11 April 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you of the latest series of attacks on Lebanese territory as follows:

1. On Tuesday, 10 April 1979, at 1725 hours, four Israeli planes raided the Delhamiyeh hills, south of Damour. The raid of 20 minutes' duration resulted in 15 casualties, including two civilians dead, a man and a woman. Their identity could not be immediately established.

2. At 1730 hours the vicinity of Tyre was subjected to sporadic shelling for 20 minutes.

3. At 1745 hours 10 Israeli planes attacked Ras el-Ain, near the ar-Rashidiyeh refugee camp.

4. At 2130 hours Israeli naval vessels attempted to carry out a landing operation near ar-Rashidiyeh.

5. On Wednesday, 11 April, at 0935 hours, two Israeli planes intruded into Lebanese airspace and flew over the area between Sidon and Damour.

6. At 0940 hours the town of Nabatiyeh and the villages of Kfar Tibnit, Kfar Runman and Habboush were shelled from Israel.

Such attacks constitute, once more, a flagrant violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the terms of the Lebanese-Israeli Armistice Agreement of 23 March 1949.

They also constitute a further defiance of Security

Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 444 (1979) and other pertinent resolutions of the Council.

We cannot fail to relate present Israeli attacks to developments now taking place, under the aegis of the United Nations, in Southern Lebanon.

The exacerbation of tensions, let alone the sacrifice of human lives in Lebanon, adds to the tragic conditions still prevailing there and can only undermine the efforts deployed for the restoration of peace and security in that region. It also prejudices the chances of reaching a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East question.

Lebanon—which has been too long an innocent victim of the so-called "cycle of violence"—refuses to be held accountable for acts used by Israel as a questionable pretext in its consistent policy of destabilization and aggression. Indeed, alleged "media-reporting" cannot in any way give Israel the right to violate Lebanese sovereignty and take international law into its own hands.

My Government, while strongly protesting against Israel's aggression, reserves the right to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council should conditions further deteriorate.

You are kindly requested to have the text of the present letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
*Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations*

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/177-S/13242.



## Letter dated 11 April 1979 from the representative of Jordan to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[12 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to enclose the communiqué, dated 11 March 1979, issued by the General Commission of the Islamic Conference for Jerusalem at Amman.

I kindly request that the text of the communiqué be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HAZEM NOUSEIBEH  
Permanent Representative of Jordan  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Communiqué dated 11 March 1979 issued at Amman by the General Commission of the Islamic Conference for Jerusalem

The Executive Office of the Commission of the Islamic Conference for Jerusalem convened a meeting at its headquarters at Amman at 5 p.m. on Sunday, Rabi' II 1399 A.H., corresponding to 11 March 1979 A.D. The meeting was attended by a number of scholars, thinkers and politicians working in the Islamic field. They discussed the aggression committed against the headquarters of the Islamic Commission and the Department of Islamic waqf at Jerusalem by Zionist gangs in occupied Palestine.

The meeting issued the following statement.

The ongoing cultural and military battle with the Zionist enemy is escalating because of the repeated and successive acts of aggression perpetrated by the Zionist military occupation authorities against the places and objects sacred to Islam, such as the attempt to burn the Al Aqsa Mosque, the occupation of the Al Ibrahimi Sanctuary and the tearing up of copies of the Holy Koran in more than one place and on more than one occasion. The latest instance of such acts of aggression was their attack two days ago on the headquarters of the Islamic Commission and the Department of Islamic waqf at Jerusalem.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/178-S/13243.

Unquestionably, the indifferent attitude of some Islamic States has spurred on the Zionist gangs to continue this type of acts of aggression in spite of the concern which such States should show at all levels and this has encouraged the Zionist enemy to persist in its policy of aggression against the places and objects sacred to Islam without heeding the feelings of the Arab and Islamic world.

At this stage that is so sensitive for the cause of the sacred places and objects and the usurped homeland, gangs from the occupation authorities are attacking the headquarters of the Islamic Commission and the Department of Islamic waqf at Jerusalem, tearing up and trampling underfoot the Holy Koran, destroying the historic waqf records and documents and beating up those working at the headquarters. All this comes as a result of the delay of Moslems in opposing the repeated acts of aggression against their holy places and objects, which may lead to events more prodigious than anything that has occurred so far.

The meeting calls upon the States and peoples of the Arab and Islamic worlds to unite their voices and their ranks in order to defend their sacred places and objects and their heritage by all political and military means.

It also calls upon these States and peoples to condemn and oppose the attempts at a capitulationist compromise with the enemy which some ruling authorities wish to impose separately from their peoples and from the Palestinian people, who are the main party concerned.

The meeting takes this opportunity to welcome the admirable positions adopted at the Baghdad summit conference and the sincere Islamic spirit which is emerging in the Moslem sister country of Iran, hoping that these developments are the beginning of the path to Islamic Arab unity, whose goal, first and last, will be to save the sacred places and objects and to liberate the usurped homeland and the tortured people.

The meeting further calls upon the international bodies concerned with human culture and the rights of peoples to declare their condemnation and rejection of these inhumane acts perpetrated against the places and objects sacred to Islam and the cultural heritage in our holy land.

## Letter dated 11 April 1979 from the representative of Zambia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[11 April 1979]

I have been asked to convey to you the attached communication from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, currently meeting at Lusaka.

I should be grateful if the text of the communication could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) P. J. F. LUSAKA  
Permanent Representative of Zambia  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/179-S/13244.

## ANNEX

Message from the International Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization to the Secretary-General

Please find herewith the resolution in its entirety adopted unanimously by the International Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) currently held at Lusaka regarding the wanton acts of aggression by the Smith régime of Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia.

The International Conference of the AAPSO in support of the national liberation movements in southern Africa and in solidarity with the front-line States meeting at Lusaka from 10 to 13 April 1979 and representing Governments, ruling parties, non-

governmental organizations, support groups and solidarity organizations, as well as international and regional organizations and anti-imperialist forces, was inaugurated on 10 April by His Excellency Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia. In the course of his moving speech, the President announced to the Conference the blatant act of aggression committed on that day by the racist régime of Ian Smith against the Republic of Zambia in a criminal attack against residential areas of the Patriotic Front located near Lusaka and Kabwe.

The Conference adopted the following resolution:

*"The International Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization,*

*"Deeply concerned by the repeated acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia aimed not only at violating its territorial integrity and national sovereignty but also at destabilizing the country and undermining its economic development,*

*"Noting that these barbaric attacks are aimed at giving credence to the bogus elections held under the notorious internal settlement,*

*"Recognizing with deep appreciation the unwavering support and determination of the front-line States in the just struggle of the oppressed masses of southern Africa,*

*"Acutely concerned by the fact that the military hardware used by the Smith régime in these barbaric attacks against the front-line States is supplied by Western imperialist forces,*

*"Vigorously condemns the current wanton criminal attacks by the Smith régime against innocent unarmed Zimbabwean refugees and peace-loving Zambia;*

*"Strongly denounces the repeated violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Zambia and other front-line States by the racist régimes;*

*"Hails the principled stand and sacrifices of the front-line States;*

*"Calls upon the United Nations Security Council to condemn these wanton acts of aggression and take immediate and practical measures against the Smith régime;*

*"Appeals to all democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the world to increase their all-round support to the national liberation movements in southern Africa and to the front-line States."*

## DOCUMENT S/13245\*

### Letter dated 12 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[12 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a brief summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression, between 30 March and 6 April 1979.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this communication to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

**Brief summary of developments in the people's war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression, between 30 March and 6 April 1979, disseminated by Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea**

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (ARK) and guerrilla units of Kampuchea, continuing to hold aloft the banner of resistance against the Vietnamese invaders, launched heavy attacks against the enemy, crushing and destroying large numbers of its vital forces and its war matériel and liberating several important positions.

In the province of Battambang, from 4 to 6 April, they attacked all the enemy positions from Sisophon to Poipet on national highway 5, liberating several positions along that road. One hundred and forty one Vietnamese soldiers were wiped out and many others were wounded. At O Chreou (Poipet) almost 200 Vietnamese soldiers and puppets fled in disarray towards Thailand, leaving numerous dead at Poipet. One T54 tank and two military vehicles belonging to the enemy were destroyed. At Prey Khpos and Bovel (Mongkol Borei), 50 Vietnamese soldiers were also killed.

On other fronts in the province of Battambang, between 30 March and 3 April, the ARK and the guerrilla units wiped out 206 Vietnamese soldiers, wounded a great many others, and destroyed nine military vehicles and one DK82. Many weapons and munitions were seized.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/180-S/13245.

#### 1. In the vicinity of Phnom Penh

Between 28 and 31 March, 61 Vietnamese soldiers were killed, 14 weapons and munitions were seized and two military vehicles were destroyed.

#### 2. South-western region

Between 29 March and 5 April, our ARK and our guerrillas launched violent attacks on Vietnamese troops. They wiped out 683 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 150 weapons of all types, including 10 machine guns, two B40s, seven B41s, one 60 mm mortar, three M79s, two radio transmitter-receivers and some munitions, and destroyed 19 military vehicles, three machine guns and one 60 mm mortar.

#### 3. Western region and on highway 4

Total casualties resulting from attacks by the ARK and the revolutionary guerrillas of Kampuchea between 29 March and 4 April:

(a) 175 Vietnamese soldiers killed;

(b) 44 weapons seized, including four machine guns, three B40s, four M79s and two radio transmitter-receivers and some munitions;

(c) Three military vehicles destroyed.

#### 4. North-western region

On highway 5, in the regions of Kompong Chhnang and Pursat, on 2 April, the ARK attacked the Vietnamese soldiers at the station and in the town of Pursat. Thirty-two of them were wiped out and many others were wounded. One 60 mm mortar and one machine gun belonging to the enemy were destroyed.

On this entire front, between 30 March and 4 April, we wiped out 319 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 43 weapons including one B40, four B41s, four machine guns, three M79s, one 60 mm mortar and munitions, and destroyed four military vehicles, four 60 mm mortars, six machine guns and one B41.

#### 5. North-eastern region

In the regions of Kratie, Mondulhiri and Rattanakiri, the ARK and the guerrilla units kept up a high level of activity. Between 27 March and 2 April they wiped out 175 Vietnamese soldiers, seized 46 weapons and munitions, destroyed three military vehicles and two military craft.



6. *In the regions of Kompong Thom  
and Kompong Cham*

Between 28 March and 2 April, 65 Vietnamese soldiers were wiped out, 13 weapons were seized and one military vehicle was destroyed.

\* \* \*

Total casualties between 30 March and 6 April (with additional figures for the period 27 to 29 March for certain fronts):

- (a) Almost 2,000 Vietnamese soldiers killed;
- (b) More than 300 weapons of all types, military supplies and munitions seized;
- (c) One T54 tank, more than 40 military vehicles, numerous weapons and military supplies belonging to the enemy destroyed.

**DOCUMENT S/13246\***

**Letter dated 13 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[13 April 1979]

I have the honour to draw your attention to the intensification of Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, to the cynicism and arrogance of the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists and to the need to put an end thereto in the interest of world peace and security and of the United Nations.

1. It is common knowledge that since 25 December 1978, the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists, supported by the Soviet Union, have committed aggression against and invaded Democratic Kampuchea, an independent sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations and a founding member of the non-aligned movement; they have destroyed the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia and gravely threatened peace in Asia and the world.

2. It is also common knowledge that the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists in Kampuchea cannot control either the people or the country. The successive dispatch of new Vietnamese divisions into Kampuchea is evidence of Viet Nam's failure to seize and control Kampuchea. The entire people of Kampuchea and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, united in a broad national, democratic and patriotic front under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are successfully waging the people's war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression and are daily eliminating an average of 300 or more Vietnamese invaders. This people's war will be resolutely pursued until all the Vietnamese aggressors are driven out of Kampuchea.

3. World public opinion, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and all peace-loving and justice-loving countries, peoples, mass organizations, political parties and personalities more and more strongly condemn this Vietnamese-Soviet aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and demand with increasing vigour the immediate cessation of that aggression, the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and for the right of the people of Kampuchea to decide for its own destiny and that of its country.

The statements made during the Security Council's debates in January, February and March 1979 and the two Council votes by an overwhelming majority of 13 to

2 on draft resolution S/13027 of 15 January, submitted by all the non-aligned countries members of the Council, and on draft resolution S/13162 of 13 March, submitted by all the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), are evidence of that condemnation and that demand. Moreover, the active participation of Democratic Kampuchea and the firm support it has received at all international conferences, including in particular at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly in January, at the Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at Maputo in January, at the Conference of the Group of 77 at Arusha in February, at the Conference of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific at Manila in March, at the Commission on Human Rights at Geneva in February and at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Geneva in March and April also provide incontrovertible evidence.

4. Confronted by that increasingly pressing condemnation and demand from the world and all mankind, Viet Nam is responding with a most cynical and arrogant attitude:

(a) Viet Nam persists in intensifying its aggression and its barbarous crimes against Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea. Everywhere they go, the Vietnamese armies of aggression are using the tactic of "destroy everything, burn everything, kill everything". Moreover, Viet Nam is engaging in provocations at the frontiers of the People's Republic of China and has decreed general mobilization for the purpose of:

- (i) Diverting the growing opposition of the Vietnamese people, which must face an increasingly serious famine and the increasingly Fascist measures of coercion and oppression used by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. The frequent people's insurrections, in particular in southern Viet Nam, and the growing number of Vietnamese refugees escaping from Viet Nam every day by boatloads are evidence of this;
- (ii) Diverting world public opinion to the tension which Viet Nam has deliberately provoked at the Chinese frontier and thus camouflaging the dispatch of several additional Vietnamese divisions to Kampuchea in order to intensify Viet Nam's war of aggression there.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/181-S/13246.

This frantic intensification of Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea constitutes an increasingly grave threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of South-East Asia and a growing danger that the war will spread to all of South-East Asia and elsewhere in the world.

(b) Viet Nam has ordered Laos also to enter its war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, in the stubborn pursuit of its criminal ambition for an "Indo-Chinese Federation". Since it is failing in its efforts to control Kampuchea, it is resorting to the masquerades of military "treaties" which, on the one hand, it has "signed" respectively with its lackeys of Vientiane (in July 1977) and its running dogs of Phnom Penh (in February 1979, after its invasion of Kampuchea) and, on the other hand, it has had its lackeys of Vientiane and its running dogs of Phnom Penh also "sign" between themselves (in March 1979). The obvious aim of these so-called treaties is to try to "legalize" the occupation of Kampuchea and Laos by the Vietnamese armies of aggression and to make all of "Indo-China" into a military base in the service of Vietnamese-Soviet expansion in South-East Asia.

(c) Viet Nam and its master, the Soviet Union, are resorting to diplomatic manoeuvres and to the foulest slanders and lies and have exerted strong pressures on the countries of the world with a view to making them agree to violate, like Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment and recognize the régime of their running dogs, which they have installed at Phnom Penh and which is surviving only through the presence of more than 150,000 Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea. Moreover, the biography, annexed to the present letter of the man known as Heng Samrin, a bandit chief who, through the favour of the Vietnamese aggressors, has become the leader of the running dogs at Phnom Penh, makes evident the imposture of the Vietnamese and the insolent contempt with which Viet Nam looks on the United Nations and its Secretary-General, the non-aligned movement and all the peace-loving and justice-loving peoples of the world. Nevertheless, despite pressures and manoeuvres of all kinds, no country and no international organization, except for the elements of the Soviet bloc, has recognized the régime of Viet Nam's running dogs at Phnom Penh.

(d) Maddened by world condemnation, the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists are not only trampling the aspirations for peace and justice of all the countries and peoples of the world which are forcefully demanding the cessation of Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea but, what is more, they have the arrogance to utter threats against all those countries and peoples and against the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to accuse them of "violating the United Nations Charter".

With their gangster logic, the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists are no different from the Israeli Zionists and the racists of Rhodesia and South Africa.

(e) The facts have clearly shown that Viet Nam joined the United Nations and the non-aligned movement for the purpose of using them to camouflage its

policy of aggression and expansion in South-East Asia and its crimes in the service of the Soviet international expansionists. Thus, in December 1977, scarcely three months after its admission to the United Nations, Viet Nam launched its first large-scale aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. Thus, immediately after its admission to the non-aligned movement at the Colombo summit conference in August 1976, Viet Nam undertook frantic activities aimed at destroying the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia, threatening and charging all the countries of South-East Asia, particularly those of ASEAN, with every kind of evil.

Thus, not only is Viet Nam flagrantly violating the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment, sowing division in the non-aligned movement and making slander and perfidy into principles of international relations, but, what is more, it is taking it upon itself to accuse and threaten all those who respect the Charter, the principles of non-alignment and the universally recognized rules of international relations. By its barbarous aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, its cynicism and its arrogance, Viet Nam has placed itself beyond the pale of civilized countries. The United Nations and the non-aligned movement should condemn it forcefully and expel it from their ranks.

In view of all the facts mentioned above, the Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea asks the United Nations Secretariat to take all necessary steps to prevent the representative of the Vietnamese colonialists and expansionists from continuing his arrogant activities, which are harmful to the United Nations and its Members, to compel Viet Nam to respect the United Nations Charter, withdraw its armies of aggression from Kampuchea totally and unconditionally and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and thus put an end to the Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and the danger of extension of the war to all of South-East Asia.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Biography of the man called Heng Samrin, leader of Viet Nam's running dogs at Phnom Penh

The man called Heng Samrin, known as Rin or Weuk, a notorious traitor and running dog of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, was born in the village of Anlong Kreis, commune of Daun Tey, district of Ponhea Krek, province of Kompong Cham, in the eastern region.

No matter whom we question among the entire population of Kampuchea, nobody has ever heard of the man called Heng Samrin, known as Rin or Weuk. On the other hand, if we ask among the bandits operating at the frontier which separates Kampuchea and Viet Nam or among the gangsters and the corrupt, everyone knows Weuk.

In 1955 the said Heng Samrin, known as Rin or Weuk, became a chief of the bandits who were stealing livestock belonging to the inhabitants of Kampuchea in order to sell it in Viet Nam and then bring back to Kampuchea as contraband various articles obtained in Viet Nam.

In 1960 the Viet Cong were operating along the frontier separating Kampuchea and Viet Nam, in the area of the commune

of Daun Tey, district of Ponhea Krek. These Viet Cong established contact with the bandit chief Heng Samrin and appointed him to collect rice, poultry and livestock for them. They even gave him a rifle to carry out his mission. With that rifle and the support of the Viet Cong, Heng Samrin stole and pillaged the rice, poultry and livestock of Kampuchea with renewed vigour, to deliver them to the Viet Cong. At that time Heng Samrin won the confidence of the Viet Cong, who appointed him chairman of the economic committee responsible for food supplies.

In the same year 1960, along the frontier between Kampuchea and Viet Nam, there arose a Khmer Serei movement which began to pillage the farms of the frontier residents. Heng Samrin, who was already a bandit chief, then immediately declared himself leader of the Khmer Serei movement in the vicinity of the commune of Daun Tey, in the district of Ponhea Krek, and constantly intensified his activities, killing people and pillaging their rice, poultry and livestock to deliver them to the Viet Cong. Satisfied with Heng Samrin's services, the Viet Cong then enrolled him in the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

In 1970 there was a coup d'état in Kampuchea. The revolutionary movement was making great advances in the country. Heng Samrin, who owes an enormous debt of blood to the people of Kampuchea, was afraid of punishment by the people and ran to take shelter with the army of the Viet Cong. The Viet

Cong hid him and protected him and made him conduct constant attacks against the revolution of Kampuchea and the National United Front of Kampuchea until the liberation of the country in 1975.

In 1977, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique began to resort to large-scale armed attacks with a view to seizing Kampuchea. It then dispatched Heng Samrin to carry on subversive activities in the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and collect information along the frontier. In November 1977 Heng Samrin's activities were unmasked; however, before the Government of Democratic Kampuchea could arrest him, he managed to flee to Viet Nam.

Since it could not find in Kampuchea anyone who would agree to betray his country and become a running dog of Viet Nam, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, in keeping with its true deceiving nature, applied stage make-up to this Heng Samrin, known as Rin or Weuk, the former frontier bandit chief, and put him on stage to play the role of what it calls "Chairman" of the so-called "Revolutionary Committee".

What a fine arrangement! The chief of the bandits who stole livestock along the frontier, the man called Heng Samrin, known as Rin or Weuk, has become the running dog of the chief of the bandits that swallow up territories, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique!

#### DOCUMENT S/13247

##### Note verbale dated 3 April 1979 from the Mission of Benin to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[13 April 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and, further to his note of 21 March 1979, has the honour to inform him that the People's Republic of Benin will be sure to communicate the information requested as soon as it is able to do so. The Permanent Mission wishes, however, to emphasize that it believes on the basis of certain indications that the Committee of the Security Council established under resolution 421 (1977) to implement resolution 418 (1977) has received information from individuals or from trade unions or other groups concerning firms or enterprises of Member States violating the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) by continuing to deliver weapons to South Africa.

The Permanent Mission of Benin wonders whether the closed-door methods of work of the Committee on such a sensitive and important question, which involves the security of Africa, are effective and worthwhile. The

members of the Security Council, which are responsible for the Committee, should envisage revising the methods of work of the Committee and those of the Committee on the embargo against Southern Rhodesia. Apart from the 15 members of the Council, other Member States live in total ignorance of the work of the two Committees and of the treatment of the information communicated to the Committees by political and trade-union organizations or individuals.

It should be possible for all Member States to be kept informed concerning such communication and to participate objectively in the verification of their contents. The meetings of the two Committees should be public and participation should be open to States and individuals who could help the Committees to do objective and profitable work.

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin wishes this note verbale to be circulated as a Security Council document.

#### DOCUMENT S/13248\*

##### Letter dated 12 April 1979 from the representative of Iraq to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[16 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a message addressed to you by Mr. Saadoon Hammadi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq.

I would kindly request that this message be circulated

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/182-S/13248.

as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Salah Omar AL-ALI  
Permanent Representative of Iraq  
to the United Nations



**LETTER FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF IRAQ TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

We have learned that attempts are currently being made to associate the United Nations in one way or another with the separate peace treaty concluded between Egypt and the Zionist entity at the instigation of the United States of America and to make the international Organization share in bearing the responsibility for the implementation of the provisions of that unjust treaty, which ignores all the decisions of the United Nations concerning the question of Palestine and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people—such as their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination, the withdrawal of the forces of occupation from Arab territories unconditionally and without gains and recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—and which guarantees to the aggressors the enjoyment of the fruits of their aggression and consecration of their usurpation of all the territory of Palestine and other Arab territories.

All the contacts, consultations and discussions which took place between Egypt and the Zionist entity, with the assistance of the United States of America, took place outside the sphere of the United Nations, not through it, and consequently, they denied the role of the international Organization and the validity of its resolutions, although the international Organization has played a fundamental role with regard to the question of Palestine since the beginning and has dealt with it in numerous resolutions relating both to the rights of the Palestinian people and to the Zionist entity's occupation of the Arab territories. The Arab community has rejected the Camp David accords from the start, just as

it has vehemently rejected the peace talks agreed on between Egypt and the Zionist entity, regarding them as an irresponsible step entailing extensive damage to the rights and interests of the Arab community. At the summit meetings of the Arab States and the Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Economic Affairs held at Baghdad [see S/13216], the participants declared officially and definitively the Arab community's rejection of the Camp David accords and the peace talks and condemned Egypt, the Zionist entity and the United States of America for this treaty. They also decided to have no dealings with the parties and to reject all the political, economic, legal and other effects of this treaty.

For all the above reasons and in order to preserve the role and prestige of the United Nations, the Organization must keep its distance absolutely from this treaty, because it is rejected by the Arabs at the official and the popular levels and also at the Palestinian level. The United Nations, too, must hold it rejected, because it was concluded entirely without its participation and contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter and the resolutions relating to the question of Palestine.

Iraq considers that to associate the United Nations with this treaty in any way would entail consequences likely to upset relations between the United Nations and the Arab States, which have collectively rejected the treaty, and also the Organization's relations with the group of non-aligned States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, since they support and sympathize with the positions adopted by the Arab States, which have rejected the treaty.

*(Signed) Saadoon HAMMADI  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq*

**DOCUMENT S/13249\***

**Letter dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: English]  
[16 April 1979]*

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your urgent attention to the shelling last week of two towns in the north of Israel by the terrorist organization calling itself the PLO.

Early in the morning of 11 April 1979, Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory at the town of Kiryat Shmona in northern Galilee. As a result, one woman was injured.

In the afternoon of the same day, more Katyusha rockets were directed again from Lebanese territory at the town of Nahariya on the Mediterranean coast.

Later in the day the news service run by the terrorist PLO reported that the said organization took responsibility for these criminal acts.

These outrages underline the fact that the task of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon of restoring international peace and security, as set out in Security

Council resolution 425 (1978), is being directly challenged by the same subversive elements which have consistently endeavoured to use Lebanese territory for the purpose of launching attacks on Israel, thus undermining international peace and security throughout the region. This situation flows from the conditions prevailing not only in the south of Lebanon, but also in the country as a whole, which have been exacerbated by the massive presence and machinations of the PLO.

These criminal acts are also designed to give violent expression to the implacable opposition of the terrorist PLO and of other opponents of peace, both in the Arab world and beyond, to any step forward in the direction of peace and reconciliation. In their attempts to undermine the ongoing peace process in the Middle East, most recently manifested by the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, on 26 March 1979, the opponents of peace use as their instrument the terrorist PLO, which has been granted irregular privileges at the United Na-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/184-S/13249.

tions, in clear violation of the Charter and of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and other organs of the Organization.

In these circumstances, the Government of Israel is duty-bound to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13250\*

#### Letter dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[16 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a note dated 13 April 1979 sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Vietnamese Embassy in China protesting against the sending of armed vessels by the Vietnamese authorities to intrude into the sea area of China's Xisha Islands for provocations.

I request that this note be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Note dated 13 April 1979 from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Vietnamese Embassy in China

Around 9 a.m. on 10 April 1979, the Vietnamese authorities sent three boatloads of military personnel armed with bazookas, light machine guns, submachine guns and transceivers to intrude

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/185-S/13250.

into the sea area of China's Xisha Islands and carry out reconnaissance at a point some 500 metres from the coast. They shot in provocation at a Chinese patrol boat. This is not only a deliberate incursion into China's territorial sea but also a serious threat to the security of the Chinese islands. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Vietnamese Government.

Recently, the Vietnamese side has made continual armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, created tension and repeatedly placed obstacles in the way of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the Vice-Foreign Minister level in an attempt to obstruct their taking place. Now that the negotiations are soon to begin, the Vietnamese authorities still continue to intensify their armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese land border and, moreover, have brazenly dispatched military personnel in armed boats to invade China's territorial sea around the Xisha Islands for reconnaissance and even provocative shooting at a Chinese patrol boat. This cannot but make one wonder where the Vietnamese authorities want to lead the forthcoming negotiations, since they are deliberately creating incidents and poisoning the atmosphere for the negotiations. The Chinese side solemnly demands that the Vietnamese authorities admit the mistake and apologize for their latest illegal violation of China's territorial sea for reconnaissance and provocation and guarantee against its recurrence, and that they stop forthwith all their provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese land border as well as on the sea so as to facilitate the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the Vice-Foreign Minister level.

#### DOCUMENT S/13251

#### Note verbale dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of Egypt to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 April 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to transmit herewith the text of a statement issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt on the latest acts of aggression by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia against the Republic of Zambia.

The Permanent Representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt kindly requests the Secretary-General to have this statement circulated as a document of the Security Council.

#### ANNEX

#### Statement of 14 April 1979 by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Egypt on the latest acts of aggression by the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia against Zambia

A spokesman for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt has stated that the Arab Republic of Egypt

strongly denounces the acts of aggression launched by the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia against Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. The spokesman said that the continuous policy of aggression pursued by the Ian Smith régime against the people of Zimbabwe and the neighbouring African States, in defiance of international law, requires that the international community should take all the necessary and effective measures to stop these acts of aggression, to end the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to enable the African majority to achieve self-government.

The Egyptian spokesman reaffirmed the full support of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the sister Republic of Zambia and its solidarity with the people of Zambia and with all the African front-line countries. He also added that Egypt was convinced that the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, which is fully supported by Egypt, will never diminish; and that the acts of aggression committed by the Ian Smith régime and abetted by the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria could only serve to reinforce the self-confidence of the people of Zimbabwe and the confidence in their leadership. This struggle will never cease until all the racist forces which usurp the legitimate rights of the Zimbabwean people have been eliminated.



DOCUMENT S/13252\*

Letter dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 April 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau concerning the so-called "elections" in Southern Rhodesia.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Communiqué on the so-called "elections" in Southern Rhodesia issued on 16 April 1979 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The Co-ordinating Bureau vigorously condemns the proposed so-called "elections" scheduled to be held in Rhodesia on 17 April 1979. The Bureau considers that these "elections" are a deception aimed at entrenching and perpetuating the political, economic and military power of the illegal white racist minority in Salisbury and that they will not result in majority rule.

2. The Bureau recalled Security Council resolution 445 (1979) which, *inter alia*, declared that any elections held under the auspices of the illegal racist régime and the results thereof would be null and void and that no recognition would be accorded either by the United Nations or any Member State to any representatives or organs established by that process. On

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/186-S/13252.

that occasion the Council also urged all States to refrain from sending observers to these elections and to take appropriate action to discourage organizations and institutions within their respective areas of jurisdiction from doing so.

3. The Bureau likewise recalled the decision of the thirty-second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi from 23 February to 4 March 1979, condemning the illegal elections and calling upon States not to grant recognition to their results.

4. The Bureau recalled that at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979 [see S/13185, annex] it had congratulated the Zimbabwean fighters, led by the Patriotic Front, for the great successes they have achieved on the battle-field, which have reduced the enemy's margin of manoeuvre and guaranteed the victory of the Zimbabwean people. By virtue of its extension in depth throughout the entire territory, the liberation struggle has reached an advanced stage, which has weakened the position of imperialism and enables the Patriotic Front to dictate the pace of the advance to genuine independence in Zimbabwe.

5. Recognizing that the Anglo-American proposals on Rhodesia have been overtaken by the progress of the armed liberation struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front and that they have lost relevance and recognizing that, at the present time, the armed struggle being carried out by the Patriotic Front, supported by the sanctions decreed by the international community, is the decisive factor in the liquidation of colonialism, the Bureau appeals to all members of the non-aligned movement to provide the lead to all peace-loving, freedom-loving and democratic countries and forces throughout the world in increasing their political, diplomatic, military and financial support for the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people, thus contributing to the independence of the territory and the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

DOCUMENT S/13253\*

Letter dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 April 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau concerning Rhodesian aggression against Zambia and Botswana.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Communiqué on Rhodesian aggression against Zambia and Botswana issued on 16 April 1979 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries vehemently and categorically condemns the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia for its repeated armed invasions of Zambia and Botswana between 10 and 14 April, which are acts of war and naked provocation against these front-line countries. These wanton and unprovoked acts of aggression have resulted

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/187-S/13253.

in the tragic killing and maiming of hundreds of Zimbabwean refugees and Zambian nationals, in addition to the utter destruction of property.

2. The Bureau also rejects categorically the malicious claims by the Salisbury clique and its allies that the attacks were directed against guerrilla bases and not against refugee centres. There is irrefutable proof that Zambia and Botswana are merely hosts to thousands of Zimbabwean refugees who have fled the tyranny of the war machine and repression by the Smith régime.

3. The Bureau reaffirms that the war of liberation is being waged *inside* Rhodesian territory and not from the outside.

4. The Bureau calls upon all members of the international community to render valuable assistance and support to Zambia and Botswana in this hour of need. The Bureau further calls upon the United Nations to take all necessary measures to end Rhodesian aggression which continues to menace international peace and security.

5. The Bureau commends the Governments of Zambia and Botswana for the support which they continue to render to the dispossessed African people of Zimbabwe. Any attempt by the rebel régime to use front-line States as scapegoats for its inevitable impending collapse is doomed to failure.

6. The Bureau expresses its firm solidarity with the people of Zambia and Botswana in these difficult times, in accordance with the recent declaration of its Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting held at Maputo from 26 January to 2 February 1979 [see S/13185, annex].

DOCUMENT S/13254

Special report of the Secretary-General concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

[Original: English]  
[19 April 1979]

1. I am submitting the present special report to bring to the attention of the Security Council a most serious development concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

2. In connexion with the move of the Lebanese Army contingent to Southern Lebanon, on which I shall be reporting separately to the Security Council, the *de facto* forces under Major Haddad began shelling UNIFIL positions including the barracks at Tyre on 15 April 1979. Exchanges of fire between the *de facto* forces and Palestinian armed elements also took place.

3. Following a lull, the shelling of UNIFIL positions resumed on the morning of 18 April. Several hundred artillery rounds are estimated to have been fired. There was also an exchange between armed elements and *de facto* forces, during which one Norwegian soldier was killed and another seriously wounded. The UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura, which is located in the area controlled by Major Haddad, also came under fire. When the *de facto* forces fired at a UNIFIL helicopter about to land at the headquarters, UNIFIL personnel returned the fire and in the ensuing exchange one of the *de facto* forces was killed. Firing in the area stopped by the early afternoon.

4. In the evening of the same day, UNIFIL headquarters came under heavy fire by the *de facto* forces.

For hours and in darkness, they shelled indiscriminately the entire headquarters' compound, including the hospital and the helipad, with mortar, rocket and heavy machine-gun fire. As a result of the shelling, six Irish and two Dutch members of UNIFIL were wounded. All buildings and many vehicles were hit. Three helicopters were severely damaged. At the time of this report, all wounded and hospital patients are still being kept in the bunkers in view of the continued instability of the situation.

5. On hearing of this massive and unprovoked assault on UNIFIL headquarters, urgent efforts were made, both at United Nations Headquarters and in the field, to get the firing stopped. This was finally achieved through the efforts of the Israeli authorities and representatives of the Israel Defence Force on the spot.

6. This incident highlights in the most dramatic fashion the irresponsibility of the forces which UNIFIL has been facing with the utmost restraint in Southern Lebanon for almost a year. I am taking steps through all possible channels to ensure that those responsible for this unprecedented act of indiscriminate violence, directed against both the United Nations and the Government of Lebanon, are brought under control and that such incidents will not recur.

DOCUMENT S/13255\*

Letter dated 18 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[18 April 1979]

I have the honour to request that the document published under the symbol NV/79/18 be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Renmin Ribao Editor's note

1. In recent years, the Vietnamese authorities deliberately worked to undermine the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and kept poisoning Sino-Vietnamese relations. The Chinese side was greatly pained by this. The problem was repeatedly raised with the Vietnamese leaders by Chinese leaders with admonitions and in the earnest hope that the two countries would remain friendly to each other. On 24 September 1975 Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked to Le Duan, General Secretary of the Vietnamese Party, at Beijing, about the problems existing in the relations between the two Parties and States and expressed the hope that they would be resolved through joint efforts. On 10 June 1977 Comrade Li

Xiannian, on behalf of the Chinese Party Central Committee, further held candid discussions with Premier Pham Van Dong on these problems and gave him a memorandum on the statements made. The Chinese side hoped that Sino-Vietnamese friendship might be protected from further damage and preserved through joint efforts.

2. But, most regrettably, the Vietnamese authorities completely disregarded the sincere desire of the Chinese side and have never replied to the Chinese leaders' views aimed at preserving the relations between the two Parties and States. Aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, they picked China as their No. 1 enemy, and have been pursuing with ever greater vigour a policy of opposition and hostility to China. That Sino-Vietnamese relations should have worsened to such an extent today is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities.

3. We now publish the full text of the memorandum handed by Vice-Premier Li Xiannian to Premier Pham Van Dong on 10 June 1977, with a few foot-notes, to set forth the historical facts. This will help people to know more about the true course of development of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM OUTLINING VICE-PREMIER LI XIANNIAN'S TALK WITH PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG ON 10 JUNE 1977

1. In mid-April 1977, as he stopped at Beijing on his way to Europe, Premier Pham Van Dong expressed to Comrade Chen

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/189-S/13255.

Xilian his desire to stay for a few days in Beijing on his way back and have a talk with us. This was most welcome. The day before yesterday Chairman Hua Guofeng met Premier Pham Van Dong and had a cordial conversation with you, during which he informed you of developments in China. You talked about problems in the relations between our two parties and States, and Chairman Hua repeated our consistent stand and said that we shared the desire to further develop our friendship with the Vietnamese Party and people. I am instructed by Chairman Hua and entrusted by my Party's Central Committee to discuss candidly and in a comradely way a number of problems in the relations between our two Parties and States.

2. The relations between our two Parties, States and peoples have been close and friendly for years. Our deep friendship was forged and promoted personally by Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh, whose revolutionary friendship was a concentrated expression of Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Our friendship stood the severe test in the long period of revolutionary struggles. Both in the years of arduous struggle in our respective countries and in the two decades or so of wars of resistance against imperialism, we shared weal and woe and helped each other, "uniting together, fighting together and winning victories together", as Premier Zhou Enlai said. Our revolutionary friendship is sealed in blood. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government have always valued the friendship and unity between our two Parties, States and peoples. In our dealings with the Vietnamese Party and Government, both under the late Chairman Mao and President Ho and afterwards, we have always strictly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have done our best to fulfil our internationalist duty and we have made unremitting efforts to preserve and strengthen this friendship.

3. In recent years, however, our relations have undergone certain changes which cause us anxiety. Seeking an early solution to this problem, Premier Zhou had talked with Vietnamese comrades more than once, and so did Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of our Party's Central Committee in 1975. On all those occasions the Vietnamese comrades said they would preserve Viet Nam-China friendship and would not do anything to harm it. So we thought our relations would gradually improve. But contrary to our expectations, our relations, instead of improving, have come up against more serious problems. We are disturbed to see this trend of development in our relations. That is why we wish to take this opportunity to talk with you again while you are in Beijing.

## I

4. Certain words and deeds of the Vietnamese side have badly hurt the Chinese people and impaired the friendship between our two countries. Senior cadres of Viet Nam made public remarks maligning China. For instance, Comrade Hoang Tung said something very unfriendly about China in his interview with the Swedish journalist Erik Pierre last year. He said,

"During the war, it was vital for Viet Nam that both China and the USSR helped North Viet Nam to the full. Today, it is no longer so vital for this country to follow that policy. True, Viet Nam borders on the southern part of the big country, China, and this neighbourhood has both a positive and a negative aspect. Anyway, the political and cultural pressure from the north must be removed. Therefore, the rapprochement with the USSR plays a very important role for Viet Nam today. There is a tangibly strong Soviet interest coinciding with Vietnamese interests—to reduce Chinese influence in this part of the world."

Another example, Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet, in answering questions of a Japanese journalist in 1973, made an unwarranted attack on our foreign policy, saying that China's invitation to Nixon to visit the country was like "throwing a lifebelt to the drowning Nixon", and that "sometimes dealings between big nations may be made at the expense of a small nation and crush it". Their statements appeared in the newspapers of more than one country, and attracted much international attention. At first, we thought that they might be rumours, as they came from the reports of Western journalists, but we have seen no denials of any kind from your side. Comrade Hoang Tung was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, editor-in-chief of the Party paper and Deputy Chairman of the

propaganda commission under the Party's Central Committee; and Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet was also a member of the Vietnamese Party's Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front; what is more, he was President of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association. Their statements cannot be considered as something accidental. To be frank, in the past, we were somewhat puzzled by the prevalence in Vietnamese society of many slanders against China, some of which were even directed against our great leader Chairman Mao, our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou and our Party's domestic and foreign policies. In retrospect, it was not fortuitous that such slanders spread in Vietnamese society. How can these remarks be reconciled with President Ho Chi Minh's statement that "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers", or with the avowed desire of Vietnamese comrades to "uphold Viet Nam-China friendship"?

## II

5. Vietnamese comrades have hurt the friendship between our two countries not only in their words but also in their deeds.

6. The Vietnamese side has continually provoked disputes on the land boundary question, causing increased tension on the border. The boundary line between China and Viet Nam was delimited by treaties concluded between the then Government of the Qing Dynasty and the French Government. After the people's political power was established in our country, both sides expressed their willingness to respect this boundary line. Although local comrades of the two sides did not agree on the location of certain sections of the boundary line, the problem was not big and should not be difficult to settle. In 1957-1958 the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged letters which affirmed the principle that the *status quo* of the border should be maintained and that the boundary question should be settled by the two Governments and the local authorities had no power to do so. That approach was followed by both sides before 1974 and no big dispute ever arose at the border. The border inhabitants and border guards of the two countries had always lived in amity and helped each other. The Sino-Vietnamese boundary had for years been one of friendship. However, as a result of the change in the attitude of the Vietnamese side in the last few years, border disputes kept increasing and the boundary question has become a rather conspicuous one in Sino-Vietnamese relations. We proposed in 1975 that our two Governments should hold boundary negotiations as soon as possible so as thoroughly to resolve through friendly consultations the existing issues concerning the Sino-Vietnamese land boundary on the basis of the Sino-French treaties. We have repeated our proposal last year and this year. But you, while stalling the negotiations with us, continued to let your men enter Chinese territory illegally, claim this or that place as belonging to Viet Nam, unreasonably interfere with and obstruct routine activities of our border guards and disturb and disrupt normal production activities of our border inhabitants. They even engaged in fist-fighting and other acts of violence. These attempts at unilateral and forcible changes in the *status quo* of the boundary resulted in a drastic increase in the number of border incidents and increased tension and even shooting incidents by Vietnamese border guards in Chinese border areas in Yunnan and Guangxi. According to incomplete statistics kept by our border defence authorities, the number of border incidents was 100 in 1974, increased to over 400 in 1975 and exceeded 900 in 1976. Of course, some of these incidents were caused by violations of our policies by our local personnel. We have taken, and will continue to take, measures to enjoin those involved and the border inhabitants to earnestly safeguard Sino-Vietnamese friendship and strictly to adhere to our border policies, and to prevent them from crossing the border to invite trouble. However, we hold that your actions concerning the boundary question contravene the agreement reached between the Central Committees of the two parties and can help solve no problem but will only harm the traditional friendship between our two peoples to the grief of our friends and the delight of our enemies. With a view to safeguarding the friendship between our two countries and settling boundary disputes once and for all, we now propose once again that our two Governments hold negotiations on the land boundary as soon as possible. Pending a negotiated settlement, each side



should strictly maintain the *status quo* on the border and should not in any way unilaterally change the extent of its actual jurisdiction.<sup>a</sup> By "maintaining the *status quo* on the border", we do not mean that in the future boundary negotiations, ownership of territory in the disputed areas will be decided according to the line dividing the actual jurisdiction of the two sides. It is entirely for the purpose of avoiding conflicts and safeguarding the all important cause of unity and friendship, pending a negotiated settlement.

### III

7. Regarding the medium repairs of the Sino-Vietnamese railway on the Chinese side of the junction, there have also arisen questions which should not have arisen. According to the Sino-Vietnamese Border Railway Agreement, the Vietnamese side has no right to interfere in the management and maintenance of the section of the railway which is the responsibility of the Chinese side, just as the Chinese side has no right to interfere in the way the Vietnamese side maintains the railway section under its management. And in point of fact, the above-mentioned railway section was already in a serious condition and incapable of ensuring the necessary traffic safety. Without repairs, traffic had to stop or else run the risk of train overturns. However, when our railway authorities organized the manpower and materials for repairs so as to ensure traffic safety and the smooth operation of the railway, they came up against repeated Vietnamese obstruction and sabotage. The Vietnamese comrades went so far as to provoke an unprecedented clash, in which 51 Chinese comrades were wounded, six of them seriously. Some of your people may have been wounded too.

8. Completed after the Vietnamese people's victory in their war against French rule,<sup>b</sup> this railway has since then served as a tie of friendship between our two socialist countries. During the days of the Vietnamese people's war against United States aggression and for the national salvation, our two peoples defended it with our blood to ensure its smooth operation round the clock. We did not expect that today, after the Vietnamese people's victory in that war, there should have occurred incidents of Vietnamese comrades sabotaging our efforts for the maintenance of the railway, culminating in a large-scale clash, right on this railway symbolic of Sino-Vietnamese friendship. How are we to explain this to our people?

9. This railway is still serving the socialist construction and external economic and cultural exchanges of our two countries. It not only links our two countries, but connects Viet Nam with many other countries in Asia and Europe. More freight is shipped over this railway to Viet Nam than to China. Suspension of traffic would hurt China, but even more so Viet Nam. It is beyond us why the Vietnamese side keeps refusing to let us maintain this railway section and does not seem to worry at all that trains might overturn and traffic be halted. We suspect that there may be people who deliberately want to blow up the matter into a major issue and bring it under the international spotlight, so as to accuse China of "big-nation chauvinism" and

<sup>a</sup> The maintenance of the *status quo* on the border is one of the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957 and 1958. For a long period of time, this principle was observed by the two sides, so the Sino-Vietnamese border was peaceful. In recent years, the Vietnamese authorities, while wantonly instigating hostile anti-China feelings in their country, have been trying in every way to expand the extent of their jurisdiction, nibbling at, intruding into and occupying Chinese territory. In order to ensure peace and tranquillity in the areas along the Sino-Vietnamese border and maintain friendly and good-neighbourly relations, the Chinese side has repeatedly proposed that, pending a negotiated settlement of the boundary question, the two sides strictly maintain the *status quo* on the border and refrain from unilaterally changing the extent of their actual jurisdiction in any form and under any pretext. But the Vietnamese side turned a deaf ear to our proposal and with intensified efforts made even more armed provocations and incursions and created more bloody conflicts. Its brutality and arrogance have become simply intolerable.

<sup>b</sup> Prior to 1954, this section of the railway was not open to traffic. In December 1954 the railway linking Hanoi to Dong Dang began to be restored with Chinese help. Subsequently, the section of the railway from China's Munan Pass to Viet Nam's Dong Dang was completed and, through traffic formally opened on 1 March 1955. On 25 May 1955 the first border railway agreement between China and Viet Nam was signed.

"bullying a small country". It is not our wish to see the problem thus magnified, but if this should happen contrary to our wishes there is nothing we can do about it.

10. We took a prudent approach on the question of maintenance of the section of the Sino-Vietnamese Railway on the Chinese side of the junction. We did not take for granted the reports we received, but sent a Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, together with competent experts from the railway administration, for a special on-the-spot investigation, during which films were taken of the conditions. Facts show that the repeated proposals of the Chinese side to the Vietnamese side were fully justified. We earnestly hope that the Vietnamese comrades will change their previous attitude and no longer obstruct and sabotage the efforts of the Chinese side to repair the railway. As for the Vietnamese side's differing understanding of the location of the sector of boundary line there, it should be left for resolution through consultation by the two Governments in the boundary negotiations. If, through the boundary negotiations, it should be decided that this sector was Vietnamese territory, we would unconditionally turn over to the Vietnamese side territory that belongs to Viet Nam together with the section of railway situated thereon.

11. If Premier Pham Van Dong agrees, we would like to show you the film we took indicating the bad condition the railway section was in. Since this is a rather urgent matter, we hope Premier Pham Van Dong will look into it as soon as possible so that it may be settled appropriately.

### IV

12. Regarding the Nansha Islands and the Xisha Islands, many things the Vietnamese comrades have done in the past two years are also detrimental to the friendly relations between our two countries. These islands have always been Chinese territory, and this is supported by numerous indisputable historical records. The Chinese Government has made statements to this effect on many occasions. In the past, the Vietnamese comrades, too, recognized that these islands were Chinese territory. On 15 June 1956 a Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister formally said to us that "from the historical point of view, these islands are Chinese territory". On 4 September 1958 the Chinese Government issued a declaration on China's territorial sea, in which it clearly stated that the territory of the People's Republic of China "includes the Chinese mainland and its coastal islands, as well as Taiwan and its surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands, the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China which are separated from the mainland and its coastal islands by the high seas". On September 14 of the same year Premier Pham Van Dong stated in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai that "The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam recognizes and supports the declaration of the People's Republic of China on China's territorial sea made on 4 September 1958" and that "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respects that decision". On 9 May 1965 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement again recognized that the Xisha Islands belonged to China.<sup>c</sup> But in 1974, the Vietnamese comrades began to change their stand. Notably in 1975 the Vietnamese side, using the opportunity of the liberation of southern Viet Nam, invaded and occupied six of the Nansha Islands of China and proceeded to make a formal territorial claim of our Nansha and Xisha Islands. Meanwhile, it whipped up public opinion both internally and externally, asserting that the Nansha and Xisha Islands were Vietnamese territory. Owing to your action, the Nansha and Xisha Islands, over which there never was any issue, have now become a major subject of dispute in Sino-Vietnamese

<sup>c</sup> On 9 May 1965 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement with reference to the designation by the President of the United States, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, of the "combat zone" of the United States armed forces in Viet Nam, recognizing the Xisha Islands as belonging to China. The Vietnamese statement said:

"United States President Lyndon Johnson designated the whole of Vietnam, and the adjacent waters which extend roughly 100 miles from the coast of Vietnam and part of the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China in its Xisha Islands as the 'combat zone' of the United States armed forces . . . in direct threat to the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its neighbours."



relations.<sup>4</sup> Before 1975 the Soviet Union had always recognized that the Nansha and Xisha Islands were Chinese territory. They too changed their attitude as soon as you created this dispute, being bent on using it to undermine Sino-Vietnamese relations. We hope that the Vietnamese comrades will return to their original stand on this question.

## V

13. The Vietnamese comrades' attitude on the division of the Beibu Gulf sea area cannot be considered as friendly, either. The sea area here has never been divided, yet you assert that it has. You insist on drawing a dividing line close to our Hainan Island, so as to occupy two thirds of the Beibu Gulf sea area. Being neither fair nor reasonable, this is unacceptable to us. We have suggested more than once that the two sides should settle the division of the gulf sea area on a fair and reasonable basis. We hope that the Vietnamese comrades will consider our suggestion.

## VI

14. We would also like to outline our views on the question of the Chinese residing in Viet Nam. Owing to historical reasons, there are more than 1 million Chinese residing in Viet Nam. Acting on proletarian internationalist principles, we agreed with the Vietnamese Party in 1955 on gradually encouraging the Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality. This could only be done on a voluntary basis, not by coercion. Over a long time in the past, the problem was handled fairly well through mutual consultation and co-operation. But since the liberation of southern Viet Nam, your side has resorted to coercion and treated Chinese in southern Viet Nam, regardless of their own wish, as being all Vietnamese nationals. You have imposed high taxes on Chinese residents who want to retain their Chinese nationality, prepared to deny them continued residence in Viet Nam and to take other measures. All these depart from the long-established practice of co-operation and consultation between our two countries and contravene the agreement between the two parties on gradually encouraging the Chinese to change their nationality. As you know, after the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet régime tried in 1956 to compel the Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality, our Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission issued a statement in 1957 seriously protesting against it. Every country has the duty to protect the legitimate rights and interests of its nationals residing in other countries. But you have now unilaterally taken measures to compel the Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality without consulting us, thus placing us in an awkward position politically. Here I would like to refer also to the question of establishment of Chinese consulates in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese residing in China numbering 5,000 to 6,000 have always been well taken care of by the Chinese Government, and we long ago gave our consent to your establishing three Vietnamese consulates-general in China and have accorded them every facility and favourable treatment. Yet when we requested to set up three consulates-general in Viet Nam, you delayed your reply for half a year, and then gave your consent to the setting up of two consulates-general instead of three. We have taken a friendly attitude and made special allowances for you in the treatment of your nationals and the establishment of consulates, but you have failed to reciprocate.

## VII

15. The Vietnamese comrades have been impairing Sino-Vietnamese friendship not only through present issues but also by making use of historical problems. For many years, the

<sup>4</sup> When Vice-Premier Li Xiannian referred to this question, Premier Pham Van Dong produced the untenable argument that: "in the war of resistance we of course had to place resistance to United States imperialism above everything else". "How should one understand our statements including the one in my note to Premier Zhou Enlai? One should understand it in the context of the historical circumstances of the time." Vice-Premier Li Xiannian promptly pointed out that this explanation was not convincing. He said that the territorial question between our two States should be dealt with seriously, that war could not justify a different interpretation, and that a serious attitude was called for. Moreover, there was no war going on in Viet Nam when on 14 September 1958 Pham Van Dong, as the Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, acknowledged in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai that the Xisha and Nansha Islands were Chinese territory.

Vietnamese side, using the past to disparage the present, extensively propagandized the so-called opposition to "invasion from the north" in its newspapers, magazines, films, plays, etc., and incited hostility against China among the people, thus causing very bad consequences. All people who sincerely care for Sino-Vietnamese friendship are disturbed by this. But some people in other parts of the world, out of ulterior motives, applauded and cheered and took advantage of the situation to sow dissension. The Soviet news agency Tass, for one, made use of your propaganda to foment discord and incite anti-China sentiments. We freely admit that China's feudal dynasties did invade Viet Nam, and we have always condemned such aggression. Premier Zhou Enlai personally visited the Temple of the heroines Trung Trac and Trung Nhi at Hanoi to pay tribute to these fighters against aggression by the Han Dynasty. But, as you know, the invasion of Viet Nam by Chinese feudal dynasties took place when the Chinese people had no power and when they themselves were under the feudal rulers' brutal oppression and persecution. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party and the Government and people of the People's Republic of China cannot be held responsible. Soon after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Comrade Lenin said that the imperialist powers—Great Britain, France and the United States of America—"tried to arouse Poland's ancient hatred towards her Great-Russian oppressors, tried to transfer the Polish workers' hatred of the land-owners and tsars, a hundred times deserved, to the Russian workers and peasants, and tried to make the Polish workers think that the Bolsheviks, like the Russian chauvinists, dream of conquering Poland".<sup>5</sup> This, as we see it, is Lenin's approach to historical problems. Viet Nam is a socialist country. Do the Vietnamese comrades act in the spirit of Lenin's teaching in doing the above? We hope that you will stop this.

16. Today, I have been frank with Premier Pham Van Dong about some problems existing in the relations between our two Parties and States, hoping that a solution will be found to these problems through a comradely and in-depth conversation so that the revolutionary friendship and unity between our Parties and countries can be upheld and enhanced. China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers and closely related as lips and teeth. We believe that unity and friendship are in the interests of our two peoples while disunity and antagonism are harmful to the interests of both. We should follow the behests of Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh and make great efforts, as always, to uphold and promote our traditional friendship and unity and not let them be weakened and damaged by interference from any quarter. We believe that so long as we have the sincere desire of safeguarding our friendship and translate this desire into action our friendly relations can grow and the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples can live together in friendship from generation to generation.

17. We request Premier Pham Van Dong to convey to the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Comrade Le Duan the wishes Chairman Hua expressed in his meeting with you on 8 June and the points I have discussed today. We sincerely hope that you will seriously consider our opinions so that a satisfactory solution may be found to the problems existing between our two Parties and States.

18. As for the question of aid, Premier Pham Van Dong sent a list in his letter of 15 October last year. We have not been able to satisfy your requests. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government I talked about this matter with Vice-Minister Nguyen Trinh on 24 February this year, explaining that interference and sabotage by the anti-Party "gang of four" and the natural calamities last year have caused many difficulties to our national economy, and that over 2,000 million yuan earmarked for our aid to Viet Nam remains unused, and more than 100 projects for complete sets of equipment are yet to be constructed, whose completion will require great efforts in the coming period of time. Therefore, we are in no position to provide new aid to the Vietnamese comrades. I asked him to report this to Premier Pham Van Dong. On 17 March 1977 Vice-Minister Nguyen Trinh conveyed Premier Pham Van Dong's reply and his understanding of the matter. So I am not dealing with this question at length today.

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Speech to Students of the Sverdlovsk University Leaving for the Front", 24 October 1919.

DOCUMENT S/13256

Note verbale dated 18 April 1979 from the representative of Angola  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[18 April 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to refer to the latter's note of 21 March 1979. In this connexion, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola wishes to state once more that the People's Republic of Angola does not have, and has never had any political, diplomatic, economic, or military links with the racist minority régime in South Africa, including delivery, purchase or other trade in arms and armament.

In fact, the People's Republic of Angola, as a front-line State and as an African State committed to the revolutionary principles of majority rule, and an end to *apartheid*, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, considers itself in the forefront of the fight for the liberation of southern Africa from these evils. Further, the People's Republic of Angola views with great concern, and condemns, the establishment or the continuance of any form of co-operation between the racist minority régime in South Africa and other States. These links only serve to strengthen imperialist activity in southern Africa and, by aiding and abetting the Pretoria régime's activities, pose a threat to international peace and security. Finally, the People's Republic of Angola considers total sanctions against the minority racist régime of South Africa by the international community long overdue.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola requests that this note be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

DOCUMENT S/13257\*

Letter dated 18 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[18 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, the text of the proposal put forward by the Delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the first session of the negotiations between the Vietnamese delegation and the Chinese delegation on 18 April 1979 at Hanoi.

I request that the present letter and its enclosure be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Proposal put forward by the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the first session of the negotiations between the Vietnamese delegation and the Chinese delegation on 18 April 1979 at Hanoi

MAIN PRINCIPLES AND CONTENTS OF A THREE-POINT SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

1. Urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families:

(a) To refrain from concentrating troops close to the borderline, to separate the armed forces of the two sides; the armed forces of all kinds of each side along the entire borderline to pull back into their territory to a distance of 3 to 5 kilometres from the line of actual control prior to 17 February 1979;

(b) To stop all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other side and threatening its security;

(c) The zone lying on either side of the line of actual control mentioned above and where the armed forces of the two sides will no longer be present shall become a demilitarized zone; the status of this demilitarized zone shall be agreed upon between the two sides;

(d) The two sides shall exchange at once lists of people captured by the two sides during the war so that they may be returned as soon as possible;

(e) To set up a joint commission of the two sides to supervise and control the implementation of the above-mentioned measures.

2. Restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides; development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and benefit.

On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal and other relations.

To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war.

3. Settlement of border and territorial problems between the two countries on the principle of respect for the *status quo* of the borderline left by history and delineated by the 1887<sup>a</sup> and 1895<sup>b</sup> Conventions signed by the French Government and the Ch'ing Dynasty, as agreed upon between the Vietnamese and the Chinese sides; respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

<sup>a</sup> Convention entre la France et la Chine relative à la délimitation de la frontière entre la Chine et le Tonkin [British and Foreign State Papers, 1892-1983, vol. LXXXV (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), p. 748].

<sup>b</sup> Convention entre la France et la Chine, complémentaire de la convention de délimitation de la frontière entre le Tonkin et la Chine du 26 juin 1887 [ibid., 1894-1895, vol. LXXXVII (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900), p. 523].

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/201-S/13257.

**Interim report of the Secretary-General under Security Council resolution 444 (1979) concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon**

[Original: English]  
[19 April 1979]

1. In resolution 444 (1979) of 19 January 1979, the Security Council decided to renew the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for five months, until 19 June 1979. It called upon the Secretary-General and UNIFIL to continue to take all effective measures deemed necessary in accordance with UNIFIL's approved guidelines and terms of reference and invited the Government of Lebanon to draw up, in consultation with the Secretary-General, a phased programme of activities to be carried out over the next three months to promote the restoration of its authority in Southern Lebanon. In taking this decision, the Council reaffirmed its determination, in the event of continuing obstruction of UNIFIL's mandate, to examine practical ways and means, in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978) and decided to meet again within three months to assess the situation.

2. Following the adoption of this resolution, the President of the Security Council made a statement on behalf of the members of the Council, requesting the Secretary-General to report to the Council by 19 April 1979 at the latest on the implementation of the phased programme of activities.

3. The present report, which is submitted in pursuance of the decisions of the Security Council mentioned above, deals mainly with the elaboration and implementation of the phased programme of activities called for by the Council. The report also gives a brief description of the situation in the UNIFIL area of operation and of recent incidents since they have a bearing on the phased programme of activities.

*Phased programme of activities*

4. The outline of a phased programme of activities to promote the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government, as called for in resolution 444 (1979), was the subject of a preliminary discussion with the Lebanese Permanent Mission to the United Nations and with visiting Lebanese military officers in mid-January. With a view to pursuing these preliminary discussions in more detail with all concerned, I requested Mr. Brian Urquhart, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, to visit the area in mid-February. In the course of this visit, Mr. Urquhart held consultations in Lebanon and Israel, with General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, and General Erskine, the Commander of UNIFIL. In Lebanon he had talks with the President, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Defence Minister and the President of the National Assembly. In Israel he met with the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and senior officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

5. During Mr. Urquhart's visit in Lebanon, the outline of a phased programme was discussed. Discussion was concentrated on the first phase of this programme, which included the following four points:

(a) The increase by the Lebanese Government of the Lebanese civilian administrative presence in the south, including civil servants, medical personnel, teachers, public works employees, etc. This would involve close co-operation among the Minister of the Interior, the Governor of Southern Lebanon, General Erskine and Mr. Saunders, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for humanitarian assistance in Lebanon. It was also suggested that the Lebanese *gendarmerie* in Southern Lebanon should be reinforced to increase the sense of security.

(b) The further deployment of Lebanese military personnel in Southern Lebanon. It was envisaged that while the present Lebanese liaison teams should remain unchanged, the Lebanese Government would take steps progressively to deploy army units in the north-central sector of the area controlled by UNIFIL with the objective of bringing Lebanese army strength up to one battalion by the middle of April. The modalities of this move would be further discussed in the existing working group composed of representatives of the Lebanese army and UNIFIL, as well as between General Erskine and the Lebanese authorities.

(c) The United Nations and UNIFIL would intensify their efforts to consolidate the cease-fire and put an end to harassment of UNIFIL and of the local population by the *de facto* forces led by Major Haddad.

(d) In addition, UNIFIL would intensify its efforts to secure further deployment and control of the border area, especially by securing the full implementation of the proposals put forward by UNIFIL in November 1978 [S/13026 of 12 January 1979, para. 22]. In this connexion emphasis was placed on the need to undertake the necessary diplomatic contacts to enlist the co-operation of the Government of Israel.

6. Throughout the period under review, intensive and continuing contacts have been maintained with the Lebanese authorities on the basis of the above plan. Contacts with the PLO have also been maintained and during his visit to Beirut the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs had talks with Chairman Arafat relating to the co-operation of the PLO with UNIFIL in carrying out its mandate.

7. Intensive efforts have been made by Mr. Urquhart, General Siilasvuo and General Erskine in contacts with the Israeli authorities to secure the implementation of the UNIFIL proposals of November 1978, particularly the establishment of a security zone around UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura. Diplomatic approaches have also been undertaken in pursuance of resolution 444 (1979) by troop-contributing and other



interested Governments in support of the United Nations efforts. So far, however, little progress has been achieved. Major Haddad has also been approached by UNIFIL officials at the operational level on this matter, but his reaction has been consistently negative.

8. In these circumstances, efforts to implement the phased programme have so far centred on the introduction of Lebanese civilian administrative personnel and on the deployment of Lebanese army units in the UNIFIL area of operation. On the former point the Force Commander and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for humanitarian assistance in Lebanon have held talks with the Minister of the Interior and the Governor of Southern Lebanon, to whom special powers and special resources have been given by the Lebanese Government, with a view to expediting the introduction of civilian administrative personnel and the re-establishment of normal economic and social life throughout the area.

9. Reconstruction efforts are under way in the UNIFIL area of operation with the co-operation of UNIFIL and the relevant United Nations agencies. Specific actions already taken by the Lebanese civilian authorities seek to meet urgent requirements such as water and electricity supplies, telephone facilities, repair of school buildings, restoration of health services and repair of roads. Water pumping stations at Ras-el-Ain and Siddiquine have been put back in operation, the station at Ett Taibe is being repaired and, following a survey undertaken with UNIFIL assistance, repair work at the Marjayoun pumping station has begun. Telephone facilities have been restored in a number of villages. Repair of school buildings is getting under way, with most schools still functioning in private houses. As to health services, Ministry of Health mobile teams have been active in the area. In addition, the hospital at Tibnin is being reconditioned. Efforts are also being made to bring medical and para-medical staffing of hospitals back to normal. Programmes have been drawn up for the repair of roads, and it is expected that work will start in the very near future.

10. The Lebanese Government has also provided extensive assistance to the population in Southern Lebanon. In particular, it has carried out food distribution for some 47,000 families, including more than 10,000 families in the border area, and it has allotted sizable funds for the restoration of housing and schools.

11. The deployment of Lebanese military personnel in Southern Lebanon has been the subject of intensive discussions between the Lebanese Government and UNIFIL. The joint working group of UNIFIL and the Lebanese army, set up in December 1978 [*ibid.*, para. 24], has met regularly to examine and plan the proposed deployment. Following these discussions, the Lebanese Government decided, on 13 April, to dispatch a contingent of the Lebanese army of about 500 all ranks to Southern Lebanon. This contingent was to proceed on 17 April from Beirut to Southern Lebanon by the coastal road via Kasmiya Bridge. The contingent would be deployed in the UNIFIL area of operation and would be under the operational control of UNIFIL. A reinforced company would be stationed in the north-central sector of the area where UNIFIL is fully de-

ployed, while one platoon would be attached to each of five UNIFIL battalions.

12. On 14 April, Major Haddad expressed strong opposition to the move of the Lebanese army contingent to Southern Lebanon. He reinforced the *de facto* forces' positions near the UNIFIL area of deployment and around the UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura with tanks and heavy mortars and threatened to shoot at UNIFIL and Lebanese Army units if the proposed move should take place. Meanwhile, General Siilasvuo contacted the Israeli authorities to inform them of the planned move of the Lebanese army and to enlist their co-operation and assistance. I addressed a personal message to Prime Minister Begin to that effect. The President of the Security Council and representatives of troop-contributing countries and of other interested Governments also approached the Government of Israel in support of the United Nations efforts. In response to these efforts, the Government of Israel agreed to co-operate with UNIFIL in order to facilitate the planned move.

13. In the afternoon of 17 April the Lebanese Army contingent left Beirut. After an overnight halt at Saïda, it reached Southern Lebanon early the next morning and was deployed in the UNIFIL area of control as planned.

14. In connexion with the move of the Lebanese army contingent, the *de facto* forces launched a series of unprovoked attacks on UNIFIL premises and the UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura. These incidents are the subject of a special report to the Security Council dated 19 April [S/13254].

#### *Situation in the UNIFIL area of operation*

15. UNIFIL has continued its efforts to ensure the peaceful character of its area of deployment and, in particular, to maintain the cease-fire and to prevent infiltration of arms and armed personnel into the area. Where UNIFIL has full control, the situation has remained generally quiet, effective action has been taken to prevent infiltration, and the progressive normalization of life has continued. However, there have been numerous breaches of the cease-fire by the armed elements deployed west and north of the UNIFIL area of operation, by the *de facto* forces under Major Haddad and, on occasion, by Israeli forces, and tension in the area has significantly increased, particularly during the past month.

16. The number of incidents involving UNIFIL and certain armed elements in the Tyre pocket and north of the Litani River have increased during the period under review. There were numerous attempts at infiltration of armed personnel into the UNIFIL area of operation and several cases of hijacking of United Nations vehicles and firing at UNIFIL personnel, although the over-all policy of co-operation of the PLO has for the most part kept such tendencies under control. The most serious of these incidents occurred on 3 February. The incident originated in a heated discussion which took place when soldiers of a Fiji battalion checkpoint stopped four armed elements. There followed a series of attacks by armed elements on UNIFIL positions in the area of Qana. Two soldiers of Fiji were killed and four wounded, and one armed element is believed killed.



On that occasion, the four Norwegian members of a medical rescue team also died when their helicopter crashed accidentally after hitting a power line.

17. There has been a marked increase of incidents involving Lebanese *de facto* forces. These armed groups have not only consistently opposed further deployment of UNIFIL, but have also further restricted the freedom of movement of UNIFIL and have resorted to provocations against UNIFIL patrols, positions and installations, including UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura.

18. The recent shelling of UNIFIL positions by the *de facto* forces has been described in my special report of 19 April. Another serious incident took place on 29 March. On the morning of that day, a vehicle transporting three *de facto* forces leaders was denied passage on the coastal road at a UNIFIL checkpoint near the French logistic component base camp, which is located at the southern end of the UNIFIL headquarters compound at Naqoura. As negotiations with the leaders of the *de facto* forces were under way, additional men and vehicles appeared on the scene and took up positions on the ridge overlooking the UNIFIL headquarters compound. Without prior warning, they began firing on the UNIFIL headquarters building, on the helipad and on the French logistic component camp with small arms, heavy machine-guns and rocket-propelled grenades. One French soldier who was in the camp was killed and two others wounded.

19. During the period under review, the presence of Israeli military personnel on Lebanese territory controlled by the *de facto* forces has become increasingly visible as illustrated by a total of 200 recorded border violations up to 8 April. Movements of Israeli jeeps, half-tracks, armed personnel carriers and trucks have frequently been observed in the border area. In addition, Lebanese air space has been violated on several occasions by Israeli military aircraft over and near the UNIFIL area of operation. The presence of Israeli officers has also been observed during incidents involving UNIFIL and the Lebanese *de facto* forces.

20. There were a number of heavy exchanges of fire across the UNIFIL area of operation between the Lebanese *de facto* forces and the armed elements north of the Litani River, most of them initiated by the former. Israeli artillery has also been involved in a few of these exchanges. On several occasions, the cease-fire was restored through the good offices of UNIFIL.

21. It is relevant also to refer to certain recent incidents involving Israeli forces and Palestinian armed elements, which took place outside the UNIFIL area of operation, since they increased tension in the area and had an adverse effect on UNIFIL operations. On 5, 6 and 9 April, there were three bomb explosions in Israel resulting in civilian casualties, for which the PLO claimed responsibility. These were followed on 10 and 11 April by extensive attacks by Israeli forces against targets in the Tyre pocket and north of the Litani River; on 11 April, armed elements in the Tyre pocket fired rockets at targets in northern Israel, and the Israel Defence Force responded with artillery and tank fire. These incidents have been brought to the attention of the Security Council and the General Assembly by the Representative of Israel [S/13239 and S/13249], the

Representative of Lebanon [S/13242] and the Observer of the PLO [S/13241].

#### Observations

22. The first phase of the programme of activities, which has been worked out by the Lebanese Government in consultation with the Secretary-General and in accordance with resolution 444 (1979), has been partly implemented. The increase of Lebanese civilian administrative personnel in Southern Lebanon, together with the assistance given by the Lebanese Government to the local population, have had clearly beneficial consequences for the region, including some localities controlled by Major Haddad. The recent deployment of a contingent of the Lebanese army in the UNIFIL area of operation has important symbolic as well as practical value.

23. The *de facto* forces under Major Haddad were adamantly opposed to the deployment of the Lebanese army contingent and sought to thwart it by forceful means. However, after intensive diplomatic efforts, the Government of Israel agreed to co-operate with UNIFIL in facilitating the implementation of this move.

24. Important as they may be, these developments can only be considered as a first step towards the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978). Much remains to be done before the tasks entrusted by the Security Council to UNIFIL can be said to have been fully achieved.

25. UNIFIL will now concentrate its efforts on the two points remaining in the first phase of the programme of activities. It will attempt to achieve further deployment and control in its area of operation and, as a matter of urgency, the establishment of a security zone around its headquarters at Naqoura. The vulnerability of this headquarters, which is located in the area controlled by the *de facto* forces, was made painfully evident during the incident of 29 March and again more recently, when Major Haddad sought to thwart the deployment of the Lebanese army contingent. The establishment of the proposed security zone is indeed essential for the proper functioning of UNIFIL. It is equally essential that the *de facto* forces refrain from harassing UNIFIL and the civilian population in the UNIFIL area.

26. So far, despite all efforts, the necessary co-operation has not been forthcoming for further deployment of UNIFIL. I view with anxiety the present situation, in which UNIFIL is blocked in the full implementation of its mandate and is, by force of circumstances, playing a role substantially different from the role it had been set up to play.

27. The fact remains that the *de facto* forces continue to perceive their interest to lie in a course of action opposed to co-operation with UNIFIL and to the objectives laid down by the Security Council. In this regard, the position of the Government of Israel will be crucial for efforts to achieve further progress in the coming months.

28. I shall be reporting fully to the Council on all aspects of the operation in two months' time when the mandate of UNIFIL will again be under consideration. I feel obliged, however, at this stage to repeat that the present situation concerning the fulfilment of the Council

mandate cannot continue indefinitely. The tensions which it causes will inevitably have their effect on the functioning of the Force and on the co-operative attitude on many sides which has so far made the existence of UNIFIL possible.

29. In spite of all the difficulties, UNIFIL has performed and is performing an invaluable task in bringing calm to a sorely affected area and in reducing the active threat to international peace and security which the situation in Southern Lebanon constitutes.

If UNIFIL, for any reason, were to be seriously eroded, those achievements would be nullified and the world would inevitably face once again a highly dangerous and volatile situation in the area. Such a situation would not only be a new disaster for the Government and people of Lebanon but could also lead to a renewed and serious deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a whole. I am sure that all Governments, including those most intimately involved, certainly wish to avoid such a development.

#### DOCUMENT S/13259\*

#### Note verbale dated 19 April 1979 from the Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[19 April 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations would like to draw the attention of the missions of States Members of the United Nations to an abnormal and inadmissible situation which is developing as a result of the continuing presence in the United Nations of a person calling himself "the representative of Democratic Kampuchea".

As is well known, more than three months ago the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, did away with the criminal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary puppet clique, which, at the bidding of its foreign masters, has been pursuing a policy of mass extermination of the country's population and aggressive assaults on neighbouring States. The schemes of the Chinese leadership to carry out an experiment in Maoist "transformation of society" in Kampuchea and establish a beach-head in the south of Asia for the further pursuit of its expansionist plans have met with defeat.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, power in the country has passed entirely into the hands of the People's Revolutionary Council. The Kampuchean people have, in the form of this Council, acquired a Government which serves their interests and is directing the country's development along the course of independence, democracy and social progress.

In the short lifetime of the new Government of Kampuchea, local organs of power have been established in every province of the country and are helping the hundreds of thousands of people displaced by the Pol Pot régime to return to their places of origin. As a result of the Kampuchean's efforts, assisted by friendly States, the consequences in Kampuchea of meddling by the Chinese "advisers" and their puppets are being overcome, industry, trade, transport and the educational and health care systems are reviving, there is a renaissance of culture, and a new life is being established.

It is quite obvious that the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the sole legal Government of the Kampuchean people and it alone can act on behalf of Kampuchea and its people. As has repeatedly been stressed in official statements by the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, no one, other than persons appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council and the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, has the right to represent the Kampuchean people in international affairs, including the United Nations and its bodies.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and strongly advocates the satisfaction of its just demands as swiftly as possible.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is officially recognized by many States throughout the world. A number of Governments have announced their readiness to maintain the relations they formerly had with this country with the new Government of Kampuchea. Embassies from a number of countries have resumed their activities in Phnom Penh.

The course of peace, friendship and non-alignment in foreign relations announced by the People's Revolutionary Council, the new Kampuchea's determination to make its active contribution to the development of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation in South-East Asia and the strengthening of universal peace are receiving an increasingly favourable response. Peace has come to reign over the borders between Kampuchea and neighbouring States.

The fact that a so-called "representative of Democratic Kampuchea", who in fact represents nobody, is still active in the United Nations cannot be described other than as a gross violation of the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people.

The presence in the United Nations of a person claiming to be the representative of the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which has been stigmatized all

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/202-S/13259.

over the world, is altogether intolerable and illegal and damages the authority and dignity of this international Organization.

It is the duty of everyone who holds dear the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations to thwart the intrigues of the enemies of the Kampuchean people and put an end to the abnormal situation in the United

Nations in which the lawful right of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to take part in the work of this Organization is being ignored.

The Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests that the text of the present note should be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/13260\*

Letter dated 19 April 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[20 April 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your attention to an attempt made on 15 April 1979 by a group of terrorists belonging to the organization known as the PLO to cross the River Jordan into Israel in the vicinity of kibbutz Tirat Zvi in the Beit Shean Valley.

The group of four terrorists, armed with rifles and hand grenades, was intercepted by the Israel Defence Forces and in an exchange of fire all four were killed. There is evidence that they planned to carry out an attack on civilians.

The responsibility for the dispatch of these terrorists was taken by the PLO the same day. A broadcast on the so-called "Voice of Palestine" from Lebanon on 15 April indicated that this group was sent in pursuance of the policy of escalating terrorist activities with a view to subverting the ongoing peace process in the Middle East.

This is the second attempt by PLO terrorists to cross the River Jordan in recent weeks. On 10 March, the Israel Defence Forces detected and eliminated four other terrorists who had crossed the Jordan south of the Adam bridge. They were armed with weapons and explosive materials. According to Baghdad Radio the same day,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/203-S/13260.

the PLO took responsibility for sending this group in a statement which was published in Beirut on 10 March. Reuters reporting from Beirut confirmed this.

These terrorist acts are clearly the work of international criminals of the worst kind, bent on the indiscriminate murder of civilians while masquerading under the banner of a national liberation movement. The PLO is but an instrument in the hands of the opponents of peace in the Middle East and beyond, who are determined to frustrate any progress towards peace in the Middle East, particularly in the light of the peace treaty signed between Israel and Egypt on 26 March 1979.

Given the true intentions of the terrorist PLO and the criminal methods of operation favoured by it throughout its existence, the Government of Israel is duty bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13261\*

Letter dated 19 April 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[20 April 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your urgent attention to the infiltration into Israel from Lebanese territory on 16 April 1979 of terrorists belonging to the organization calling itself the PLO, as well as to the shelling of northern Israel, also from Lebanese territory, on 18 April.

At about 2300 hours on 16 April, a group of six terrorists was encountered by the Israel Defence Forces near the village of Zar'it on the northern border of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/204-S/13261.

Israel. Fire was exchanged and all the terrorists were killed. Responsibility for their dispatch was taken by the PLO in a broadcast on its radio in Lebanon on 17 April.

In the morning of 18 April, katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory in the direction of western Galilee. As a result, one person was injured and damage was caused to property. In the afternoon and evening of the same day, further barrages of katyusha rockets were fired, once again from Lebanese territory, at the northern tip of Galilee.



These outrages underline the fact that the task of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon of restoring international peace and security, as set out in Security Council resolution 425 (1978), is being directly challenged by the same subversive elements which have consistently endeavoured to use Lebanese territory for the purpose of launching attacks on Israel, thus undermining international peace and security throughout the region. This situation flows from the conditions prevailing not only in the south of Lebanon but also in the country as a whole, which have been exacerbated by the massive presence and machinations of the PLO.

These criminal acts are also designed to give violent expression to the implacable opposition of the terrorist PLO and of other opponents of peace, both in the Arab world and beyond, to any step forward in the direction of peace and reconciliation. In their attempts to under-

mine the ongoing peace process in the Middle East, most recently manifested by the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty on 26 March 1979, the opponents of peace use as their instrument the terrorist PLO which has been granted irregular privileges at the United Nations, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and other organs of the Organization.

In these circumstances, the Government of Israel is duty-bound to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13262\*

#### Letter dated 20 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[20 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, the statement made by the President of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, on the occasion of the national holiday commemorating the fourth anniversary of the great victory of 17 April 1975 and the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this statement to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Statement, dated 16 April 1979, made by the President of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea on the occasion of the national holiday commemorating the fourth anniversary of the great victory of 17 April 1975 and the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea

Dear and respected comrades, dear and respected compatriots,

This year, our nation and our entire people are celebrating the fourth anniversary of the great victory of 17 April 1975 and of the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea, in a situation that finds them, armed with lofty patriotism and revolutionary heroism and united in a single monolithic bloc under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, waging popular war throughout the country against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, I bow before the noble memory of all our respected and beloved compatriots, officers, fighting men and women who have sacrificed their lives in the past for national and popular liberation and for the defence of Democratic Kampuchea, and in the present war against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/206-S/13262.

None of us shall ever forget the examples of lofty heroism of our compatriots and comrades-in-arms, and we undertake with steadfast determination to continue forever to hold aloft their banner of resolute resistance against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories, until it has been totally annihilated and has disappeared forever from the territory of our beloved homeland. On the same occasion, on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, I would like to address my warmest greetings and congratulations to our army and revolutionary guerrillas in every area and region of the country—Rattanakiri, Mondulakiri, Kratie, regions of the south-west, west, centre, north, north-west, east and south-east—which are engaged actively, everywhere and in every area, in guerrilla warfare, relentlessly harassing the enemy, constantly wearing down and destroying its vital forces, weakening and exhausting it day after day, and all the while, relying primarily on their own forces and using their revolutionary heroism to the utmost advantage.

I would also like to pay rousing tribute and to express my deepest respects to our nation and our entire people, who categorically refusing to live with the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories, are actively participating in the great movement of our popular war against that enemy by using every form of resistance.

Dear and respected comrades, dear and respected compatriots,

Four months have already elapsed since the Vietnamese enemy, having mobilized more than 100,000 troops reinforced by a great number of tanks and supported by many pieces of Soviet artillery and Soviet aircraft, committed aggression and invaded the territory of our Democratic Kampuchea in the most arrogant and savage manner. During these four months, wherever the enemy went, he systematically and indiscriminately massacred our population and our children, stole their property, livestock and rice, destroyed fields and rice paddies, and the villages and homes of our people. He has set about unscrupulously destroying reservoirs, dams and irrigation canals which we had built with great effort during the more than three years that have elapsed. The extreme barbarity of the Vietnamese enemy is prompted by its evil design to destroy totally our Democratic Kampuchea, to seize all our territory, to subjugate all our people, to establish the authority of the Vietnamese State in our country, to take over our economy entirely and to implement to the fullest its strategy of "Khmerization" of the war with the aim of occupying our territory definitively.



However, the Vietnamese enemy has basically failed in its criminal design. It has not been able to destroy our Democratic Kampuchea, nor to control our territory, our economy or our people. Nor could its strategy of Khmerization of the war be carried out. On our side, we have basically preserved our vital forces and the authority of our State and have protected our population and our economy. Practically the whole population refuses at any price to become the slave of the Vietnamese. In short, the Vietnamese enemy has not succeeded either in breaking our peoples' resistance or forcing our compatriots to fight against their own people in its place. Therefore, the Vietnamese must continue to wage their war of aggression by themselves, and they are in a hopeless situation. All this is due to the strength of the great union of the entire nation and of the entire people of Kampuchea which, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have held aloft the banner of honour and national dignity, the banner of independence and sovereignty, and who have struggled resolutely against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations.

The Vietnamese enemy may destroy the lives of our compatriots, our property, our rice, our fields, our rice paddies, our dams and reservoirs, but it will never succeed in annihilating the national soul of Kampuchea, its honour and dignity, its national entity, identity and loyalty, because this national soul, this honour and dignity, this national entity, identity and loyalty have been maintained, developed and strengthened by our nation and our people through their successive revolutionary struggles. In addition, since the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 April 1975, our nation and our people, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have in every circumstance never ceased to develop, strengthen and further promote these characteristics in the struggle to build up the country, to determine and improve the living conditions of our people and to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

That is why, slightly more than three years after the devastating war, and despite the countless obstacles erected by the Vietnamese enemy, our nation and our people, deploying every effort, have rapidly built up the country in all fields (agriculture, industry, culture, social affairs and health) and have determined and improved the living conditions of the people by relying primarily on their own forces. In the field of agriculture, we have created the basic conditions needed to increase production by building dams, reservoirs and canals to irrigate 700,000 hectares of land. Since 1977, we have achieved an annual rate of consumption of 312 kilograms of paddy *per capita* in the country as a whole. The foundations for an independent industry have also gradually been laid. In the field of social affairs and health, we have basically eliminated malaria. In the field of culture, we have eliminated illiteracy throughout the country; on the basis of national progressive traditions, we have developed and strengthened a sound, independent culture which serves the living conditions of our people in all fields and also serves national construction and defence.

Today, all the results of the efforts we have made for more than three years have been almost entirely destroyed by the Vietnamese. However, despite all this, our nation and our people have clearly shown the world that, although Kampuchea may be a small, poor, sparsely populated country, its nation and its people are armed with great heroism, they are fully capable of building up their country rapidly, in complete independence and sovereignty, relying on their own forces and they have absolutely no need of the deadly "Indo-Chinese Federation" of the Vietnamese. Our people and our nation want to live as an independent and non-aligned country, as a nation having its own civilization, its own traditions, its own healthy and noble virtues, its honour and its dignity. In spite of all their efforts, the Vietnamese can never and will never be able to wipe out the entity and identity of the nation and people of Kampuchea.

In the field of national defence, for the more than three years that have elapsed, our nation and our people have strongly and courageously struggled against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations, creating for it many difficulties that have become increasingly serious, on the military and political levels as well as on the economic and financial levels, along the front of its aggression against Kampuchea as well as in its own country and

in the international arena. The extremely pernicious strategy of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique consists in engulfing Kampuchea surreptitiously in the same way as it engulfed Laos. Indeed, it engulfed Laos just as a boa engulfs a chicken. Laos could not even utter a single cry. There was no reaction either from within Laos or from abroad. However, in Democratic Kampuchea, this boa engulfing the chicken strategy is being combatted in a resounding manner by the heroic people and the heroic revolutionary army of Kampuchea, under the just and far-sighted leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea; they have revealed to the world the hideous face of Viet Nam.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is inspired by a profound love for the nation and the people. The nation and people of Kampuchea support it and have united together in a monolithic bloc to defend Democratic Kampuchea. The six attempts at a coup d'état perpetrated by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique have been successively thwarted, and the clique is enraged at this. That is why, at the end of 1977, it revealed its true nature, for all to see, when it launched 14 divisions against Kampuchea with a view to crushing it with a single blow. However, here again, it suffered a bitter, grave defeat. Having thus exhausted all its resources, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique then hastened to throw itself at the feet of its Soviet masters in order to obtain tanks, artillery and aircraft with a view to engaging in aggression and openly invading Democratic Kampuchea. Its odious face was thus exposed to the world. The false "revolutionary" and "non-aligned" banner of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique was torn to shreds. Throughout the world, Viet Nam has acquired the sinister reputation of being an aggressor, a barbaric and arrogant expansionist, valet to the Soviet international expansionists, of being the Cuba of Asia, and a Soviet military base in Asia and the Pacific. That was a strategic defeat for the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

Aggressors and expansionists always underestimate the people and the masses, and they place blind trust in their military forces and weapons. The same is true of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. Its aggressive and expansionist nature makes it forget entirely the successive lessons severely taught by oppressed peoples and nations or victims of aggression to aggressors of all types. Supported by the Soviet international expansionists, the clique has engulfed Laos and is in the process of conducting savage aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. At the same time, it is arrogantly provoking China and insolently threatening Thailand and the other countries of South-East Asia.

The development of the war of aggression waged by Viet Nam and its Soviet masters against Democratic Kampuchea can only result in two alternatives:

(a) Either Viet Nam agrees to withdraw its troops and forces of aggression from Democratic Kampuchea, in which case the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam could live as good neighbours and the spread of war would be averted;

(b) Or Viet Nam and its Soviet masters persist in pursuing their aggression and occupation of the territory of Kampuchea, in which case war would threaten to spread to Thailand and to other countries of South-East Asia, of Asia and the Pacific, and to affect the entire world.

To date, despite the heavy defeats it has suffered in its aggression against Kampuchea, Viet Nam refuses to withdraw from Kampuchea, as the world and the whole of mankind have demanded unanimously. Quite the contrary, Viet Nam and its Soviet master persist in continuing to escalate their war of aggression in different ways. At the start of February, another reinforcement of three divisions brought the number of Vietnamese troops of aggression in Kampuchea to 150,000. In early March, Viet Nam declared martial law, further increasing the general mobilization. Towards the end of March and in early April, the Soviet Union took another step in the war of aggression in Kampuchea by sending its aircraft to take part in transporting Vietnamese troops assigned to campaigns of searching out, repressing and massacring the population of Kampuchea. Furthermore, the so-called treaty of friendship and co-operation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, a concoction trumped up by Viet Nam, is only one of its many attempts to "legalize" the escalation of its war of aggression in Kampuchea. The so-called

treaty of friendship and co-operation between Laos and Kampuchea is also another form of escalation of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea. Its aim is to legalize the increasingly open and total commitment of the three Vietnamese divisions which have long been stationed on the Laos-Kampuchea border and which had already been engaged in continual acts of aggression against the northern part of Kampuchea. Indeed, Viet Nam and the Soviet Union are currently in the process of extending the war to Laos and in the direction of China. It is now even more obvious that this war threatens to spread to Thailand, South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific, and to affect the entire world.

The countries of the region and of the world, as well as the political parties, mass organizations and eminent persons of all circles, all devoted to peace and justice, have clearly realized this danger. They have energetically denounced and condemned Viet Nam and have carried out many activities to demand that it should withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and the nation and people of Kampuchea consider all these activities to be an extremely valuable support for their just struggle and take this opportunity to reiterate their sincerest gratitude. They are convinced that they will continue and intensify their activities in order to oblige Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea so that the danger of the spread of war may be stopped in time.

Our struggle has only one goal: withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops and forces of aggression in order to allow the nation and people of Kampuchea to settle their own affairs by themselves, without foreign interference, and to build in union an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

Dear and respected comrades, dear and respected compatriots,

From the preceding remarks, we can affirm on the basis of the present and future internal factors of our country and benefiting, in addition, from the support of the world and of mankind as a whole, that we have all the favourable conditions needed to pursue our long-term popular war against the Vietnamese enemy, to defend and preserve our forces in all fields and to move forward gradually until we launch the counter-offensive to completely annihilate the Vietnamese enemy. Of course, difficulties and obstacles remain before us, because the Vietnamese enemy is continuing to escalate its war of aggression in every form and in successive stages—the third, fourth, fifth and so forth—and it will continue to do so until the balance of power between it and us undergoes progressive changes quantitatively and qualitatively in the two following ways:

(a) The enemy, temporarily stronger than we, in military terms, will become progressively weaker;

(b) We, temporarily weaker than the enemy, in military terms, shall become stronger progressively by developing and acquiring force.

Our popular war is evolving in a very favourable direction. The most important aspect is the rapid and systematic development throughout the country of our guerrilla units which have shown their full strength in their capacity to launch attacks everywhere. Wherever the enemy ventures to go, he is the target of our guerrillas, who press him from the front, from the rear, from within and from without, and hold his movements in check. Thanks to the networks thus woven everywhere by our guerrillas, who are relentlessly launching attacks against the Vietnamese enemy, we can defend and preserve our forces, wear down those of the enemy and gradually develop and strengthen ours in all fields: the forces of the people, of the army, of the guerrillas and those of the subsistence economy. Proceeding in this way, we are succeeding in organizing our short- and long-term strategic forces. We are waging our popular war, relying on guerrillas, while employing regular troops for operations to annihilate the vital forces of the enemy. In view of the famine and the countless difficulties existing in Viet Nam, now and in the future, the impasse in which it is caught on the Kampuchea front, the deterioration of the situation in Laos, the heavy defeats it has suffered on the Viet Nam-China border, the entire world's increasingly vigorous condemnation of it and the steps taken to eliminate aid to it, we can see that the Vietnamese enemy is in a situation that will steadily deteriorate until its inevitable ruin.

We must understand well the subjective and objective conditions that are favourable to us and continue to carry out our tasks in the following areas:

(a) We must continue our popular war to combat more strongly still the Vietnamese enemy, through guerrilla warfare. The task of continuing our popular war against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations, falls to our entire nation, to our entire people, to our entire army and to all our revolutionary guerrillas. Our comrades who are at present fighting on the front, in particular, should consider this a most noble task entrusted to them by our nation and by our entire people, a task which we are all determined to carry out to completion at whatever price. Each day and each month, soldiers of all the units of the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and guerrillas from every base will rival each other's fervour in the struggle to wear down and destroy to the maximum the vital forces of the Vietnamese enemy and, to do so until it has been totally annihilated and has disappeared forever from the territory of our beloved Kampuchea. At the same time, we must always heighten our revolutionary vigilance in order to be in control of the situation in all circumstances and in all fields, in the face of the perfidious manoeuvres of the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories.

(b) The comrades at the rear are determined to be a strong and brilliant base of support for the front and always to remain in close contact with the front, each making every strong and relentless effort to fulfil his task. In particular, the population, the fighting men and women, and the officers of all the rear services and organization are entrusted with the production needed to achieve self-sufficiency and to provide strong support for our long-term popular war against the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories. In concrete terms, for the time being, we must prepare our plows, harrows, oxen, buffalo and our seed so that we may be able to launch, at the proper time and in a strong manner, our rice-growing campaign for the next rainy season. On land suitable for the cultivation of rice, we are growing rice. Elsewhere, we are growing sweet potatoes, manioc, maize and beans, or we are planting banana trees and every other additional food crop possible.

(c) We must always continue to develop and strengthen the great unity of the nation and people of Kampuchea in a broad national united front, bringing together all national forces both within the country and outside, in order to combat and destroy the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations, so that it disappears forever from the territory of our beloved Kampuchea. The historic task to defend our nation and our race falls to us all. We are certain that on the basis of this historic task, all our compatriots within the country and outside it will unite in a monolithic bloc and will participate actively in the struggle, in all its forms, to defend our nation and our race.

(d) In a parallel manner, we must always continue to expand and strengthen close solidarity with the countries of South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and with the world as a whole, as well as with political parties and distinguished persons dedicated to peace and justice in the world, who are opposed to Vietnamese regional expansionism and to its master, Soviet international expansionism.

Our nation and our entire people have already undertaken and will always undertake with steadfast determination to strengthen their position in their lengthy struggle, relying primarily on their own forces and overcoming every obstacle in order to win a complete victory over the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations. Further strengthened by the support and assistance of the vast majority of countries and peoples dedicated to peace and justice in the world, we are convinced that final victory over the Vietnamese aggressor enemy will inevitably be ours.

Down with the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations!

Long live glorious Democratic Kampuchea!

Long live the popular war that will annihilate the Vietnamese annexationist aggressor enemy, which engulfs territories and exterminates nations!

DOCUMENT S/13263

Note verbale dated 16 April 1979 from the representative of Suriname  
to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 April 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Suriname to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to the latter's note of 21 March 1979 regarding the implementation of resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977) of the Security Council, has the honour to communicate the following:

Suriname is consistently and firmly opposed to the *apartheid* system of South Africa and, therefore, fully supports resolution 418 (1977) imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

Suriname does not maintain relations of any nature whatsoever, political, economic or military, with South Africa and does not intend to do so. Its position is, therefore, fully consistent with the provisions of resolution 418 (1977).

Suriname will co-operate fully with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) in regard to the effective implementation of the provisions of resolution 418 (1977).

The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Suriname has the honour to request that the present note verbale be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

DOCUMENT S/13264\*

Letter dated 22 April 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 April 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your urgent attention to the terrorist outrage perpetrated in the town of Nahariya early this morning, 22 April 1979, by a criminal gang dispatched by the organization known as the PLO, which resulted in the deaths of four Israeli civilians, including two sisters of three and four years of age, and the wounding of two other civilians.

At 0230 hours (local time), four terrorists landed by means of a rubber dinghy at the town of Nahariya on the Mediterranean coast some six miles from the Lebanese border. The terrorists tried to enter a private home. A police patrol was alerted and in the ensuing exchange of fire a police officer was killed and a volunteer in the civil guard was wounded.

The terrorists headed back in the direction of the shoreline and, on the way, entered another house and took hostage a man and his four-year-old daughter. The mother hid with her three-year-old daughter in a closet and clasped her hand over the child's mouth to prevent her from making any sounds which might lead to their detection by the terrorists. As a result the child died from suffocation.

Police and army forces caught up with the terrorists on the beach close to the point where they had landed. In the firing which followed, the terrorists murdered their two hostages; a soldier and a civilian were wounded. Two of the terrorists were killed and the two others were captured, one wounded.

Some hours later, the terrorist PLO boasted about this atrocity on its radio in Lebanon.

Only three weeks ago the Israel Defence Forces foiled a similar attempt by the PLO against Israeli civilians, when the 500-ton cargo ship, *Stephanie*, belonging to the PLO was intercepted off Israel's Mediterranean coast. In addition to the five-man crew, six heavily armed terrorists were found aboard together with a rubber dinghy in which they planned to reach the shore. They all admitted that they belonged to Fatah, headed by Yasser Arafat.

In an interview broadcast on Israel television and radio on 8 April, the leader of the gang, Haled a-Zafi, disclosed that the six had been dispatched from Lebanon by the head of Fatah operations, Abu Jihad. He described the purpose of the mission as follows:

A-Zafi: "The mission . . . was to infiltrate into Israel in order to murder old people and children and everyone we came across."

Question: "You mean civilians?"

A-Zafi: "Yes, civilians."

Question: "You mean a mission of mass murder?"

A-Zafi: "Yes, mass murder. Everyone who crossed our path was to have been killed."

These criminal activities reflect the barbaric pattern consistently followed by the terrorist PLO throughout its existence. They are the work of international criminals of the worst kind, bent on the indiscriminate murder

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/207-S/13264.



of civilians, while masquerading under the banner of a national liberation movement.

More recently, and especially since the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt on 26 March 1979, the PLO has also been acting in conjunction with others both in the Middle East and beyond to subvert the ongoing peace process and all efforts at peace and reconciliation in the region.

The atrocity at Nahariya was perpetrated by the same PLO, which is euphemistically called "armed elements" in United Nations reports about the situation in Southern Lebanon. This is the terrorist organization which is directly challenging the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in the fulfilment of its mandate, by continuing to use Southern Lebanon as a launching ground for murderous attacks against Israel, whether by repeated shellings across the northern border from Lebanese territory or by attempts at penetrating the border by land and sea from Lebanon. In recent months, I have brought to your attention repeated incidents of these kinds in my letters of 14 January [S/13028], 16 April [S/13249] and 19 April 1979 [S/13261].

Despite its criminal designs, the PLO has been granted irregular privileges in the United Nations, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. Last year the Headquarters of the United Nations were abused for the housing of an exhibition mounted by the PLO which was reminiscent of Nazi propaganda against the Jewish people (see my letter of 21 December 1978).<sup>3</sup> The means and machinery of the United Nations have also been exploited for the dissemination of a series of publications, prepared by the Secretariat and containing little more than thinly disguised PLO propaganda against a Member State (see my letters of 16 November and 20 December 1978).<sup>4</sup>

People of conscience throughout the world are marking this week to commemorate the six million Jews—including a million and a half children—who were exterminated during the holocaust. It should be recalled that the United Nations has declared 1979 the International Year of the Child. The terrorist PLO has

<sup>3</sup> A/33/545.

<sup>4</sup> A/33/376 and A/33/543.

chosen its own murderous way to mark this year—with the slaughter and injury of innocent children.

Since the beginning of this year, 17 children have been casualties of PLO outrages, in addition to those killed in Nahariya today:

On 18 January, a girl of 10 was wounded when a bomb exploded in the Mahane Yehuda market at Jerusalem (see my letter of 18 January [S/13041]).

On 19 January, a boy of 10 in Kfar Giladi on the northern border was wounded by katyusha rockets fired from Lebanese territory;

On 28 January, an infant aged 10 months and a toddler of 2 years were wounded when a bomb exploded at Netanya (see my letter of 29 January [S/13058]).

On 27 February, a little girl of 3 and a boy of 11 were wounded by an explosive device which went off in the Mahane Yehuda market at Jerusalem (see my letter of 28 February [S/13127]).

On 23 March, a girl of 3 and a boy of 4 were wounded by an explosive device in Zion Square at Jerusalem (see my letter of 25 March [S/13192]).

On 5 April, three children were wounded by a bomb at a bus stop at Jerusalem (see my letter of 10 April [S/13239]).

On 10 April, six children between 6 and 10 years of age were wounded by an explosive device which exploded in the Carmel market at Tel Aviv [*ibid.*].

The time has surely come for Members of the United Nations to recognize the implications and consequences flowing from any form of co-operation with the terrorist PLO both within and without the framework of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, given the true character of the PLO and its violent aims, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13265\*

#### Letter dated 17 April 1979 from the representative of Cuba to the Secretary-General

[Original: Spanish]  
{23 April 1979}

I have the honour to address you, on instructions from my Government, to express the most vigorous protest against the improper use of the machinery of the United Nations by the so-called representative of "Democratic Kampuchea" to calumniate and insult various States Members of the United Nations, including the Republic of Cuba.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/209-S/13265.

First of all, I must express my Government's objections to considering Mr. Thioung Prasith as the representative of any government whatsoever. It is known to everyone that the Fascist clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which for three years tyrannized over and massacred the Kampuchean people, murdering more than 3 million of them, was justly overthrown and swept away by the people of Kampuchea on 7 January 1979.



Since then, the only Government which has existed in Kampuchea is that of the People's Revolutionary Council, headed by Mr. Heng Samrin.

It is a mockery of the truth and of the seriousness of the United Nations to recognize the so-called representative of "Democratic Kampuchea" as anything more than the hired mouthpiece of the new mandarins of Peking, who installed the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in power and who now—after their ignominious flight from Phnom Penh, where the righteous fury of the people would have made them pay for their innumerable and horrendous crimes—shelter, finance and promote them.

This obscure personage, whose photograph appears in the magazine *Newsweek* in a report on the murder, in circumstances which have not been clarified, of the British journalist Malcolm Caldwell in an official residence in Phnom Penh during the last months of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary tyranny, was never permanently in the United Nations when he represented that régime, which, moreover, was seriously in arrears in the payment of its assessments and contributions to the United Nations budget.

From one day to the next, the so-called representative of "Democratic Kampuchea" becomes ubiquitous in United Nations meetings and is permanently "accredited" through letters from a non-existent Government which does not control a single inch of the territory of Kampuchea, which lacks popular support and which has no headquarters other than that installed by its partners and protectors of the Chinese "new gang" at Peking.

It is perfectly obvious that this gentleman answers only to the dictates of the great puppeteer Teng Hsiao-ping, that his role in the United Nations is confined to representing the hegemonist and expansionist interests of the Peking Government, which is bent on extending its rule in South-East Asia and the Indo-Chinese peninsula through cowardly aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, threats to the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the fomenting of counter-revolutionary and anti-popular activity in the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The servile nature of the activities of Mr. Thiounn Prasith in the United Nations on behalf of his Peking masters is illustrative of the abject submission of the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary Fascists to the dictates of the new mandarins.

This Organization, whose Charter and fundamental principles have been violated, trampled upon and mocked by the vile Pol Pot clique, should not continue to permit the abuse of the established machinery by the so-called representative of an apocryphal Government to propagate the invective and humbug of Peking's propaganda against Member States.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Raúl ROA KOURI  
*Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cuba  
to the United Nations*

## DOCUMENT S/13266

### Letter dated 24 April 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[24 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith letters from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the dastardly attack by Israel against defenceless refugee camps.

I would request you to circulate the enclosures as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
*Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX I

##### Letter dated 23 April 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to bring the following to your attention.

On 22 April, Israeli naval and air forces raided the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr El-Bared in north Lebanon. Four residents were killed and ten wounded and several houses were destroyed in the one and one-half hour long bombardment.

I am instructed further to call upon you to take immediate measures to put an end to this renewed exercise of Israeli

brutality, which seriously aggravates the already explosive situation in the area and constitutes a threat to peace.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
*Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations*

#### ANNEX II

##### Letter dated 23 April 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to draw the following to your attention.

At 7.30 a.m. Beirut time on 23 April, Israeli gunboats, with the cover of fighter planes and helicopters, launched a half-hour long raid on Joll El-Bahr and the Buss refugee camp. At 6.20 p.m. the Israeli boats and planes returned and again bombarded those areas in an attack lasting fifteen minutes.

Several Palestinians were wounded in the raids and a number of houses suffered damages.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
*Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations*

DOCUMENT S/13269

Letter dated 25 April 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[25 April 1979]

Pursuant to my letter dated 24 April 1979 [S/13266], I have the honour to transmit herewith two additional letters from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization and would like to request that they be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

ANNEX I

Letter dated 24 April 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to inform that as of 1700 Beirut time Israeli Air Force formations have bombarded the following locations around Tyre, predominantly inhabited by Palestinian refugee families: Shabriha, Adloun, and Al-Jormoq, as well as Arnoun and Beaufort Castle. So far the raid has resulted in the loss of lives of a number of children and women as well as the destruction of several houses.

This attack on innocent civilians is definitely a premeditated criminal act committed under instructions of the Israeli Government by Menachem Begin, who has vowed that "a Jewish child's blood will not be spilled with impunity", and who persists in spilling the blood of Palestinians and other Arab children—a continuation of his criminal attack on Deir Yassin in 1948, when he and his gang murdered in cold blood 254 men, women and children in what constitutes one of the first steps in the genocide of the Palestinian people.

I am instructed to draw your attention to the ramifications resulting from the continued series of atrocities and request that the Security Council, through you, take immediate and adequate measures to prevent the further aggravation of the already explosive situation.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

ANNEX II

Letter dated 24 April 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to bring the following to your attention.

At 6.30 a.m. Beirut time on 24 April, Israeli forces launched an attack on the Adloun region, shelling the area with an intense bombardment from gunboats stationed on the adjacent coast. Two civilians were killed, five were injured and several houses suffered damage in the sporadic shelling.

At 5 a.m. on the same day, Israeli frogmen had infiltrated to the civilian port of Saida where they succeeded in placing an explosive charge under the vessel *Vienna*, which was supplying goods to Saida's merchants. The ship's explosion resulted in injury to several members of its crew.

I am further instructed to ask you to take immediate measures to put an end to these acts of brutality which constitute a threat to peace in the region.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13270

Letter dated 25 April 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[25 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government and in conformity with Security Council resolution 444 (1979), I have the honour to request that you convene a meeting of the Council to examine the interim report of the Secretary-General of 19 April 1979 [S/13258] and the special report of the Secretary-General [S/13254] of the same date.

I wish to draw the Council's attention to the grave situation which has resulted from Israel's obstruction to the implementation of the "phased programme of activities" called for in resolution 444 (1979).

I also reserve my right, in conformity with paragraph 7 of resolution 444 (1979) to ask the Council "to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978)".

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

## Letter dated 25 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[25 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a written speech made by the head of the Chinese Government delegation on arrival at the Hanoi airport on 14 April 1979 [annex I] and a speech made by the head of the Chinese Government delegation at the first plenary session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 April 1979 [annex II]. I request that the above speeches be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

## Speech by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation, on arrival at the Hanoi airport on 14 April 1979

We, the Chinese Government delegation, have been entrusted by the Chinese Government and people with the task of conducting negotiations with the Vietnamese Government delegation and have arrived in Hanoi today. In coming here, our aim is to try, through peaceful negotiations, to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam, uphold the traditional friendship between the two peoples and settle the disputes between the two countries.

China and Viet Nam are countries linked by common mountains and rivers, and our two peoples have lived in close friendship and harmony. In the last several decades they shared weal and woe, supporting and encouraging each other, and they formed a profound revolutionary friendship in the course of their countries' revolution and construction.

Serious differences on matters of principle arose between our two countries in recent years, and there were armed border clashes between the two sides not long ago for reasons well known to everyone. The Chinese Government and people deeply deplore these. It is our conviction that it should not be hard to resolve the disputes and issues between the two countries through friendly negotiations, provided the two sides cherish the friendship between the two peoples and genuinely want to settle outstanding issues.

We have always valued the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and advocated the resolution of differences and disputes between States through negotiations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and in a spirit of friendly consultation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. The Chinese side did its very best to try and bring about these negotiations between the two Governments. And, in first sending the Chinese Government delegation to Hanoi, the Chinese Government is offering fresh proof of its earnest hope for a negotiated settlement of the disputes between the two countries. We sincerely hope the Vietnamese Government delegation will work co-operatively with us to bring positive results out of these negotiations.

In conclusion, I wish to convey the greetings and cordial good wishes of the Chinese people to the citizens of Hanoi and the entire Vietnamese people.

## ANNEX II

## Speech by the head of the Chinese Government delegation at the first plenary session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 April 1979

Mr. Phan Hien, head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, colleagues on the Vietnamese Government delegation,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/210-S/13271.

The Government delegation of the People's Republic of China has come to Hanoi for negotiations with the Vietnamese Government delegation. Today, at the first plenary session, my colleagues and I sincerely wish that these negotiations may make satisfactory progress.

Sharing weal and woe and supporting and helping one another in the long years of revolutionary struggle, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples forged a profound friendship. This was a friendship nurtured on the blood of Chinese and Vietnamese revolutionaries and based on the true mutual affection of the two peoples. For many decades, it grew in strength and developed under the loving care of Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh. It was a source of gratification for the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and for the people of Asia and the world as a whole. Facts show that it is in the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and beneficial to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole to uphold and strengthen this friendship between the two peoples and the amicable and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

In recent years, however, the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the amicable and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries have been seriously impaired. The Chinese side is not responsible for this deterioration and deeply regrets it. We have made painstaking efforts over a number of years to maintain these amicable and good-neighbourly relations. But, unfortunately, our efforts failed to yield results as anticipated, and relations between China and Viet Nam deteriorated drastically.

Persisting in proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Government and people have always energetically supported the just struggles of the people of all countries. We have consistently opposed the hegemonist designs of the super-Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, monopolize international affairs and commit aggression and expansion. We are opposed to the efforts of any country to seek domination in any part of the world. The Chinese Government has solemnly declared on many occasions that China does not, nor will it ever, seek hegemony or act as a super-Power. China does not maintain a single military base or station a single soldier abroad. China is one of the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and has always lived up to these principles. These are acknowledged facts. We have held that all countries irrespective of size are equal, that big, strong or rich countries should not bully small, weak or poor countries, and that international disputes should be settled peacefully through negotiations and not by recourse to arms. China is currently engaged in the great undertaking of socialist modernization and feels keenly the need for an international environment of peace and stability. We wish to live in amity forever with all our neighbours, Viet Nam included. But in recent years the Vietnamese authorities have energetically pursued an expansionist foreign policy and brought about a drastic deterioration in the relations between the two countries. Aided and abetted by a super-Power, the Vietnamese authorities ignored China's repeated admonishments, kept sending more and more troops to the Sino-Vietnamese border and escalated their armed incursion into China. When these became absolutely intolerable, the Chinese side was at last compelled to take the kind of action which it did not wish to take.

When Chinese frontier troops reluctantly launched their counter-attack in self-defence, the Chinese side had already proposed that China and Viet Nam should speedily hold negotiations at an appropriate level at any agreeable site to discuss ways of restoring peace and tranquillity along their border and then proceed to a settlement of their boundary and territorial disputes. Subsequently, the Chinese side put forward positive proposals about the level, date, place and topics of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and indicated its readiness to come first to Hanoi for negotiations. All this proved that the Chinese side



took the initiative to do its part to overcome obstructions and bring about the negotiations.

Now the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations have started. This is in accord with the wishes of the two peoples. The Chinese Government delegation has come in all sincerity and is prepared for discussions with the Vietnamese side on measures to restore normal relations between our two countries and uphold the traditional friendship between our two peoples and on ways to ensure peace and tranquillity in the border areas, to be followed by discussions to settle our boundary, territorial and other outstanding disputes. The Chinese Government delegation will put forward its constructive suggestions and proposals on these matters. I will comment in a later speech on the speech made by the Vietnamese side today. We have also taken notice of,

and will study, the proposals made by the Vietnamese Government delegation. We believe that if the Vietnamese side cherishes, as we do, the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and has any goodwill for these negotiations, it is possible for this round of negotiations to yield positive results, and it will not be difficult to settle the disputes between our two countries. The Chinese Government delegation hopes that the Vietnamese Government delegation will cooperate with us and make its due contribution to ensure positive results from these negotiations.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have high hopes for these negotiations, and the people in South-East Asia, in Asia and the rest of the world eagerly wish that there will be peace and stability in this region. We must not let them down.

## DOCUMENT S/13273

### Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[26 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the resumption of the creation of West Bank settlements by the Israeli Government.

I would request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

##### Letter dated 25 April 1979 from the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the President of the Security Council

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I wish to bring the following information reported in *The New York Times* of today, 25 April 1979, to your attention:

"... the Israeli Government has resumed the creation of West Bank settlements. Their appearance is bound to inflame passions throughout the region and make accommodation still more difficult.

"It is symbolically interesting that one of the new settlements formally approved by Prime Minister Begin's Cabinet is to be at Shiloh, 20 miles northwest of Jerusalem. When this encampment was first staked out two years ago by groups favoring annexation of the West Bank, the Cabinet took umbrage at foreign criticism and elaborately denied any political motive. This was no settlement, it said, only an archeological dig. Well, there was no dig, and now there is to be a settlement after all."

In an article in *The New York Times* on 24 April 1979, it was reported that the United States maintained that Menachem Begin has pledged not to create new settlements until negotiations on Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza have been completed. Begin however has denied giving such a pledge. He contended that he agreed only to a three-month "freeze" on new settlements and that the freeze ended in December. Israel has disregarded American warnings and gone ahead to approve the creation of two more Jewish settlements on the occupied West Bank.

It was reported by Anthony Lewis in an article in *The New York Times* on 19 April 1979 that Ariel Sharon, the Minister

of Agriculture, "... talks about moving in 27,000 settler families over the next three years".

In the context of the above-mentioned developments, it is appropriate to refer to Security Council resolution 446 (1979) which

"Determines that the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East",

and to the statement made by the President of the Council on 11 November 1976, on behalf of its members, to the Council at its 1969th meeting, in accordance with which it was agreed:

"To reaffirm that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Therefore, the occupying Power is called upon once again to comply strictly with the provisions of that Convention and to refrain from any measure that violates them. In this regard, the measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories which alter their demographic composition or geographical character and in particular the establishment of settlements, are strongly deplored. Such measures, which have no legal validity and cannot prejudice the outcome of the efforts to achieve peace constitute an obstacle to peace.

The persistent and unrelenting policy of the Zionist movement to disregard and completely ignore Security Council resolutions is another manifestation of its determination to pursue its aggressive policy against the Palestinian people. It is therefore only natural and legitimate that the Palestinian people should confront this present policy by all means available, including armed struggle.

I am instructed to inform you that the Palestine Liberation Organization holds the Government of Israel solely responsible for the re-eruption of the cycle of violence that is constituting a threat to international peace and security and calls upon you to take all measures as provided by the Charter of the United Nations in order to eliminate the root cause of this phenomenon, namely, termination of the prolongation of the illegal occupation of Palestinian territory, and the recognition and exercise of the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in its own country, Palestine.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations



**Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[26 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a letter dated 26 April 1979 addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Khamphay Boupha, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Vithaya SOURINHO  
Acting Permanent Representative of  
the Lao People's Democratic Republic  
to the United Nations

**LETTER DATED 26 APRIL 1979 FROM THE ACTING  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE LAO PEOPLES  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TO THE SECRETARY-  
GENERAL**

By a letter dated 18 March 1979 [S/13199, annex], I informed you of the tension which has been created in Laos as a result of the armed threat, the acts of interference and the subversion perpetrated by the Chinese leaders against the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I likewise suggested that appropriate measures should be taken to preserve peace and security in South-East Asia and the world and to guarantee strict respect for the Charter of the United Nations.

So far, however, the situation has not improved in any way.

The Chinese leaders continue to mass their troops along the Lao frontier, to send spies to Laos in growing numbers, to help the Lao reactionaries in exile and the Lao commando scum to sow trouble and disorder and to disrupt the tranquillity and peaceful labour of the multinational Lao people. The Chinese troops are still occupying a portion of Lao territory in the village of Muong Mam, province of Luang Namtha.

Along with these activities, a noisy campaign has been unleashed concerning what they call the "40,000-man movement of Vietnamese troops towards the Laos-China frontier". In the letter of 26 March 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Chen Chu, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations [S/13209, annex II], the Chinese leaders made calumnious allegations affirming that Laos is tailing after Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, that Laos is dominated by Viet Nam, that the Soviet Union is intensifying its infiltration and expansion in Laos, etc.

As everyone knows, the Lao People's Democratic Republic pursues a policy of independence, peace, friendship, and co-operation with all neighbouring countries. On 18 July 1977 the Lao People's Democratic Republic signed the treaty of friendship and co-operation and the treaty on the delimitation of national frontiers with the

Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In the joint declaration of 22 March 1979, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea agreed to do everything they could to ensure that the frontier between their two countries would become a frontier of lasting peace on the basis of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity within existing frontiers. In the joint declaration of 4 April 1979, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Thailand likewise agreed to make the entire frontier between their two countries a frontier of peace and friendship on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and respect for the legitimate interests of each, and to settle the differences between them by peaceful means. For what reason and in what interest would Laos decide to provoke China, its great neighbour with 900 million inhabitants? It is perfectly clear that in their manoeuvres aimed at distorting the truth, the Chinese leaders are trying to throw public opinion in China and the whole world off the track, to camouflage their policy and their hostile acts against the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic categorically rejects all the false allegations and calumnies of the Chinese leaders and demands that they immediately put an end to their armed threat, their acts of interference and subversion against Laos, and that they strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

As for relations between Laos and Viet Nam, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic states the following.

In the struggle against the French colonialists and American imperialistic aggressors for more than 30 years, the Lao people and the Vietnamese people fought side by side, and together they won final victory over the common enemy.

After liberation, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam strengthened their ties of friendship and intensified their co-operation and mutual aid in a number of fields within the framework of the treaties concluded between them.

Laos is a country with a small population. It is perfectly natural and necessary that Laos and Viet Nam should help each other and co-operate not only in economic construction but also in defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country against manoeuvres and acts of sabotage, against threats of interference and aggression by the imperialists and reactionary forces, making their contribution to safeguarding peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

When China raised the question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Laos it was trying to cover its own manoeuvres and its preparations for a war of ag-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/211-S/13274.

gression against the Lao People's Democratic Republic and it fooled world public opinion and the Chinese people themselves, who are now vigorously condemning the policy of adventurism and aggression preached by the Chinese leaders against the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean people. This constitutes deliberate interference in the internal affairs of Laos and an attempt at division and sabotage of the friendship and solidarity between the Lao people and the Vietnamese people, between the peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

We are convinced that the Lao people, through their own determination to fight, and strong in the interna-

tional support and aid which they are receiving, will carry the just national cause to a decisive victory.

I hope that you will take into consideration the facts set forth above and that, in order to safeguard peace and security in South-East Asia and the world, appropriate measures will be taken to prevent a new military adventure on the part of the Chinese leaders, an extremely dangerous adventure with unforeseeable consequences for all mankind.

(Signed) Khamphay BOUPHA  
Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic

#### DOCUMENT S/13275\*

Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, the text of the speech made by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice Foreign Minister and head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the second plenary session of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi on 26 April 1979, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech by the head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Phan Hien, at the second plenary session of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi on 26 April 1979

At the last meeting, we pointed out the objective fact that the strained situation leading to the recent large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam and jeopardizing the long-standing friendship between the two peoples had been completely created by the Chinese side.

However, the Chinese Government delegation tortuously denied this fact in an attempt to avoid responsibility and, on the other hand, levelled slanderous accusations against Viet Nam and did its best to argue its desire to preserve the friendship between the two peoples.

It should be asked whether such acts as the use of place-men in waging war against Viet Nam at its south-western border, repeated provocations, armed activities along Viet Nam's northern border, instigation of the Hoa to create disorders and disturbances to undermine Viet Nam from within, the cutting of all aid to Viet Nam, are aimed at preserving the friendship between the two peoples and maintaining the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

It should be asked whether it was the Chinese leaders' intention to preserve the friendship with the Vietnamese people when they mobilized over half a million troops along with thousands of tanks and artillery pieces to launch a brazen aggression against Viet Nam, to massacre Vietnamese civilians, mostly old people women and children, to raze to the ground provincial capitals, townships, villages and hamlets, to destroy every economic establishment, cultural institution and public utility work in Viet Nam's border regions.

It should be asked whether seeking an alliance with imperialism, particularly with United States imperialism and other

reactionary forces to launch an aggression against Viet Nam, open persuasion of Western countries to stop their aid to and economic relations with Viet Nam when Viet Nam is engaged in national reconstruction, and attempts to cause members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and other South-East Asian countries to adopt a policy of hostility to Viet Nam, are proofs of the Chinese leaders' desire to preserve the Sino-Vietnamese friendship.

The Chinese leaders cannot evade their responsibility for their criminal war against the Vietnamese people. Although the Chinese side seeks every means to justify itself, public opinion is very clear-sighted and severe. With the exception of a handful of imperialists and reactionaries who are more or less overt accomplices of the Chinese leaders, the whole world indignantly and strongly condemned their unjust war against the Vietnamese people.

Hardly had this aggression started when the World Peace Council issued a statement pointing out: "by launching an aggression and starting a war against Viet Nam, the Chinese leaders have revealed to the international community the criminal character of their policy and have shown that they are following the path of former Chinese emperors, the path of hegemonism and of enslaving other peoples".

The interparliamentary meeting of 16 countries with different social systems from the five continents, held in Canada on 5 March 1979, declared: "We condemn China's aggression against Viet Nam because we clearly realize that it is jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia and in the world."

The National Lawyers' Guild of the United States affirmed on 2 March 1979: "China's attack on Vietnamese territory is an act that progressive mankind as a whole should condemn. The military attack by one country against another which is independent and sovereign, allegedly to teach the latter a lesson, is indeed a crude violation of international law."

These undeniable facts have belied the Chinese leaders' claims that they are opposed to the use of force in international relations, to hegemony and to expansionism, that although speaking of the non-use of force but, in fact, militarily attacking an independent and sovereign country allegedly to punish and to teach that country a lesson, they have indeed used force in the most arrogant manner in international relations. In spite of their claims that they do not seek hegemony or expansion, all their anti-Viet Nam acts which culminated in the recent military adventure have demonstrated that they are pursuing most frenziedly an expansionist and hegemonistic policy. They profess a desire to live for ever in harmony with neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam, but it is they who started an invasion of Viet Nam, a neighbouring country linked to China by an old friendship.

The Chinese side has always professed willingness to settle problems through negotiations. However, it is common know-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/212-S/13275.

ledge that before launching their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Chinese leaders rejected all Vietnamese proposals for negotiations. When they sat down at the conference table, they tried to obstruct the talks, as evidenced by their action of unilaterally suspending the negotiations on the question of the Hoa in Viet Nam. Recently, while launching its military attack, China called for talks. This is nothing but a repetition of the peaceful negotiation trick used by the Johnson Administration during the past war of aggression by the United States in Viet Nam. Now, at these negotiations, the Chinese Government delegation speaks a great deal about their goodwill and slanderously accuses Viet Nam of obstructing the talks and poisoning the atmosphere. Once again, we must look straight at the facts.

According to a broadcast of the Voice of America on 21 April 1979, a correspondent of a Far Eastern economic review reported that before the start of these negotiations, a responsible Chinese personality had said that it would take a long time to settle the Sino-Vietnamese dispute and that China might launch a second punitive attack against Viet Nam in the near or distant future. A number of Chinese leaders continue threatening to resume the war at any moment they wish.

One day after the arrival of the Chinese Government delegation at Hanoi, an aircraft with markings of the Chinese army was sent by the Chinese side to violate Viet Nam's air space. The plane which carried out illegal activities crashed over Truc Phu village, Hai Hau District, Ha Nam Ninh Province. The Vietnamese side lodged a protest against this provocation; at the same time, out of humanity, it returned the pilot's body to the Chinese side. Despite such ample evidence, the Chinese side has adamantly denied its responsibility. Furthermore, it has gone so far as to affirm that Viet Nam had slandered China and to reject the Vietnamese protests.

At present, while the negotiations between the two Governments are under way, Chinese troops are still occupying over 10 points on Vietnamese territory. The Chinese side is still concentrating over half a million troops, deploying over 10 divisions, thousands of artillery pieces and a great quantity of war material close to the Vietnamese border. It continues building strategic roads, digging trenches, building fortifications, opening fire on Vietnamese territory with all kinds of weapons from infantry weapons to big guns, launching commando raids and encroachments on Vietnamese territory and indulging in provocative activities along the entire borderline from Quang Ninh to Lai Chau. At the same time, the Chinese side has intensified naval intrusions into the territorial waters of Viet Nam, so that Chinese forces have violated Viet Nam's territory, territorial waters and air space.

The above-mentioned actions of the Chinese side cannot but cause broad sections of public opinion to doubt its goodwill. Everybody is waiting to see whether Chinese deeds are matched with Chinese words.

For our part, proceeding from our policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship and broad international co-operation, we have on many occasions made it clear that the Vietnamese people and Government deeply treasure the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and wish to maintain and develop the neighbourly relations with the People's Republic of China. Although over the past several years there have been differences between Viet Nam and China, the Vietnamese people and Government have done their utmost not to let the normal relations between the two States be affected by these differences. We have always stood for a negotiated settlement of all disputes between the two sides and have put forward many initiatives leading to past negotiations between the two Governments. We twice went to Peking and spent much time negotiating with the Chinese side on the border question. During the recent days, while exercising our legitimate right of self-defence to fight back the aggressors, the Vietnamese people and Government have persistently advocated the peaceful settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries and have put forward concrete and constructive proposals leading to the current talks between the two sides.

All the above-mentioned facts have proved that the Vietnamese people and Government have unswervingly done their utmost to preserve and develop the long-standing friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and China. In contrast, the

Chinese leaders have more and more frenziedly pursued a hostile policy vis-à-vis Viet Nam and have even directly resorted to a war of aggression in order to subdue the Vietnamese people, thus seriously jeopardizing the traditional friendship between the two peoples and the neighbourly relations between the two countries.

During the current negotiations, at the very first meeting, we made it clear that the Vietnamese people were determined to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, but, at the same time, they deeply cherished peace, they did not want a resumption of hostilities, they consistently desired solidarity and friendship with the Chinese people and they did not want a hostile relationship between the two countries. In that spirit, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam put forward an important three-point proposal [5/13257, annex] on the basic principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries. The three-point stand of Viet Nam is a comprehensive over-all proposal aimed at settling urgent questions arising from the recent war, and creating a basis for the settlement of fundamental issues concerning the relations between the two sides. It meets the ardent desire of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples for an early restoration of peace and of their long-standing friendship. It responds to the desire for peace and stability of the peoples of South-East Asia and the world. It is a logical and reasonable proposal based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality and mutual benefit and on the principle of settling disputes through peaceful negotiations. It entirely conforms to the principles of international law, the United Nations Charter and the spirit of the Bandung Conference. It is a fair proposal which is satisfactory to both sides.

Broad sections of world public opinion have welcomed and highly appreciated Viet Nam's three-point stand, considering it a constructive proposal, a significant peace initiative, an expression of the serious stand and attitude of goodwill of the Vietnamese side, and proof that Viet Nam has unswervingly carried out a policy of peace and friendship with other nations, primarily with neighbouring countries. Everyone can see that China's aggression has been driven back, but its hostile policy towards Viet Nam has not yet ended. While negotiations are under way here, in the border region of the two countries, gunfire is going on, the situation is still fraught with dangerous elements that may at any time lead to an armed conflict with unforeseeable consequences for the two peoples, and for peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world. The question now is to eliminate this tense situation without delay.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has clearly put forward urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and allowing people captured during the war promptly to rejoin their families. These measures are:

(a) To refrain from concentrating troops close to the borderline. To separate the armed forces of the two sides: the armed forces of all kinds of each side along the entire borderline to pull back into their territory to a distance of three to five kilometres from the line of actual control prior to 17 February 1979.

(b) To stop all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activity which violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other side and threaten its security.

(c) The zone lying on each side of the line of actual control mentioned above, where the armed forces of the two sides will no longer be present shall become a demilitarized zone. The status of this demilitarized zone shall be agreed upon between the two sides.

(d) The two sides shall exchange at once lists of people captured during the war so that they may be returned as soon as possible.

(e) To set up a joint commission of the two sides to supervise and control the implementation of the above-mentioned measures.

While the situation is very tense in the border areas and pending settlement of the disputes between the two sides, the non-concentration of troops close to the borderline and the separation of the armed forces of the two sides as we have proposed are necessary measures to avoid clashes and remove the danger of armed conflict breaking out along the border. The



cessation of all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other side and threatening its security will help ease the tension in the border areas and bring about conditions for the people of these areas to return to their occupations in all tranquillity. The setting up of a demilitarized zone is to provide a buffer zone to ensure an effective separation of the armed forces of the two sides and to prevent armed provocations and other forms of hostile activities. For humanitarian reasons, the two sides shall exchange at once lists of people captured during the war, including the wounded, so that they may soon return to their families who are anxious to see them back. The setting up of a joint commission of the two sides to supervise and control the implementation of the above-mentioned measures is necessary to ensure a serious implementation of the provisions agreed upon.

In short, any objective observer may realize that the Vietnamese three-point proposal is practical, fair, logical and reasonable. It suffices to be prompted by goodwill and a real desire for settlement to be fully in a position to reach a prompt agreement.

The honest sections of world public opinion are expecting that the Chinese side will give a positive response to the three-point proposal of the Vietnamese side, first of all, that it will quickly agree on the urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas, allowing an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families, easing tension between the two countries and facilitating the restoration of normal relations and the settlement of the border and territory issues between the two countries.

The question is whether the Chinese side really wants to settle disputes with Viet Nam through negotiations as it has claimed, or will carry on its hostile policy towards Viet Nam. Does it really want to make the negotiations fruitful or does it merely want to use the same for propaganda about its goodwill, for soothing public opinion and camouflaging new ventures against the Vietnamese people?

We sincerely hope that the Chinese side will positively respond to our three-point proposal. We are prepared to discuss with the Chinese Government delegation in a constructive spirit so that we may soon reach an agreement on these urgent measures. Time requires us to do this work urgently.

## DOCUMENT S/13276

### Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the representative of the Ivory Coast to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[26 April 1979]

I have the honour, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, to request an urgent convening of a meeting of the Security Council to consider the recent developments in Southern Rhodesia.

(Signed) François SANGARET  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the Ivory Coast  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13277

### Note verbale dated 26 April 1979 from the Mission of Benin to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/French]  
[26 April 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to transmit to him herewith, for publication as a document of the Security Council, the text of a statement on "The Elections of Ian Smith" submitted on 25 April 1979 to the States Members of the United Nations by Mr. Callistus Dingiswayo Ndlovu, representative of the Patriotic Front.

#### ANNEX

##### The Elections of Ian Smith

A briefing to United Nations Members by Mr. Callistus Dingiswayo Ndlovu, representative of the Patriotic Front, on 25 April 1979

##### THE CONTEXT OF THE SMITH ELECTIONS

The régime of Ian Smith has just completed staging its much publicized elections of 72 blacks and 28 whites to its so-called biracial parliament. The Smith elections, like those conducted by apartheid South Africa in Namibia, were held in defiance of

the United Nations. After failing to enlist the co-operation of the international community in the implementation of their respective constitutional gimmicks in Namibia and Zimbabwe, the South African and Rhodesian régimes went ahead with unilateral constitutional arrangements chiefly designed to make southern Africa safe for apartheid and the continued exploitation of black people in South Africa itself, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. South Africa has named this plan "fortress southern Africa", a scheme designed to subject the African subcontinent to a South African military and economic sphere of influence.

Both conceptually and concretely, "fortress southern Africa" is a blatant attempt by apartheid South Africa to extend its military and economic domination over the whole of Africa. By accepting the results of the elections in both Zimbabwe and Namibia, the world will be endorsing South African imperialist designs on Africa as a whole. Before the collapse of Portuguese rule in Africa, the South African régime maintained its domination of the African subcontinent through a triangular defense arrangement that linked South Africa with the Rhodesian régime and Portugal. Under that arrangement South African troops were stationed in both minority ruled Zimbabwe and the two Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. After the collapse of Portuguese rule in Africa, the triangular defence



front became untenable and South Africa then sought to retain its dominance over the region through an adjusted arrangement which called for controlled political changes in Namibia and Zimbabwe where neo-colonial puppet régimes dependent on South Africa herself would emerge. The manoeuvre by South Africa was called détente in southern Africa. By adopting such a "pro-majority rule" position, South Africa sought not only to sponsor puppet rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe but also to gain herself acceptability from the Organization of African Unity and, indeed, the international community.

In this scheme of things, South Africa linked a solution of the Rhodesian problem to the solution of the problem of Namibia. Seen in this light, Smith's so-called internal settlement and the South African Turnhalle arrangement in Namibia are products of an over-all South African strategy to entrench minority rule in the two countries, disguised under the façade of majority rule constitutions which, in practice, leave strategic institutions of power in the hands of white minorities. Hence any endorsement of either of these moves amounts to endorsing South Africa's domestic policies on Africans. The fact that blacks may emerge as leaders of government or heads of State is meaningless in terms of real power, because they will be mere front men for the real evil that is *apartheid* South Africa.

The threat by Abel Muzorewa that when he comes to "power" his régime will try to unseat President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia should not be taken as idle talk. Muzorewa is saying what South Africa means by "fortress southern Africa". Any country that recognizes the régime that results from Smith's elections must understand that it is recognizing South Africa's creature.

The constitution under which these elections were held is illegal. Hence the elections themselves have been pronounced illegal and unacceptable by the Security Council. Because they evade the real issue, namely the transfer of power to the majority, the elections are irrelevant. The freedom fighters do not recognize them, so do the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.

In the West, Smith's elections have been given wide and favourable coverage by the press. Not only has the African voter turn-out been described as large (63 per cent of the 2.8 million projected voters, but the conduct of the elections has also been praised as fair and democratic. In the analysis that follows, we wish to examine those elections:

#### THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE SMITH ELECTIONS

Before one examines the voting in the Smith elections, one must note that those elections were conducted under conditions of martial law (covering 94 per cent of the country) and during a state of emergency (over the whole country). Under such conditions any person engaging in activities openly opposed to what the régime wanted to accomplish in the elections, was subject to arrest (if he/she was lucky) or to summary execution by firing (if he/she fell into the hands of Smith's soldiers). The total mobilization of over 100,000 armed men by the régime during the elections, and the activation of units of pro-régime military auxiliaries or private armies loyal to African parties contesting the elections, emphasized these risks to opponents of the elections. The role of private armies in driving people to polling places and forcing people to vote for certain parties was widely reported by the Reuters news wire service, and also by our observers on the scene.

It should also be noted that the Rhodesian régime did not register African voters before the elections were held in fear that such an exercise would be boycotted by most blacks. In the absence of a registered list of voters, the régime came up with an imaginary figure of 2.8 million African voters. This figure was considered safe no matter what the voter turn-out was. Although officials of the régime claimed that the 2.8 million figure was determined through census figures and school records, that figure falls far short of the real number of Africans (with a minimum age of 18) qualified to vote in a country whose population is anywhere between 7 million and 9 million.

The inaccuracy of the estimated total number of voters given by the régime is underscored in the voter turn-out in two constituencies of Mashonaland West and Mashonaland central where it was in each case above 100 per cent. Given this evidence, it is absolutely ludicrous to take what is an imaginary number of voters in the country and use it as a base for deter-

mining the percentage of turn-out of the elections. Thus, the claim that there was a turn-out of 63 per cent of the voters in the elections is as uninformed as the belief that every African who voted did so voluntarily.

Even if we were to say that the figure of 2.8 million African voters in a population like that of Zimbabwe is substantial, we still find that in the context of those elections, there are a number of factors that must be accounted for in assessing the character of those elections. To begin with, it must be noted that about 500,000 blacks in the country live either in protected villages or under some form of direct military control, over and above the constraints of martial law itself. There are also about 350,000 migrant workers, most of whom are Malawians, and the rest are Mozambicans who entered the country before Mozambique became independent. The evidence at our disposal shows that in the protected villages, the voter turn-out was almost 100 per cent. The same also applies to the voter turn-out among farm labourers and mine workers, who are largely made up of migrant workers (who should not have voted in normal circumstances). This high voter turn-out among inmates of protected villages and migrant workers is easy to explain. Inmates of protected villages and people living under direct control of the Rhodesian army were not in a position to exercise an independent political preference. Migrant workers, most of whom are farm hands, are totally under the control of their employers and, because their movement within the country is restricted because they are aliens, they are exactly in the same position as inmates of protected villages. Given this state of affairs, both inmates of protected villages and migrant labourers were forced to vote by their captors. These two sectors alone accounted for at least 25 per cent of the total vote in the elections.

It has also been noted that the voter turn-out in the urban areas was generally higher than it was in the rural areas. The economic strangle-hold of the settler régime over urban and peri-urban workers, through its pin-prick control mechanisms carefully institutionalized over the years by legislation like the Land Tenure Act (now theoretically repealed), the Industrial Conciliation Act, and the Native Registration Act, makes it difficult for African workers in general to act independently of their employers. The reports that many white employers provided their black employees with transport to polling places is a mild way of saying that employers compelled their employees to go and vote. Refusing to go and vote when one's employer released one to go and vote, would have been tantamount to going on strike and, as such, an offence (punishable by summary dismissal from employment under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act and its ancillary legislation). The evidence that among employed Africans, the voter turn-out was much higher than among unemployed town dwellers, supports the charge that white employers forced their employees to vote under penalty of dismissal from employment.

There are about 500,000 displaced peasants now living as squatters or refugees in the urban areas. These victims of the war live in shanty towns whose shelters are put up at dusk and torn down at dawn (at the orders of the Rhodesian authorities). Until the election campaign began, the burden of feeding and clothing these desperate people was exclusively shouldered by church groups like Christian Care and other philanthropic organizations. But when the campaign for elections came, leaders of groups of the so-called internal settlement began to fraternize with these refugees by making food and clothing available to them. The régime itself also suddenly became interested in their lot, although it did nothing to improve their lot materially. By providing these helpless people with food, clothing and other favours, parties to the so-called internal settlement were trying to win their votes in the elections. In fact, it is suggested that as the régime and its allies became uncertain of the rural vote towards the election day, they encouraged many peasants to flee their homes for the shanty towns in the urban areas, where they could be easily forced or organized to vote. Thus when the election day came, the various parties to the so-called internal settlement returned to the refugee shanty towns to collect their IOU's. On its part, the régime merely told these people that if they did not vote, they would be evicted from their shanty towns. In the face of such threats, the refugees in the shanty towns had no choice but to vote. Their vote was a significant part of the urban voter turn-out in Salisbury in particular.

It has been widely reported that 14-year-olds were seen voting in many polling areas. Most of these children were taken to the polling areas to vote, by their teachers who were under orders from the régime (under penalty of dismissal from their jobs) to see to it that their pupils voted. Because most schools in the rural areas have been closed because of the war, most of the school children who voted are pupils in urban government schools. Fourteen-year-olds who voted, made their preferences on the basis of those of the teachers. These are some of the irregularities that Ndabaningi Sithole is complaining about, although his complaints against the election are unprincipled and selfish. The fact that teen-agers below the age of 18 years were allowed to vote makes nonsense of the estimated number of 2.8 million voters that the régime announced was the total number of Africans qualified to vote. The role of teachers in the elections, and particularly their control over the votes of their pupils, explains the rather lop-sided vote for Muzorewa in Mashonaland central, Mashonaland West and other areas where teachers who support him literally delivered the votes of their students to the Bishop. In the context of his sellout role in the elections, Ndabaningi Sithole's complaints that the elections were characterized by a lot of irregularities are valid.

#### THE ROLE OF OBSERVERS AND THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS

If the above characterization of the environment of these elections is accurate, how could observers have failed to see that the conduct of the elections was neither free, fair, nor democratic? These elections were not free because of the role of the armed forces and the overt pressures applied upon black voters in the five days of elections. They were based on an undemocratic constitution that permitted white voters to vote, first for the 28 white seats, and second, for the 72 black seats. In fact, when put in ratio form, the white vote to a black vote was worth 11 to 1 in that whites who are 4 per cent of the population elected 28 per cent of the parliamentary seats alone, and then also voted along with blacks who are 96 per cent of the population to elect 72 Africans to parliament. In short, every white voter had 11 votes while every black person had one. This means that the elections were neither fair nor democratic.

The answer to the question why observers in general seem to have failed to find anything irregular in the elections lies in part in the ignorance of the observers about the country and in part in their commitment to supporting minority rule in southern Africa. One American group of observers from Freedom

House in particular appears to have been granted undue credibility by the Western news media. Because two members of this group have, in the past, been associated with the civil rights movement in the United States, namely Allard Lowenstein and Bayard Rustin, the press has sought to attach undue credibility to their assessment of the elections at the expense of reason. First of all, even if Allard Lowenstein's record in the civil rights movement is commendable, this does not make him an expert on Zimbabwe. Lowenstein, a former United States Congressman showed himself to be very naive recently when he came back from southern Africa claiming that he could work out a deal on Zimbabwe that would achieve the resignation of Ian Smith from the so-called transitional administration, preparing the way for the Patriotic Front to enter the internal settlement. In other words, he thought that the stumbling-block to any settlement was the presence of Smith in the so-called transitional régime, not the nature of the constitutional details of the so-called internal settlement itself. A person capable of such gross naiveté about the issues could not be expected to make a balanced judgement of Smith's elections. Secondly, Bayard Rustin, a black American, is a man who has not supported any relevant black cause in the United States in the last 15 years. He might have been remotely connected with Martin Luther King Jr. during the civil rights days, but today he has practically no credibility in the black community.

The rest of the observers were people who have supported Smith throughout his defiance of the international community. These people could not be expected to criticize the conduct of Smith's elections.

#### CONCLUSION

Many Western commentators want the world to judge the Smith elections independently of the constitution on which they are based. This is absurd. The Patriotic Front rejected the so-called internal settlement because it did not settle anything. And because we rejected the constitution of the so-called settlement, we consider the elections resulting from it irrelevant and, therefore, null and void. In the opinion of the people of Zimbabwe, the vast majority of whom did not vote (or if they did, they did so under the gun), the Smith elections were a farce that solved nothing. No constitution, or election, which does not enjoy the active support of the Patriotic Front has any future in Zimbabwe.

The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

#### DOCUMENT S/13278\*

Letter dated 26 April 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[27 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations put forward by the Chinese Government delegation at the second session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979. I request that this proposal be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative of the  
People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations put forward by the delegation of the Chinese Government at the second session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979

1. The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. They shall seek a reasonable solution of the disputes and issues in the relations between the two countries through peaceful negotiations.

2. Neither side should seek hegemony in Indo-China, South-East Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/213-S/13278.

to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. Neither side shall station troops in other countries and those already stationed abroad must be withdrawn to their own country. Neither side shall join any military blocs directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries or use the territory and bases of other countries to threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries.

3. The two sides shall respect the Sino-Vietnamese boundary line as delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords,<sup>a</sup> which shall serve as the basis for a negotiated settlement of their boundary and territorial disputes. Pending a settlement of the boundary question, each side shall strictly maintain the *status quo* of the boundary at the time when the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese parties exchanged letters in 1957-1958 and will not attempt to alter unilaterally and forcibly the actual extent of its jurisdiction along the border in any form or on any pretext.

4. Each side shall respect the other side's sovereignty over its 12 nautical-mile territorial sea, and the two sides shall demarcate their respective economic zones and continental shelves in

<sup>a</sup> Convention entre la France et la Chine relative à la délimitation de la frontière entre la Chine et le Tonkin [*British and Foreign State Papers*, 1892-1893, vol. LXXXV (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), p. 748] and Convention entre la France et la Chine, complémentaire de la Convention de délimitation de la frontière entre le Tonkin et la Chine du 26 juin 1887 [*ibid.*, 1894-1895, vol. LXXXVII (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900), p. 523].

the Beibu Gulf and other sea areas in a fair and reasonable way, in accordance with the relevant principles of the present-day international law of sea.

5. The Xisha and Nansha Islands have always been an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Vietnamese side shall revert to its previous position of recognizing this fact and respect China's sovereignty over these two island groups and withdraw all its military personnel from those islands in the Nansha group which it has occupied.

6. Nationals of one country residing in the other country shall respect the laws of that country and the ways and customs of the local people and shall endeavour to contribute to the economic and cultural development of that country. The Government of the country of residence shall guarantee their proper rights and interests in regard to residence, travel, making a living and employment and safeguard their personal safety and lawfully acquired properties in that country. Each side shall treat all the nationals of the other side residing in its country in a friendly manner and must not persecute or illegally expel them.

7. In response to the legitimate wish for repatriation on the part of the Vietnamese citizens forcibly driven by the Vietnamese authorities into Chinese territory, the Vietnamese Government should receive them back into the country and resettle them in a proper manner as soon as possible. The Chinese Government is ready to facilitate their early return in every way.

8. The restoration of railway traffic, trade, civil aviation, postal and telecommunication services and other bilateral ties shall be dealt with by the departments concerned of the two countries through consultations.

## DOCUMENT S/13280

### Letter dated 27 April 1979 from the representatives of Gabon, Nigeria and Zambia to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[27 April 1979]

We, the undersigned members of the Security Council, have the honour to request that the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Callistus Ndlovu, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, to participate in the Council's consideration of the "Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia".

*Signed by the representatives of the following  
States members of the Security Council:*

Gabon  
Nigeria  
Zambia

## DOCUMENT S/13281

### Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[27 April 1979]

1. The Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations has informed the President of the Security Council that the Government of the People's Republic of Angola is not in a position at this time to provide the information required in pursuance of paragraph 6 of Council resolution 447 (1979). It has therefore been suggested that the time-limit for the completion of the report requested under paragraph 6 of that resolution should be extended until 31 May 1979.

2. Informal consultations have shown that no member of the Security Council objects to the proposed extension, and the Secretary-General and the Permanent Representative of Angola have been informed accordingly.



DOCUMENT S/13283

**Telegram dated 27 April 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[27 April 1979]

On behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I have the honour to inform you that, at its 1145th meeting held on 27 April 1979 at Belgrade, the Special Committee unanimously adopted the Final Document on the decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Having regard to the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee by the General Assembly in that connexion and in the light of the proposed meeting of the Security Council devoted to the question of Southern Rhodesia, I wish to transmit herewith for the attention of the Council members the relevant section of the final document.

I should be grateful for the circulation as soon as possible of the text as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM  
Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation  
with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration  
on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries  
and Peoples

ANNEX

**Final Document on the decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia**

*Adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on 27 April 1979*

[For the text of the relevant section, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. VIII, para. 12, section I.]

DOCUMENT S/13284

**Letter dated 30 April 1979 from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[30 April 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a telegram dated 25 April 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I would request you to circulate the text of this telegram as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hammoud EL-CHOUFI  
Permanent Representative  
of the Syrian Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

TELEGRAM DATED 25 APRIL 1979 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

For the fifth consecutive day the Palestinian and Lebanese people in Southern Lebanon have been subjected to a war of elimination carried out by Israeli

forces, who have been using all manner of destructive weapons given them by the United States of America.

The attack extended from Beirut to the southern Lebanese border and targets included Palestinian refugee camps. The Israeli air, ground and sea assault comes at the same time as the exchange of the so-called peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. This so-called treaty ignores all United Nations resolutions and decisions regarding the questions of Palestine and the Middle East and has served only to encourage the Israeli Government to continue its attacks against the Palestinian people and to escalate the tension in the area. It aims at destroying any hope for a just peace and the guaranteeing of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State in its homeland.

The continual attacks over the period of five days reveal the type of peace treaty signed in Washington.



These attacks prove that the so-called peace treaty was not the first step toward a comprehensive peace in the area but the first step towards the elimination of the Palestinian Arab people and an open invitation to wider wars in the Arab area, and wars that reach far beyond the Middle East and extend to the whole world.

These attacks confirm that Israel persists in ignoring the principles of the United Nations Charter and resolutions, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and international conventions. This makes imperative decisive international condemnation of whoever encourages such inhumane practices.

Out of my position of national responsibility I appeal to you to stand by our people who are being subjected to aggression. I also appeal to you to support our rights, which are being ignored by those who deny international legitimacy and those who ignore the rights of peoples to freedom and independence.

(Signed) Yasser ARAFAT  
Chairman of the Executive Committee  
of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
and Commander-in-Chief of the  
forces of the Palestinian Revolution

#### DOCUMENT S/13285

Letter dated 30 April 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[30 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization and would like to request that it be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 27 APRIL 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your attention.

Our military sources have confirmed that Israel has used in its recent attacks on Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages 155 and 175 mm. heavy artillery in addition to a new type of artillery shell, known as the fragmentation shell.

Also known as the "firecracker", the fragmentation shell is an anti-personnel weapon which explodes twice in mid-air—the first time to get rid of its outer casing, the second time to ensure the largest possible spread of the thousands of deadly shell fragments which shower the area below. It is therefore closely akin to the "cluster bomb" used by Israel repeatedly against Palestinian and

Lebanese civilian targets over the past few years, in spite of the claims of the United States—which supplied Israel with these weapons—that the weapons (which are designed for use against human beings *not* under shelter or inside fortifications) may not be used by Israel except in wartime and for "defensive purposes".

Palestinian military sources have confirmed that the fragmentation shell was first used in March 1978, presumably in very small numbers, against targets in the Tyre area during Israel's invasion of South Lebanon. But in the heavy Israeli shelling which accompanied the deployment of the Lebanese battalion attached to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) on 18 April 1979, these new weapons were used extensively against Palestinian targets in the Tyre area, particularly the civilian refugee camps of Rashidiye, Burj Al-Shamali, as well as Ras Al-Ain south of Tyre, Nabatiyeh, Kfar Tibnin and other localities inside the UNIFIL area of deployment. Our military sources have reported that fragmentation shells have also been used since then in the shelling of the Nabatiyeh area.

Civilian casualties include 43 dead and hundreds wounded. Many more may lie buried beneath the rubble of their homes.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13286\*

Letter dated 30 April 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[30 April 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a brief report of developments during the period 7-15 April 1979 in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have this report circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/215-S/13286.

## ANNEX

### Brief report of developments during the period 7-15 April 1979 in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression distributed by the Ministry of Information of Democratic Kampuchea

In every area and region of Kampuchea, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (ARK) and guerrilla units are continuing to launch ceaseless deadly attacks on the Vietnamese aggressors and are inflicting on them, day after day, heavy losses in men and matériel.

Since 15 March 1979, they have been in complete control of the road from Kratie to Stung Treng. Since the middle of April, they have completely cleared the Vietnamese aggressor enemy from northern Kompong Thom and have been in full control of that region. Several hundred Vietnamese soldiers have been killed, and large quantities of arms and ammunition have been captured. The section of national route 6 in that region is completely controlled by ARK.

#### 1. The area surrounding Phnom Penh

On 6 and 7 April, ARK units and guerrillas attacked the Vietnamese aggressors north-west of Phnom Penh. They killed 65 Vietnamese soldiers and captured a large quantity of military matériel.

On 9 April, at Romeas, they killed 25 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed a military vehicle.

#### 2. South-western area

During the period 7-9 April, on the various south-western fronts, ARK units launched a series of attacks and killed more than 120 Vietnamese aggressors, destroyed 5 military vehicles and captured a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

During the period 6-10 April, ARK units and guerrillas attacked the Vietnamese aggressors at Anlong Pleav and Trapeang Thom, killing more than 220 enemies, destroying 3 military vehicles and capturing a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

During the period 8-11 April, at Trapeang Antak and Phum Tung, more than 90 Vietnamese soldiers were killed and 2 military vehicles were destroyed.

#### 3. Western area and national route 4

During the period 6-8 April, at Veal Renh and on national route 4, ARK units killed 80 Vietnamese soldiers and destroyed 3 military vehicles.

On 7 and 8 April, on national route 4, guerrilla units killed 21 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed 2 military vehicles.

#### 4. North-western area

(a) During the period 6-9 April, in the Battambang region near the town of Battambang, ARK units and guerrillas killed more than 250 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed 10 military vehicles. On 8 and 9 April, they attacked the enemy at Prek

Khpop, killing 90 Vietnamese soldiers and destroying 1 military vehicle. During the period 13-15 April, they killed more than 70 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed 1 military vehicle on other fronts in the Battambang region.

(b) During the period 6-9 April, more than 50 Vietnamese aggressors were killed at Sre Stau in the Pursat region.

(c) During the period 2-8 April, on national route 5 in the Kompong Chhnang region, 220 Vietnamese soldiers were killed, 8 military vehicles were destroyed, and a large quantity of arms, ammunition and other war matériel was captured. During the period 9-11 April, at the Kompong Chhnang airport and at Tuol Khpos, ARK units and guerrillas killed 132 Vietnamese soldiers. During the period 8-10 April, at Sala Lek Pram, they wiped out 87 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed 2 military vehicles.

#### 5. Northern area

During the period 7-12 April, in the Ampil district of the Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey region, ARK units wiped out more than 100 enemy soldiers.

On 13 and 14 April, near Pralay Meas and the town of Kompong Thom in the Kompong Thom region, they attacked Vietnamese aggressors who wanted to plunder the people's rice supplies. They killed 51 Vietnamese soldiers and forced the remainder to flee to the town. Two military vehicles were destroyed, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition was captured.

#### 6. North-eastern area

During the period 1-3 April, ARK units and guerrillas killed more than 50 Vietnamese aggressors at Rattanakiri and Stung Treng. During the period 5-6 April, in the same regions, they wiped out more than 100 Vietnamese soldiers and destroyed 3 military vehicles.

On 27 March, they wiped out 30 aggressors, including 1 Cuban, on the Kratie-Mondulakiri road. On 9 and 10 April, they killed 70 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed 2 military vehicles on the Kratie-Mondulakiri and Kratie-Snuol roads.

\* \* \*

Totals for the period 7-15 April (including supplementary figures for the period 19 March-6 April):

(a) Killed: approximately 4,500 enemy soldiers, including 3 Soviet nationals (one on 19 March in Stung Treng province and the other two on 7 April in the western area) and 3 Cubans (one on 2 March on the Kratie-Mondulakiri road and the other two on 7 April in the western area);

(b) Destroyed: 5 tanks (including 2 of amphibious design), 77 military vehicles and 33 large-calibre weapons;

(c) Captured: 1 tank, more than 700 weapons of all types, 6 radio sending and receiving sets, and a large quantity of ammunition.

## DOCUMENT S/13288\*

### Letter dated 30 April 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[1 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 30 April 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Text of the letter dated 30 April 1979 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 19 April 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktas, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

### TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 19 APRIL 1979 FROM MR. RAUF R. DENKTAS TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to invite your attention to a Greek Cypriot gathering, held on the occasion of Greek Independence Day on 25 March 1979, at the Hellenic Cultural Centre in Nicosia,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/216-S/13288.

which was attended by prominent members of the Greek Cypriot community, including Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Greek Cypriot administration, Archbishop Chrisostomos and Greek Cypriot ministers, during the course of which byzantine music and marches were played, chauvinistic speeches were delivered and, most astounding of all, the oath taken at Athens on 7 March 1953 by Archbishop Makarios, General Grivas and their accomplices for the creation of the EOKA underground terrorist organization, with the purpose of uniting Cyprus with Greece, was read aloud and repeated by the audience.

I wish, herein below, to quote the EOKA oath and also put on record that, at a time when strenuous efforts are being concentrated on the resumption of the intercommunal talks, fanatical displays of this kind are not at all conducive to the peaceful settlement of the problem but merely nourish the suspicion that the Greek Cypriot leaders have not abandoned the implementation of the Akritas plan for the complete destruction of the bicomminality of the Cyprus State:

"I take the oath on the Holy Spirit not to disclose anything I know or I shall hear about the *enosis* struggle even if it costs me my life or even if I am subjected to the greatest tortures. I shall obey all orders given to me without questioning them."

The Akritas plan was circulated as a document of the United Nations [see S/12722 of 30 May 1978] and its significance is quite clear.

At the same gathering the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Education of the Greek Cypriot administration, Mr. Hadjistephanou, delivered an inflammatory speech and among other things he reiterated that "vindication" of the Greek Cypriots was only possible if the Greek Cypriots followed the course of their "national ideals". In the words of the late Archbishop's memoirs, these "national ideals" were summarized repeatedly from 1960 until his death as nothing but the union of Cyprus with Greece. The Under-Secretary then pointed out that "Cyprus hellenism" could only preserve its national identity by sticking to "national values and ideals" and by remaining "faithful" to their history.

A more significant statement was made on 10 April 1979 by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou at the school of law and economics of Salonica University, where 14 years earlier, on 11 May 1965, Archbishop Makarios had publicly reaffirmed that "*enosis* is the goal". Fourteen years later, Mr. Kyprianou at the same university publicly declared that the Archbishop's address of 11 May 1965 "is as valid today as it was then". (*Cyprus Mail*, 11 April 1979).

It is pertinent, therefore, to quote the Archbishop's address of 11 May 1965 in more detail in order to understand the full

implications of the message which Mr. Spyros Kyprianou has been passing to "the world of Hellenes". Here are relevant extracts from that address, which Mr. Kyprianou has underlined as being as valid today as it was then:

"The steady aim and ultimate goal of the struggle of the Cypriot people is the union of Cyprus to the Greek motherland... No power whatsoever can divert us from the way leading to *enosis*... We shall struggle on until the dream of *enosis* becomes a reality... The heart of the nation beats now in Cyprus. It is there that the Greek race is conducting its new struggles. It is there that the shrine for new sacrifices has been erected. There is written the new national epic."

And from 1963 to 1974 Archbishop Makarios with the help of people like Mr. Kyprianou conducted "the new struggles of the Greek race" in order to achieve *enosis* by destroying the binational character of the Republic of Cyprus.

Mr. Kyprianou, 14 years later, has publicly declared that the struggle "of the Greek race for *enosis*" continues to be as valid today as it was in 1965.

I have no reason at all for doubting that this happens to be the sincere belief and conviction of Mr. Kyprianou, who, on 21 June 1966, when he was the Foreign Minister of the Greek Cypriot administration, publicly declared that the status of independence could be all the better utilized for achieving union of Cyprus with Greece, and I quote:

"The second important question which I have considered expedient to refer to is the status of the State of Cyprus. The strange view is at times expressed that, since *enosis* is the objective, maintenance and strengthening of the existence of the State of Cyprus within an entity and a policy of its own is a handicap and that *enosis* would be facilitated if the State of Cyprus were to lose its status."

He then elaborated and said:

"I do not think there is a need for many arguments or for a detailed analysis for one to prove and convince that by strengthening the status of the State of Cyprus both at home and abroad the national goal of *enosis* is promoted."

I have no doubt whatsoever that outcries of this sort, at this most delicate phase of the Cyprus question, cannot be regarded as anything other than an attempt to nurture the discord between the two communities and they certainly aim at sabotaging the efforts to bring the two sides to the negotiating table.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13289

### Letter dated 1 May 1979 from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[1 May 1979]

With reference to the situation in Lebanon, I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to state the following.

Israel is a neighbouring country whose civilian population has for many years suffered from murderous attacks by the so-called PLO, organized and launched from its bases throughout Lebanon. Consequently, Israel supports the objective set out by the Security Council in the statement read by the President at its meeting on 26 April 1979 [2141st meeting], namely, "the return of the effective authority of the Government of Lebanon over all of its territory".

This, indeed, is the crux of the matter. It is a regrettable fact that for all practical purposes Lebanon is occupied and controlled by foreign forces, namely by the Syrian Army and the terrorist PLO, and that even at Beirut, not to speak of other wide areas of the country, the Government of Lebanon does not exercise effective authority.

Under these circumstances, it is essential that the call of the Security Council contained in the above-mentioned statement of the President, for "strict respect for the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries" should be implemented through the prompt withdrawal from Lebanon of those foreign forces of occupation.

It is obvious that in the present situation of foreign domination and intervention in Lebanon, imposed by Syria and the so-called PLO against the true interests of the people of Lebanon, the concepts of Lebanese "sovereignty" and "effective authority of the Government of Lebanon" cannot be realized.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations



**Letter dated 2 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[2 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a summary of news concerning the barbaric crimes being committed by the Vietnamese expansionists in their aggression against the people of Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would have this summary circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**Summary of news broadcast by "The Voice of Democratic Kampuchea" concerning the barbaric crimes being committed by the Vietnamese expansionists against the people of Kampuchea**

From the Angkor era until the present day, the people of Kampuchea have always referred to the Vietnamese as "yuons", a word which means "savages". This term is applied because of the utterly barbaric crimes committed by "yuon" aggressors and invaders against the people of Kampuchea.

For a number of generations, the people of Kampuchea have kept vividly etched in their memory and have transmitted from father to son the expression "Be careful you don't spill the boss's tea!". This harks back to the barbaric crime committed by the "yuons" in 1813 at the time of the digging of the Vinh Té canal. The "yuons" took some Khmers, buried them alive up to the neck and used their heads as supports for a wood-burning stove to boil water for the purpose of making tea for their boss. When the extreme heat and pain made the victims move their heads, the "yuon" torturers said to them: "Be careful you don't spill the boss's tea!"

The Vietnamese expansionists of today, who claim to be "revolutionaries" or "socialists", are behaving in the same manner as the feudal "yuons", if not worse. In the aggression which they are committing against Kampuchea with the help of the Soviet Union, they are applying the barbaric tactic of "burning everything, destroying everything and killing everyone" wherever they go. Here are some examples of their barbaric crimes:

1. In January 1979, at Phnom Penh, the Vietnamese expansionists massacred several thousand seriously ill and wounded persons whom it had not been possible to evacuate from the hospitals before their arrival in the capital.

2. In January 1979, at Nimit, near Sisophon in Battambang province (north-western area of Kampuchea), the Vietnamese

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/217-S/13290.

expansionists seized a number of young girls belonging to an agricultural production brigade. They immediately killed those who had a dark complexion. Those who had a fair complexion were rounded up, subjected to mass rape and then massacred.

3. In February 1979, in the districts of Chhouk (Kampot province) and Tram Kak (Takeo province), they rounded up several hundred residents, including small children, pregnant women and old people, sprayed gasoline on them and burnt them alive.

4. In the same area, i.e. the south-west, they seized a number of members of co-operatives, pierced their ears and the palms of their hands, and then strung cords through to link them while they were taken to places of execution.

5. In March 1979, in Takeo province, they tied up several dozen members of the Yei Bo co-operative, suspended them from trees and drained the blood from their bodies, with the result that the victims suffered prolonged, frightful agony before dying.

6. In February 1979, in Svay Rieng province, they tied up a number of members of co-operatives, sprayed gasoline on them and burnt them alive.

7. In January 1979, at Phnom Penh, they stole solid silver and gold art objects and national treasures from the Silver Pagoda and other pagodas, the Royal Palace and the National Museum and took them to Viet Nam.

8. In every locality that they are able to enter, they steal the people's rice, livestock and other property; they disassemble machinery and equipment in workshops and factories and carry them off to Viet Nam; they destroy dams, reservoirs, irrigation ditches and everything that has been achieved by the people of Kampuchea in more than three years of national construction.

The Vietnamese aggressors are pursuing a deliberate policy of genocide against the Kampuchean nation and people. By committing these barbaric crimes, they hope to break the resistance of the people of Kampuchea, who categorically refuse to collaborate with them.

However, the Vietnamese aggressors and expansionists will never be able to break the resistance of the Kampuchean people and nation or to destroy the national soul, honour and dignity of Kampuchea or its character as a national entity. On the contrary, all these barbaric crimes merely serve to inflame the implacable hatred of the entire Kampuchean people and nation against the "yuon" aggressors and expansionists. Under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and nation are more determined than ever to carry on to total victory the national liberation struggle against the Vietnamese and Soviet aggressors and expansionists so that Kampuchea may always be independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned and also in order to defend peace and security in South-East Asia, in the rest of Asia, in the Pacific and throughout the world.

**DOCUMENT S/13291**

**Letter dated 2 May 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: French]  
[2 May 1979]

I feel it my duty as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to express serious concern over the recent decision of the Government of Israel to authorize the

establishment of two new settlements in the occupied Arab territories in defiance of widely held international opinion. The fact that this decision is announced within a few weeks of the adoption of Security Council resolu-



tion 446 (1979), calling on Israel to desist from such policies, clearly demonstrates the intransigence and the cynical attitude of Israel towards international opinion and the concept of fundamental human rights.

This decision is completely incompatible with the recommendations of this Committee, which have been repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly. In addition, it constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, of Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) and 252 (1968), of the statements made on behalf of the Council by its President at the 1922nd meeting, on 26 May 1976, and the 1969th meeting, on 11 November 1976, and of General Assembly resolutions 32/5 of 28 October 1977 and 33/113 of 18 December 1978.

Such action can have no legal validity and merely serves to aggravate the tensions in the area and undermine efforts to promote a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem.

Statements ascribed to Israeli cabinet ministers confirm that Israel intends to continue to pursue its policy of establishing further settlements in complete disregard of world and international law and practice. One such statement ascribed to Mr. Ariel Sharon, the Minister of Agriculture, indicates that 27,000 settler families will be moved over the next three years into the West Bank and is particularly disturbing in that it has been learned at the same time that Mr. Sharon is to take part in the negotiations on Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. A statement of this kind can only serve to compromise Israel's standing in these negotiations.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this letter to be circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee  
on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

#### DOCUMENT S/13292

Letter dated 2 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[2 May 1979]

I have the honour to refer to the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 26 April 1979 [2141st meeting]. In this statement it was said that:

"Members of the Council consider that all measures should be taken urgently towards the implementation of the 'phased programme of activities', and particularly such measures as are deemed necessary to ensure the safety of the Force and of its headquarters."

It was further stated:

"If such measures are not taken and, *a fortiori*, if further serious incidents occur, they feel that the Council should meet without delay to consider the situation."

My Government wishes to know what measures have been taken towards the urgent implementation of the "phased programme of activities", in accordance with the sense of urgency that the Council had expressed.

If such measures have not been taken, and no binding response has been forthcoming, my Government wishes

to know if the Council does not feel that it has become imperative that it should meet "without delay" to take the appropriate measures.

May I also draw your attention to my letter of 25 April 1979 [S/13270]. In this letter, referring to paragraph 7 of resolution 444 (1979), I had reserved my right to ask the Council: "to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978)".

You will appreciate the great concern of my Government over developments in Southern Lebanon. The Council undoubtedly shares our concern and our hope that it should be able to act with celerity and efficacy.

I am instructed by my Government to ask you to circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council and to submit it for consideration at the earliest possible time.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13293\*

Letter dated 3 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[3 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of an editorial of 23 April 1979 from "Radio du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The sole objective of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea is the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all troops and forces of Vietnamese aggression".

In bringing this editorial to your attention, I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/218-S/13293.

## ANNEX

**Editorial of 23 April 1979 from "Radio du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The sole objective of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea is the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all troops and forces of Vietnamese aggression"**

Since 25 December 1978, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, fully supported in every sphere by its Soviet masters, has sent more than 100,000 troops to commit aggression and invade in the most savage manner the territory of Democratic Kampuchea. This fact is perfectly clear. Viet Nam cannot use any pretext or concoct other facts to justify its action or obscure this obvious truth.

The world and all mankind know full well the facts of the Vietnamese aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea. That is why there has been vigorous condemnation of the Vietnamese aggressors throughout the world, as well as forceful action of various kinds calling for the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kampuchea of the Vietnamese troops of aggression. However, the Vietnamese aggressors are doing everything in their power to evade this demand, and they obstinately refuse to acknowledge their aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea. They have been resorting to various perfidious tricks to deceive world opinion and camouflage their aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea. They have even fabricated out of whole cloth a so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation" between themselves and their running dogs at Phnom Penh for the purpose of legitimizing their invasion of Kampuchea and a so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation" between their Laotian puppets and their running dogs at Phnom Penh for the purpose of legitimizing the increasingly open and total deployment in Kampuchea of three Vietnamese divisions which have long been stationed on the Laos-Kampuchea frontier and which have already committed numerous acts of aggression against the northern part of Kampuchea. In short, these so-called "treaties" or "agreements" fabricated out of whole cloth by the Vietnamese are nothing but ploys to legitimize the escalation of their war of aggression against Kampuchea and their occupation of the territory of Kampuchea. As for their masters, the Soviet expansionists, they have become deeply involved in the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea by sending aircraft to transport Vietnamese troops in their campaign of repression and slaughter against the people of Kampuchea, as well as by providing assistance in the form of military advisers and armaments, including tanks, artillery, weapons, munitions, aircraft and warships to be used by the Vietnamese in their aggression and invasion. Moreover, the propaganda machine of the Soviet expansionists repeats and amplifies the lies spread by the Vietnamese. The Soviets are feverishly endeavouring through various manoeuvres to sway world opinion, which condemns the Vietnamese aggression

against and invasion of Kampuchea, in order to obtain recognition for their running dogs at Phnom Penh.

However, despite the treacherous manoeuvres resorted to by the Vietnamese and their masters, the Soviet expansionists, in order to deceive world opinion and disguise their aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea, they cannot escape the condemnation of the world and of mankind, which continue to condemn them and to take increasingly forceful action calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal from Kampuchea of the Vietnamese troops. For the entire world sees ever more clearly the danger of the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea spreading to Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific, a danger which affects the entire world. These are the realities of the present situation in South-East Asia which the Vietnamese and their masters, the Soviet expansionists, cannot conceal.

For the people of Kampuchea, who are the victims of the exceedingly cruel and barbaric aggression and invasion committed by the Vietnamese and their Soviet masters, the only course is to unite in a single monolithic bloc behind the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and resolutely wage a people's war against the Vietnamese war of aggression. The sole objective of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea is now, and will continue to be, the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all troops and forces of Vietnamese aggression so that the nation and people of Kampuchea can solve their own problems, without foreign interference, and join in building an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

Viet Nam is the aggressor against and the invader of Kampuchea; it is Viet Nam that has kindled the flames of war in Kampuchea and is threatening security, peace and stability in South-East Asia, Asia as a whole and the Pacific, as well as in the world. Only when Viet Nam has withdrawn all its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea will it be possible to restore peace in Kampuchea and détente in South-East Asia, Asia as a whole and the Pacific. Only when the Vietnamese troops and forces of aggression have been withdrawn from the territory of Kampuchea will the danger of the war spreading to other countries in South-East Asia be averted and will the people of Kampuchea and Viet Nam be able to live as good neighbours. If, however, Viet Nam persists in its aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea, there is the danger that the war will spread to Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia, the rest of Asia and the Pacific and will affect the entire world.

The nation, people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea, for their part, are determined to make every sacrifice and to continue to hold aloft the banner of national independence, sovereignty, honour, dignity, identity and pride and to wage a protracted people's war until total victory is achieved over the Vietnamese expansionist aggressors, who engulf territories and exterminate nations.

## DOCUMENT S/13294\*

**Letter dated 3 May 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General**

*[Original: Chinese/English]  
[3 May 1979]*

### ANNEX

**Speech by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the second plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979**

Your Excellency Phan Hien, head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, colleagues on the Vietnamese Government delegation:

We are holding today the second meeting of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments. The Chinese Government delegation has long made it clear that we sincerely hope, through the current negotiations, to seek practical measures to settle the disputes and restore normal relations between the two countries so as to meet the ardent wishes of the Chinese

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the second plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations*

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/219-S/13294.

and Vietnamese peoples and the people of all countries in this regard.

It is extremely regrettable that, when the negotiations got under way, the Vietnamese side proceeded unscrupulously, at the very first plenary meeting, to confound right and wrong, distort the facts and fabricate lies in a slanderous attack against the Chinese side and the Chinese leadership, and to blame China for impairing the friendly relations between the two countries and for the armed conflict along the border. The question of who is responsible for impairing the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and for provoking the armed conflict along the border is an issue of major principle. Didn't Phan Hien, head of your delegation, say in his speech: "there is reason why once again we want here to make clear who is the aggressor in this war"? In this speech, therefore, I want to deal especially with this subject and make clear who has upheld and who has impaired the relations between China and Viet Nam, who was the instigator and who fought in self-defence.

The Sino-Vietnamese boundary was originally a boundary of peace and friendship. In their common struggle against imperialism, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder, making use of the favourable geographical propinquity of their countries which were linked by common mountains and rivers. For decades, both during the wars waged by Viet Nam for national salvation against French occupation and United States aggression and in the post-war period of peace, China never failed to fulfil its internationalist obligations. Thousands of Chinese died as martyrs and shed their blood on Vietnamese soil. The sweat and toil of Chinese experts went into the building of hundreds of factories and other aid projects from China. Viet Nam is the biggest recipient of Chinese aid, having received from China aid valued at scores of billions of yuan RMB. China made itself available as a reliable rear area in supporting the Vietnamese wars of resistance and national construction, and the Chinese border inhabitants in particular made a special contribution. It was over the Chinese borders that large quantities of arms and ammunition, complete sets of equipment, machinery, vehicles, fuel, food grains, clothing, blankets and other supplies were transported in a steady stream to Viet Nam, by rail and road, through ports and airfields, via pipelines and narrow mountain trails. Chinese border inhabitants warmly received and harboured their Vietnamese brothers and sisters who crossed the border and sought refuge from imperialist bombings. When there was a shortage of food grains in Viet Nam, they preferred to eat coarse grains themselves so as to have a good supply of rice for the Vietnamese people. Hospitals in China's Yunnan Province and the Guangxi Autonomous Region, as those in other parts of China, gave meticulous treatment and care to the Vietnamese sick and wounded. In those two places, the Vietnamese set up and long maintained hospitals and schools as well as bases for supporting the revolution in South Viet Nam. After Radio Hanoi was damaged by United States bombing, a radio station in China's Yunnan Province promptly undertook to relay its programmes, so that the voice of Viet Nam continued to be heard all over the world. The border inhabitants of our two countries are the best witnesses to our friendly relationship of sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people did their utmost to support and help the Vietnamese people resist imperialist aggression, defend national independence and reunite the two parts of the country. The Chinese people have never let the Vietnamese people down.

With the signing of the Paris Agreements in 1973, the Vietnamese people subsequently won victory in their war of resistance against United States aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese people sincerely rejoiced in and congratulated the Vietnamese people on their victory, regarding it as their own. It never occurred to them that the Vietnamese authorities, pursuing expansionist goals they could not disclose, would unscrupulously and heartlessly antagonize their former friend and turn their guns on China. Through their actions since 1974, disputes occurred one after another and clashes increased day by day on the once tranquil and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border. In 1974, there were 100 or so border incidents. In 1975, the number increased to over 400, and the Vietnamese authorities flagrantly invaded and occupied some of China's Nansha Islands by force of arms. In 1976, the number of incidents in-

creased to more than 900 and in 1977 to more than 700. In order to uphold the friendship and unity between the two peoples and maintain peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Chinese side counselled the Vietnamese on many occasions and proposed that the two Governments hold boundary negotiations as soon as possible to try to settle the boundary question once and for all through friendly negotiations. However, the Vietnamese side not only procrastinated and tried to sabotage the negotiations, but redoubled its efforts to create incidents and kept expanding the scale of border clashes.

Early in 1977, when the Vietnamese authorities started a military build-up along the Sino-Vietnamese border in preparation for a war against China, they instituted measures to set up a *cordon sanitaire*, driving into Chinese territory large numbers of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens who had lived in the border areas for generations. They later intensified their anti-Chinese activities throughout Viet Nam, regarded Chinese nationals as enemies even when the latter had over the years contributed positively to the revolutionary cause in Viet Nam, and cruelly persecuted and expelled them en masse. The Chinese side made great efforts to seek a reasonable settlement of the differences between the two countries on the question of Chinese residents and sent a government delegation to Hanoi in August and September last year for negotiations on the subject. But the negotiations were not fruitful, owing to sabotage and obstruction by the Vietnamese side. Subsequently, instead of showing restraint in its persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese side resorted to even more sinister means. Around the time of our delegation's arrival at Hanoi for the negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities expelled more than 10,000 Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens across the border into China's Guangxi and Yunnan provinces. Incomplete statistics show that the number of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens driven by you into China exceeds 200,000. The Vietnamese authorities must immediately stop their continued expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to Chinese territory. Moreover, it is reported that in South Viet Nam you drove hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese of Chinese descent and Vietnamese citizens across the open sea to South-East Asian countries and a number of other countries and regions of the world, causing great difficulties to those countries. The Vietnamese authorities have been for some time strongly condemned by world opinion and by the countries concerned for their "exporting" of refugees. Yet in its speech, the Vietnamese Government delegate has absurdly alleged that the massive expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to China was the result of Chinese incitement. This attempt to evade its culpability is entirely futile. People are bound to ask whether the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees to South-East Asian and other countries was also the result of incitement by those countries. That the Vietnamese authorities should resort to such gross misrepresentation of facts is indeed shocking.

Concurrently with their large-scale anti-Chinese activities, the Vietnamese authorities started to mobilize the party, Government, and army for war and stepped up their military build-up along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In their directives to all lower-level organs, they openly referred to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy" and "their opponent in the next war", and issued the slogan "do everything for the sake of defeating China". They massed more than 200,000 troops in northern Viet Nam and stationed many regular troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In its outline for education in the new situation and tasks, issued on 8 July 1978, the General Political Department of the Vietnamese People's army explicitly stipulated that "an offensive strategy" would be adopted against China, and that "a counter-attack and resolute offensive would be carried out both within and beyond the frontier". The Vietnamese authorities built a great many fortifications and other military facilities in the border areas and stored large quantities of war material while clamouring for turning the border areas into "positions" and "fortresses" of war against China. The erstwhile peaceful and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border was turned by the Vietnamese authorities into a springboard for invading China. The erstwhile staging posts for receiving Chinese aid supplies were turned into strongholds for aggression against China. The rice which the Chinese people saved up



through frugality and sent as aid to the Vietnamese people became provisions for the Vietnamese armed forces in anti-China operations. The arms and ammunition China had given Viet Nam for fighting its anti-imperialist wars were laid up for massacring Chinese soldiers and civilians. It was from these posts that the Vietnamese armed forces constantly intruded into Chinese territory, bombarded and harassed China's border areas and created more and more armed provocations and incidents of bloodshed. In 1978 the number of border incidents provoked by Viet Nam rose sharply to more than 1,100. In the period from 1 January to 16 February 1979 alone the number reached 129. From 1974 to the above-mentioned date, the Vietnamese authorities created a total of 3,535 border incidents. Vietnamese armed personnel frequently invaded and harassed our border villages, strafed and bombarded Chinese towns, schools, hospitals, dwellings, railways and trains, and killed Chinese border inhabitants and frontier personnel who had helped Viet Nam with blood and sweat in its anti-imperialist struggle. In the short space of six months prior to 16 February this year, they invaded the Chinese border at 162 places and killed and wounded over 300 Chinese personnel. The scourge did not spare even such areas as Pingmeng of Napo county in Guangxi, which had close ties with the Vietnamese revolution and whose people more than 30 years earlier had protected President Ho Chi Minh at the risk of their lives and had supported his revolutionary activities during his stay there. In Viet Nam's war of resistance against United States aggression, Pingmeng was one of the major channels through which large quantities of Chinese aid were funnelled into Viet Nam in support of its war effort. However, in the period since 1978 alone, the Vietnamese authorities have carried out more than 100 armed provocations in the Pingmeng area, have occupied Chinese territory and brutally shot local inhabitants. People with any conscience at all would find it difficult to understand why you should so outrageously trample upon the profound friendship between the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the people of Pingmeng, a friendship cultivated personally by President Ho Chi Minh. Don't you in the least feel conscience-stricken when you are returning evil for good and betraying Sino-Vietnamese friendship? In wilful violation of the Sino-French boundary accords and the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957-1958, the Vietnamese authorities upset the *status quo* on the border, intruding into and nibbling at Chinese territory. They built fortifications, laid mines, erected barbed-wire entanglements and planted sharpened bamboo spikes on Chinese soil. By these incursions and provocations, the Vietnamese authorities made it impossible for Chinese border inhabitants to carry on normal production and life and caused serious losses to life and property, threatened and impaired border security and grossly infringed on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

It is no isolated accident that the Vietnamese authorities have provoked incidents and aggravated tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border. These actions are a component part of their all-out anti-China drive. For a long time after the founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of Viet Nam, our two countries were close and friendly neighbours. Sino-Vietnamese friendship was fostered personally by the late Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh. The "comrades and brothers" relationship was acclaimed internationally. But after the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities more and more evidently changed their policy towards China and instead pursued, step by step, a systematic policy of opposition and hostility to China with a set purpose. They proceeded from using the past to disparage the present to an all-out campaign to vilify China from innuendo to brazenly referring to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy"; from expulsion of border inhabitants to an anti-Chinese drive throughout the country. From recognition of China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, they switched to occupying some islands in China's Nansha group and even laying territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands and claiming as their own two thirds of the sea area in the Beibu Gulf. From territorial disputes over small areas, they advanced to armed incursions into Chinese territory and provoking armed clashes in the border areas. In short, their campaign of opposition and hostility to China kept escalating and went from bad to worse. Their bullying became simply intolerable.

In spite of all this, the Chinese side long exercised restraint and forbearance in the face of the Vietnamese practice of worsening Sino-Vietnamese relations and showed the utmost sincerity in safeguarding the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and the traditional friendship between the two peoples. Through repeated advice, admonition and warnings, we expressed the hope that the Vietnamese side would set store by Sino-Vietnamese friendship and stop its armed provocations before it was too late. Meanwhile, our frontier troops and militiamen, acting on orders of the Chinese Government, refrained from hitting back at the Vietnamese side so as to avoid armed clashes even when the Vietnamese side fired their guns and caused heavy casualties to the Chinese side. We have always held that to maintain and consolidate the friendship forged between the two peoples over long years of revolutionary struggle accords with the fundamental interests of our two countries and the common desire of our two peoples. Though there are serious differences of principle between our two sides on a number of issues, this should not affect the friendly relations long existing between our two countries. The Chinese side never tried to impose its views and line on the Vietnamese side. Our leaders told Vietnamese leaders on several occasions that there was no intention on the Chinese side of asking anyone to concur with our views, and that there was no need to feel concern over the fact that the two sides differed on some issues. It was natural that you say things your way and we say things our way, each side sticking to its own viewpoint. Sino-Vietnamese friendship could have been maintained and continued to develop if both sides had had the genuine desire of upholding our friendship and solidarity and had acted accordingly. It was with this desire that the Chinese leaders on many occasions in recent years talked sincerely and frankly with Vietnamese leaders and put forward many fair and reasonable proposals for improving Sino-Vietnamese relations and resolving disputes. Our late Premier Zhou Enlai exchanged views more than once with Vietnamese leaders. In September 1975, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping talked on this matter with Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. In June 1977, during his meeting with Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Li Xiannian talked frankly on a number of important problems in our relations. Again, in November 1977, Chairman Hua Guofeng had a talk with General Secretary Le Duan and expressed the earnest hope that the two sides could exchange views and make joint efforts to prevent problems existing between China and Viet Nam from continuing to impair our friendship. But regrettably, the Vietnamese side paid no heed at all to the expressions of sincere desire and positive proposals of the Chinese side and persisted in its old ways. The Vietnamese leaders avowed to the Chinese leaders that Viet Nam "will do nothing to harm the friendship between our two parties and two countries or injure China", and asserted that "there is not much difference between Viet Nam and China on important issues". But actually the Vietnamese authorities kept intensifying their opposition and hostility to China, creating disputes, widening the differences and aggravating tension. In these circumstances, the Chinese side repeatedly made solemn representations over Vietnamese provocations and warned that they should stop before it was too late, for otherwise they would have to bear the responsibility for all the consequences. However, the Vietnamese side mistook China's forbearance for a sign of weakness. Turning a deaf ear to China's well-meaning admonitions and warnings, it became more unscrupulous and continued to escalate its armed provocations and incursions. It was only when things became absolutely intolerable that Chinese frontier troops exercised their right to self-defence and made the necessary counter-attack against the Vietnamese aggressors. How could it be helped when the Vietnamese authorities compelled us to do what we did not wish to do? It must be noted that the responsibility for the all-round aggravation of Sino-Vietnamese relations in recent years and its rapid development into open armed conflict lies entirely with the Vietnamese side.

China has always stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes between our two countries, and it was the Chinese Government that repeatedly proposed this round of negotiations and made efforts to bring it about. China's positive efforts to ensure peace and stability along the Sino-Vietnamese border and to restore normal relations between the two countries have won the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people of the world. China is open and above-



board in word as well as in deed. China's counter-attack in self-defence was a just action and it was a heavy blow to the hegemonist policies of aggression and expansion and helped to promote security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vietnamese authorities are still obstinately pursuing a policy of anti-China hostility and deliberately keeping up tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border. Confounding right and wrong and calling black white, they slanderously label China's just action of counter-attacking in self-defence an act of "aggression" and "expansion" aimed at "annexing Viet Nam", etc. These charges are all unfounded. Even after all Chinese frontier troops had completed their withdrawal to Chinese territory by 16 March, the Vietnamese authorities still fabricated the lie that Chinese troops remained in a number of places on Vietnamese territory. But this lie is self-contradictory and full of loopholes. The Vietnamese authorities used this lie to set a pre-condition for the holding of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, hoping in this way to delay the start of these negotiations. It was only after this lie had been exposed and was condemned by world opinion that they were compelled to give up this unreasonable pre-condition. But you have turned again to this lie at the beginning of this round of negotiations to obstruct the negotiations. Your tactics are bound to make people doubt the sincerity of the Vietnamese side in respect of the negotiations. The Vietnamese authorities have even viciously made slanderous charges against the Chinese frontier troops and resorted to sensationalism at this negotiating table in concocting the so-called "crimes" committed by Chinese soldiers. These fabrications will not deceive the people of the world, but will only serve to point up the astonishingly base tricks played by the Vietnamese side.

China has always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and opposed the hegemonist and imperialist policies of aggression and expansion. Currently engaged in a programme of socialist modernization, China needs a peaceful and tranquil border and a peaceful international environment. China struck back at the Vietnamese aggressors precisely because it wanted to ensure peace and tranquillity on its border, enable the Chinese people to live and work in peace and carry on the programme to modernize the socialist motherland. China does not want an inch of Vietnamese territory, nor is it stationing a single soldier on Vietnamese soil. China has lived up to its word, so what "aggression" and "expansion" is there to speak of? It is in the interest of both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples to have a peaceful and tranquil border. China's efforts to restore peace and tranquillity along the border are its contribution to the cause of upholding the traditional friendship between the two peoples. It is the Vietnamese authorities, and not China, who have committed aggression and expansion and betrayed Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Can you deny the facts which are more eloquent than rhetoric?

Such unrestrained anti-China hostility on the part of the Vietnamese authorities stems from a spasmodic case of expansionist nationalism, and to realize this wild ambition they have tried to capitalize on the victory of the war against United States aggression. Meanwhile, serving as the "reliable outpost" of Soviet social imperialism in South-East Asia, they work in the interests of its southward drive, in order to gain its support for their anti-China action and expansion in South-East Asia. At the last meeting, the Vietnamese side stated that "Viet Nam has not any reason or interest to provoke a tense situation with its neighbour, the People's Republic of China". Actually, it is quite clear that in the above lie the "reason" and the "interest". The Vietnamese authorities pride themselves on the large quantities of captured United States arms and ammunition and on Soviet-supplied planes, tanks and artillery and claim to be the "third strongest military Power in the world" and "the strongest military Power in South-East Asia". Brandishing its might, Viet Nam has carried out aggression and expansion and done harm to its neighbouring countries. The Vietnamese authorities not only harbour the ambition to annex Chinese territory, but cannot wait to set up their long-dreamed "Indochinese federation" as soon as the war ended and then proceed to dominate the whole of South-East Asia. Toward that aim, they first brought Laos under their complete control, and then at the end of 1978 they brazenly launched the massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and put it under their military occupation. They have met with strong international condemnation for these acts of aggression in gross violation of the principles

guiding international relations and of the Charter of the United Nations and infringing on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries. They are universally regarded as out-and-out aggressors and regional hegemonists. In the Security Council, overwhelming majority support was given first to the draft resolution sponsored by seven non-aligned countries [S/13027 of 15 January 1979] calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea and later to the one on the situation in South-East Asia tabled by the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) [S/13162 of 13 March 1979], when these were submitted for the Council's consideration. This clearly shows that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are very isolated and unpopular internationally because of their aggression and expansion.

Firmly adhering to the just stand of opposing imperialism and hegemonism, China resolutely supports the people of all countries, including Kampuchea and Laos, in their just struggles to defend national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and, working together with all peace-loving countries and peoples, plays its part in safeguarding peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. That is why China is regarded by the Vietnamese authorities as the primary obstacle in the way of their pursuance of a policy of regional hegemonism and as their "enemy No. 1". They ally themselves with the Soviet Union to oppose China in an attempt to remove this obstacle so that they may freely carry out aggression and expansion in Indo-China and South-East Asia and sabotage China's drive for socialist modernization. This attempt will of course prove futile.

All peace-loving countries and people strongly demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese aggressor troops who not only still hang on there, but have tried to step up their offensive against the patriotic Kampuchean army and people before the end of the dry season. The Vietnamese authorities brazenly assail the ASEAN countries by name for their just stand of calling for Viet Nam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, and even label all calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea as "deceitful" and "cunning" propositions whose advocates are "devils, imperialists and reactionaries" and "opportunists". They even blame China as the source of all such "evils". What absurd logic! To curse China for calling on Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea is the best proof that China stands on the same position as all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice. Whereas the Vietnamese authorities' attempt to castigate one and all is sure proof that they pose themselves as the antagonists of the people of the world. Your anti-China position is unpopular, and your expansionist nationalism is already a target of public censure.

After many long years of war, the Vietnamese people ought to have had a chance for rehabilitation. They longed to reunite with members of their family, rebuild their homes, restore and develop their production and improve their living conditions. But after the end of the war, the Vietnamese authorities contravened this strong desire of the Vietnamese people. Relying on the support of Soviet social-imperialism, they practised militarism and expansionist nationalism and committed aggression against neighbouring countries. Of course they couldn't get popular support for this course of action, and so under these circumstances, they did not scruple to undermine Sino-Vietnamese friendship, perfidiously pushed the policy of opposition and hostility to China, so as to divert the attention of the Vietnamese people, put the country on a military footing and repress popular discontent. Now they look upon China not only as their "enemy No. 1" but as their "traditional enemy". But no matter how hard they may try to incite hostile feelings against China, no force on earth can obliterate the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. The two peoples have been friends for many generations and they will continue to be friends from generation to generation.

To sum up, the Chinese Government delegation has factually reviewed the problems existing in our relations in recent years, and particularly that of the armed border conflict, giving the true story and expounding its views. Facts show conclusively that the grave deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities; it is the result of their pursuance of expansionist nationalism and a hostile anti-China policy with Soviet instigation and support. It has

caused the Chinese Government and people great pain and sorrow.

The Chinese Government delegation has come to Hanoi, bringing with it the friendship and sincere hopes of the Chinese people. As always, we will take a positive attitude and work for the normalization of our relations. At the same time, we feel it necessary to point out that the Vietnamese authorities have not only made slanderous charges against China at the very beginning of the negotiations but have continued to mass troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, bombard Chinese border areas and dispatch armed personnel and commandos to carry out military provocations, killing, wounding and kidnapping Chinese border inhabitants; they have instituted a general mobilization for war throughout the country. In the last few days, they have churned out a host of anti-China propaganda through the mass media to put pressure on the Chinese Government delegation and even make personal attacks against its members. In what direction are the Vietnamese authorities trying to lead the negotiations? We cannot but call in all seriousness their attention to these developments. We hold that all this can only jeopardize progress in these negotiations. Yet both the Chinese and the Vietnamese peoples want their Government delegations to try hard and overcome difficulties so that the negotiations may yield good results. Therefore, we hope that the Vietnamese side will show good faith by deeds, remove all elements that hinder the smooth proceedings of the negotiations and create a favourable atmosphere. The Vietnamese authorities should set store by the traditional friendship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, abandon their policy of opposition and hostility to China and discontinue their armed incursions into China's border areas and their creation of tension so as to bring about conditions for restoring normal State relations, ensuring peace and tranquillity along the border and paving the way for the success of the negotiations.

We hold that, if these negotiations are to be productive and settle some practical questions, our two sides should adopt a serious and earnest attitude and seek practical and basic solutions suited to the actual situation in the present relations between China and Viet Nam and directed at the root cause of the deterioration of our relations.

With a view to upholding the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and acting in the common interest of China and Viet Nam and of the two peoples, as well as for the furtherance of peace and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, the Chinese Government delegation, animated by the sincere desire to settle the

questions at issue, puts forward the following proposal of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam:

[Same text as the annex to document S/13278 above.]

The above eight-point proposal put forward by us consists of fundamental principles for improving relations between China and Viet Nam and for dealing with the relevant disputes. It is reasonable and practical, and it accords with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and meets with the wishes of the people of South-East Asia and the world. If this proposal can be put into effect, it will remove the tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border, restore normal relations between the two countries, consolidate the traditional friendship between the two peoples and make a contribution to the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world.

As to the repatriation of Chinese and Vietnamese personnel captured during the armed border conflict, the Chinese side for humanitarian reasons released on the spot a large number of captured Vietnamese armed personnel in the course of our counter-attack in self-defence. We hope that the two sides will repatriate captured personnel at an early date and we suggest that this work be left specifically to the Red Cross Societies of the two countries to be handled through negotiations.

We have studied the three-point proposal for "the settlement of the issues in the relations between the two countries" put forward by the Vietnamese side at the first plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations [S/13257, annex]. It should be pointed out, however, that your proposal evades the crucial and substantive issues in the relations between the two countries, so how can it lead to a real solution? Additionally, we cannot help pointing out that while the Vietnamese authorities called in their proposal for both sides to stop all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activity, they have never ceased their armed provocations and incursions into the Sino-Vietnamese border areas in a deliberate attempt to maintain and increase tensions. In these days when you have submitted the three-point proposal, you were all the time intensifying your anti-China propaganda and clamours for war, thus poisoning the atmosphere of these negotiations. Therefore, one cannot but wonder whether your three-point proposal was submitted for the sake of seeking a real solution or rather for propaganda purposes.

We hope the Vietnamese side will carefully consider the constructive proposal of the Chinese side and respond to it in a positive way.

## DOCUMENT S/13295\*

Letter dated 2 May 1979 from the representative of Egypt to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[3 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a statement issued by a high-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt on 27 April 1979 on the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

I would appreciate it if the contents of this statement could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) A. Esmat ABDEL MEGUID  
Permanent Representative of Egypt  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/220-S/13295.

### ANNEX

Text of the statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt on 27 April 1979 on the situation in Southern Rhodesia

A high-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt stated on 27 April 1979 that the so-called elections held during April 1979 in Zimbabwe under the auspices of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia are illegal and that, therefore, their results are considered null and void. Egypt reaffirms that its position is based on its full commitment and adherence to the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity stipulating its support to the Patriotic Front, the genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe, and the rejection of the so-called internal settlement and that all

results arising therefrom are considered void, including the elections concluded recently in Zimbabwe. The Government of Egypt urges the international community not to accord recognition to the election, to consider any results arising therefrom as void and to join the efforts to convene a conference comprised

of all the parties concerned to reach a just settlement of the problem which will ensure genuine independence to Zimbabwe, the elimination of the domination of the white majority, and to conduct elections under the auspices of a neutral organ accepted by all the parties concerned.

## DOCUMENT S/13296

### Report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia in implementation of paragraphs 3, 12 and 8 of Security Council resolutions 409 (1977), 411 (1977) and 445 (1979), respectively

[Original: English]  
[4 May 1979]

1. On 27 May 1977, the Security Council, having considered the second special report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia on the expansion of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia [S/12296], adopted resolution 409 (1977), paragraph 3 of which reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"...*

*"Decides to meet not later than 11 November 1977 to consider the application of further measures under Article 41 of the Charter, and meanwhile requests the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to examine, in addition to its other functions, the application of further measures under Article 41 and to report to the Security Council thereon as soon as possible."*

2. On 30 June 1977, the Security Council, after considering the complaint by Mozambique, adopted resolution 411 (1977), paragraph 12 of which reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"...*

*"Calls upon all States to implement strictly Security Council resolutions on sanctions and requests the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to examine as a matter of priority further effective measures to tighten the scope of sanctions in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations and urgently to submit its appropriate recommendations to the Council."*

3. On 18 November 1977, the Committee submitted an interim report [S/12450] in implementation of paragraphs 3 and 12 of resolutions 409 (1977) and 411 (1977), respectively. To that report the Committee appended a number of proposals submitted by various delegations, from which, for lack of sufficient time necessary to examine them in detail, it had been unable to make any specific recommendations to the Council.

4. On 8 March 1979, the Security Council, after considering the question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia, adopted resolution 445 (1979), paragraph 8 of which reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"...*

*"Requests the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to meet immediately to consider measures for strengthening and widening the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and to submit its proposals not later than 23 March 1979."*

5. By a letter dated 23 March 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Chairman of the Committee [S/13191], the Committee submitted another interim report in implementation of paragraph 8 of resolution 445 (1979). That report contained a specific recommendation on the question of any potential unilateral repeal of the Security Council mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; namely, that the Council should remind States of their obligation to comply strictly with its decisions in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. It also listed a range of areas available to it at the time from which the Committee hoped to extract other specific proposals for submission to the Council in the present substantive report.

6. The present report represents the Committee's comprehensive effort to implement the relevant paragraphs of resolutions 409 (1977), 411 (1977) and 445 (1979). Since the submission of the later interim report the Committee has held 15 meetings, in the course of which it has had an opportunity to consider not only the proposals and general items previously intimated to the Council, but also some additional ones received by the Committee since then. The present report was adopted at the 341st meeting on 3 May 1979.

7. In the course of its deliberations the Committee noted that the present system of sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia covers a wide range of measures which could topple that régime were they



implemented scrupulously, or at all, by certain of the Member States. The Committee reviewed the scope of the existing sanctions and noted that the present sanctions deal with: non-recognition of the illegal régime (resolutions 277 (1970), para. 2, 288 (1970), para. 5 and 328 (1973), para. 7); non-recognition, official or otherwise, of any act performed by officials and institutions of the illegal régime (resolution 277 (1970), para. 3); non-recognition of any internal settlement under the auspices of the illegal régime (resolution 423 (1978), para. 2); interruption of economic relations with Southern Rhodesia—i.e. prevention of importing of any goods from Southern Rhodesia or of Southern Rhodesian origin, including chrome ore; repeal of legislation permitting the importation of minerals and other products from Southern Rhodesia; prevention of exporting of any goods to Southern Rhodesia; measures against providing any facilities for transport of goods to and from Southern Rhodesia; measures against conducting and facilitating any transaction or trade that may enable Southern Rhodesia to obtain from or send to any country any goods and services; measures against providing economic or financial aid to the illegal régime; measures calling for enactment of national legislation to provide for the imposition of severe penalties natural or juridical on persons that evade or commit a breach of the sanctions, and also the enactment of legislation to forbid insurance companies from covering airflights, individuals and cargo thereon, and marine cargo thereon, and marine cargo into and out of Southern Rhodesia (see resolutions 232 (1966), paras. 2 and 5, 253 (1968), paras. 3 and 4, 277 (1970), para. 3, 314 (1972), paras. 3 and 4 and 333 (1973), paras. 3, 4, 6 and 7); interruption of any existing means of transport to and from Southern Rhodesia (resolutions 253 (1968), para. 6, and 277 (1970), para. 9 *b*); severance of all diplomatic, consular, trade, military and other relations between Member States and the illegal régime and termination of any representation that Member States may have maintained in Southern Rhodesia (resolutions 253 (1968), para. 10 and 277 (1970), para. 9 *a*); prevention of emigration to Southern Rhodesia (resolution 253 (1968), para. 8); prevention of entry into territories of Member States of persons travelling on Southern Rhodesian passports or persons ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia who Member States have reason to believe have furthered or encouraged the unlawful activities of the illegal régime (resolution 253 (1968), para. 5 *a* and *b*); and refusal of any request for, and suspension from, membership in any international and regional organization of the illegal régime (resolution 277 (1970), paras. 12 and 13); appropriate measures by Member States to ensure that their nationals and persons in their territories do not insure: (*a*) any commodities or products exported from Southern Rhodesia after the date of the present resolution in contravention of resolution 253 (1968) which they know or have reasonable cause to believe to have been so exported; (*b*) any commodities or products which they know or have reasonable cause to believe to be destined or intended for importation into Southern Rhodesia after the date of the present resolution in contravention of resolution 253 (1968); (*c*) commodities, products or other property in Southern Rhodesia of any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in Southern Rhodesia, in

contravention of resolution 253 (1968) (resolution 388 (1976), para. 1); prevention by Member States of their nationals and persons in their Territories from granting to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in Southern Rhodesia the right to use any trade name or entering into any franchising agreement involving the use of any trade name, trade mark or registered design in connexion with the sale or distribution of any products, commodities or services of such an undertaking (resolution 388 (1976), para. 2); prohibition by Member States of the use or transfer of any funds in their Territories by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, including any office or agent thereof or by other persons or bodies within Southern Rhodesia, for the purposes of any office or agency of the illegal régime that is established within their Territories other than an office or agency so established exclusively for pension purposes (resolution 409 (1977), para. 1).

8. Three delegations expressed the view that not all the sanctions listed in paragraph 7 above were mandatory. Two delegations felt that the Committee was not entitled to pronounce itself on what sanctions established by the Security Council are mandatory or not. All the other members of the Committee were of the view that all those sanctions were mandatory.

9. In view of the fact that the existing sanctions against the illegal régime have not had the desired effect, the Committee feels that what is now needed is a new set of measures and new appeals by the Security Council aimed at ensuring more effective implementation of the present sanctions, closing the existing loopholes and expanding the present range of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. To that end, the Committee submits hereunder a number of general and specific recommendations which have achieved consensus, and a certain number of recommendations which express the very firm opinion of the majority of the members but on which it was not possible to achieve consensus.

10. The Committee took note of paragraph 6 of resolution 445 (1979) and resolution 448 (1979) of the Security Council in which the Council declared that any elections held under the auspices of the illegal régime and the results thereof are null and void and that no recognition should be accorded either by the United Nations or any Member State to any representative or organ established by that process. Similarly, the majority of the Committee maintains the view that any form of recognition of the process of elections under the auspices of the illegal régime and the results thereof would seriously undermine the effective implementation of sanctions against the illegal régime and that this question is within the terms of reference of the Committee.

#### GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

11. Bearing in mind the inevitable inference that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia has survived the full effect of the sanctions through the failure of certain States to implement those sanctions scrupulously, if at all, either deliberately, negligently or unwittingly, the Committee wishes to make the following general recommendations. The Security Council should:

(a) Demand from the States which do not comply with the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to submit to the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia information on the legislative, administrative and other measures taken by them to prevent violations of the existing sanctions;

(b) Decide that all States which thus far have not done so should take effective enforcement actions to ensure strict compliance by all associations, bodies corporate and individuals under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

12. There was no agreement to include a further general recommendation by which the Security Council would decide that all States which thus far have not done so discontinue any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime, *inter alia*, by forbidding the operation and activities of companies of the Southern Rhodesian régime or any other activities, which contravene the aims and purposes of the sanctions.

#### SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

##### *Application of the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to the full extent of Article 41 of the Charter*

13. Some delegations deemed it necessary to recommend that the Security Council apply against the illegal racist régime the full scope of the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter, including such sanctions that would prohibit all States to enter into any transaction whatsoever to maintain rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication with Southern Rhodesia as well as cultural and other relations. However, there was no agreement in the Committee to make any specific recommendation on this item.

##### *Airline companies maintaining air links with Southern Rhodesia*

14. It was not possible to achieve consensus on specific recommendations on this item, but a majority of the Committee supported the recommendation that the Security Council should call upon all States to take appropriate measures:

(a) To deny landing rights or overflying facilities to aircraft of any airline company operating to or from Southern Rhodesia, or on behalf of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia;

(b) To recommend to all airline companies constituted in their territories that are members of the International Air Transport Association to effect the expulsion from that organization of member airline companies that continue to maintain interline agreements with any airline company constituted in Southern Rhodesia.

##### *Information or other representational offices of the illegal régime abroad*

15. The Committee noted with dismay that, in spite of the provisions of paragraph 9 (b) of resolution 277 (1970) and paragraph 1 of resolution 409 (1977), representational offices of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia continue to operate in the territories of certain

Member States. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should:

(a) Restate, as a matter of principle, that the permission by any Member State of the operation in its territory of information or other representational offices of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia is contrary to the mandatory sanctions established by the Council against that régime;

(b) Call upon all States to prohibit the establishment in their territories of information or other representational offices of the illegal régime, or to effect the closure forthwith of any such offices still operating in their territories, except offices or agencies of the illegal régime established abroad exclusively for pension purposes, as permitted under the provisions of paragraph 1 of resolution 409 (1977).

##### *Mercenaries serving with the armed forces of the illegal régime*

16. The Committee recalled that the general question of mercenaries had previously been treated by the Security Council in its resolutions 239 (1967)<sup>5</sup> and 405 (1977),<sup>5</sup> which provided a suitable basis for a specific recommendation with regard to the question of potential mercenaries for, or those serving with, the armed forces of the illegal régime. The Committee also recalled the definition of "mercenary" incorporated in article 47 of Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 1949.<sup>5</sup> A majority of the Committee further took note of the definition of "mercenary" adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Libreville, Gabon, in 1977 and quoted in the general declaration on mercenaries adopted by the International Conference on Mercenaries held at Cotonou, Benin from 9 to 16 January 1978.<sup>5</sup>

17. Consequently, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should call upon all States to adopt such legal and administrative measures as are necessary to ensure that no individuals or group of individuals operate within their territories for the purpose of recruiting, arming or sending mercenaries to fight in aid or on behalf of the forces of the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia or for training persons for the purpose of taking up employment as mercenaries with the illegal régime. Such measures should include the prohibition of advertisements in the information or other media operating from their territories for such purposes. States should also take appropriate measures against persons under their jurisdiction thus recruited who may henceforth be proven to have served as mercenaries with the armed forces of the illegal régime.

##### *Extension of sanctions to South Africa<sup>6</sup>*

18. The Committee noted that persistent and active support for Southern Rhodesia by South Africa remains the main obstacle to the effective implementation of sanctions against the illegal régime. South Africa is the life-line of Southern Rhodesia through actions originating in its territory, from the territory of Southern

<sup>5</sup> Relevant extracts from the resolutions, Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions and the general declaration on mercenaries are reproduced in the annex to the present report.

<sup>6</sup> Some delegations entered the reservation that this question was not within the mandate of the Committee.

Rhodesia or from third countries. South Africa has also persistently refused to co-operate with the United Nations in the observance and implementation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, the Security Council has on several occasions condemned that Government for such and other negative policies<sup>7</sup> and has expressed its deep concern and conviction that sanctions cannot succeed unless, *inter alia*, measures are taken against States which violate them.<sup>8</sup>

19. Accordingly, the Committee strongly recommends that the Security Council should consider measures against South Africa in order to strengthen sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

20. A majority of the Committee supported a further recommendation that the Security Council extend to South Africa the full scope of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, including a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products. However, it was not possible to achieve consensus on that recommendation.

#### *Sports activities concerning Southern Rhodesia*

21. It was not possible to achieve consensus on a specific recommendation on this item, but a majority of the Committee supported the recommendation that the Security Council should formally prohibit in mandatory form participation by nationals of Member States, either teams or individuals, in sports events of a nationally representative nature involving Southern Rhodesia by calling upon all States to prohibit their nationals from travelling to Southern Rhodesia and not to admit into their territories any persons ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia for the purpose of participating in such sports activities.

#### *Supply of military equipment to Southern Rhodesia*

22. The Committee observed that violations of the existing arms embargo to Southern Rhodesia appear to begin with legally sanctioned transfers which are then redirected, somewhere between the supplier and the alleged legal recipient. This redirection appears to be effected by private arms brokers or middlemen of diverse nationality, operating from diverse nations who are able to evade government restrictions through forged documents, clandestine shipments, etc. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should call on all States:

(a) To observe strictly the arms embargo against Southern Rhodesia, understanding that their responsibilities in this regard might well extend beyond satisfying themselves as to the legality of formal government-to-government, government-to-company or company-to-government arms transfers.

(b) To review their existing legal, customs, investigative and police measures, both those taken nationally and those taken in co-operation with other nations, taking

<sup>7</sup> See for instance resolutions 277 (1970), para. 6, 320 (1972), sixth preambular paragraph, and 333 (1973), fourth preambular paragraph.

<sup>8</sup> Resolution 326 (1973), sixth preambular paragraph.

note of recent violations, with the aim of effectively stopping the illegal trade in arms to Southern Rhodesia through private arms brokers.

More specifically, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should call upon all States:

(c) To urge strongly suppliers of arms, military equipment and ammunition under their jurisdiction to include in contracts a clause forbidding re-exportation to Southern Rhodesia, noting that such re-exportation is in violation of laws and regulations and that violators would be subject to penalties arising under such laws and regulations.

(d) To enact and enforce legislation against suppliers under their jurisdiction who might be found to be exporting or re-exporting arms, military equipment and ammunition for resale to Southern Rhodesia.

(e) To include in intergovernmental contracts, bilateral or multilateral, a clause prohibiting re-exportation to Southern Rhodesia, violation of which should bring into force effective enforcement measures against the offending party. Such measures might include, among others:

- (i) Cessation of spare-parts supply;
- (ii) Cessation of outstanding supply of arms, military equipment and ammunition;
- (iii) Non-conclusion of further contracts for the supply of arms, military equipment and ammunition.

(f) The Committee is of the view that strict penalties should be imposed on shippers who have been proved to have evaded or violated sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, since this could further deter such illegal shipments to Southern Rhodesia. Such penalties may include non-insurance of freight and freight services to such shippers. In this connexion, the Committee recommends to the Security Council to urge all States to review their laws and regulations regarding sanctions violations by any person or firm under their jurisdiction, particularly those dealing with insurance, to ensure that the penalties for such violations are commensurate with their seriousness.

Furthermore, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should:

(g) Authorize the Committee to maintain close co-operation with the Security Council Committee established under resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, noting that the effectiveness of that Committee will greatly enhance the control and elimination of South Africa as a market for resupplying and/or re-exporting of arms, military equipment and ammunition to Southern Rhodesia.

#### *Supply of oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia*

23. The Committee has always pointed out the importance of oil and oil products to the economic and social activity of the illegal régime, a point that was recognized by the Security Council as early as 1966 (resolutions 221 (1966), paras. 2-4 and 232 (1966), para. 2 f). Continued supplies of those products to the illegal régime over the years have therefore greatly under-



mined the effectiveness of the sanctions against the régime. In this connexion the Committee wishes to draw the attention of the Security Council to the letter of its Chairman published on 13 October 1978 in document S/12894, transmitting to the Council for its consideration the case of the violation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in the field of oil and oil products by certain international oil companies.

24. In view of the foregoing, the Committee recommends that the Security Council should call upon all States strictly to observe existing sanctions regarding the supply of oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia and, in this connexion, to review their sanctions legislation and enforcement measures regarding their corporate entities that may be involved, directly or indirectly, in the sale or export of oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia with a view to stopping completely the illegal traffic in such supplies.

25. The majority of the Committee further supported the recommendation that the Security Council should call upon the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and other Governments concerned, to obtain from the South African Government within three months, verifiable guarantees for transmittal to the Security Council that no oil or oil products would be exported from South Africa to Southern Rhodesia. In the event of failure to secure such guarantees from the South African Government, it is recommended that the Council should impose in mandatory form an embargo on the supply of crude oil and petroleum to South Africa itself.

26. It was also proposed to recommend that the Security Council decide that all States which thus far have not done so should take all effective measures against international companies and agencies which supply petroleum and petroleum products to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. However, there was no agreement in the Committee to make a specific recommendation on the item in those terms.

#### *Foreign companies operating in Southern Rhodesia*

27. The Committee recommends that the Security Council should call upon all States to demand of companies constituted in their territories which have subsidiaries in Southern Rhodesia to terminate any existing links with them, which is in violation of sanctions.

#### ANNEX

1. Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Security Council resolution 239 (1967) adopted in connexion with the question concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo:<sup>a</sup>

*"The Security Council,*

*"...*

*"2. Condemns any State which persists in permitting or tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries, and the provision of facilities to them, with the objective of overthrowing the Governments of States Members of the United Nations;*

*"3. Calls upon Governments to ensure that their territory and other territories under their control, as well as their nationals, are not used for the planning of subversion, and the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries designed to overthrow the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo;"*

<sup>a</sup> Now known as Zaïre.

2. Paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Security Council resolution 405 (1977) adopted in connexion with the complaint by Benin:

*"The Security Council,*

*"...*

*"3. Reaffirms its resolution 239 (1967) of 10 July 1967, by which, inter alia, it condemns any State which persists in permitting or tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries and the provision of facilities to them, with the objective of overthrowing the Governments of Member States;*

*"4. Calls upon all States to exercise the utmost vigilance against the danger posed by international mercenaries and to ensure that their territory and other territories under their control, as well as their nationals, are not used for the planning of subversion and recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries designed to overthrow the Government of any Member State;*

*"5. Further calls upon all States to consider taking necessary measures to prohibit, under their respective domestic laws, the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries on their territory and other territories under their control;*

*"6. Condemns all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of Member States, including the use of international mercenaries to destabilize States and/or to violate their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of States;"*

3. Paragraph 2 of article 47 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I)<sup>b</sup> adopted on 8 June 1977 by the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Developments of Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts:

*"2. A mercenary is any person who:*

*"(a) is specially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;*

*"(b) does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;*

*"(c) is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party;*

*"(d) is neither a national of a Party to the conflict nor a resident of territory controlled by a Party to the conflict;*

*"(e) is not a member of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict; and*

*"(f) has not been sent by a State which is not a Party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces."*

4. Extract from the general declaration on mercenaries adopted by the International Conference on Mercenaries held at Cotonou, Benin, from 9 to 16 January 1978 [S/12557, annex II]:

*"The use of mercenaries thus appears to be a crime, in accordance with the convention adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at Libreville in 1977:*

*"Any individual, group or association, any representative of a State or any State itself which, with a view to using armed violence to oppose a process of self-determination or to attack the territorial integrity of another State, commits one of the following acts shall be regarded as having committed the crime of being involved in the activities of mercenaries:*

*"(a) Sheltering, organizing, financing, supplying, equipping, training, promoting, supporting or employing in any manner whatsoever armed forces composed wholly or in part of persons who are not nationals of the country in which they are to operate for personal material or other gain;*

*"(b) Enrolling, enlisting or attempting to enlist in the above-mentioned forces;*

*"(c) Permitting the development in territories under its sovereignty or in any other place under its control of the activities mentioned in subparagraph (a) or granting facilities for the transit, transport or any other operation of the above-mentioned forces."*

<sup>b</sup> A/32/144, annex I.

## Letter dated 4 May 1979 from the representative of Turkey to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[4 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 4 May 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Orhan ERALP  
Permanent Representative of Turkey  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Text of the letter dated 4 May 1979 from Mr. Nail Atalay  
to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 15 April 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

TEXT OF THE LETTER DATED 15 APRIL 1979 FROM  
MR. RAUF R. DENKTAŞ TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to draw your attention to the plurality of recent statements and speeches made by Greek and Greek Cypriot officials on the occasion of the independence day of Greece and the anniversary of the EOKA campaign, which has caused concern as well as dismay amongst the Turkish Cypriot community, at a time when intensive efforts are being made for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. In this context I wish to dwell, in particular, on a speech by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, made at Limassol on 24 March 1979, and on a message issued by the Greek Ambassador, Mr. Dountas, on 25 March 1979.

Emphasizing the oneness and the sameness of what is Greek and what is Greek Cypriot, Mr. Kyprianou stated, among other things, the following in his above-mentioned speech:

"We have a historic duty to our national heritage and our history, to our heroes and to the coming generations, to struggle to the end, so as to hand down to future generations a Cyprus as we have taken it over from our forefathers."

As a variation on the same theme, Mr. Kyprianou went on further to state:

"We are celebrating tomorrow the 25 March anniversary and next Sunday we shall be celebrating the 1 April anniversary. The two dates are landmarks in the history of the Greek people. There have been many other landmarks and many heroes in our struggles. The meaning, however, is one, that is that the Greek people have been struggling from the start of their history until now and will continue to struggle. He who believes that the moment might come when the Greek people will not have to struggle has not grasped the true meaning of Hellenism. . . . Tonight I want to stress once again that there is nothing that can cause or justify any confusion between the status of the Cyprus State and our national status. The status of the State is one thing and our national status another. There can be no confusion."

Giving a perfect example of a chauvinism-laden speech, Mr. Kyprianou continued:

"We are ready for an early solution, but at the same time we are also ready for a long struggle. . . . We may not be powerful, we may be numerically few, but we have the will and the faith to bring our mission to a conclusion. And it is faith that prompted Colocotronis to say that Greece's freedom

was signed by God. It is faith in the power of justice that made the Greek people say no, back in 1940. It is faith in the power of justice that made the Greek Cypriot people rise on 1 April 1955. . . . We do not know how much longer our struggle will last, but I wish to assure you that the Government, guided always by the national interest, will move in all directions to secure maximum national support which is essential to our struggle. I wish to assure you that we care about the people's daily problems, but uppermost in our minds is our national problem and national cause. . . . Let us in unity and fraternity do our duty to history, to those who have fallen fighting for Cyprus, to our great leader Makarios. Let us do our duty so as to vindicate the bloodshed, so that the trees of joy, happiness and freedom may spring up again all over Cyprus, over the graves of our heroic martyrs. I call upon all the people to remain united. . . . Remain faithful to the commands of our glorious history."

Echoing the same theme, the Greek Ambassador, Mr. Dountas, expressed the following thoughts and sentiments in a special message he issued on 25 March 1979:

"It is because of our common social and national bonds that Greece has a national obligation to support Cyprus.

"If the Hellenes did not constitute the overwhelming majority in Cyprus, if they didn't have common social and national bonds with Greece, Greece would have no reason to have an interest in Cyprus.

"These are the reasons why Greece supports Cyprus. Greece cannot remain indifferent towards the future of this part and parcel of Hellenism.

"The only thing I fail to comprehend is the differentiation between Cypriots and Hellenes.

"Cypriot Hellenism was born centuries ago and has existed as a Hellenic community living on the island. The independence of Cyprus is also supported by Greece; however, the protection of the independence of Cyprus cannot prevent the preservation of the national identity of Cypriot Hellenism. The concept of Cypriotism is only a geographical and political attribute. The concept of Hellenism, on the other hand, is a national trait. Arguing over whether Cypriotism or Hellenism should have the priority for the Cypriots is like arguing over whether the angels in Byzantium are male or female."

It is significant to note that these self-explanatory and revealing statements bear a striking resemblance, in tone and in content, to a speech made by the late Archbishop Makarios at Arkadi Monastery in Crete in 1966. Drawing a parallel between Cyprus and Crete, on the occasion of the centennial of the union of Crete with Greece, Makarios had also stressed the oneness of Greek and Cypriot Hellenism within what he called a "national body" and vowed to "deliver Cyprus to the mother's bosom", following the example of Crete. The speeches also have another thing in common by their intransigent tone, in that they all pledge to "continue to struggle until final victory", in disregard of the need for an early, just and peaceful solution.

From the point of view of the Turkish Cypriot people, these statements indicate that there has been absolutely no change of heart among the Greek Cypriot people in so far as their ultra-nationalistic ambitions are concerned. However, the statements are unfortunate from another point of view, in that with their intransigent tone they set out to remove all hopes for an early and just solution of the Cyprus problem.

The Turkish Cypriot community deplores this chauvinistic and intransigent attitude as a threat to peace in Cyprus, and wishes to call upon those responsible for its creation to abandon their wrong approach in the interest of peace and justice in Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/221-S/13297.

DOCUMENT S/13298

Letter dated 4 May 1979 from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[5 May 1979]

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the letter of the representative of Israel dated 1 May 1979 [S/13289] and I wish to state the following.

The Security Council in its resolution 444 (1979) reiterated its conviction that the continuing situation in Southern Lebanon constitutes a challenge to its authority and a defiance of its resolutions and deplored "the lack of co-operation, particularly on the part of Israel, with the efforts of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon fully to implement its mandate, including assistance lent by Israel to irregular armed groups in Southern Lebanon".

The Secretary-General stated clearly in his report dated 19 April 1979 [S/13258] that the Israeli authorities are responsible for perpetuating the tension in Southern Lebanon with their defiance of the Security Council resolution.

It is clear that the expansionist Israel is determined to continue its policy of expansion and intervention. The letter of the representative of Israel tries to divert the attention of the international community, to mislead world public opinion and further increase the tension in Lebanon through his distorted fabrication concerning the Syrian role in Lebanon.

As I stated on 8 December 1978 before the Security Council [2106th meeting], Syria is committed to one Lebanon, to the Lebanon of which we have always been proud, to the Lebanon that has always played and can

indeed continue to play a significant role in the Arab world, the role of the cradle of Arab civilization and its openness to the world at large. Syria responded to an appeal by the Lebanese Government and its people, and we are more than ready to leave Lebanon. In fact, we are doing all we can to enable the Lebanese authorities once more to exercise their authority over their whole territory. The Syrian forces in Lebanon are part of the Arab deterrent force under the direct command of the Lebanese Government. The Lebanese Government has the full right to decide over the duration of the mission of the Arab deterrent force in Lebanon including the Syrian forces.

The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic completely endorses the view of the Secretary-General contained in paragraph 27 of the above-mentioned report wherein he stated:

"In this regard, the position of the Government of Israel will be crucial for efforts to achieve further progress in the coming months."

It is clear that the expansionist Israel does not consider at the present time any possible co-operation with UNIFIL to facilitate the implementation of its mandate.

I kindly request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hammoud EL-CHOUFI  
Permanent Representative  
of the Syrian Arab Republic  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13299\*

Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[7 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs at the third plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 4 May 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Speech by Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation, at the third plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 4 May 1979

Mr. Phan Hien, head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, colleagues on the Vietnamese Government delegation,

The Vietnamese side in its last statement [S/13275, annex] repeated its anti-China platitudes. Not only has it again attempted to shift onto us the responsibility for undermining Sino-Vietnamese relations and creating armed border conflicts but it has turned things upside down on the question of hegemonism and viciously attacked Chinese leaders as "pursuing most frenziedly an expansionist and hegemonistic policy". This

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/222-S/13299.



is a most serious slander against China. We cannot keep silent regarding such a slander but must refute it and clarify the facts.

Supported and instigated by the Soviet Union, Viet Nam is carrying out expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism. This is an important reason why the Vietnamese authorities pursue the policy of opposition and hostility to China. It is also the root cause of the present tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. After the conclusion of their war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities stepped up their activities for the creation of an "Indo-Chinese Federation" and actively infiltrated and expanded into South-East Asia. In dealing with Sino-Vietnamese relations, they adopted the position of expansionist nationalism and regarded China, which is firmly opposed to expansionism and hegemonism, as the greatest obstacle to their aggressive and expansionist plan for establishing an "Indo-Chinese Federation" and then proceeding to dominate South-East Asia. Therefore they treated China as their enemy No. 1, intensified their hostile anti-China activities and caused the drastic deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations, which led finally to the grave armed conflict on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Only by thus exposing the essence of the problem can a correct way be found to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam and to help to safeguard peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese authorities have always deemed it their "basic mission" to establish a so-called "Indo-Chinese Federation". During the war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese leadership repeatedly suggested to Cambodia and Laos that the three Indo-Chinese States should form a "union modelled after the USSR", that they should effect an "economic union" and that the armies of the three countries should be combined under a so-called "unified command" controlled by Viet Nam. After Viet Nam was unified in 1975, the Vietnamese authorities thought that with their large stores of United States and Soviet war matériel, Viet Nam was "the third strongest military Power in the world". This swelled their ambitions, and they soon embarked on the militarist road of aggression and expansion. Their first victims were Laos and Kampuchea—countries that had suffered imperialist enslavement along with Viet Nam, had fought shoulder to shoulder with it and energetically supported it in the struggle for national independence. Under the euphemism of "special relationship", they pursued toward Laos and Kampuchea an unscrupulous policy of infiltration, control, subversion, aggression and annexation. Moreover, citing the Soviet military occupation of Czechoslovakia as a "precedent", they launched an aggression and put Kampuchea under their military occupation. This most clearly shows that, in pushing regional hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities have indeed been imitating the Soviet social-imperialists.

In a few years, Viet Nam has brought Laos under its control politically, militarily, economically and in the field of foreign affairs. Vietnamese occupation troops, tens of thousands strong, are stationed on Lao soil. Vietnamese advisers of every rank and description supervise Lao institutions from the national to the grass-roots level. In 1977, Viet Nam imposed upon the Lao people what they call a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" and a boundary agreement, which legalized in treaty form its over-all control and military occupation of Laos and the annexation of Lao territory. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos were thus grossly violated. The foreign policy of Laos changed perceptibly under Vietnamese coercion. Relations between China and Laos—two countries which always lived in amity and never had any disputes—became overcast, because the Vietnamese authorities were doing their utmost to disrupt them. Recently, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam concocted the lie that China was "massing troops" along the Sino-Lao border and thus sought to tighten their control over Laos and pressure it into serving their anti-China policy.

In the case of Kampuchea, a country that has adamantly rejected the concept of an "Indo-Chinese Federation", the Vietnamese authorities harboured the more vicious design of swallowing it in one gulp. Viet Nam occupied Kampuchea's Koh Way Island in 1975. Soon afterwards, it perfidiously put pressure on Kampuchea to let it annex the part of Kampuchean territory east of the Mekong River, which was made available as a "sanctuary" for Vietnamese resistance against United States

aggression. The Vietnamese authorities tried on several occasions to subvert the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, because the latter upheld the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. Towards the end of 1977, from escalating border clashes, Viet Nam went to the dispatch of troops to invade Kampuchea. However, all of those attempts failed. So towards the end of 1978 Viet Nam threw in more than 100,000 troops and launched a war of aggression on a bigger scale. The Vietnamese authorities violated even the rudimentary principles of international relations. They set up a puppet régime at bayonet point. Then they signed with it a "treaty of friendship and co-operation", which was tantamount to a contract indenturing Democratic Kampuchea to Viet Nam. They enforced an extremely ruthless Fascist-colonial rule in the areas they occupied. Pensovan, a chieftain of the Kampuchean puppet régime, admitted outright last March that "Kampuchea will undoubtedly join Viet Nam in an Indo-Chinese Federation". That statement laid bare the truth that the armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and the installation of a puppet régime there were important steps taken by the Vietnamese authorities to set up their "Indo-Chinese Federation".

The Vietnamese authorities have been strongly condemned by the peace-loving countries and people throughout the world for their naked armed aggression in Kampuchea. First, the non-aligned countries and then the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) submitted resolutions to the United Nations Security Council calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and of the troops of each side to their own country. And on both occasions these resolutions won the support of 13 out of the 15 member States of the Council. The Soviet Union had no alternative but to come forward itself and arbitrarily use its veto. But no one can veto the just position of the people of the world, who still urgently demand the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

At present, Vietnamese aggressor troops are stepping up their large-scale offensive in Kampuchea in an attempt to wipe out before the onset of the rainy season the Kampuchean armed forces which are fighting valiantly in resistance. At the same time, they are tightening their control in Laos. However, the Kampuchean and Lao peoples, who have a glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggressor forces, will never submit to the colonial rule of a foreign nation. They enjoy the sympathy and support of the people of the whole world. The Vietnamese aggressors are doomed to utter defeat.

The Vietnamese authorities are highly embarrassed by the strong condemnation of their acts of aggression in Indo-China voiced by public opinion throughout the world. To get out of their awkward predicament, they recently went so far as to deny plain facts, asserting that there isn't any so-called "Kampuchea question" or so-called "Indo-China question" and truculently charging any one who demands the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea as acting in an "illegitimate fashion" and "interfering in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples". Unable to provide any sound legal basis in defence of their aggression in Kampuchea, they could only cite as so-called "legal basis" the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea treaty", which they drew up single-handedly after they had brought Kampuchea under their military occupation. The whole world knows that Viet Nam started its large-scale war of aggression in Kampuchea on 25 December 1978. It captured Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979. The puppet régime was formed hastily on the following day, and the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea treaty" was concocted on 18 February. It may be asked who it was that "asked" Vietnamese troops to invade Kampuchea prior to the setting up of the puppet régime. Since Vietnamese aggressor troops invaded Kampuchea nearly two months before the signing of the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea treaty", how could the "treaty" serve as the "legal basis" for the entry of Vietnamese troops into Kampuchea? Dates cannot be reversed. Facts cannot be cooked up. Moreover, the puppet régime at Phnom Penh is solely the product of the Vietnamese authorities. The Kampuchean people have spurned it, and the overwhelming majority of countries in the world have refused to recognize it. This puppet régime itself is illegal, and the "Kampuchea-Viet Nam treaty" is even more so. It absolutely cannot give "legal sanction" to the Vietnamese aggression and military occupation of

Kampuchea. Facts undeniably show that the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is an act of naked aggression against another sovereign State in violation of the elementary principles of international relations and the Charter of the United Nations. It constitutes a grave threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. It is not at all somebody's "internal affair". It is perfectly legitimate and just for all peace-loving countries and people in the world to condemn the Vietnamese aggression and demand the immediate withdrawal of its aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

In an attempt to confound right and wrong and divert public attention, the Vietnamese side has time and again hurled calumnies at China in the negotiations and, in regard to the questions of Laos and Kampuchea, brazenly declared: "I would advise you to go to Laos and Kampuchea to discuss these questions. We will not do it here." In the negotiations, the Vietnamese side stopped at nothing in maligning China on the questions of Laos and Kampuchea, yet it forbade China to make a reply to clarify right and wrong. Is there anything on earth more unreasonable than this? Such arrogance and hegemonic attitudes are indeed seldom seen. Viet Nam is the culprit of aggression against Kampuchea and Laos and the source of tension in Indo-China. It stands to reason that these questions should be discussed here. This insolent attitude of the Vietnamese authorities can in no way prevent the people of China and the rest of the world, who resolutely oppose the Vietnamese aggression and support the Kampuchean and Lao peoples in their struggle to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, from upholding justice.

To form an "Indo-Chinese Federation" is an important step preparatory to the further expansion of Viet Nam in South-East Asia, and an important part of the Soviet social-imperialist policy of a southward drive and its scheme of rigging up an "Asian collective security system". Singing in duet, the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese authorities had all along been hostile to ASEAN and assailed it as a "tool of imperialism". But they changed their tactics towards it in 1977 around the time of the Vietnamese intensified armed aggression against Kampuchea. Resorting to a so-called "smiling" diplomacy, the Vietnamese authorities professed a willingness to develop bilateral and multilateral ties with the ASEAN countries, and called on ASEAN to break down its "narrow walls", expand its scope and "build a regional organization on a new basis". They tried in that way to squeeze into ASEAN and so change its character. The Vietnamese proposal to establish what it called "a zone of peace, genuine independence and neutrality in South-East Asia" was an attempt to replace ASEAN by a variant of the "Asian collective security system". The ASEAN countries queried the meaning of the term "genuine independence" but the Vietnamese authorities could only give an ambiguous and vague answer. In one of your restricted "propaganda outlines", however, it was asserted unequivocally that "this organization (ASEAN) is actually a lackey of United States imperialism, it is in alliance with the United States against Viet Nam", that now "the political line of that organization is in fact still dominated by United States imperialism, therefore, the independence of its members is a fake". This is a gross slander and insult to the independent and sovereign ASEAN countries. To uphold justice and preserve peace and security in the region, South-East Asian opinion repeatedly called on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. So the Vietnamese authorities openly threatened the ASEAN countries with the warning that they "mustn't repeat the same mistake". They even threatened the ASEAN countries by demanding that they repay a "debt". The facts eloquently show that this conspiracy on the part of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to commit aggression and expansion in South-East Asia has become a growing threat to peace and security in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole and is a dangerous source of current tensions in South-East Asia.

Viet Nam's expansionist policy has the vigorous backing of the Soviet Union because it suits the needs of the global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism. Sharing a mutual need, the big Soviet hegemonists and the small Vietnamese hegemonists work in close co-ordination. Viet Nam needs Soviet support for realizing its ambition to form an "Indo-Chinese Federation" and dominate South-East Asia. The Soviet Union needs Viet Nam as its "reliable outpost" and "strategic base" in the South-East Asian and Pacific region to implement its southward drive, which is part of its global strategy, from which further to control

the sea lanes from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and link up its strategic deployments in those two oceans. Exploiting the opportunity, which appeared not long ago, of a tense situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Soviet Union sent its warships into Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. Lately Soviet military aircraft have used the air base at Da Nang. All this has aroused grave concern among countries in the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet Union has for a number of years progressively extended its influence in Viet Nam and brought the latter step-by-step into the orbit of its hegemonist global strategy. Viet Nam joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1978 and, immediately thereafter, it signed with the Soviet Union a "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation", which had the character of a military alliance. Viet Nam has become the agent of Soviet super-Power hegemonism in Asia. It is universally acknowledged to be the "Cuba of Asia". The Vietnamese authorities themselves consider Viet Nam and Cuba to be "twins". The facts have proved that Viet Nam and Cuba are a pair of Soviet instruments for seeking world hegemony.

In order to cover up their regional hegemonism and create confusion, the Vietnamese authorities levelled the countercharge that China was a "big hegemonist power" seeking "expansion" in Indo-China and South-East Asia. There is not much of an audience for this kind of nonsense. Facts are more eloquent than words. The Vietnamese authorities are wasting their energies if they think they can draw a red herring across the track and sow dissension to undermine the friendly relations between China and the South-East Asian countries. It is China's consistent policy and stand never to seek hegemony. China has declared time and again that it does not seek hegemony, nor will it do so when China becomes a strong and prosperous socialist country. China is opposed to the attempt of any country or group of countries to seek hegemony in any part of the world. China has stood in unity with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world and made unremitting efforts together with them to combat imperialism and hegemonism. China is currently shifting the focus of its work to socialist modernization. China needs a peaceful international environment and needs, in particular, to maintain relations of peace and friendship with its neighbours. China has always valued its friendly relations with the three Indochinese States and gave them support and assistance both in their wars of resistance against United States aggression and in their economic construction. China has consistently respected their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is obvious to all. China does not want even an inch of Vietnamese territory and does not station a single Chinese soldier on Vietnamese soil. Nor has China occupied even an inch of territory belonging to Kampuchea, Laos or any other country in the world, or stationed a single Chinese soldier on the soil of any other country. On the other hand, Viet Nam has been condemned by world opinion for its military occupation of Kampuchea, all-round control of Laos and attempt to form an "Indo-Chinese Federation". With a total of 200,000 soldiers stationed in Kampuchea and Laos, Viet Nam indeed deserves to be called "the Power that ranks third in the world". If you are not after regional hegemony, you should proclaim to the world your decision to withdraw forthwith your armed forces from Kampuchea and Laos.

China's friendly and co-operative relations with South-East Asian countries, based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, have continued to grow in strength and to develop. China has always viewed with favour and supported the proposal of the ASEAN countries to declare South-East Asia a zone of peace and neutrality and their opposition to the Soviet scheme of setting up an "Asian collective security system" to further their control and domination in the Asia-Pacific region. I have earlier described how the Vietnamese authorities, joining forces with the Soviet Union, are trying by all possible means to infiltrate and expand their influence in South-East Asia. Since their armed aggression in Kampuchea and their attempt to form an "Indo-Chinese Federation" constitute a prelude to Vietnamese aggression and expansion in South-East Asia, it is quite natural that the South-East Asian countries are deeply disturbed. If Viet Nam's extended military occupation of Kampuchea were condoned, this would mean that the principles of international relations could be violated at will. It would also mean that peace and security in South-East Asia would be faced with a greater threat, and that the South-East Asian countries



would be the next in line to bear the brunt of Vietnamese aggression. Recently the Vietnamese aggressor forces have been making constant provocations against Thailand on the Thai-Kampuchean border. Public opinion in South-East Asia strongly demands a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea and opposes the designs of the big and small hegeonists to dominate South-East Asia. Facts prove that it is the Vietnamese regional hegeonists and the Soviet super-Power hegeonists, and not anyone else, who are waging a war of aggression and practising infiltration and expansion in Indo-China and South-East Asia. So how can the Vietnamese authorities expect anyone to be taken in by their lies and slanderous charges about China "pursuing an expansionist policy" towards Indo-China and South-East Asia? The Vietnamese side claim over and over that Viet Nam "pursues a consistent policy of peace and friendship" towards its neighbouring countries. But in actual deed, you not only adopt a policy of hostility to China, but subject Kampuchea to your armed aggression or military occupation and Laos to your all-round control. Your deed does not square with your word. Your self-contradictory and perfidious attitude shows that you are out-and-out hypocrites. You have lost your credibility before the whole world.

China is firmly opposed to hegemonism in all its forms. China is committed to safeguarding peace, security and stability in Asia and the world. China has always insisted that international justice be upheld. Our firm, open and righteous stand represents a major obstacle to the unscrupulous aggression and expansion of the hegeonists, big and small, and is bound to be hated and opposed by them. China adhered to its principled stand when the Vietnamese authorities started their armed aggression in Kampuchea towards the end of 1977. China called on Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea and to settle their disputes through negotiations. This added to the resentment of the Vietnamese authorities against China and was immediately followed by a drastic escalation in their anti-China and anti-Chinese activities.

When the Vietnamese authorities launched their massive armed aggression against Kampuchea towards the end of 1978, China unequivocally opposed this act of Vietnamese aggression and supported the just struggle of Democratic Kampuchea. Thereupon the hostile anti-China activities of the Vietnamese authorities, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, reached staggering proportions. As the big and small hegeonists saw it, if they were to have a free hand in pursuing their hegeonist designs in South-East Asia, they had to clear away the obstacle represented by China and sabotage China's programme of socialist modernization. They were afraid that the appearance in the East of a modernized socialist China, strong and prosperous, would be a mighty force working against hegeonism and for the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and the world. There even appeared public statements in Viet Nam to the effect that a war between China and Viet Nam "would turn China's hopes for modernization into a bubble". Such statements clearly reveal the insidious motives of the Vietnamese authorities in deliberately provoking a large-scale armed conflict and sabotaging China's modernization programme. The major reason why the Vietnamese authorities have been so unbridled in their hostile anti-China campaign and in their impairment of the relations between China and Viet Nam is that they want to play the overlord in Indo-China and South-East Asia with the backing of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, China, upholding justice, has opposed Viet Nam's regional hegeonism and supported the people of all countries in this region in their struggle to defend national independence, sovereignty and territorial

integrity. So the Vietnamese authorities consider China their "enemy No. 1". Hence, if relations between China and Viet Nam are to be normalized, the Vietnamese authorities must stop their anti-China hostility and abandon their policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegeonism.

In the present-day world, to practise hegeonism runs counter to the trend of history. It is extremely dangerous for the Vietnamese authorities, with Soviet backing and encouragement, to continue on the course of aggression and expansion in striving for regional hegeonism. If the Vietnamese authorities are indeed desirous of "contributing to peace in South-East Asia and the world", as they have claimed, they should respond to the demand of people the world over, and first of all stop their war of aggression in Kampuchea and withdraw all their aggressor forces to their own territory. We solemnly declare that China will adhere unswervingly to its stand of combating imperialism and hegeonism and of supporting all peace-loving countries and peoples in their anti-imperialist and anti-hegeonist struggle. We mean what we say. Since the Vietnamese authorities flatly deny that they practise expansionist nationalism and regional hegeonism, they should prove by deeds that they are consistent in word and action.

With a view to solving fundamentally the problems in Sino-Vietnamese relations and contributing to peace, security and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world, the Chinese Government delegation has already put forward its proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations, including a point against hegeonism. The Chinese side has solemnly suggested in its proposal that:

"Neither side should seek hegeonism in Indo-China, South-East Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegeonism. Neither side shall station troops in other countries, and those already stationed abroad must be withdrawn to their own country. Neither side shall join any military blocs directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries or use the territory and bases of other countries to threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries." [S/13278, annex, point 2]

The Chinese eight-point proposal of principles conforms not only to the fundamental interests of China and Viet Nam and those of our two peoples, but also to the desire of the people of the world in opposing hegeonism. It is well received and supported by the peace-loving countries and people in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world. Hegeonism is the root cause impairing Sino-Vietnamese relations and vitiating the situation in Indo-China and South-East Asia. In order to solve fundamentally the problem of Sino-Vietnamese relations, it is necessary to oppose hegeonism. This is the crux of the matter. However, the Vietnamese three-point proposal [S/13257, annex] does not touch on anti-hegeonism at all. How can such a proposal be termed "all-round and comprehensive"? To oppose the big and small hegeonists is the unanimous demand and strong desire of the peoples of all the countries in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world. We hope the Vietnamese side will not evade the major and substantive issues or use these negotiations as a forum for anti-China propaganda but will seriously study the eight-point proposal of principles of the Chinese Government delegation and do some useful and practical work to ensure peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border and secure early restoration of normal relations between our two countries and peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

## DOCUMENT S/13300\*

### Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[7 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/223-S/13300.

démocratique" entitled "Why are the Vietnamese and the Soviets making such efforts to boost the puppet régime in Phnom Peuh?"



I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Why are the Vietnamese and the Soviets making such efforts to boost the puppet régime in Phnom Penh?"

Ever since the puppet régime of the Vietnamese was installed at Phnom Penh by the force of Soviet-Vietnamese guns, tanks and aircraft and more than 100,000 men of the Vietnamese army of aggression, the Vietnamese and their Soviet masters have waged a loud propaganda campaign in its favour throughout the world. They have used every kind of deceit and falsehood to mislead world public opinion. They have used every kind of enticement and exerted every kind of pressure to force countries throughout the world to recognize the lackeys of the Vietnamese at Phnom Penh. But so far, apart from the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and a small handful of Soviet satellites, no country has recognized the Vietnamese lackeys at Phnom Penh. It is for that reason that the Vietnamese and the Soviets are doing their utmost to make even more noise to boost their puppet régime at Phnom Penh.

The Vietnamese and the Soviets have sent fresh reinforcements to Kampuchea to intensify their war of aggression, their repression and their barbarous massacre of the innocent population of Kampuchea. Following which, they claim that it is a "great victory" for their puppet régime at Phnom Penh. However, everyone knows that it represents a further escalation of the war of aggression by the Vietnamese and the Soviets in Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese and the Soviets claim that their lackeys at Phnom Penh are in full control of Kampuchea. But the questions everyone asks them are these: How is it then that the guerrilla war of the people of Kampuchea is continuing to develop ever more powerfully throughout the country and that actions to annihilate the Vietnamese enemy aggressor are multiplying and intensifying everywhere? How is it that the Vietnamese and the Soviets are carrying out all diplomatic

activities instead of their puppet régime at Phnom Penh? Why are the Vietnamese making such efforts to invite foreigners, including journalists, to visit Kampuchea, which is not their country? Why are the Vietnamese managing all administrative and political affairs instead of the puppets at Phnom Penh? Why are the Vietnamese and the Soviets making such a stir at international conferences on behalf of their puppet régime at Phnom Penh? To all these questions, the Vietnamese and the Soviets can find no valid answer since the facts have already answered for themselves. The reality is as clear as daylight: the régime of the Vietnamese lackeys at Phnom Penh has no roots in the people of Kampuchea. It is in fact only a small group of marionettes set in place by the Vietnamese which the Soviets are helping to boost. But the marionettes only gesticulate if their strings are pulled. They cannot act by themselves. For that reason the Vietnamese must do everything in their place, both in the field of domestic policy and in that of diplomacy in the international arena.

Because this puppet régime has no national soul, no personality and no roots in the people and the nation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese and the Soviets are obliged to boost it throughout the world. In fact, there is no problem of so-called recognition of the puppet régime. There is only the problem of the barbarous invasion and occupation of the territory of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese and the Soviets.

The efforts made by the Vietnamese and the Soviets in their campaign of deception and falsehood and in their enticements and their pressure to gain recognition of their puppet régime at Phnom Penh are designed to camouflage their aggression and invasion of the territory of Kampuchea and to legalize the permanent occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese. When this first objective has been attained, they will continue their expansion and extend their war of aggression to Thailand and to all the countries of South-East Asia. By this means, the Soviets will also extend their influence and power to the whole of Asia, first of all, then to the Pacific region and so on until they have achieved their ambition of world domination.

That is the real reason for the noisy campaign being waged feverishly by the Vietnamese and the Soviets on behalf of the puppet régime at Phnom Penh. Accordingly, to recognize the lackeys of the Vietnamese at Phnom Penh would be to approve the strategy of aggression and expansion being pursued by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia, and also the expansionist strategy of the Soviets in Asia, in the Pacific and throughout the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13301

##### Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[7 May 1979]

1. Pursuant to my letters of 25 April [S/13270] and of 2 May 1979 [S/13292], I have the honour once more to express my Government's great concern over developments in Southern Lebanon, and more particularly the increasing difficulties, obstacles and harassments encountered by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). We are aware of the persistent efforts deployed by the President of the Security Council and by various members of the Council before and since the meeting of 26 April 1979. Yet we cannot fail to note, with grave regrets, that the situation has been deteriorating and that it has been impossible even to "ensure the safety of the Force and of the UNIFIL headquarters", as called for by the statement made by the President on behalf of the Council and its members [2141st meeting].

2. My Government feels that it has now become imperative for the Council to consider taking further steps towards the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978), in accordance with paragraph 7 of resolution 444 (1979), which states that the Council

"Reaffirms its determination, in the event of continuing obstruction of the mandate of the Force, to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978)".

We believe that this action is warranted by the spirit and the letter of the President's statement. We also believe that it was clearly called for by the interim report of the Secretary-General of 19 April [S/13258] which has been under very serious consideration by the Coun-

cil as well as by my Government and the various Governments concerned.

3. In this respect, I am under instructions to express to the Council my Government's highest appreciation for the earnestness shown in seeking solutions to the problems raised by the report and the attempt to obtain the adequate guarantees that were required. My Government feels particularly obligated to the Secretary-General for having been so explicit in diagnosing what is at stake in Southern Lebanon and for addressing such a clear warning to the world community, that this is a situation which "would not only be a new disaster for the Government and people of Lebanon, but could also lead to a renewed and serious deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a whole" [*ibid.*, para. 29]. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, we feel that we should all be equally compelled to act in a manner that will reduce "the active threat to international peace and security which the situation in Southern Lebanon constitutes" [*ibid.*].

4. While expressing full confidence in the approach by the Security Council to the question and regretting that certain parties have not responded to its call, we wish to be allowed to draw particular attention to the following points:

First, the Government of Lebanon has considered the "phased programme of activities" as only a first step towards the full implementation of resolution 425 (1978). We also considered it as a balanced and indivisible whole.

Secondly, it is clear from the report of the Secretary-General and from developments since the meeting of the Council, that the programme has not been fully carried through because of opposition "by forceful means" [*ibid.*, para. 23]. The responsibility of Israel, directly and indirectly, needs no further proof.

Thirdly, the measures called for by the Security Council on 26 April concerning the safety of UNIFIL are only an initial immediate step towards the completion of the programme, which should give the Force full freedom of movement in the border areas as described by the Secretary-General in his report of 12 January 1979 [*S/13026*, para. 22].

Fourthly, beyond the present "phased programme of activities", UNIFIL must acquire full control of the so-called "enclave" up to the internationally recognized boundaries. Were it only for its own safety, UNIFIL could not be allowed to remain dangerously dependent on the whims of the "de facto forces", who should, on the contrary, be gradually brought to comply with the UNIFIL mandate.

The full implementation of resolution 425 (1978) will of course come with the total deployment of UNIFIL and the full restoration, with UNIFIL assistance, of Lebanese Government authority over all of its territory, within its internationally recognized boundaries.

5. Such objectives—the immediate and the ultimate—cannot be fully attained without the confirmed total withdrawal of Israel, stipulated in resolution 425 (1978). Whereas this withdrawal has been proclaimed by Israel, on 13 June 1978 [*S/12736*], the successive re-

ports of the Secretary-General have, on the contrary, proved that Israeli military personnel were still active inside Lebanon and that they exercised a determining, if not the determining, influence in the border area. The Security Council has, more than once, described this fact as a "defiance" to its resolutions and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

6. My Government strongly believes that once Southern Lebanon is freed from Israeli vicarious occupation, UNIFIL will be able to function normally. It should be remembered here that UNIFIL, as an "interim peace-keeping force", has been established on the assumption that it "must have at all times the full confidence and backing of the Security Council", and that "it must operate with the full co-operation of all the parties concerned". [*S/12611 of 19 March 1978*, para. 3].

In this connexion, we beg to draw the Council's attention, once more, to the following "terms of reference" and "general considerations" from the original report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) which was circulated on 19 March 1978 and instantly approved by resolution 426 (1978):

(a) "[The Force] must be able to function as an integrated and efficient military unit."

(b) "The Force must enjoy the freedom of movement and communication and other facilities that are necessary for the performance of its tasks."

(c) "The Force will be provided with weapons of a defensive character. It shall not use force except in self-defence. Self-defence would include resistance to attempts by forceful means to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate of the Security Council." [*ibid.*, paras. 3 and 4.]

7. It is thus clear to us that a certain measure of "peace-enforcing" was not precluded at the very inception of UNIFIL. This very delicate aspect of the question had already been brought to the attention of the Security Council, though in an indirect manner. It has been commented on by many, with divergent views. In my remarks to the Council of 19 January [2113th meeting], after resolution 444 (1979) was voted, I urged that UNIFIL should be given the power to succeed in fulfilling its mandate. I also stressed the fact that the military option should not be foreclosed by the exclusive use of the (so far) limited diplomatic option. In the light of the tragic experiences accumulated since, we think that UNIFIL should have a greater military credibility. A serious deterrent capability can alone enable the Force to discourage any challenge to its authority and prevent attacks on its men and installations, let alone prevent it from pursuing its mission.

8. It is not suggested that UNIFIL should or could enter into an armaments race with the forces of a Member State not abiding by the resolutions of the Council, even if it should be obstructing peace-keeping. In this eventuality, other avenues are open under the Charter. If, however, obstruction should come from irresponsible elements, armed illegitimately, then it becomes vital that UNIFIL should not be allowed to find itself in a position of inferiority or inadequacy such as that described by the Secretary-General in paragraphs 12, 18, 19 and 25 of his report of 19 April.

We feel that it may be pertinent at this juncture to recall what the Secretary-General himself said in his report on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly at its last session concerning peace-keeping and the resort to force:

"To resort to force is the last and least desirable course for a peace-keeping force. Negotiation and persuasion must be the primary method for achieving its objectives. However, if such methods prove unavailing, the Security Council may well have to consider what other approaches are open to it under the Charter."<sup>9</sup>

9. It is the earnest wish of my Government that we should all be spared the use of force, for it may mean further bloodshed and tragedy in an already broken country that has been so far all too victimized. We therefore feel that such "practical ways and means" as the Council might devise, under paragraph 7 of resolution 444 (1979), should all aim at the following:

(a) "To prevent the recurrence of fighting" and to ensure that the UNIFIL area of operation "will not be utilized for hostile activities of any kind" [S/12611, para. 2 d];

(b) To "assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area" [*ibid.*, para. 2 b].

While stating these very objectives, in his report of 19 March 1978 confirmed by resolution 426 (1978), the Secretary-General clearly stated also that

"the termination of the mandate of UNIFIL by the Security Council will not affect the continued functioning of the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission, as set out in the appropriate Council decision [see S/10611 of 19 April 1972]" [*ibid.*, para. 7].

10. Hence, what the Council seems to have set as the ultimate goal for UNIFIL and for itself is the revival of the Armistice Agreement of 1949, as referred to above. If this is to be the case, certain new objective conditions must be created that will ensure the viability of the agreement and provide guarantees of its implementation.

My Government wishes to reaffirm here, unequivocally, our constant and persistent support—year after year and despite violent developments—of the Armistice Agreement. We have constantly called for meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission at the appropriate level. We feel that as the UNIFIL interim mandate nears termination, new permanent arrangements must already be envisaged to prevent a return to the *status quo ante*, to war and bloodshed and the constant violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity, sovereignty and national security.

11. Not content with constant and almost permanent incursions into Lebanon, Israel is now also violating the very fundamental principles of Lebanon's organic unity by pretending that it has the right to "protect" the population of the border area, particularly the Christian citizens of Lebanon. This violation of the most elementary principles of international law is further accentuated by official Israeli declarations stating that the so-called

"Christian enclave" is "essential for the security of Israel".

My Government has never ignored that there was indeed a vital security question in some parts of Southern Lebanon and that certain sentiments expressed in this context by Lebanese citizens were probably justified, if not legitimate. Yet this in no way warrants that Israel should want to establish itself as a self-styled protector of this or that Lebanese community or that it should reduce this community's destiny to the role of an accessory of Israeli strategic considerations. Furthermore, and more flagrantly still, the present utilization by Israel of the so-called "*de facto* Christian forces", now equipped, financed, trained and controlled by Israel, has been a major obstacle to the implementation of Security Council resolutions, a source of great perturbation, a threat to peace, a menace even to the security of UNIFIL and, last but not least, an instrument of destabilization which has prevented progress towards the restoration of Lebanese national unity, sovereignty, and political independence. This has also been a constant challenge to the role of a rebuilt Lebanese National Army in ensuring the return of the effective authority of the Government over Southern Lebanon and the whole of our country. It has been a pretext for others equally to challenge the authority of Lebanon and question its sovereignty.

12. The present Government of Lebanon does not ignore, nor wishes the Council to ignore, the very tragic conditions which resulted from the presence of the Palestinians in Southern Lebanon, after their forced exodus from Palestine. Pending a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian question which will fulfil the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and particularly their right to return to their homeland, my Government has consistently appealed to the world not to let Lebanon become any longer the innocent victim of the world's inability to cope with a major historical tragedy the world itself has created.

The "cycle of violence", often decried by all, should be brought to a halt. Southern Lebanon may be the place where the cycle can at least be contained.

It is relevant at this point to emphasize that the Secretary-General in his reports has repeatedly confirmed the readiness of the Palestinians to co-operate with the United Nations peace-keeping effort. In his interim report of 13 June 1978 [S/12620/Add. 5, para. 14] the Secretary-General informs the Council of a "five-point agreement" between the Government of Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization by virtue of which not only would the PLO refrain from infiltrating the area of operation, but also a broader policy of restraint was reached which we know was to be supervised and confirmed by a committee of the Government of Lebanon, the PLO, and the Arab deterrent forces. We have reasons to believe that this commitment to peace in Southern Lebanon, by the PLO leadership, reiterated since, will be honoured if no further Israeli interventions provoke an escalation that will further jeopardize all chance of effective peace-keeping.

13. Now that the Government of Lebanon has demonstrated its preparedness and capability to fulfil, gradually, its military responsibilities, and to respond,

<sup>9</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 1, p. 5.



though in a limited manner, to the challenge of the world community, it must be given a better chance and must be assisted with the greatest determination. That to us is the true meaning of the message contained in the statement of the President of the Security Council of 26 April.

What will happen in the "area of operation" of UNIFIL has a direct bearing on what will happen in the whole of Southern Lebanon. This in turn will complement and confirm efforts engaged in elsewhere, all over the country. It will give the Government added leverage and added credibility in implementing, by strictly Lebanese imperatives, such security schemes and agreements that have been blocked because of continued deterioration of the situation in the south. The restoration of Lebanese social and national unity will then have its best chances of integrating those that for too long now were lured into seeking security outside the fabric of Lebanon's historic body politic.

My Government feels that, if left alone, the inhabitants of the border area when free to determine their own course of action, will find greater and more effective guarantees of peace and security with a UNIFIL deployed substantially—in their so-called "enclave" under the aegis of the Security Council—than in the present state of turmoil and strife.

14. Once a determined and militarily more credible UNIFIL is established in Southern Lebanon, more articulate and constructive efforts can be undertaken by the Government, in conjunction with UNIFIL, to make the "area of operation" and thereby all of Southern Lebanon a *zone of peace*, restore international security and establish a climate conducive to national reconstruction.

Lebanon will then be able to resume its role as a factor of stability and peace in the area, instead of being a source of anxiety to all and a danger to itself and to international peace and security. This can only be made possible after an unconditional and unrestricted Israeli withdrawal not only from Lebanese territory, but also from its self-styled self-assured role in the organic

relations between various Lebanese groups and communities, and interference in the relations between Lebanon and the Arab peoples and Governments.

15. In conclusion, my Government wishes to reiterate its belief that UNIFIL has not been enabled, so far, or did not find it necessary or possible to use all the means at its disposal to fulfil its mandate and exercise all its rights without necessarily exceeding its military prerogatives. It has not deemed it advisable, or possible, so far, to use even a show of force as a deterrent and an assertion of a peace-keeper's right to self-defence against those who hindered its freedom and imperiled its security. The time has now come for the Security Council to give UNIFIL the means of carrying out its mission to the end, forcefully, with confidence and assured success.

My Government does not seek at this stage a fundamental change in the mandate of UNIFIL and hopes that this shall not become necessary. Yet we believe that the Security Council will find it possible, in the face of defiance and obstruction, by a combination of diplomatic and military action, to redefine the mission of UNIFIL in a manner that guarantees the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) as amply explained in the present letter.

16. At the appropriate stage in the debate, my delegation will be prepared to submit and discuss concrete proposals concerning the "practical ways and means" referred to in paragraph 7 of resolution 444 (1979), which should enable UNIFIL to enforce peace, if and when necessary, on all those—without exception—who would irresponsibly threaten its security and obstruct the fulfilment of its mission. In the meantime, I am instructed by my Government to ask you to circulate the present letter as a document of the Security Council and to submit it for consideration at the earliest possible time.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13302\*

Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, the text of the speech made by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the third plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi, on 4 May 1979 and request that you have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech by the head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Phan Hien, at the third plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese delegation and the Chinese delegation on 4 May 1979 at Hanoi

The Vietnamese delegation has carefully studied the speech by the head of the Chinese delegation, Han Nianlong, at the second plenary meeting on 26 April 1979 [S/13294, annex]. Following are our views.

The Chinese delegation has again denied the facts, distorted history, slandered Viet Nam in an attempt to elude the responsibility of the Chinese side for the deterioration in the relations between the two countries, which culminated in the war of aggression started by the Chinese authorities against the Vietnamese people on 17 February 1979. To our deep regret, the Chinese side still refuses to listen to reason. History has shown that those who have embarked on this path and are slow

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/224-S/13302.

to recognize the truth, are bound to commit even greater mistakes and to suffer even greater defeats. Fair and honest public opinion in the world has clearly realized that the deep root and immediate cause of the aforesaid situation lie in the policy of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism of the Chinese leaders and in their hostile policy towards the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries.

The war of aggression of the Chinese leaders against the Vietnamese people is obviously an extremely barbarous war of extermination which has aroused the indignation of the whole of mankind; the Chinese aggressor troops have mercilessly massacred civilians, mostly old folk, women and children, by methods even more atrocious than those used by the Hitlerite fascists, they have razed to the ground almost all provincial capitals and townships, as well as many villages along the Vietnamese border with a degree of devastation surpassing by far that of the towns and villages destroyed by the carpet-bombing with B-52 strategic bombers of the United States imperialists. They have destroyed not only human lives but also all sources and conditions of life, and even the human environment. The culprits cannot evade their responsibility.

The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side [S/13278, annex] is merely an attempt to use the negotiating table for the purpose of implementing the big-nation expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leaders towards Viet Nam, which they have failed to achieve despite the resort to one thousand and one tricks, including war waged by proxy and directly. In fact, as a Western journalist put it, "China wants to use the creation of tensions at the borders as a means of pressure to cause Viet Nam to change her policy" (AFP, 27 April 1979).

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to point out that, in putting forward its eight-point proposal, the Chinese side labels it a "proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations". However, apart from point 1 about restoring "friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence", it has raised issues going beyond bilateral relations, making an outstanding point of the so-called "struggle against hegemonism". It has raised the issues of "hegemonism" and "non-stationing of troops in other countries", thereby hinting that Viet Nam should withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos; it has forgotten that through an exchange of notes, the two sides have agreed to discuss the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

The Chinese side spoke a great deal about the struggle against hegemonism. But what about its deeds? Actually, it wants to establish China's world hegemony, it is concentrating all its efforts on a race for economic and military power, for the power of iron and steel, energy and nuclear weapons, so that China might become a first-class super-Power by the end of the twentieth century. It is hurriedly seeking an all-round alliance with imperialism—particularly with United States imperialism, calling itself an Eastern NATO Power, with a view to materializing their global strategy against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, peace and progress in the world; it supports the fascist Pinochet clique, helps Mobutu and befriends the Shah of Iran. To oppose the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in 1962, China started a war of aggression against India; in 1969, it kindled a border war with the Soviet Union; in 1974, it occupied by force the Hoang Sa archipelago of Viet Nam and attempted to monopolize the Eastern Sea; in the meantime, it accepted the imperialist occupation of parts of the Chinese territory and welcomed the prolongation of that state of affairs. It supplied money and weapons, and used the organizations following its line and the large masses of Chinese nationals for manoeuvres to bring pressure to bear on and to subvert various administrations in South-East Asia which it considers in their main sphere of influence. It tried to turn Kampuchea into a neo-colony moulded after a Peking model as a spring-board for expansion in South-East Asia. It indulged in interventionist attempts and war threats against Laos. It calls for a United States military presence in South-East Asia. Meanwhile, it demands that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos. Over the past 30 years, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have been constantly fighting shoulder to shoulder against the

common enemy—the imperialist aggressors—and after victory, the troops of each country have withdrawn within their national borders; now, confronted with a danger of intervention, aggression and annexation created by Peking, the three peoples are further strengthening their solidarity and helping one another by every means, including military ones, to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries. This is a legitimate co-operation in keeping with the United Nations Charter, the objectives and principles of the non-aligned movement and the principles of the Bandung Conference. This is a question concerning the relations between two sovereign countries; nobody is allowed to interfere in it. The Chinese leaders are seeking a military alliance with the United States. They do not oppose the maintenance of United States military bases in South-East Asia, in Asia and the Pacific; meanwhile, they have raised the so-called issue "neither side shall join any military bloc directed against the other, providing military bases to other countries", thereby hinting at the signing by Viet Nam of a treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union. We have repeatedly made it clear that the Viet Nam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation does not constitute a military alliance and is not directed at any third country. China has nothing to fear if it does not attack Viet Nam. Viet Nam firmly opposes the Chinese policy of colluding with the United States imperialists, but we do not demand that the Chinese side give up its relations with the United States as a pre-condition for a normalization of relations between Viet Nam and China.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese eight-point proposal is virtually a repetition, word for word, of the anti-hegemony provision in the 1972 Shanghai Joint Communiqué between China and the United States, the 1978 Sino-Japanese Treaty and the 1978 China-United States Joint Communiqué. As is well known, in recent years under the anti-hegemony sign-board, China has attempted to set up with imperialism and other reactionary forces a front against the world revolutionary movement. Raising the anti-hegemony principle at the negotiations with Viet Nam, it wants to compel Viet Nam to give up its correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity and align itself with Chinese policy, and to abandon its lofty international duty, first of all to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, so that it might easily materialize its big-nation expansionism and hegemonism in this region.

The Chinese side has used the so-called struggle against hegemonism to conceal its own hegemonism, to sidetrack the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world, and to divert the attention of public opinion, which is condemning its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The question has often been asked as to why China is doing its utmost to publicize the anti-hegemony contentions while it has given up the objectives of the struggle of the peoples of the world to oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism. In fact, it regards the revolutionary struggle of the peoples merely as a wrangle for influence among the big Powers. It does not allow the nations to decide themselves their own affairs, but adamantly tries to talk one country into adopting and to impose on another this pseudo-principle of anti-hegemonism. Obviously, only one question arises: the Peking leaders should give up their big-nation expansionism and hegemonism; only in this way will there be peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world. The peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, South-East Asia and the world are determined to wage in unity a struggle against all manoeuvres and the collusion of the imperialist and international reactionary forces, for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side contains in addition extremely unreasonable and arrogant demands. It demands that Viet Nam relinquish its sovereignty over the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands which have always been part of Vietnamese territory. While cynically occupying the Hoang Sa Islands, it brazenly demands that Viet Nam withdraw from the Truong Sa Islands. It has forgotten the words of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping at the high-level talks between Viet Nam and China in September 1975 to the effect that "between the two sides there is still a dispute on the question of the Xisha and Nansha Islands (that is, the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands). Of course, his question may be discussed later between the two sides".



China also demands maintenance of the *status quo* of the land boundary and a "demarcation of zones" in the Bac Bo Gulf, which is at variance with its commitment to respect the historical borderline between the two countries, as delimited by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions and officially marked out by border-stones.

While it was the Chinese side which caused, through incitement or coercion, an exodus of hundreds of thousands of Hoa people to China in an attempt to create political, economic and social disturbances for Viet Nam and, more perfidious still, which used a number of such people as scouts or guides in its recent war of aggression against Viet Nam, it demands in its eight-point proposal that Viet Nam welcome back these hundreds of thousands of Hoa people who are to serve as a fifth column for sabotaging Viet Nam from within. This is a very wicked trick which has aroused the highest vigilance of the South-East Asian countries.

A salient feature is that the eight-point proposal of the Chinese side has completely evaded the urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries, which have been put forth by the Vietnamese side and recognized by broad sections of public opinion as urgent, realistic and fair measures which, after the war, the two sides should take in the first place in order to prevent a resumption of the hostilities. In point 1 of the Vietnamese three-point proposal [S/13257, annex], we have suggested refraining from concentrating troops close to the borderline, separating the armed forces of the two sides, stopping all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities, creating a demilitarized zone, etc.

It should be asked why the Chinese side failed to respond to our above-mentioned proposal while they themselves claim that "the Vietnamese side has concentrated troops and indulged in armed provocations against China". The answer will be clear enough when one knows that the Chinese side is massing more than half a million troops near the border, deploying more than 10 divisions, thousands of artillery pieces and a great deal of war *matériel* close to the Vietnamese border, and is indulging in daily armed provocations against Viet Nam on land, in the air and on the sea. At the same time, the Chinese leaders have unceasingly uttered war threats against Viet Nam. Recently Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping himself told a delegation of the Armed Forces Commission of the United States House of Representatives, and even United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, that "China would give Viet Nam another lesson". Thus only one conclusion is possible: the Chinese side wants to maintain a continuing tension in the border areas of the two countries so as to bring pressure to bear on Viet Nam and to seek a pretext for aggression against Viet Nam whenever it wishes.

Looking back at the history of border conflicts between China and several other countries, one sees that, in 1959 and 1962, the Chinese Government proposed to the Indian Government measures on a separation of the armed forces, a withdrawal of the troops of the two sides behind the line of actual control, and discussions between the two Governments on questions concerning the prevention of clashes and the ending of the armed conflict. It was the same case with the Soviet Union in 1969 and 1971; China proposed a separation of the armed forces of the two sides in order to avoid the danger of a resumption of hostilities.

The Chinese side once agreed with the proposal put forward by six countries at the Colombo Conference in late 1962 on the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Indian border; then why does it not agree this time to the creation of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Vietnamese border?

It is necessary to recall that, in its notes addressed to the Vietnamese side dated 1 March [S/13129], 19 March [S/13200, annex 1] 31 March [S/13212] and 6 April 1979 [S/13231], the Chinese side proposed discussions between the two sides on the "practical measures to ensure peace and security in the border areas of the two countries". Why does it deliberately try to elude this question now? So its professions of goodwill and desire for peace are merely empty words designed to mislead public opinion and to camouflage its new ventures.

The Chinese leaders should have drawn for themselves a necessary lesson from their defeat in the war of aggression against Viet Nam; nevertheless the Chinese side has insisted in

an unfounded way that its eight-point proposal constitutes "the only correct way to solve the dispute between the two countries" and attempted to compel the Vietnamese side to align itself on the Chinese policy in order to have "a Chinese peace" which is even worse than the *pax americana* of the past. In their history, the Vietnamese people have gone through thousands of years of struggle against foreign invasion to defend their sacred fatherland in an effective way. In particular, over the past 30 years, upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, the Vietnamese people have valiantly followed a revolutionary line, opposed the counter-revolutionary line, fought against the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and won great victories. Whoever wishes to make the Vietnamese people depart from this path will be merely day-dreaming. The Chinese leaders have embarked on an aggression against Viet Nam, massacred Vietnamese people, devastated many areas in Viet Nam in an extremely barbarous way and are threatening to launch a second attack on Viet Nam. Yet the Chinese representatives at the conference table are attacking the Vietnamese people who are carrying out with all their forces the general mobilization order. It should be asserted that the Vietnamese people who, united as one man, are stepping up production while standing ready to fight, will resolutely strike back at the aggressors, should they be rash enough to launch another attack on Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people and Government are resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland; they will not be subdued by the pressure of any force whatsoever. At the same time, they entertain a constant desire to preserve good relations of friendship with the Chinese people and persistently stand for a negotiated settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two sides. The Vietnamese three-point proposal on the "main principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" has fully expressed the serious stand and goodwill of the Vietnamese side.

This is a complete and comprehensive proposal aimed at resolving both the urgent questions arising from the recent war and the basic questions concerning the relations between the two sides. It meets the desire of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples to see an early restoration of peace and their traditional friendship and the desire for peace and stability of the peoples in South-East Asia and the world. The principles laid down in the Vietnamese three-point proposal are fully consistent with the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

Broad sections of world public opinion have welcomed and appreciated the Vietnamese three-point stand and regarded it as constructive and realistic; it suffices to be animated with goodwill and a sincere desire to settle the problems to be fully in a position to reach an agreement and to implement it.

The Vietnamese three-point proposal is an expression of her just stand to defend her independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of her goodwill and desire for peace and friendship; it has been put forward at the negotiating table in a bid to reach a fair, satisfactory and mutually beneficial settlement. But to our deep regret, the Chinese side has not seriously studied it. It groundlessly claims that the Vietnamese proposal fails to deal with "basic and substantial" issues. We propose that you reconsider the question. Apart from point 1 about "urgent measures to ensure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families", what is point 2 about? It is about "restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides; development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit".

On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal, etc., relations.

To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war, point 3 deals with the "settlement of border and territorial problems



between the two countries on the principle of respect for the *status quo* of the borderline left by history and delineated by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions signed between the French Government and the Ch'ing Dynasty, as agreed upon between the Vietnamese and the Chinese sides; respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity".

We hope that the Chinese side will study our proposal seriously, calmly and with goodwill, and give it a positive response.

The current situation is very serious. A heavy responsibility is incumbent on our two delegations. Our two peoples are looking forward to an early outcome of the negotiations and the peoples of South-East Asia and the world are following these talks with deep interest. Let our two delegations remove all obstacles to making the negotiations progress. It is advisable to follow these points in the course of the talks:

(a) To discuss and resolve only problems concerning the relations between the two countries;

(b) Equality, mutual respect;

(c) To find together a fair, reasonable and mutually satisfactory settlement;

(d) Neither side shall impose its policy on the other side;

(e) To reach agreement on the immediate settlement of those questions which can be settled, to set aside for future negotiations those which cannot be settled at once.

To show our goodwill and to ensure progress for the negotiations, we would like to put forward today the following proposals:

1. Our side has mentioned in point 1: "Urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families".

Point 1 of the Chinese side reads: "The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles".

Let us discuss these two questions by devoting alternately a meeting to each. More precisely speaking, at the next meeting, i.e., the fourth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question "Urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families". At the fifth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question of "restoration of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles". We shall continue to do so till the questions are settled.

2. In its notes of 1 March, 19 March, 31 March and 6 April 1979 addressed to the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side suggested that the two sides "march forward to a settlement of border and territory disputes, and of other outstanding disputes between the two countries". We respect this view of the Chinese side and agree accordingly that these problems will be discussed later.

3. We have proposed that the two delegations shall exchange lists of people captured during the war so that their return may be effected as soon as possible; at the present meeting, we are ready to hand the Chinese delegation a list of Chinese captured during the war and we propose that the Chinese side also hand us a list of Vietnamese captured during the war. We have always entertained the hope that the people of the two sides captured during the war may return within their families at an early date. For the sake of humanity, we expect a response on your part.

The above-mentioned proposals are very fair, reasonable and practical; let the Chinese side give a positive response so that these negotiations may progress favourably and bring about the results which everybody is awaiting.

## DOCUMENT S/13303\*

### Note verbale dated 4 May 1979 from the representative of Czechoslovakia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[7 May 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to draw his attention to the growing demands, voiced both officially and unofficially in, as well as outside, the United Nations, calling for an end to the absurd situation in which a private person is active within the United Nations, distributing official United Nations documents the content of which is substantively, politically and legally quite irrelevant, and claims to be "the representative of Democratic Kampuchea". The Permanent Mission of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully associates itself with these demands.

A continuation of that situation is sharply at variance with the actual state of affairs in Kampuchea, defies the principles of international law, constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and, at the same time, discriminates against that State in international relations.

After years of untold suffering, the people of Kampuchea have overthrown the hateful, sanguinary and criminal dictatorship of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique which, at the bidding of the current Chinese leadership,

was conducting a policy of extermination against its own people and was nothing but a servile executor of Peking's expansionist plans in South-East Asia.

The Pol Pot government no longer exists and those claiming to be its representatives represent only themselves and their Chinese masters.

The Kampuchean people placed at the head of their country a People's Revolutionary Council which is the sole legal and actual holder and executor of State power in the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and other competent bodies of that State are entitled to represent their State in international relations, including the United Nations, and to appoint their representatives for that purpose.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which was among the first States to recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea, together with a number of other States maintaining relations with the new Kampuchean Government, is convinced that the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a democratic internal policy, is devoting priority attention to an all-round restoration and revival of its country and to the elimination of the con-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/225-S/13303.

sequences of the criminal excesses of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and their Chinese advisers. The People's Revolutionary Council strives for the development of a peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment and friendly, good-neighbourly relations with all the States in the region and friendly relations with all nations of the world.

Tolerating the activities of the so-called representative of a non-existent Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime not only causes unlawful damage to the interests of the People's Democratic Republic of Kampuchea but is equally to the detriment of the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

The Permanent Mission of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic expects that the recognition of the basic inalienable rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations and the respect for the principles governing the activities of the United Nations will bring a speedy termination of the current unlawful and discriminatory situation and secure the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations.

The Permanent Mission of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic requests that the text of the present note should be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13304\*

### Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the representative of Benin to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/French]  
[8 May 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a press release dated 4 April 1979 and an article by Jon Bradshaw concerning the French mercenary Bob Denard, alias Colonel Maurin, alias Gilbert Bourgeaud.

Jon Bradshaw's article, which appeared in the 27 March 1979 issue of *Esquire* magazine, throws new light on the sinister career of this mercenary who led the armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin:

In the context of the complaint by Benin, which is still before the Security Council, I have the honour to request that the press release, together with the article by Jon Bradshaw, be issued as a Council document.

(Signed) Thomas S. BOYA  
Permanent Representative of Benin  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX I

##### Press release dated 4 April 1979 of the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Benin

The sinister career of a French mercenary who is on the wanted list in Africa: Gilbert Bourgeaud, alias Colonel Maurin, alias Bob Denard.

On 16 January 1977, the people of Benin were the victims of an act of aggression carried out by a gang of mercenaries which was armed to the teeth and led by a French mercenary known as Colonel Maurin, alias Gilbert Bourgeaud, alias Bob Denard.

The humiliating defeat of these mercenaries of international imperialism and their utter rout continue to provide numerous experts with material for analysis and research. Major articles have been published on the subject in many newspapers throughout the world.

Although it is in a sense an apologia for mercenaries, Jon Bradshaw's article, which appeared in the 27 March 1979 issue of *Esquire* magazine, throws new light on the criminal career of Bob Denard, the hired killer of international imperialism.

Jon Bradshaw, who has gathered many startling and significant details about the life of Bob Denard, the creature and instrument of international imperialism in its sinister design for

colonial reconquest and destabilization of progressive and anti-imperialist régimes in Africa, provides crucial facts on which to reflect. With the flagrant collusion of Western imperialist and colonialist circles, Bob Denard is being used to perpetrate crimes against the oppressed peoples of Africa on behalf of the Western secret services.

All peoples who cherish peace and justice must be made fully aware of the machinations of Bob Denard, the French mercenary and bootlicker of imperialism and colonialism, who is on the wanted list in Benin for his odious crimes against our peaceable people.

Attached is a photocopy of the full text of Jon Bradshaw's article, as published in *Esquire* magazine.

Victory to the people.

Death to the mercenaries of imperialism.

Prepared for the revolution, the struggle continues.

#### ANNEX II

##### The Man Who Would Be King

ROBERT DENARD IS A FRENCH MERCENARY. LAST YEAR, HE INVADDED THE COMORO ISLANDS, OFF AFRICA, AND TOOK CHARGE

by Jon Bradshaw

#### I

There was little hope for him this time. He had come to the end. His luck had gone. And worse, he would soon be 50. Robert Denard sat in the cluttered office of his Citroën sales and service station. Outside, the heavy traffic beat down the main road to Bordeaux. He stroked his moustache and dreamed, waiting for his manager to present the monthly billings.

Over the years, Denard had fought in seven separate wars as a professional soldier, or, as the papers put it, a mercenary, one of *les affreux*—the terrible ones. He was known throughout black Africa as le Colonel. He had taken five wounds. He walked with a limp. He suffered from recurrent bouts of malaria. He had a wife, a light-skinned Congolese. He had a child. He maintained secret bank accounts in Gabon, Geneva, and Luxembourg. He owned a successful Citroën station. But what was that? It wasn't much. And he had not expected to end his days in trade.

Denard fiddled with the bracelet of elephant hair he always wore round his right wrist. He was a handsome man—a Gascon with a hooked nose, cropped brown hair graying at the sides, blue eyes that seemed always still and cold. Denard was what the French call a *baroudeur*, an adventurer. He believed that men

\* Incorporating document S/13304/Corr.1 dated 25 May 1979.

are made by circumstances; he himself had come of age during the German occupation of Paris. After that, there had always been war for him. He had been a marine gunner in Vietnam, a policeman in Morocco, a legionnaire in Algeria, a mercenary in Yemen and the Congo. *La guerre c'est mon métier*, he had long been fond of saying. It seemed mere bluster to him now.

But he remembered it all so well. Even here in Bordeaux, the Congo was always with him. It was in the Congo that he had assumed his first command and acquired a reputation for cold-blooded bravery. During the battle at Kolwezi against a superior United Nations force, he and his little band of mercenaries resisted for days, inflicting heavy casualties, before slipping across the border into Angola. Later, in 1966, they held Stanleyville against the mutinous Katangese, then drove the rebels from the city and destroyed them at Maniema.

Each skirmish, each ambush and attack, was clear to him—how they drove through the damp weight of the jungle in their jeeps, the heavy machine gun mounted on the back, how they swooped into enemy villages, their morale so high that they attacked while standing up in their jeeps. He could still hear the crash of the mortars, the machine gun and automatic rifle fire. He could still see the oncoming waves of screaming Katangese, drugged on *chanvre*, which gave them, they believed, the *dawa*, or magic, that enabled bullets to pass through them harmlessly; and afterward, when the battle was done, the piles of dead black bodies along the jungle road, so thick at times that the jeeps were unable to pass until the bodies were heaved into the bush. He had killed . . . he could no longer remember how many men he had killed.

In those days he had always had his *baraka*—an Arabic word denoting luck. *Baraka*, in fact, was more than luck; it was a kind of invincibility. He believed in it with the odd and obstinate faith of the superstitious. And so did his men, the little group of 30 or 40 mercenaries whom he had trained in the Congo, taken to the war in Yemen, and brought back to the Congo again. They believed he had a great vein of it, that it was powerful not only for him but for them, and that it would never run dry. But in July of 1967, while inspecting his troops entrenched along the Congo River, he was hit in the head by a bullet. He was flown in a stolen DC-3 to Rhodesia for an operation. The bullet was removed, but he was partially paralyzed in the right leg, and for months thereafter, he walked with a cane.

By then, the war in the Congo was nearly over. In November of 1967, only partially recovered and still using a cane, he and 16 of his men crossed into the Congo from Angola in order to support the Belgian mercenary, Black Jean Schramme's mutiny against the Congolese Government. Having no transport, they came into the Congo on bicycles. In a series of sudden ambushes, they lost four men and were forced once more to retreat into Angola. He was finished, his Congo days ending in defeat and ignominy. This was made quite clear to him that fall. Hearing that there would be clandestine but official French support for a mercenary venture in the recent outbreak of war in Biafra, he offered his services; but his reputation was tarnished and despite his intrigues he was rejected as its potential leader. It was the final blow, he believed at the time, and he withdrew to Bordeaux.

Since late 1967, Denard had been one of the trusted agents of Jacques Foccart, then the French Republican presidency's secretary-general in charge of African and Malagasy affairs. Appointed to this position by President de Gaulle in 1961, Foccart quickly became the *éminence grise* of French covert operations in Africa. Called le Phoque (the seal), Foccart had been one of the leaders of the Gaullist Service d'action Civique (SAC), whose specialty was dirty tricks against left-wing parties in France. Now, independent of the official services, Foccart took Africa as his fief.

In the early 1960s, at a time when African nations were becoming independent, the Gaullist regime backed those African politicians who were favorable to or dependent on France—particularly in their former colonies. Independence was necessary, acceptable even, but de Gaulle, Foccart, and Denard himself were men who continued to believe in the efficacy of the French Empire. To that end, France used its secret services to combat threats to its interests by radical African political organizations in their former colonies. Thus, whenever there were secessionist movements or important mineral or petroleum resources in question, Foccart and, hence, Denard were actively

engaged. Denard was Foccart's pawn, and he was moved about Africa accordingly.

Foccart's activities in Africa were centered in Gabon. Foccart and the Gabonese president Albert Bongo had long been allies. Foccart helped Bongo foment a military coup in February of 1964. He was instrumental in the death of Germain M'Ba,<sup>a</sup> Bongo's chief political opponent, who was kidnapped while leaving a movie house in Libreville in 1968 and never seen again. It was said that Denard killed M'Ba personally, slashing him to pieces with a machete.

In late 1967, using the pseudonym Colonel Gilbert Bourgeaud (although he occasionally used the name Colonel Jean Maurin), Denard had been engaged by President Albert Bongo as a technical adviser and instructor of the palace guard. His real role, however, was to help form a group called the Foreign Intervention Collective. The group was composed of European and African mercenaries and was trained in counter-urban guerrilla warfare and antiterrorism. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Denard spent most of his time in Gabon. With the election of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in 1974, Jacques Foccart fell into political disgrace "officially." He continued, however, to receive African leaders in Paris and was often their guest in Africa. More important, the network he founded in Africa is still in operation. It comprises some 3,000 men and is known only as *les gars de Foccart*—Foccart's guys. In Africa, the organization is as powerful as SDECE (Service de documentation extérieur et de contre-espionnage)—the French CIA.

In July of 1975, Denard received new marching orders, this time to the Comoro Islands. The Comoros, lying in the Indian Ocean between Madagascar and Mozambique, were the poorest of France's dependencies. The four small islands have a population of some 370,000 Muslims of mixed African and Arab descent. They survive for the most part on the exportation of vanilla beans, cloves, a little copra, and a curious plant called the *ylang-ylang*, essential to the making of many French perfumes. A poor and inauspicious place, the Comoros have a per capita income of under \$153 a year. The islands, however, were of strategic importance to France, since they lay at the northern end of the Mozambique Channel, through which all the super-tankers came from the Persian Gulf bearing oil round the Cape of Good Hope to Western capitals.

On 6 July 1975, the Comorian parliament declared unilateral independence and appointed Ahmed Abdallah as president, thereby ending 132 years of French rule. Nearly a month later, Denard and seven mercenaries arrived by night in the Comoros, captured Ahmed Abdallah, and installed Ali Soilih, the leader of the opposition, as the new Comorian president. Ahmed Abdallah was exiled to France. Denard remained to train the 1,600-man Comorian army. He spent some two months in the Comoros, and gradually he came to look on the islands as his own kingdom. He was not king, of course, but it was he, Denard, who had made the king. Those were rapturous days for him. Ali Soilih followed orders. Denard soldiered; he swam and lay in the sun and consorted with several of the local girls. At last, everything worked. The Comorian coup had restored his confidence and he believed that nothing would ever deter him again. That autumn he received a new assignment and, when he left for Gabon, he promised himself that one day he would return.

During the next few months, he remained in Africa running invidious errands for Jacques Foccart and the CIA. In the fall of 1975, he recruited 30 mercenaries to support President Mobutu of Zaire's invasion of oil-rich Cabinda. The invasion failed. In early 1976, he was paid \$500,000 by the CIA to recruit 20 mercenaries to support the right-wing UNITA forces during the Angolan war. The mercenaries failed to complete their six-month contract. Denard was vexed, but these were minor set-backs and he continued to believe that his *baraka* was as strong as ever.

On Sunday morning, 16 January 1977, Denard and 91 mercenaries were aboard a four-engine, unmarked DC-7 en route from Libreville, in Gabon, to Cotonou, in Benin, a small "Marxist-Leninist" republic on the western coast of Africa. The mercenaries were called Force OMEGA, and Denard, their leader, was traveling under his usual pseudonym of Colonel Gilbert Bourgeaud. The group, trained at Benguerir, a military base

<sup>a</sup> The purpose of document S/13304/Corr.1 was to replace the name "Léon Mba" which appeared in the mimeographed version of document S/13304 by the name "Germain M'Ba".



near Marrakech, in Morocco, had flown the day before from Morocco to Gabon.

Force OMEGA's objective in Benin was "to eliminate the present regime, to install the new team from the Front for the Liberation and Rehabilitation of Dahomey [Benin] and to seize and neutralize the President." Denard reckoned the coup d'état would take a maximum of three hours. With Denard was Gratien Pognon, Benin's former ambassador to Brussels and a longtime agent of SDECE. Pognon was to be Benin's new president. He carried a copy of his victory speech inside his safari jacket. The speech began: "Children of Dahomey, arise. The tyrant is no more." At seven o'clock that morning—because of a breakdown in Gabon, they were already an hour late—the old DC-7 flew in low over the Bight of Benin and landed at the small airport at Cotonou.

As the plane taxied round, Denard saw a tank move slowly up the airstrip toward them. The plane wheeled and stopped. Chutes were extended from the doors through which the mercenaries slid to the ground. An 81-mm mortar was set up near the starboard wing, and they knocked out the tank on the second shot. Fifteen minutes later, the airport was theirs. There were only five soldiers on duty, three of whom were shot. The other two and seven airport technicians were taken hostage. Denard set up his staff headquarters in the main terminal and dispatched his men in three separate units to the presidential palace, two and a half kilometres away.

From the roofs of the Ministry of the Interior and a five-story apartment building, the mercenaries began to shell the palace with 81-mm mortars. One of the shells hit the palace roof just above the president's bed, but he had spent the night in his private residence five kilometres away. The mercenaries' fire was returned by the palace guard, who swiftly grouped on the palace roof. The firing from the palace was fierce and accurate, and the mercenaries were unable to advance. Three hours later, supported by 200 troops from the nearby army camp, the palace guard counter-attacked, and slowly the surprised mercenaries were forced to retreat.

Only minutes later, it became a rout. Dozens of civilians wielding machetes joined the advancing soldiers. The mercenaries broke and ran for the airport, shooting haphazardly over their shoulders as they went. At the airport, Denard was stunned. Leaving the terminal building, he saw his men in full flight and beyond them the oncoming Beninese. Without thinking, and clutching his bad leg, he joined them in their dash for the plane. The DC-7 taxied round and moved slowly up the airstrip, the mercenaries running alongside until one by one they were dragged aboard. Two mercenaries were killed and a young Belgian mercenary was shot in the arm; it was later amputated.

Somehow, the DC-7 managed to take off without receiving a direct hit. Sitting in the back of the plane, Denard could see the Beninese soldiers below jumping up and down and brandishing their rifles in the air. It was only later he discovered that in their panic, they had left behind their mortars and machine guns and a 300-watt radio transmitter and that he had forgotten his briefcase containing photographs of the mercenaries, their real names, addresses, and bank accounts, and detailed plans for the coup d'état. He was sick. He had never felt so sick.

It had been a terrible fiasco. His *baraka* had finally gone. In the next few months, many of his men who had been loyal for years deserted him for other campaigns and other commanders. In 1977, there were wars enough to keep them occupied. Some went to Rhodesia, others to Somalia and Saudi Arabia, and others still to Thailand and Chad. Denard returned to Bordeaux.

Now, sitting in the cluttered office of his Citroën station, he recounted the grim litany of his defeats and waited for his manager to present the monthly billings. Once there had been heroics; now there were only Citroëns. When he finished work at 5 o'clock, he drove the 60 kilometres to his home in the little village of Lesparre. Over dinner, his wife said he had had an urgent call from Paris that afternoon. Denard said he did not believe in urgency anymore.

## II

Ali Soilih liked being head of state. And despite his socialist beliefs, he liked to think of himself as king, the kind of king who would guide his subjects down the difficult road of five-year

plans and proletarian reforms with monarchic zeal. Ah, to be king. Even if one's kingdom was the Comoro Islands—four lumps of flotsam in the inaccessible sea.

Night after night he sat by the big window in the presidential palace and looked down on the lights of what the local brochures called "the perfumed isles." He lighted his pipe filled with *bange*, the local marijuana, and dreamed of new edicts, decrees, and constitutional reforms he might or might not put into effect the following day. Occasionally, he thought of Robert Denard. After all, without Denard, he would not now hold this high position. Ali Soilih was glad Denard had come to the Comoros; he was even more glad he'd gone. A useful man, Denard, but one without heart or politics. A troublemaker.

From the palace window, Ali Soilih could see the little village where he was born. He had lived in that village for sixteen years. He had gone to school, he had gone regularly to the mosque, he learned his Koran, and on week-ends he worked his father's onion patch. At 16, he went to Madagascar to attend an agricultural college. At 23, he studied in Paris for a year on a scholarship; he was supposed to be studying agronomy, but he spent his time unraveling the mysteries of economics and socialism. He did not pass his examinations, but back in the Comoros, the title of engineer of agronomy was given to him anyway. He moved into the capital of Moroni. Against his mother's wishes he entered politics. His mother believed that men who made politics in Africa ended up in prison. He bought a bicycle, married, and fathered two children. He had few prospects, but he was awash with plans.

By 1970, Ali Soilih was leader of the opposition—opposing the conservative party of Ahmed Abdallah. When unilateral independence was declared in 1975, Ali, who had always advocated closer ties with France, was approached by agents of Jacques Foccart. They believed Ali would make a more sympathetic head of state. Ali Soilih thought so too. Four weeks later, Robert Denard and his mercenaries arrived in the Comoros. Following the coup d'état, Ali Soilih, now 40, plump, and bald, was driven up the hill to the palace.

No one in the Comoros can now recall just when the benign agronomist began to change, to change to such a degree that in less than two years his more irreverent critics referred to him as "the madman of Moroni." There had been early indications. Despite a pressing need for sugar, rice, and beets in the Comoros, on his third day as head of state, Ali Soilih ordered 10,000 batons from Paris in order to keep his unruly subjects in line. Some months later, he banished his wife from the palace, replacing her with three teenage girls. Ali's favorite was a pretty girl called Mazna, from Madagascar, who had worked as a maid in a local hotel. After Mazna moved into the palace, the sounds of revelry could be heard as far away as Ali's village. Ali and the three girls smoked *bange*, drank brandy, and watched American movies far into the night. In time, the early-morning cabinet meetings were postponed till noon.

During the late afternoons, Ali Soilih took mint tea on the palace porch while he issued solemn radical decrees designed to change the mentality of the people from colonial feudal attitudes to progressive socialist ones. He began by nationalizing everything from the taxis to the little fishing pirogues. He lowered the voting age to fourteen and promoted semilliterate teenagers to positions of power, in some cases as junior ministers. He became particularly peeved with the French. After more than 130 years of rule, they'd left no architecture, few schools, and no real hospitals. All they had done, Ali Soilih believed, was manipulate and exploit his people. During his first year in office, Ali fired all 3,500 civil servants and burned more than a century of French administrative records in the town square. By 1978, everything French had been abolished except the language and the little bakery, which continued to produce 500 baguettes a day.

France retaliated by cutting off its \$18 million annual aid program. And after that, everything went wrong. The island was hit with a cholera epidemic. The fishermen found no fish. Karthala, the volcano that rises nearly 8,000 feet above Grand Comoro, erupted for the first time since 1918. That first year, the rainy season never came. The omens were not auspicious.

But the cultural revolution was now in full flood. Although Ali Soilih smoked *bange* regularly, he forbade its use in the islands. He created the Commando Moisé, an elite young troop

modeled on the Red Guard, who wore red shirts and scarves and roamed the streets of Moroni bullying the populace. Since Ali had recently become an atheist, the traditional wedding feasts were banned and Muslim women were no longer permitted to wear veils. "You cannot wear a veil," said Ali Soilih, "and drive a tractor too"—overlooking the fact that there were no tractors on the island.

During his second year of rule, Ali Soilih installed loud speakers in the more important villages so that his subjects would be forced to hear his complicated discourses. He was very fond of the Comorian national anthem; thus, whenever it was played through loud speakers, his subjects, even those who were driving cars, had to come to prompt attention. To disobey was a punishable offense. Ali then decided that his name must be praised along with Allah's in all the island mosques. The grand mufti grudgingly assented, but in the little fishing village of Iconi, the righteous refused to be intimidated. Ali Soilih sent in his troops. Twelve of the villagers were killed, and more than a hundred were wounded or maimed.

In January of 1978, Ali Soilih's *moirlimou*, his witch doctor, had a clear and startling vision. The next morning, he hurried to the palace and informed Ali that before six moons passed, he would be dragged from his throne by a man with a dog. Ali Soilih, never one to trifle with fate, dispatched his soldiers to the four corners of his kingdom, ordering them to murder all the dogs. The soldiers either killed them outright with clubs or tied the animals to the backs of land rovers and dragged them to death in the streets. No one knew just how many dogs were killed; some say 50, others 60,000, but not a single dog remained.

Ali Soilih had now been in power nearly thirty-four months. The kingdom was destitute, but Ali believed the wheels of government ran smoothly. He was rarely seen anymore, often not leaving the palace for months at a time. He played with his girls, he issued new decrees, and he told his teenage ministers that the way had been prepared, his vision was keen, unclouded.

On Saturday night, 13 May 1978, Ali Soilih paid an unexpected visit to the Mosque de Vendredi. Walking into the central room of prayer without having taken off his shoes, he instructed the grand mufti to summon Allah immediately. This proved, on such short notice, to be impossible. Ali then told the grand mufti to summon Ali Soilih. The grand mufti seemed perplexed. Laughing, Ali Soilih said, "You see, I am here already. I exist. I am not a fantasy."

Having given this irrefutable proof, he drove back up the hill to the palace. He smoked a pipe and spent the rest of the evening drinking brandy with an importer of religious bric-a-brac. At some point, long after midnight, Ali Soilih fell into a contented sleep in the arms of Mazna, his favorite concubine.

### III

He could not put the urgent call from his mind, and when dinner was over, Denard rang Paris immediately. His caller was Ahmed Abdallah, the ex-Camorian president whom Denard had deposed nearly two years before. Now, in March of 1977, Abdallah suggested that Denard come to Paris as soon as possible. He had a proposition, one he believed Denard would find both interesting and lucrative. They agreed to meet at Abdallah's apartment in the sixteenth arrondissement the next afternoon.

After two years in exile, Ahmed Abdallah wanted his country returned to him. When asked why he had sought out Robert Denard, the very man who had taken the Comoros from him, Abdallah explained that if one had always used the same doctor and one's children fell ill again, why look for a different one? And besides, coup d'etats were Denard's métier.

In Paris, the two men reached a swift and amicable agreement. They knew the French secret services would not oppose their scheme; indeed, Jacques Foccart had already assured Denard of this. Denard calculated that it would take a year to make the necessary preparations and the cost would be in the range of \$1,500,000. Then Denard did a curious thing, something no mercenary, certainly, had done before. He explained that he wanted a share in the action, that he was prepared to mortgage his Citroën sales and service station, which, he reckoned, was worth some \$700,000. Abdallah agreed and pointed out that additional funds could be expected from Mohammed Ahmed, his ex-co-president. Abdallah himself would mortgage

his two Paris apartments. Between the three backers there would be funds enough to topple Ali Soilih.

The project pleased Denard. He did not tell Abdallah, but should the coup d'etat be successful, he had no intention of leaving the Comoros again. He was, he knew, too old for war; he had lost the taste for it. He wanted to retire, preferably somewhere in Africa, and now, quite by chance, a sanctuary had been selected. His offer to participate in the cost of the coup had been sincere. But Denard also knew that his personal expenditures would be returned once he and his men took the Comorian national treasury. He would make careful plans. This time, there would be no tanks, no waiting armies when he arrived. He would seize the little kingdom and stay on, perhaps as king, at the very least as commandant.

The two men drew up a formal contract that included a detailed budget. Abdallah agreed to pay Denard and his "technicians" in American dollars. They would receive their payments in three parts—a preoperational advance, a postoperational payment following the success of the coup, and the final payment when the technicians departed. Abdallah was anxious to begin. His nine children and many of his friends and relatives had been imprisoned by Ali Soilih. He did not envisage this venture as a coup d'etat but as a liberation.

Denard began his preparations that very week. He called two mercenaries who, despite his recent reversals, had remained loyal to him—Captain Philippe Gérard and Major Guy Cardinal. Both men had accompanied him on the disastrous journey to Benin. Denard reckoned he would require a force of 50 men. He decided to take out advertisements in the newspapers—*Le Figaro* in Paris and seven or eight provincial papers. Advertising is not a sound method of recruiting men. It attracts ex-convicts, professional toughs, and the unemployed. But the word had already gone out to the bars mercenaries normally frequented—le Paris, la Taverne d'Alsace, and le Lord Byron, off the Champs Elysées, and le Temps Perdu, in St-Germain—and there had been few responses. So the advertisement was necessary. The ad was simple, stating that a foreign company required men with excellent military backgrounds to help survey and exploit oil resources abroad. The risks were minimal, the pay was good, about \$4,000 for two months' work. The advertisement was repeated twice and ran for a week each time in May of 1977.

More than a thousand men answered the ad. The interviews were conducted in Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles, and the candidates were graded according to classifications of good, average, and unacceptable. Denard refused to accept any man whose politics were left of center. Their military backgrounds had to be excellent and preferably recent. His ideal recruit was a fit man of thirty who had seen action as a parachutist. Denard did not allow for the smallest compromise, acting in strict accordance with his favorite dictum: An army is like a clock; if one tiny thing goes wrong, everything else goes haywire.

By late autumn, Denard had selected 45 technicians. The 39 Frenchmen, 1 German, and 5 Belgians would compose his main assault force. They had seen action in such places as the Congo, Lebanon, Somalia, Biafra, Algeria, Angola, Cabinda, Benin, Viet Nam, the Sudan, Rhodesia, and Chad. With such men, Denard felt he might have captured Carcassonne.

His original plan was to travel to the Comoros by plane. But planes were expensive and difficult to acquire. Few countries would permit 50 mercenaries to leave their soil for an unknown destination. And, more important, he had not forgotten Benin. He decided to go by boat.

He recalled Lagengette Beach in the Comoros. The beach, about one and a half kilometres north of Moroni, lay near the foot of the palace road. There were no houses on it, and the bay was wide and deep. It was the perfect landing place. He decided against chartering a boat, since that would require the trust and assistance of a strange captain and crew. No, he would have to buy a seaworthy boat, one that was normally at sea for long periods of time. That autumn, he visited his old friend Commandant Pierre Guillaumat.

Guillaumat, a former legionnaire in the OAS, was known as le Crabe-Tambour. A film of his exploits achieved a minor success in Paris in 1977. But that was all behind him now. Guillaumat now operated a large commercial maritime business



in Paris with drilling interests in offshore oil. The two men talked, and Guillaumat assured Denard he would find a suitable vessel in time.

In September, Guillaumat took Denard to Brest, on the Brittany coast, and showed him the prospective vessel—a 30-year-old blue *chalutier*, or trawler. It was called the *Athénée*. The trawler was used for long-distance fishing expeditions, sailing as far as the Iles de Désolation, or Kerguelen, as it was known, in the southern Indian Ocean. Her papers were in order. She was registered in Brittany and she was for sale for \$70,000. She would need to be modified to accommodate the 46 mercenaries, but Denard was satisfied. Guillaumat arranged to purchase the trawler through his company and contrived to give it a legitimate mission. He acquired a contract with an Argentinian firm of oil speculators which stated that the *Athénée* would be engaged in research for drilling oil off the shores of Argentina.

Meanwhile, Denard and his two senior officers set about acquiring other supplies. They bought 12 magnesium flares, four pairs of night binoculars, and four powerful walkie-talkies. In Paris, Denard purchased three inflatable rubber landing craft—a black commando Zodiac and two green Sillingers with 50-horsepower Johnson motors and rubber mufflers. These little boats would transport the mercenaries from the *Athénée* to the beach.

At a smart right bank sporting goods store, Guy Cardinal bought the weapons the assault team would require. Denard had decided against elaborate weaponry. His plan of attack was based on two simple axioms he had learned in the Congo 10 years before: One, African soldiers have a fear of fighting in the dark, and two, surprise. They would therefore attack at night, and the weapons would be accurate and loud. To that end, Cardinal purchased 50 shotguns—25 Remington Brushmaster 12-gauge sawed-off shotguns and 25 Beretta 12-gauge gas automatic shotguns. He also bought four Winchester .458s, normally used for hunting elephants. Because the guns were being exported, they were placed in bond until they left the country.

On Friday morning, 25 March, having successfully cleared customs and immigration, the *Athénée* slipped from her berth in Brest and moved out into the Brest Channel. An hour later, she veered south into the Atlantic Ocean. Only then did Denard send a coded message to Ahmed Abdallah in Paris saying they had cleared port and were on their way. On board with Denard were 20 mercenaries in civilian dress. One of them, René, would act as cook. At the last minute, René decided to bring along his pet Belgian Alsatian, Raki. Despite the bad weather, the dog prowled the bow of the boat and barked at scavenging sea gulls.

The *Athénée* headed south for Las Palmas, in the Canary Islands. There she would take aboard additional supplies and the remaining 26 mercenaries—posing as seamen and traveling under their own passports. Two days out into the North Atlantic, the *Athénée* encountered heavy gales. It took almost a week to reach Las Palmas, where she arrived on the night of 31 March.

The *Athénée* remained in Las Palmas for 15 days, repairing damage to the steering and the hull and taking aboard supplies for a voyage of three months. It would not take nearly that long to reach the Comoros, but Denard wanted extra supplies in the event his mission failed and he was forced to retreat to some distant port. A washing machine was installed, and food and medical supplies; extra rations of cigarettes and 20 cases of wine were brought aboard. Among the supplies were 24 bottles of Dom Pérignon to celebrate what the mercenaries hoped would be a triumphant coup d'état. Because Las Palmas is an international port with heavy shipping traffic and regular crew changes, the other 26 mercenaries had no difficulty coming aboard unnoticed. On 15 April, three hours after the last mercenary had boarded, the *Athénée* set sail for Argentina.

There was little or nothing to do at sea. A few of the mercenaries attempted to fish but had no luck. They erected a large tent in the trawler's stern to protect themselves from the African sun and from passing planes and ships. There they did exercises, jumped rope, and boxed to keep in shape. On the second night at sea, Denard gathered the men below deck and, for the first time, outlined their mission. Producing detailed maps and photographs of Grand Comoro, he carefully explained each man's task and target.

Ten days out of Las Palmas, at about 25 degrees latitude in the south, the *Athénée* changed course. Instead of heading west

toward Argentina, she veered south-east toward the Cape of Good Hope. There was much rough weather round the Cape, and most of the mercenaries suffered mal de mer.

In the southern straits of the Mozambique Channel, the landing craft were brought on deck and inflated. The men were issued weapons, though they were not tested for fear of attracting attention. There were just two days remaining before they reached the target area. It had been a 28-day voyage, and the men were eager to get ashore.

On Saturday, 13 May, just before two o'clock in the morning, the *Athénée* cut her engines about two and a half kilometres off Moroni. None of them had been able to sleep that night. At nine o'clock, they had eaten a light dinner. Two days before, Denard had forbidden the drinking of wine. He went over the maps and the photographs with his squad leaders again. He explained that if anything went wrong, they should be back on board before sunrise so that they could put to sea before they were seen. It was understood that the dead and the seriously wounded would be left behind. Putting away the maps, Denard told them that if they performed their tasks precisely as instructed, they would take the Comoros by dawn. He wished them well, smiled, began to say something else, broke off, and limped from the room. The mercenaries sat at the tables and smoked in silence. After midnight, they gathered on the port deck, watching the dark shape of the island coming closer and closer. The *Athénée's* portholes were blacked out, and the only visible lights were the three little beacons at the end of the quay in Moroni harbor. Denard looked toward the shore and thought of Benin.

It was a dark night. There was no moon. The weather was good, and the day was expected to be sunny and dry. The assault equipment had been stowed on deck before sundown. The 46 men waited impatiently in black battle dress and blue woolen caps pulled down tightly round their heads. Each of them carried a canvas bag filled with medical supplies and ammunition—100 rounds per man. The mercenaries were divided into three groups, each group leader carrying flares and a walkie-talkie. The flares would not be used unless the walkie-talkies failed to work—one flare signaling success, two for limited resistance, and three for immediate retreat.

No one had spoken for more than an hour now. At two o'clock, the three assault craft were eased into the sea and the mercenaries slipped over the side—about 15 men to a boat. The boats turned and glided toward the shore in single file so that in the event of an attack from the beach, only the lead boat would be hit. Almost immediately, they went off course and had to adjust their direction. Ten minutes later, over the soft hum of the muffled motors, Denard could hear the waves breaking on Lagengete Beach, and beyond he could just make out the massive shape of Karthala, the volcano, in the sky. He was almost home.

With Denard in the lead Zodiac were the four members of his shock team, the only mercenaries wearing blackface. Approaching the beach, they jumped overboard, waded ashore, and then, fanning out, sprinted in haphazard patterns across the beach looking for opposition. There was no one in the old Lagengete bar, which had been closed and shuttered for several years. Nor was there anyone in the little white mosque on the other side of the shore road. The team leader returned to the beach and waved the assault craft in. The mercenaries were on the beach and in position by 2.30 in the morning.

It was very quiet. One of the mercenaries ran across the beach road and cut the telephone wires to the palace. The men then split up into their respective teams. Eleven men led by Denard were to attack the palace. The second team of 22 men turned north up the shore road to Camp Voidjou, the main army barracks some 3 miles away. Five mercenaries were positioned at the crossroads of the palace and shore roads to intercept passing cars or pedestrians. Three mercenaries were left to guard the assault craft while two of the others remained aboard the *Athénée*.

The palace was about a mile up the steep hill. Denard led the way; the other men strung out in single file behind him. Because of his bad leg, Denard found the climb difficult, and he knew he was slowing down his men. About halfway up the hill, they encountered a drunken housekeeper and ordered him to return to his home. Blubbering, the man stumbled into the bush at the side of the road.



Just below the palace, round a curve in the road, was the gendarmerie. There were two sentries stationed outside, one of whom was asleep. As the mercenaries neared the main gate, a flurry of shots rang out from the sentry box, but none of the mercenaries was hit. Four of the mercenaries emptied their shotguns and missed both guards. The sleeping sentry awoke and aimed his Kalashnikov rifle at Captain Gérard, but the gun jammed and the mercenary gunned him down. The other sentry turned and ran, but he was shot before he reached the gendarmerie gate.

Now the five mercenaries, waiting below at the crossroads, raced up the hill. They guarded the gendarmerie while Denard and his team continued up the hill to the palace. As they reached the second curve in the road, they heard a car coming slowly down the hill. Soon, an old Citroën appeared with its lights extinguished. Denard ordered the car to stop, but it continued to move toward them. Denard opened fire, blowing in the windshield; the Citroën veered off the road and struck a tree. There was only one passenger, the driver, and he was dead. It was not until the next day that Denard learned that he was Ali Soilih's chief torturer. They continued to climb the hill.

Round the final curve in the road was the palace. It was completely unguarded, and the upstairs rooms were alight. The twelve mercenaries fanned across the open ground and burst in through the main door. Denard was the first to enter the palace's main reception room, on the second floor. There, sitting on one of the sofas, was Ali Soilih. He was fully dressed. A young, half-naked girl cowered on either side of him. The head of state had been asleep but hearing shots had awakened, dressed, and waited. There was little point in resistance; his two main battalions were on the distant island of Anjouan, and on the advice of one of his generals, he had reduced the palace guard the week before. Suspecting a ruse, Denard waved his gun round the room, but there was no one there except Ali and the two girls. Denard pointed his gun at Ali. "Do you remember me?" he said. "Yes," said the president. "You were the only man who could have done this to me."

Just after three o'clock in the morning, the loud clatter of repeated rapid fire was heard from the direction of Camp Voidjou. Twenty-two mercenaries had attacked the army barracks, meeting only limited resistance. The guards had been surprised and frightened. Six of them were killed in the first assault. From inside the barracks there had been sporadic fire, which stopped when Major Guy Cardinal warned the soldiers that if they did not come out he would turn the flame-thrower on them. The major did not have a flame-thrower, and moments later some forty Comorian troops surrendered. The mercenaries did not lose a single man. Shortly after four o'clock, Captain Gérard set off a single flare so that his confederates aboard the *Athénée* would know the mission had been accomplished successfully.

The mercenaries now controlled the palace, the gendarmerie, and Camp Voidjou. They had seized the cable and wireless offices in the town square, the airport, and the radio station on the southern side of Moroni. At sun-up, some 200 people toiled up the hill to jeer at Ali Soilih, imprisoned in the palace. The mercenaries regrouped in the town square, leaving five men to guard the palace and ten at Camp Voidjou. As light broke on the little island capital, large crowds of Comorians milled in the streets waving handkerchiefs and screaming garbled cries of joy. Their cries resembled the bleating of goats.

At 9.30 that morning, Denard telephoned Ahmed Abdallah in Paris and told him he could now come home. In Paris, Abdallah promptly announced to the press that the leaders of the coup had appealed to him to return home and help form a government that would be friendly toward France. Denard did not tell the reinstated president that the mercenaries had already broken into the national treasury, where they had found only \$16,000, nor did he mention that they were interrogating Ali Soilih as to the whereabouts of his country's assets.

About an hour later, René, the cook, brought Raki, his Belgian Alsatian, ashore. Word of the dog's arrival spread swiftly. As René and the dog walked up Lagengete Beach, delirious crowds gathered along the shore road applauding the physical manifestation of their witch doctor's prognostication. Unaware of his significance, Raki chased sea gulls in the surf.

At 11 o'clock, Robert Denard made a brief speech over the national radio. He began by introducing himself as Colonel Saïd Moustapha Mouhadjou and told his listeners that they could call him Colonel Papa for short. (Mouhadjou is a typical Comorian name, the name of the island's largest tree; it denotes a desire to live to an old age.) Colonel Mouhadjou assured the populace that Ali Soilih was in prison and that a new political-military directorate had been created.

Colonel Mouhadjou admitted that he was not Comorian by birth but that he felt Comorian in his heart. To that end, he had adopted the Muslim faith and intended to remain in the Comoros forever. "Now I am old," he said. "I will be 50 years of age this year. I am tired, and I wish to give up my old ways. I want to settle here, to take a Comorian girl as my wife, a girl as young and as beautiful as possible, like all Comorian girls." His Congolese wife continued to reside in Bordeaux. The colonel then invited those young ladies who were not otherwise attached to step forward for his consideration. He concluded by saying that the new republic would return to normal in a few days and asked that his subjects remain calm. When Denard finished, the disc jockey played the four-year-old recording of the Comorian national anthem. It did not, as it usually did, get stuck between the second and third verses.

#### IV

It is not easy being king, particularly when the kingdom has fallen into ravage and bankruptcy. But Robert Denard was an obstinate man. He would do his duty.

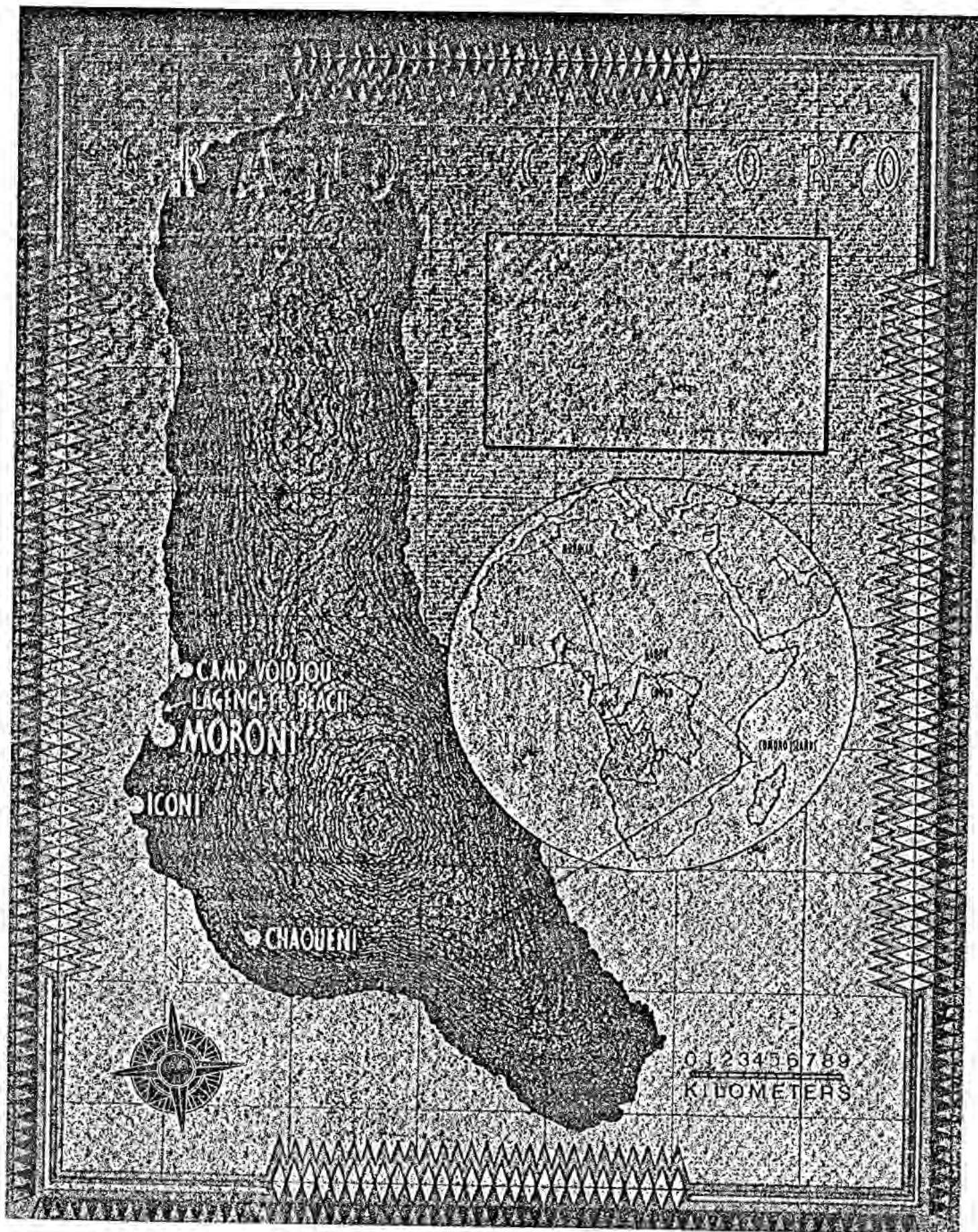
And so during the first weeks of his reign, Denard and his technicians set about making things function. His men occupied such posts as chief of security, controller of immigration, chief of telecommunications surveillance, director of prisons. Denard himself was chief of police and commandant of the army. They cleaned the streets. They whitewashed the lurid revolutionary signs that Ali's regime had painted on the mosques and the town walls. They removed the red star from the two old DC-4s of Air Comores. They put 100 members of the Commando Moisé, Ali's son, his ministers and torturers to work in the streets as common laborers. They freed 300 political prisoners, though in the first few months 50 others were imprisoned. Denard imposed an all-night curfew and banned travel between the islands. Soon there was order and discipline again. Denard felt a sense of extraordinary satisfaction.

Two weeks after the coup, Ahmed Abdallah returned to the Comoros. He was profoundly pleased to be home, but within the hour, his liberators began to cause him grave concern. Denard was jubilant, telling his co-conspirator, "At last I have won." Abdallah noticed that his subjects referred to Denard as "the number one president" and that his democratic government was being called "a political-military directorate"; between the airport and Abdallah's summer residence, the road was lined with cheering throngs, many of whom wore T-shirts emblazoned with the name Robert Denard.

That same month, in a simple ceremony at the little mosque by the sea, Denard formally adopted the Muslim faith. He also chose a wife, that same Mazna who had consorted with Ali Soilih. The pretty twenty-year-old accepted his marriage proposal immediately. She much preferred marriage with Denard to living in sin with Ali Soilih. Mazna was the first of three wives Denard acquired that month, and the happy quartet moved into a large house behind the Karthala Hotel.

Despite daily interrogations, Ali Soilih refused to talk. He would not talk about anything. Denard visited him several times in his palace prison, but in response to questions, particularly those concerning the whereabouts of his golden hoard, Ali Soilih shrugged and turned his face to the wall.

On 28 May, at 3 o'clock in the morning, Josef, the young bartender at L'Hôtel Itsandra, while serving a Ricard to a junior minister, heard the sound of two sharp pistol shots somewhere above in the hills. A half an hour later, one of the mercenaries came into the bar. "We have killed the killer," he said. It was announced the next day that Ali Soilih "had been shot while trying to escape." Forty days of celebration were declared in Grand Comoro. Ali Soilih's body was dumped in the back of a land rover. He was covered with a sheet so that only his feet, dangling out over the back, could be seen, and he was





driven through the crowded streets of the capital. The townspeople danced behind the land rover, banging makeshift drums and laughing raucously.

Later that afternoon, Denard and six heavily armed mercenaries drove up the steep, rough track to Chaoueni, the village of Ali Soilih's mother. The mercenaries came in uniform, not in black battle dress but in the blue uniforms of the Comorian army. Setting Ali Soilih's body onto the ground in a stretcher, Denard told the dictator's 81-year-old mother, "Here is Ali Soilih." The old woman, her friends and relatives, huddled round the stretcher and wailed. There were two neat bullet holes in her son's chest.

That morning, on the radio, the grand mufti told the faithful that he had forbidden Ali Soilih the traditional Muslim burial ceremony so that he would be unable to enter paradise. But in the little yard in front of her house, the dictator's mother buried her son with full Muslim rituals anyway. There is only a small, square, whitewashed tombstone to mark his resting place. As an afterthought, someone scratched Ali Soilih's name in the wet cement. It was misspelled.

Denard put Ali's death behind him; he had other, more pressing concerns. He was beset with revolt both inside and outside the kingdom. At home, Ahmed Abdallah grew increasingly dissatisfied at being thought of as Denard's inferior. And abroad, in July, at a summit conference of the Organization of African Unity at Khartoum, the Comorian delegates were expelled, and prominent African leaders, outraged that an African nation was being controlled by a white mercenary, threatened to boycott the General Assembly of the United Nations should the Comorian delegation take the floor. After his usual fashion, Idi Amin threatened to invade the Comoros. "I don't know what the Africans are so upset about," said Denard. "At least they know where I am. If they drive me out, I will disappear, and who knows where I will turn up next?" But he was not overly perturbed. "If the Comorian people want to me stay," he said, "it will take 10,000 Cubans to expel me."

During the late summer, additional trouble came from an unexpected source—his 45 technicians. Only one of them, Henri Théroux, a failed dental student, had followed his leader's example and taken the Muslim faith. The little blond mercenary with the handlebar moustache took the name of Abdul Raffir (servant of God) and a Comorian wife.

But the rest of Denard's men had not been so easily seduced. They had been lured to the Comoros with promises of action and money and beautiful, exotic girls. But there had been little action; by August, the money was running out, and they had consorted with prettier girls in the back streets of Montmartre. In the beginning, the Comoros were preferable to being unemployed or driving taxis round Montparnasse, but the men were now becoming disgruntled and bored. That summer they sat around in La Rose Noire drinking weak wine and talking ponderously of going home.

By summer's end, only half of the original assault force remained. They were replaced with new recruits, and on leaving they were given Comorian diplomatic passports. Their French passports were not stamped so that no one would ever know they had been to the Comoros. Denard was displeased and charged the malingerers with a lack of discipline. But he had no real time for reflection. He was a busy man. He had a kingdom to run.

During the late summer, he was seen everywhere in the island. He wore a new blue Comorian army uniform and drove around Moroni in a new black Citroën CX 2000. The Citroën, like Denard's wife, had belonged to Ali Soilih.

Denard had controlled the Comoros for four months now, and the island remained much as it had always been. Little or nothing ever got done. Minor problems appeared to require a cabinet decision. Almost everyone was illiterate and unemployed. No one wanted to work for the government because everyone knew it was destitute. Nothing worked as it was supposed to. It was the sort of place where in the dry season it always rained.

In mid-September, Ahmed Abdallah and his co-president, Mohammed Ahmed, were summoned to Paris for talks with Giscard d'Estaing. Ali Soilih had been problem enough for the

French, but now, stung by criticisms of gunboat diplomacy and neo-colonialism from friendly African nations, Paris decided to negotiate. Whatever the cost, the government authorities felt the Comoros must remain in the French fold. And if necessary, Denard himself would have to go.

## V

I had been in the Comoros for several days when the two presidents returned from Paris. No one, neither the local businessmen, the junior ministers, nor the mercenaries themselves, knew what was happening. They knew only that in Paris a decision had been made that would affect them all. The presidents were greeted at the airport by Denard and his men. There were the usual military formalities.

The following morning, I visited President Ahmed Abdallah at his summer residence. The president wore a white coiffe, a blue suit, a red-and-gray regimental tie. He served orange Fanta and Coca-Cola. Two armed guards stood just outside the door. The president patiently explained that Denard and his technicians would have to leave the Comoros. He had decided. He had the confidence of a man to whom France had given firm assurances. "Colonel Denard has no title nor any official position in this government," he said. "None. He never did have. We are grateful to him. And he is always welcome to return . . . as a tourist." The president smiled and lighted a cigarette. "Would you like some more orange Fanta?" he said.

The president went on to explain that in eight days there would be a national referendum to ratify the new Comorian constitution. The constitution had been published the day before. I pointed out that only 15 per cent of the populace was literate. The president said he had taken this into consideration. He had ordered that portions of the constitution be read each day over the national radio. The president said he did not know how many of his people had radios.

That afternoon, Captain Gérard asked me to come to the national gendarmerie. The colonel, he said, had something important to say. At the gendarmerie, Denard sat behind his desk, the trace of a smile on his face, the blue eyes still and cold. He was in uniform—the bracelet of elephant hair round his wrist, the pistol strapped to his side, the paratroop emblem and the five rows of military ribbons on his chest.

"When I came here, a man like me," he said, "I came to do something precise. It was a vow I made to myself. I am proud of what I do. I and my men are free men who choose on which side they fight. I am not ashamed. To do something against your nature is never a solution. I am flattered with Africa's obsession with me. They call me the wolf of the Indian Ocean, and the progressive countries must be pleased that I am here and not somewhere else. What I have done I have done in good conscience. I have never betrayed my country.

"When I leave for Bordeaux, I will leave only stones behind. I didn't come to plunder. On the contrary, I paid to come. I accepted not the salary of a mercenary but that of a worker. I had a sentimental attachment to the Comoros and for my friends here, most of whom were in jail. I wanted to deliver them, to deliver the country, and I did. I gave them peace and dignity.

"Yes, I will leave my wives behind," he said, "because otherwise my heart will leave here too. God knows, I wanted to stay, but the quality of a good chief is to sacrifice himself for what he loves. I really wanted to stay. I belong here." Denard shrugged and looked away. "Well," he said "it is not forbidden to dream."

Three days later, at the little airport on Grand Comoro, there was a public ceremony. A large crowd of Comorians jammed the airport roof. President Ahmed Abdallah, his co-president, and all of his cabinet ministers were in attendance. Crack units of the Comorian army stood on parade. The mercenaries were in civilian clothes. Out of uniform. Denard looked ordinary, vulnerable. His face was stiff and vacant. Three little girls presented him with bouquets of flowers and placed leis round the necks of his men. Denard's three wives stood in the distance holding handkerchiefs to their eyes. Denard did not look at them. To the applause of the crowd, President Abdallah conferred on Colonel Denard the title of national hero. The military band played the Comorian national anthem. And because it was the dry season it began to rain.



DOCUMENT S/13305

Letter dated 8 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[8 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith two letters dated 7 May 1979 from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the barbarous raid by Israeli warplanes against defenceless Palestinian refugee camps.

I would request you to circulate the enclosures as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 7 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Upon instructions of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to bring the following to your attention.

On Sunday, 6 May 1979 at 0730 hours, four Israeli warplanes raided the Palestinian refugee camp at Nahr al Bared near Tripoli for a period of 15 minutes. One infant and five other civilians were killed and 10 others were wounded.

I am also instructed to call upon you to take immediate measures to put an end to this renewed cycle of violence which Israel has launched and which ag-

gravates the already explosive situation in the area and constitutes a threat to peace.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 7 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am instructed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your attention.

Within 24 hours of their barbarous raid in the vicinity of Tripoli, the Israeli Air Force at 1530 hours Beirut time bombarded the villages of Al-Aishiya and Riman. The raid, which lasted 15 minutes, resulted in damage to a number of houses. Details of injuries and deaths have not yet been reported.

I am also asked to call upon you to take immediate action to put an end to the persistent Israeli policy of murdering innocent children and women in Palestinian refugee camps.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13306\*

Letter dated 9 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[9 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a brief summary of developments during the period 15 to 22 April 1979 in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression.

In bringing this summary to your attention, I should be grateful if you would have the text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 46 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Brief summary of developments, during the period 15 to 22 April 1979, in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression

On all fronts, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and guerrilla units are fighting energetically and heroically against the escalation of the Vietnamese war of aggression, allowing the enemy no respite and day by day crushing and destroying its vital forces and its war matériel.

1. South-western region

On 2 April, on the national highway 3 front, the Vietnamese aggressors reassembled their forces with a view to capturing Phsar Trapeang Tkauv. They were led by six tanks, but the units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea inflicted a total defeat on them. One tank was destroyed and a group of Viet-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/226-S/13306.

namese soldiers handling one DK82 was completely wiped out. Many others were killed and a large quantity of weapons captured. Phsar Trapeang Tkauv is still in the hands of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

On 5 April, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea attacked the Vietnamese aggressors supported by three tanks which were proceeding towards Kraing Leau on national highway 3 to plunder the population's rice supplies. They killed 50 Vietnamese aggressors, destroyed two tanks and captured the third tank.

On 8 April, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea completely liberated Chamkar Krom. Many Vietnamese soldiers were wiped out.

#### 2. Western region and national highway 4

During the night of 2 April, on the national highway 4 front, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea liberated Phnom Kdei, the rice-husking plant east of Phnom Kdei, Phum Ta Am and Phnom Preah Khê. The Vietnamese aggressors suffered numerous casualties.

#### 3. North-western region

(a) On 7 April, in the Battambang region, at O Kandal, east of the town of Battambang, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea killed 15 Laotian aggressors directed by the Vietnamese expansionists.

On 19 April, south of Poipet in the province of Battambang, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea destroyed four enemy tanks and killed approximately 100 Vietnamese aggressors.

(b) On 2 April, on the national highway 5 front, units of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea liberated Khlong

Popork and inflicted heavy losses on the Vietnamese aggressors. On 3 April, the enemy attempted to retake that position, but the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea beat off the attack and put the enemy forces to flight. Two lorries, one loaded with 208 B40 weapons and 50 CKC rifles and the other carrying a load of fuel, were captured from the enemy.

(c) On 2 April, in the area of Kompong Chhnang, guerrilla units attacked the enemy position at Tuk Phos and captured it. On 3 April, they beat off the Vietnamese aggressors who were trying to capture the position. During those two days, they killed more than 50 Vietnamese aggressors, destroyed two military vehicles and captured more than 200 weapons.

\* \* \*

*Provisional list of casualties for the period 15 to 22 April (including supplementary figures for the period 2 to 15 April on all the fronts of Bassac, the south-western region, national highway 4, Koh Kong, Battambang, Pursat, along national highway 5 and at Kompong Chhnang, Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey, along national highway 6 and at Kompong Thom, Stung Treng-Rattanakiri and Kratie-Mondulakiri):*

(a) Killed: approximately 3,100 Vietnamese aggressors and 15 Laotian aggressors killed on 7 April at O Kandal, east of the town of Battambang;

(b) Destroyed: 6 tanks and 83 military vehicles, as well as mortars;

(c) Captured: 1 tank, a large amount of ammunition and weapons of various types, including B40s, B41s, CKCs, 60 and 80 mortars, M16s, M30s and M79s, DK75s and DK82s, AKs, and grenades.

### DOCUMENT S/13307\*

#### Letter dated 9 May 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[9 May 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/227-S/13307.

#### ANNEX

#### Communiqué issued on 9 May 1979 on behalf of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, alarmed by the Israeli invasion of the territory of Lebanon, expressed its condemnation of Israel for its continued violation of the territorial integrity of Lebanon. The Bureau views with grave concern the recent escalation and intensification of Israeli armed attacks on Lebanon and on the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanese territory, resulting in great loss of life, particularly of women and children, and destruction of property.

2. The Bureau also expresses its concern for the safety of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

3. The Bureau calls on the Security Council to take all effective steps as prescribed under the Charter of the United Nations to put an end to such Israeli aggression and to restore full Lebanese authority and sovereignty over its territory within the internationally recognized boundaries.

### DOCUMENT S/13308

#### Special report of the Secretary-General concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

[Original: English]  
[9 May 1979]

The Commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Major-General E. A. Erskine, has submitted the following report concerning an in-

cursorion of troops of the Israel Defence Force (IDF) into the UNIFIL area of operation manned by the Irish battalion in the vicinity of Shaqra:

1. On 9 May 1979, at approximately 0640 hours GMT, two IDF platoons and two armoured personnel carriers (APCs) entered the village of Shaqra. OP Mar had earlier observed IDF troops moving into Lebanon through border pillar 33, about two kilometres north of the village of Ramin. The initial Israeli group was soon increased to about one company strength.

2. At 0710 hours GMT, the Irish battalion moved two platoons plus two APCs to reinforce its unit at Shaqra.

3. At 0720 hours GMT, IDF increased its force to two companies' strength, reinforced later with approximately 20 tanks, 37 jeeps, 8 APCs and 3 half-tracks. One company was deployed at Shaqra village and another one was poised outside the village. Subsequently, most of the IDF force was located between Shaqra and Houle to the east.

4. Upon learning of the Israeli incursion, UNIFIL lodged a strong protest with the Israeli authorities. At 0733 hours GMT, UNIFIL headquarters received a message from the IDF liaison officer at Tiberias, to the effect that the Israeli forces would not open fire unless the Irish battalion fired at them.

5. A reserve force from the Dutch, Nigerian and Senegalese battalions was put under the command of the Irish battalion and was instructed to move to Tibnin. This force was later redeployed in Brashit.

6. At 0812 hours GMT, *de facto* forces appeared on the scene. Major Haddad, accompanied by two senior IDF officers, arrived at C Company headquarters

for talks with the Commanding Officer of the Irish battalion. During the negotiation with UNIFIL officers, the IDF officers made the following proposals: (a) IDF soldiers should search some houses which the Israelis suspected were occupied by armed elements and (b) IDF would agree to withdraw its troops after the search.

7. At 0939<sup>1</sup> hours GMT, IDF wanted to know if the Commander of UNIFIL agreed to the proposed search arrangements. The Force Commander refused to allow IDF soldiers to search the houses.

8. In the event, two houses were searched by soldiers of the Irish battalion. Nothing was found. IDF did not participate in the search; they remained approximately 100 metres from the houses. A request by IDF to have a third house searched was refused.

9. The party then returned to the Irish battalion company headquarters at Shaqra. Following further discussions, IDF agreed to withdraw. The last elements of the IDF force left the UNIFIL area of operation at 1215 hours GMT.

10. During the discussions mentioned above, UNIFIL made clear to IDF that a clash would be inevitable if they insisted on making further movements within the UNIFIL area of operation. Furthermore, it was stressed that the entire responsibility for any clash which might occur would rest with IDF.

11. IDF's stated motives for the operation were that terrorists had carried out a raid during the night against the Israeli village of Ramin and that the IDF mission was to punish the terrorists on the spot.

## DOCUMENT S/13309\*

### Letter dated 9 May 1979 from the representative of Mongolia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/Russian]  
[9 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic in connexion with the so-called elections recently held in Southern Rhodesia under the auspices of the illegal minority régime.

It will be greatly appreciated if this statement is circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. DASHTSEREN  
Permanent Representative of Mongolia  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Statement dated 30 April 1979 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic

In complete disregard of the many decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and other international forums, the illegal Smith régime organized so-called elections, in conditions of the most cruel repression, in order to give some plausibility to the manipulations of the leading Western Powers

in connexion with the question of the transfer of power to the African people of Zimbabwe.

The purpose of this shameless farce, carried out with the help of puppets who betrayed the vital interests of the people of Zimbabwe, was to preserve the neo-colonialist and racist system in Rhodesia under a new mask. Such machinations by the racists are directed towards the creation of new obstacles along the way to the settlement of the Rhodesian question and the development of the national liberation movement of the peoples of the whole of southern Africa.

The particular danger lies in the fact that the leading Western Powers and the racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria, acting in collusion, are attempting not only to perpetuate the racist and colonialist system in Zimbabwe and Namibia but also to create a joint base from which to preserve and expand their political, military, strategic and economic interests in the African continent.

It is to that end that they are carrying out armed aggression against sovereign African States, in particular against the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia. The reckless actions of the racists and their protectors are seriously aggravating the international situation in that part of the world.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic strongly condemns the machinations of the forces of international re-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/228-S/13309.



action and the racist régimes against the peoples of southern Africa and against the cause of universal peace and security.

In the situation which has now developed in Africa, particularly in southern Africa, it has become particularly urgent to strengthen the unity of action of the national patriotic movements and the progressive States of Africa with all democratic and progressive forces throughout the world, in order to give a decisive rebuff to the collusion of the imperialists, racists and other reactionary forces.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that a genuine solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia can be achieved only through the strict implementa-

tion of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly providing for the application of sanctions against the illegal régime, and through the elimination of the racist and colonialist system in Rhodesia and the transfer of full power to the people of Zimbabwe in the person of the Patriotic Front.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and all the Mongolian people once again express their full support for and solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination and for freedom, national independence and social progress.

## DOCUMENT S/13310\*

Letter dated 8 May 1979 from the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[17 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed communication containing lists of leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) recently arrested and detained by the illegal South African administration in Namibia, with the request that it be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
President of the  
United Nations Council for Namibia

### ANNEX

Statement issued on 30 April 1979 by Mr. Philip Tjerije, Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity of the South West Africa People's Organization, concerning the detention of SWAPO members

While the international community awaits South Africa's belated response to the latest Waldheim report on the implementation of the United Nations plan for peaceful settlement of the Namibian political dispute, the racist régime of South Africa has launched a massive country-wide clamp-down on SWAPO leaders and members. Once again Steyn's AG 26 has been applied against Namibian patriots.

The detention of SWAPO members, which is a culmination of repeated threats and ultimatums by the South African Prime Minister, P. W. Botha, started on Friday, 27 April, and continues still.

Up to now, we have received the following names of SWAPO leaders and members arrested:

#### SWAPO members detained

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Axel Johannes        | 17. Adolph Kaure      |
| 2. Lucia Hamutenya      | 18. Eino Hauwanga     |
| 3. Ernest Tjirimuye     | 19. Comrade Daniel    |
| 4. Arthur Pickering     | 20. Engelhard Gariseb |
| 5. Marko Hausiku        | 21. Urbanus Ndjavera  |
| 6. Charles Tjienda      | 22. E. Bongu Heuva    |
| 7. Charles Sihana       | 23. Comrade Nakhana   |
| 8. Joshua Hoebob        | 24. Edward Beukes     |
| 9. Johannes Nakawa      | 25. Stefanus Goliath  |
| 10. David Shechama      | 26. Immanuel Mwatara  |
| 11. Silvanus Vatuya     | 27. Hewat Beukes      |
| 12. Erastus Shiimi      | 28. Festus Aaron      |
| 13. M. Johannes Iitope  | 29. Festus Kadhikua   |
| 14. Leonard Mukwiilongo | 30. Ida Jimmy         |
| 15. Nangola ja Jacob    | 31. Attie Beukes      |
| 16. Thomas Iixuxwa      | 32. Comrade Phillip   |

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 33. Sam Domingo            | 48. Masies Musu         |
| 34. Joseph Asino           | 49. Leonard Tjaka       |
| 35. Thomas Ihuhwa          | 50. Charles Lutokus     |
| 36. Jacob Nangolo          | 51. Engiene Simata      |
| 37. A. Ndjaula             | 52. N. Daniel           |
| 38. Dase Kalenga           | 53. P. Hasheela         |
| 39. B. Nangolo             | 54. Rahimiese Kahimiese |
| 40. Skinny Hilundwa        | 55. Comrade Lisius      |
| 41. Gilbert Tjaka          | 56. Comrade Absin       |
| 42. Stephen Ngula          | 57. Comrade John        |
| 43. Pastor Jesaya Nashongo | 58. Rev. B. J. Karuera  |
| 44. Aaron Ipinge           | 59. Moffat Chaka        |
| 45. Elise Ampolo           | 60. Stephen Kwala       |
| 46. Simon Hainelongo       | 61. Comrade Hahohwa     |
| 47. Elia Kusinga           |                         |

The following are on the wanted list but are still at large:

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Festus Naholo      | 5. Jason Angula        |
| 2. Daniel Tjongarero  | 6. Johannes Kaujave    |
| 3. Moganedi Tihanello | 7. Immanuel Ngatjizeko |
| 4. Frans Kabangula    | 8. Rehabeam Kamehadu   |

This list is far from complete since the detention is going on country-wide. The detention of SWAPO leaders and members did not take us by surprise.

Whenever South Africa and its collaborators intend to embark upon an unpopular and treacherous scheme, their first action is predictable: to remove those articulate and highly committed Namibian patriots from the political scene.

Of late, there have been talks of an internal settlement. Efforts for the establishment of an interim government are being made by so-called democratic parties.

SWAPO wishes to state that if South Africa thinks that it will destroy SWAPO by detaining SWAPO leaders and members, it is completely mistaken. The detention would not stop the progress of our struggle. You can detain people, but not SWAPO, not the ideas embodied by SWAPO.

We challenge Steyn to explain to the world why he has detained these highly committed Namibian patriots. It will not suffice to hide behind the verbal rhetoric of maintaining law and order and security.

The fact that Steyn does not bring these people to court is tangible proof to us that they have committed no crime. We therefore demand their immediate release.

The detention poignantly proves to us what South Africa has in store for Namibia—not freedom or independence as it promises, but arrest, detention and the annihilation of the Namibian nation.

Our struggle for genuine freedom and independence will continue in spite of AG 26, or any other action perpetrated against us. Detention will not stop the powerful march of history—SWAPO will liberate Namibia very soon.

The struggle continues. Victory is ours.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/562-S/13310.

**APPENDIX I**  
**LIST OF NAMBIANS IMPRISONED BY SOUTH AFRICA**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Length of sentence</i>	<i>Year sentenced</i>	<i>Place of detention</i>
1. Herman Ya Toivo	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
2. Jesaja Nghidipo Haufiku	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
3. Eino Kamati Ekandjo	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
4. Lazarus Sacharias	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
5. Jonas S. Shimuefeleni	20 yrs.	1969	Robben Island
6. David H. Shimuefeleni	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
7. Eliaser Tuhadeleni	Life	1968	Robben Island
8. John Otto Nankudhu	Life	1968	Robben Island
9. Rudolf Kadhikwa	Life	1969	Robben Island
10. Immanuel Shifidi	Life	1968	Robben Island
11. John Shiponeni	Life	1968	Robben Island
12. Naftali Amugulu	Life	1968	Robben Island
13. Ndjaula Shaningwa	Life	1968	Robben Island
14. Malakia Shivute Uushona	Life	1968	Robben Island
15. Betuel Nuunyang	Life	1968	Robben Island
16. Rehabeam Nambinga	Life	1968	Robben Island
17. Sakeus Ituka Ikika	Life	1969	Robben Island
18. Simon Shixungileni	Life	1968	Robben Island
19. Petrus Kamati	Life	1968	Robben Island
20. Julius Israel Kamati	Life	1968	Robben Island
21. Abel Haluteni	Life	1968	Robben Island
22. Mateus Elia Kanyeule	Life	1968	Robben Island
23. Simeon Hanulemo	Life	1968	Robben Island
24. Phillemon Shitilifa	Life	1968	Robben Island
25. Shimima Nilenge	Life	1968	Robben Island
26. Machael Moses	Life	1968	Robben Island
27. Kaleb Hanganee Tjipahura	Life	1968	Robben Island
28. Justus Festus Heita	Life	1969	Robben Island
29. Solomon Festus Heita	Life	1969	Robben Island
30. Messack Victory	Life	1969	Robben Island
31. Josef Helao Shityewete	20 yrs.	1968	Robben Island
32. Josef Impangelwa	20 yrs.	1969	Robben Island
33. Gaus Shikomba	20 yrs.	1969	Robben Island
34. Jeremia Ekandjo	8 yrs.	1973	Robben Island
35. Jacob Nghindinua	8 yrs.	1973	Robben Island
36. Martin Kapewasha	8 yrs.	1973	Robben Island
37. David Shikomba	6 yrs.	1974	Robben Island
38. Sacharias Nashandi	6 yrs. 3 yrs. suspended	1976	Pretoria
39. Risto Nakanyala	5 yrs. 3 yrs. suspended	1976	Pretoria
40. Petrus Simon Nailenge	deceased while in prison	1968	buried somewhere in South Africa
41. Benjamin Uulenge (26)	15 yrs.	1976	Robben Island
42. Ruben Itengula (34)	12 yrs.	1976	Robben Island
43. Lazarus Guitab (31)	8 yrs.	1976	Robben Island
44. Michael Shikongo (49)	5 yrs.	1976	Robben Island
45. Eddy Kamuyama	6 months	1978	Gobabis
46. Alfeus Muheua	6 months	1978	Gobabis
47. Nahala Shilengelwa	13 yrs.	1978	Ondangwa
48. Andengo Kapolo	8 yrs.	1978	Ondangwa
49. Naboth Imene	5 yrs.	1977	Robben Island
50. Sacharias Alfeus	8 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
51. Johannes Pandeni	12 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
52. Petrus Nangolo Ilonga	12 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
53. Willem Biwa	5 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
54. Heikkie Shililifa	5 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
55. K. M. Hanghwo.	5 yrs.	1978	Robben Island
56. Daniel Smith	6 months	1979	Gobabis
57. Kemba Hangula	6 months	1979	Gobabis

NB: All these people are SWAPO members and were arrested because of their political activities.

Owing to lack of time and the fact that the families of detainees and prisoners are scattered all over the country, we beg to leave those questions unanswered relating to the date of birth or age, or religion. Their age is, generally, from 18 to 50 years. Most persons have families. For the same reason, we are unable to provide you with all other particulars left out in our document and, lastly, we wish to emphasize that many people are in detention, but because of problems of communication we are not in a position to get their names and all the particulars.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PRISONERS OF WAR FROM ANGOLA THOUGHT TO BE HELD AT MARIENTAL CONCENTRATION CAMP

1. Salu Angula	34. David Namboga	62. Asser Omutsezi Junies	98. Nelago Amwaama
2. Ignatius Mutulitha	Mukwiilongo	63. Simon Bobby Martin	99. Petrina Andjele
3. Petrus Sbiimi	35. Gideon Amwele	64. Shiimi Nakale	100. Ester Shikongo
4. Petrus Amutanya	36. Salatiel Endjala	65. Nakale Jakob	101. Veronica Paulus
5. Jesia Dumeni	37. Leonard Frans	66. David Shoombe	102. Cornelia Emvula
6. Gabriel Uahengo	38. Lazarus Andjamba	67. Nambili Isak	103. Fredrika (Shilongo) Shikongo
7. Julius Enkali	39. Lukas Manyami	68. Cornelius Nangolo	104. Selma January
8. Tylvas Shikongo	40. Erasmus Nakale	69. Namuguika	105. Sophia Hinilulu Johannes
9. Paulus Ipinge	41. Tomas Nghifikwa	70. Akuumba	106. Kristofina Amakali
10. Paulus Ipumbu	42. Ambrosius Shivute	71. Kandjumba	107. Sarafia Sheehama
11. Ipongo Angombe	43. Eliaser Shigwedha	72. Shigwedha	108. Eva Iikela
12. Andreas Hashiana	44. Samuel Thobias	73. Angula	109. Naemi Kalili
13. Epafras Elago	45. Lazarus Abraham	74. Iintamba	110. Elizabeth Jonas Aikuti
14. Abraham Nanjembo	46. Achilles Angula	75. Shavuka	111. Nuusiku Martina (and various other people "100")
15. Leonard Ampollo	47. Sakaria Nuuyoma	76. Lungama	112. Selma Ananias
16. Rosalis Hellao	48. Gottfried Wilhelm	77. Laina Shigwana Andreas	113. Josephina Shiimi
17. Petrus Sheehama	49. Gnstaf Sakaria	78. Fanny Finna Shinyemba	114. Sophia Johannes
18. Omermus Niifonga	50. Linus Shimwandi (Kakola)	79. Fransina Itenge	115. Kristofine Shalongo
19. Sakeus Nakaziko	51. Linus Nahole	80. Martha Ntinda	116. Else Festus
20. Eliaser Ita	52. Elifas Nahole	81. Selma Nujoma	117. Ndaline Shilongo
21. Petrus Nanula	53. Josef Kakwaya Amunyala	82. Josefina Skaria	118. Prasheria Shetunyenga
22. Levy (Enkongo) Iikango	54. Hemerich Iikela Amakali	83. Laimi Shunya	119. Nakale Ntinda
23. Titus Kefas	55. Efraim Shilonga Katofa	84. Shimbilinga Frederick	120. Gideon Amutenya
24. Lighto Shigwedha	56. Malenga Nikodemus Katofa	85. Tulonga Stefanus	121. Max Mathias
25. Andreas Shomawe	57. Damiana Petrus	86. Helena Petrus	122. John Shigwedha
26. Salatiel Elifas	58. Abner Nauta Shindela	87. Albertina Linns	123. Malenga Shilongo
27. William Amutenya	59. Kakelegenye Paulus	88. Martha Mika Dhooya	124. Manyami Theophilus
28. Jason Nangombe	60. Paulus Ipumbu	89. Amalia Silas Aupindi	125. Joseph Shimbundu
29. Thomas J. Ashinkono	61. Filemon Amukoto	90. Lucia Matheus	126. Kanamangangala Shilongo
30. Willy Nailenge		91. Ester David	127. Julius Namuhusika
31. Titus S. Hatukulipi		92. Veronica Festus	128. Tomas Namuhusika
32. Wilbardt Amutenya		93. Helena Nashilongo	129. Tomas Noddy
33. Josef Hauwanga		94. Lovis Matheus	
		95. Veronica Johannes	
		96. Kristophina Johannes	
		97. Bernadette Stefanus Mulunga	

DOCUMENT S/13311\*

Letter dated 10 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[10 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Vietnamese-Soviet strategy of expansion and aggression is a grave and direct threat to Thailand and to the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Vietnamese-Soviet strategy of expansion and aggression is a grave and direct threat to Thailand and to the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific"

Viet Nam has been evolving its strategy for the "Indo-Chinese Federation" since 1930. But until now it has been unable to carry it out because of the energetic opposition of the people of Kampuchea, who have successively wrecked all its manoeuvres, whether gentle or brutal, secret or overt, and all its acts of

subversion aimed at swallowing up Kampuchea, and who have thwarted, one after another, all its attempts at a coup d'état, thus inflicting on it crushing defeats. But Viet Nam has not resigned itself to abandoning its expansionist ambition of dominating Indo-China.

Following the end of the war and the unification of Viet Nam, the latter's expansionist ambition immediately increased. Viet Nam aspires not only to dominate and rule over the "Indo-Chinese Federation" of which it has long been dreaming, but it has also prepared another expansionist strategy aimed at the whole of South-East Asia, which would make it a dominant great Power in that region.

The Vietnamese strategy of expansion, both over "Indo-China" and over South-East Asia, fits in perfectly with the global expansionist strategy of the Soviet Union and is in full conformity with the latter's interests. That is why, since 1975, immediately after the end of the war in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese regional expansionists and the Soviet international expansionists combined to implement those strategies in a feverish but secret manner. Their first objective is to create an "Indo-Chinese Federation" which would serve them as a spring-board and a military base for their aggression against and their expansion into Thailand and the other countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific region. In order to be able to implement that strategy of an "Indo-Chinese Federation", they must gain full control of Kampuchea. They have believed that, by using the forces of their army and enormous quantities of modern Soviet weapons in a lightning invasion of Kampuchea, they would be able to swallow up Kampuchea in one bite. But,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/230-S/13311.



contrary to their hopes and their calculations, the Vietnamese and the Soviets not only cannot seize Kampuchea at one stroke but they have also suffered at the hands of the heroic people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which launch powerful and determined attacks against them throughout the country, driving them deeper and deeper into the morass. This situation places the Vietnamese in an impasse and puts them in a great rage. They can no longer proceed with their cunning policy of charming and smiling at the countries of South-East Asia. Now they are forced to discard their mask of innocence and to reveal publicly their fierce and cruel face and appear in their true light as expansionists and aggressors. Because they are becoming ever more deeply involved in their aggression in Kampuchea and are at an impasse, they are now beginning to hurl threats at the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia), and insults and calumnies at the People's Republic of China, to invent falsehoods and accuse Thailand, thereby seeking pretexts for aggression against the latter, and to extend their war of aggression to the whole region of South-East Asia.

All this has revealed more clearly to the whole world, in particular to the countries and peoples of South-East Asia, the true barbarous, fascist, cruel and arrogant nature of expansion-

ist Viet Nam, the lackey of the Soviet Union, a bogus revolutionary and non-aligned country. At the same time, everyone is fully aware of the dangers of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea, which will inevitably extend to the whole of South-East Asia and continue to extend even further over a wider and wider area. The countries and peoples of South-East Asia thus see clearly that the Vietnamese-Soviet strategy of expansion and aggression is a grave and direct threat to their independence, their peace and their security. Faced with such a serious situation, the countries and peoples of South-East Asia are paying great attention to the paramount role of their solidarity in the struggle against Vietnamese regional expansionism and Soviet international expansionism in order to defend their independence, their sovereignty, their peace and their security. The countries and peoples of Asia, the Pacific and the world are also becoming increasingly aware of the need for solidarity with the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and its people and with the countries and peoples of South-East Asia and the need to struggle for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops of aggression from Kampuchea and to combat Vietnamese regional expansionism and Soviet international expansionism which are in the process of carrying out their feverish activities of aggression in South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and throughout the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13312\*

#### Letter dated 9 May 1979 from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[10 May 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to refer to the letter of 7 May 1979 addressed to you by the representative of Lebanon [S/13301] and to state the following.

No arguments can conceal the fact that for many years Lebanon has functioned as the headquarters and main centre for the gangs grouped within the framework of the murder organization known as the PLO. Lebanon has served and continues to serve as the major planning and operational base for the PLO's criminal acts against the civilian population of Israel.

The PLO has made no attempt to hide its intentions. When the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was established in March of last year, Abu Iyyad, one of Yasser Arafat's leading henchmen, indicated in an interview with the Swiss newspaper *Tages Anzeiger* in April 1978 that the PLO would return to its bases in Southern Lebanon:

"We have fought against the Arabs and against the Israelis. We will fight against the United Nations too if it stands in our way. No one can prevent us from returning to our bases in South Lebanon."

The PLO moved quickly to carry out its threat, and today about 2,000 of its armed terrorists are to be found south of the River Litani, some 1,500 of them in and around Tyre within eight miles of Israel, and several hundreds of others inside the UNIFIL area of operation. There are another 10,000 to 12,000 armed terrorists in areas of Lebanon north of the Litani, including Nabatiyya, Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli and elsewhere. More-

over, the PLO has once again used Southern Lebanon in recent months as a base for indiscriminate attacks on civilian centres in northern Israel.

This morning, at 03.45 hours local time, a group of three PLO terrorists opened fire on Kibbutz Manara, on the border with Lebanon, with light weapons and RPGs. A patrol of the Israel Defence Forces captured one wounded terrorist. He disclosed that the terrorists had set out from Tyre. They entered the UNIFIL lines from the north, and proceeded to the village of Shaqra (within the UNIFIL area of operation). There they received weapons and instructions about their operation, before crossing the border into Israel.

It will be recalled that on 22 April 1979, four PLO terrorists came by sea from Lebanon and landed at Nahariya, a coastal town in the north of Israel, where they perpetrated an atrocity resulting in the deaths of four Israeli civilians, including two sisters of three and four years of age, and the wounding of two other civilians. (See my letter of 22 April to the Secretary-General [S/13264].)

On 18 April 1979, Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory in the direction of western Galilee. As a result, one person was injured and damage was caused to property. In the afternoon and evening of the same day, further barrages of Katyusha rockets were fired, once again from Lebanese territory, at the northern tip of Galilee. (See my letter of 19 April to the Secretary-General [S/13261].)

On 16 April 1979, a group of six terrorists was encountered by the Israel Defence Forces near the village of Zar'it on the northern border of Israel. Fire was exchanged and all the terrorists were killed [*ibid.*]

\* Incorporating document S/13312/Corr.1, dated 11 May 1979.

On 11 April 1979, Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory at the town of Kiryat Shmona in northern Galilee and as a result, one woman was injured. Later that day, more rockets were fired in the direction of Nahariya. (See my letter of 16 April to the Secretary-General [S/13249].)

At the beginning of April, the Israel Defence Forces providentially foiled an attempt by the PLO against Israeli civilians when a 500-ton vessel belonging to the PLO was intercepted off Israel's Mediterranean coast. The six heavily armed terrorists aboard all admitted that they belonged to Fatah, headed by Yasser Arafat, and the leader of the gang subsequently disclosed on Israeli television and radio on 8 April that the purpose of their mission was to engage in mass murder [S/13264].

On 23 January 1979 there were artillery barrages from Lebanese territory on civilian targets in the northern tip of Galilee. One shell went through the roof of a school in Kiryat Shmona and providentially a major catastrophe was averted thanks only to the fact that the scores of children in the building at the time had gone down to their shelters literally minutes before the shell struck. (See my letter to the President of the Security Council of 24 January [S/13053].)

On 21 January 1979, civilian targets in the same area came under shelling from Lebanese territory [*ibid.*].

On 19 January 1979, a number of Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory in the direction of Nahariya. Later the same day, more Katyusha rockets were fired from Lebanese territory at civilian centres in the northern tip of Galilee, injuring two persons [*ibid.*].

On 13 January 1979, an attempt was made by three PLO terrorists to commandeer a guest house in the town of Ma'alot near the Lebanese border and to hold hostage its visitors for the purpose of criminal blackmail. Some of the 230 guests tried to flee by leaping out of the windows. In so doing, one woman fell to her death and two others were wounded. (See my letter of 14 January to the President of the Security Council [S/13028].)

On 21 December 1978, a brutal rocket attack was conducted from Lebanese territory against the town of Kiryat Shmona, resulting in the death of an elderly man and the wounding of five persons, including a child of 10. (See my letter of 21 December to the President of the Security Council [S/12979].)

Attacks by land and sea from Lebanese territory on civilian centres in the north of Israel are not isolated acts. Indeed, they are part of a much wider pattern. In the last six months there has been a series of PLO outrages in Israel.

On 5 November 1978, an explosive device blew up in a Tel Aviv bus station.

On 14 November, an explosive device blew up in the East Talpiot residential district of Jerusalem.

On 19 November, an explosive device blew up at Jaffa.

On 19 November, another such device exploded in a bus on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway killing 4 and wounding 28.

On 19 November, an explosive device was found and dismantled in the centre of Jerusalem.

On 28 November, an explosive device was found and dismantled in Jerusalem.

On 3 December, an explosive device was discovered and dismantled at a gas station at Netanya.

On 10 December, a rocket-launcher was discovered in Jerusalem.

On 17 December, an explosive device blew up a bus at Jerusalem, wounding 20.

On 18 December, an explosive device exploded in the Ramot district of Jerusalem.

On 19 December, an explosive device was discovered on a bus in the Gaza Strip.

On 20 December, an explosive device blew up in the Old City of Jerusalem, wounding six.

On 20 December, an explosive device exploded outside Herod's Gate at Jerusalem, wounding three. (For all these incidents, see my letter of 21 December to the President of the Security Council [*ibid.*].)

On 28 January 1979, an explosive device went off in Netanya, resulting in the deaths of a man and a woman, and the injury of 32 others, some seriously. (See my letter of 29 January to the President of the Security Council [S/13058].)

On 27 February 1979, an explosion took place in the Mahane Yehuda open market at Jerusalem, injuring five, including a young girl and a boy of 11. (See my letter of 28 February to the Secretary-General [S/13127].)

On 10 March 1979, the Israel Defence Forces detected and eliminated four terrorists who had crossed the River Jordan south of the Adam bridge. (See my letter of 19 April to the Secretary-General [S/13260].)

On 23 March 1979, a bomb exploded in Zion Square at Jerusalem, killing a 72-year-old man, and wounding 14 other persons. (See my letter of 25 March to the Secretary-General [S/13192].)

On 26 March 1979, a hand-grenade was thrown into a hotel in the Old City of Jerusalem, injuring nine people. (See my letter of 28 March to the Secretary-General [S/13206].)

A day later, a bomb exploded in an open market at Lod, killing a woman and wounding 19 other persons [*ibid.*].

On 5 April 1979, an explosive device went off at a bus stop at Jerusalem, injuring 13 persons, including three children. (See my letter of 10 April to the Secretary-General [S/13239].)

On 6 April 1979, another bomb went off in a Jerusalem restaurant injuring 16 people, among them eight women [*ibid.*].

On 10 April 1979, a bomb exploded in the Carmel market at Tel Aviv, killing two women and wounding 28 other persons [*ibid.*].

On 15 April 1979, a group of four terrorists crossed the River Jordan into Israel in the vicinity of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi in the Beit Shean Valley. It was intercepted by the Israel Defence Forces and in an exchange of fire all four were killed. (See my letter of 19 April to the Secretary-General [S/13260].)

On 17 April 1979, an explosive device placed by PLO terrorists on a bus at Jerusalem was discovered by

a 12-year-old boy and dismantled without causing injury.

On 29 April 1979, an explosive device went off behind the bus station at Kfar Saba, injuring five children.

In sum, the criminal activities of the PLO perpetrated over the past six months have resulted in the deaths of 17 persons and the injury of 240 people. All the casualties have been civilians.

In almost every case, it was through its news agency at Beirut and on its radio station broadcasting from Lebanon that the terrorist PLO has openly boasted of responsibility for these atrocities. See, for example, among my letters mentioned above, those of 18 and 29 January, 25 and 28 March, 10 April (referring to the incidents of 5 and 6 April) and 16, 19, 20 and 22 April 1979.

The PLO has also stressed its intention to continue these criminal activities, in particular, in connexion with the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty of 26 March 1979.

Thus, on 12 March 1979, Yasser Arafat was quoted by the Associated Press at Beirut as saying:

"Carter, Begin and Sadat should understand that we will burn everything."

"... Our people will continue to fuel the torch of the revolution with rivers of blood."

On 2 April 1979, Farouk Kadoumi, another of Arafat's henchmen, openly said in an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Ra'i al-'Amm* that the PLO would escalate its activities against Israel.

On 2 April 1979, Abu Iyyad stated in an interview with *al-Watan al-'Arabi* in Paris that the situation which has been created will lead to the intensification of the struggle against Israel.

Israel does not believe that it would serve any useful purpose to refer to the groundless claims and charges repeated in the above-mentioned Lebanese letter.

Instead, the time has surely come to exert all efforts to move towards a negotiated peace between Israel and Lebanon. In his speech in the Knesset on 7 May 1979, Prime Minister Menachem Begin accordingly addressed a direct appeal to the President of Lebanon, inviting him to a meeting for the purpose of reaching a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon:

"I hereby invite President Sarkis of Lebanon to come to meet me here in Jerusalem. I am ready to go, in a civilian aircraft to Beirut or any neutral place to meet President Sarkis and the only subject we would discuss would be the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon. I am confident that Lebanon will have no territorial demands on Israel, and I declare that Israel has no territorial demands on Lebanon.

"I hereby announce in the name of the Government of Israel that our State does not have any territorial demands on Lebanon. We support the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon. We are prepared to sign a peace treaty between our two States on the basis of the Lebanese-Israeli border. It is possible to achieve this fine objective in the course of a few days. My call is directed to the President of Lebanon and its Government."

A positive Lebanese response to that call from Prime Minister Begin would enable our two countries to embark on the road to peace.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13313

### Letter dated 9 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[10 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 8 May 1979 from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the denial of the right to education by Israeli military authorities.

I would request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAH  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 8 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your attention.

On 7 May 1979, the Israeli military authorities closed the secondary school in Bethlehem. It is critical to mention that this act is only one in a series of provocative and repressive actions by the Israeli military authorities since the beginning of the month. In this connexion, I would like to bring to your attention that on 2 May, a student at Bir Zeit University was shot and wounded during a demonstration. On 3 May, Israeli troops using tear-gas closed the university and informed the Acting President that they were not optimistic that the university would be reopened. On the same day, Israeli troops surrounded the walled campus of Bethlehem University and closed it. It is not known if the military authorities will allow the university to reopen.

Since 3 May 1979, 70 students from Bir Zeit University have been under arrest.

The denial of the right to education and to go to school is a violation of the very basics of human rights,



and such Israeli practices as mentioned above contravene the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, which is applicable to the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

I am also instructed to call upon you, under Security Council resolution 446 (1979), to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to these provocative, repressive and inhuman tactics used by the Israeli forces

of occupation to incite a reaction amongst the Palestinians under occupation and to create further problems in the area, thereby aggravating the already explosive situation in the Middle East.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13314\*

### Letter dated 11 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[11 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is becoming entangled in its own policy of expansion and aggression".

I should be grateful if you would arrange to have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is becoming entangled in its own policy of expansion and aggression"

Following the end of the war and the unification of the country, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is dreaming of turning Viet Nam into a great expansionist Power in South-East Asia. It is therefore embarking on its acts of aggression in order to swallow up and wipe out Kampuchea and Laos and to carry out the criminal strategy which it long ago drew up of creating an "Indo-Chinese Federation".

But, being small in size and with very short arms, how can it achieve such an unbounded ambition? The only course open to it, therefore, is to throw itself at the feet of the Soviets and to become their lackey in order to obtain tanks, guns, aircraft and warships to attack neighbouring countries. In order to be in the good graces of its Soviet masters, Viet Nam provokes China and launches a barbarous invasion against Kampuchea. In doing so, it believes that it can achieve its expansionist ambition and easily become a great Power in South-East Asia. But the reality and the actual results are quite different from the dream of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

What, in fact, are the results of its policy of expansion and aggression?

1. The occupation of Laos gives a semblance of strength to Viet Nam. But, in fact, it is a heavy additional burden for the Vietnamese, who already themselves have to face innumerable serious difficulties within their own country. On the one hand, they must face the insecurity which prevails in Laos, since the patriotic Lao people do not accept slavery, exploitation, oppression and the utmost contempt on the part of the Vietnamese, and are in revolt and fighting the Vietnamese occupiers on all sides. Moreover, the Vietnamese have to face the problem of famine in Laos and are incapable of resolving it since in Viet Nam itself famine is becoming an increasingly serious problem.

2. China replied to the provocations of the Vietnamese by a counter-attack which taught them a hard lesson and inflicted a

crushing defeat on them which resulted in very considerable losses in men and military *matériel*. By its acts of provocation against China, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique thinks that it can gain a great deal, both in the political sphere and in Soviet aid. But the result is quite otherwise, since Viet Nam has suffered even heavier defeats.

3. By sending more than 100,000 troops to invade Kampuchea, the Vietnamese thought they could crush it and swallow it up rapidly at a single stroke. But four months have already elapsed and the Vietnamese have still not managed to crush the people of Kampuchea, nor to swallow up Kampuchea. On the contrary, under the blows inflicted on all sides by the heroic people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors are daily suffering heavy losses in men and war *matériel* and are getting deeper and deeper into the morass of their war of aggression against Kampuchea. At present, they are obstinately doing everything they can to intensify their aggression. But they are assailed on all sides by the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, who continue without respite to inflict on them considerable losses in vital forces. The Vietnamese are thus encountering increasingly serious difficulties, both in their aggression against Kampuchea and within their own country. Because of the war of aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese economy is going from bad to worse and the Vietnamese people are suffering more and more seriously from famine. It is for that reason that the Vietnamese are fleeing their country en masse to seek refuge abroad. Within Viet Nam itself, the population has risen up and is inflicting stronger and stronger blows on it and establishing liberated areas in several places in southern Viet Nam, central Viet Nam and the Mekong delta.

Because of its expansionist and aggressive ambition to rule over "Indo-China" and to become a great Power in South-East Asia, Viet Nam has lost its independence and has increasingly become a colony and a military base of the Soviet Union.

4. By its invasion of Kampuchea, its occupation of Laos and its acts of provocation against China and Thailand, Viet Nam has revealed its true nature and has acquired in the world the sinister reputation of an expansionist and an aggressor against neighbouring countries, of the Cuba of Asia, of a lackey of the Soviet Union, of a bogus revolutionary and a bogus non-aligned State. It is thus condemned by the peoples of the world and finds itself extremely isolated in the international arena.

These facts clearly show that the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is becoming entangled in its own policy of aggression and expansion. If it persists in that policy and arrogantly pursues its aggression and its invasion of Kampuchea, it will inevitably march to its own ruin because the people of Kampuchea will continue to attack it until complete victory has been won, because the Vietnamese people themselves are in revolt and are rising up to fight it until it is brought down, and because the peoples of South-East Asia and the world who love peace and justice continue to denounce it, to condemn it and to fight against it on all sides ever more vigorously.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/233-S/13314.

## Letter dated 10 May 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[11 May 1979]

At the request of the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. F. Botha, I am enclosing the text of a letter he sent to you on 10 May 1979.

I should appreciate it if the letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
*Chargé d'Affaires of the  
Permanent Mission of South Africa  
to the United Nations*

LETTER DATED 10 MAY 1979 FROM THE MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I wish to draw your attention to the latest excesses perpetrated by SWAPO in South West Africa.

In one of the most gruesome murders thus far committed by SWAPO, a 60-year-old grandmother was stabbed to death by a group of terrorists before they hauled her two grandchildren from the farmhouse and killed them too. The children were aged 5 and 2.

The terrorists, a few hours later, machine-gunned to death a 60-year-old farmer as he walked to his farmhouse in the same vicinity.

In another incident earlier yesterday the driver of a vehicle was killed when terrorists ambushed his truck on the main road about 80 kilometres south of Ondangwa, in Owambo. His colleague was seriously wounded.

The cowardly and vicious murder by members of SWAPO of five innocent and defenceless people in South West Africa, two elderly persons, two young children and a truck driver, and the permanent disfigurement of the latter's companion, is further proof, if any was needed, of SWAPO's rejection of a peaceful path to the settlement of the South West Africa problem and its determination to stop at nothing in its efforts to seize power by undemocratic means. Its principal instrument in its campaign is terror. It offers nothing constructive. The most recent atrocity is consistent with SWAPO statements over the years signifying complete SWAPO reliance on force and violence in the pursuit of its ends.

Recently, the Security Council chose to condemn South Africa for action against SWAPO bases in Angola without mentioning or criticizing in any way the persistent premeditated terrorist attacks by SWAPO on innocent civilians in South West Africa which forced South

Africa's purely retaliatory action. The situation on the border is quite straightforward. The function being performed by South African forces is protective. They are protecting the people of South West Africa at the latter's request. It is obvious that if no attacks were to be launched on South West Africa from across the border the need for retaliation would disappear. South Africa does not maintain an offensive posture. Despite your calls for restraint, SWAPO, on the other hand, has never desisted from its blood-thirsty attacks. Its stance is aggressive, its techniques are abduction, assassination, bombing, mine-laying and maiming, its victims frequently indiscriminately anonymous. I have furnished you with comprehensive reports of SWAPO-initiated violence within the boundaries of South West Africa on a regular basis.

Details of recent SWAPO atrocities have been conveyed to you in my letters of 27 March [S/13205], 4 April [S/13221] and 7 April 1979 [S/13230]. Despite all the foregoing, and despite your calls for restraint, I can detect no disposition on the part of any United Nations body to criticize, let alone condemn, SWAPO for its barbarous acts. In these circumstances the United Nations reputation for objectivity and even-handedness no longer exists. The silence of the Organization on SWAPO is a further example of hypocrisy and double standards which serves only to bring it into greater discredit.

Throughout the negotiations on South West Africa initiated by the five Western Powers, SWAPO has persisted in its attacks, giving no reason for any party to conclude that it was negotiating in good faith and really sought a genuine peaceful solution. Despite that record, your report [S/13120] of 26 February 1979 would, contrary to the provisions of the proposal accepted by South Africa, have the people of South West Africa not only concede the right of SWAPO forces established beyond the borders of South West Africa to be exempt from monitoring, but also the right of such SWAPO forces as can be infiltrated into South West Africa by, and shortly after, the moment of cease-fire to be allocated bases ("locations") within South West Africa, where they have never before succeeded by their own violent efforts in establishing bases. Surely every reasonable person must find this unacceptable.

(Signed) R. F. BOTHA  
*Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa*

## Letter dated 11 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[11 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 11 May 1979 from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization addressed to you.

I would request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 11 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF  
THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Pursuant to my letter of 8 May 1979 [S/13313] regarding the very serious incidents occurring in occupied Palestine, namely, the closure of the universities at Bir Zeit and Bethlehem, and the secondary school at Bethlehem, I would like to add further clarification on the events leading to the repressive and provocative tactics of the Israeli occupation authorities and Zionist settlers.

On 2 May 1979, in blatant acts of provocation, Zionist settlers held "independence day" celebrations in Palestinian cities and towns and hoisted the Israeli flag on Palestinian public buildings. As a result of this malicious provocation, Palestinian students responded by holding peaceful marches through their cities and towns, singing and carrying their Palestinian flag.

At approximately 9.20 a.m. several private automobiles with yellow Israeli licence plates drove through the side streets of Bir Zeit towards the university campus. At 10.15 a.m. two of those vehicles approached the women's dormitory area where students were waiting for their 11.00 a.m. class to meet. One of the students, Riyad Nakleh Daoud, was sitting on a bench in front of the dormitory and for no other reason except that he was a Palestinian Arab, was shot in the chest, the bullet barely missing his heart. The assassin was identified by the Israeli military as a prominent Zionist criminal, a certain Ezra Zohar, a member of the fanatical Gush Emunim and professor at Tel ha-Shomer hospital at Tel Aviv.

At 11.05 a.m. four private Israeli automobiles entered Bir Zeit and stopped in an area where students were meeting. A gang of armed Zionist settlers jumped out of their cars and started shooting at the students. While most of the students dispersed and took cover, one foreign faculty member was pinned down while the settlers took "pot-shots" at him.

From 11.20 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. the Israeli military authorities used every means possible to harrass, intimidate and provoke the students and local residents.

By day's end, 134 identity papers of students and local residents had been confiscated and individuals were ordered to report to the military headquarters the fol-

lowing morning. Mr. Baramki, Vice President of Bir Zeit, was informed by Amos Tershman, Military Governor of Ramallah, that Bir Zeit was closed to all students until further notice.

On 3 May at 9.00 a.m. all those whose identity papers had been confiscated went as ordered to the military headquarters. After two hours 72 students and local residents were given back their papers; 62 were detained for investigation. Israeli policemen were posted at the university entrance, and soldiers at a checkpoint prevented students from entering the town.

At 2.30 p.m. a group of high-ranking military officers including Yigael Karmon, adviser to the Military Governor of the West Bank and Amos Tershman, appeared at the university and presented Mr. Baramki with a military order. They then proceeded to search and photograph various offices, classrooms, the dormitory, the snack bar and the library. Also at 2.30 p.m. at Ramallah, several students and faculty members waiting outside the military headquarters were ordered to leave, and as they were leaving two faculty members were pushed and shoved, and one student, a United States citizen, Michael Derrick was savagely beaten with a club.

Later that day Mr. Baramki met with the Military Governor and was informed that the university was closed indefinitely.

This is the second time this semester that Bir Zeit University has been closed. The closing means no examinations this year, and no credits for a year's school work. As I mentioned in my previous letter the denial of the right to education and to go to school is a violation of the very basics of human rights, and such Israeli practices, mentioned heretofore, contravene the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, which is applicable to Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

While the world wallows in the euphoria of the so-called "peace treaty" and plans for so-called "autonomy" for the Palestinians, a new genocide offensive has been undertaken by the Israeli military and the illegal Zionist settlers. What the Israeli military fails to achieve with its barbaric and inhuman war machinery, the illegal Zionist settlers aim to finish.

In drawing your attention to this serious situation and pursuant to Security Council resolution 446 (1979), I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to put an end to this abominable and inhuman wave of violence and aggression against the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations



## Letter dated 11 May 1979 from the representative of Cyprus to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[12 May 1979]

With reference to the letters of the representative of Turkey, dated 30 April and 4 May 1979 [S/13288 and S/13297], to which two letters of Mr. Denktas were attached, dated 19 and 15 April respectively, and upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to state the following.

It is not, of course, to be expected either from a country which committed brutal aggression against a small neighbouring non-aligned and defenceless country or from its collaborators that the truth would be respected. The contents of the said letters of Mr. Denktas are a complete distortion of the true facts and portray a correspondingly distorted and false picture. The intention evidently is to shift the grave responsibility for the present situation in Cyprus from Turkey to the victim of her actions. Indeed, it is ironical for Turkey to speak of threats to justice and peace in Cyprus while many thousands of Turkish troops are still occupying a large part of its territory. Thus, while Turkey is in continuous violation of the Charter of the United Nations and shows contemptuous disregard for its resolutions regarding Cyprus, Mr. Denktas, having been left with no valid arguments, resorts to the same worn-out and unfounded allegations which have been conclusively refuted in the past.

In order to set the record straight, here is what the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, stated on 10 April 1979 at Salonica:

"We seek a solution based on *true independence*, in a truly free territorially integral and sovereign State, *where all the people*, both the Greek Cypriot people, who form 82 per cent of the population, and the Turkish Cypriots, who form 18 per cent of the population, would be able to *live together in conditions of unity*, and *to build together a better future for coming generations*. We firmly believe that the United Nations resolutions, both those of the General Assembly and those of the Security Council, contain all necessary prerequisites and elements for a just and peaceful solution."

Is there anything in the above to justify the causing of dismay to Turkey and to the Turkish Cypriot community? Then why did Mr. Denktas see fit to make so much noise at the present time?

Again the Deputy Minister for Education, Mr. Hadjistephanou, is accused of an "inflammatory" speech. Cited here below is an extract, which furnishes the gist of that speech:

"Attila should leave our land and Cyprus should be left free for all its inhabitants, a *sovereign, unitary, independent Cyprus, free from foreign armies. Greeks, Turks, Maronites and Armenians should all live together in peace as in the past.*"

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/234-S/13317.

In fairness and objectivity could such a speech be described as inflammatory? Is it wrong to speak for the independence of Cyprus or the living together of all Cypriots, or to say that foreign armies should leave the island, as provided in the United Nations resolutions? Why then does Mr. Denktas distort the truth and attempt to give a misleading picture about the gathering at which the above speech was delivered? No oath has been pronounced or repeated. This is a deliberate falsehood.

There is nothing in the speech of President Kyprianou referred to above that can be described as "an attempt to nurture discord between the two communities". Others have nurtured discord between Greek and Turkish Cypriots as part of a deliberate policy, as amply documented in objective reports in the past, but not the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

As to the speech of President Kyprianou on 24 March 1979 at Limassol, I quote the following extracts, which reveal the spirit in which in fact the President spoke:

"We do not consider the Turkish Cypriots as adversaries. We believe that they must have understood that their happiness lies near the Greek Cypriots, that their happiness, as well as the happiness of the entire people, will be found in the unity of the State and in the unity of the people. We shall not accept partitions, as we shall not accept *faits accomplis*. In order to achieve progress towards a Cyprus solution, Turkey must abandon its expansionist designs."

"The Turkish Cypriot masses have by now realized that the Turkish Attila has not come to Cyprus to protect their interests, but to impose a solution to his liking, in line with his expansionist plans."

With regard to the traditional message of the Ambassador of Greece on 24 March, its gist is contained in the following paragraph:

"We shall continue to support the Government of Cyprus in the search for a solution which will safeguard the independence of the State of Cyprus and its territorial integrity so that Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites should be enabled to live a free, honourable and happy life."

I am certain that no one can reasonably disagree with that statement.

At a time when your efforts are aimed at a fruitful meeting between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas, for the success of which all possible goodwill is absolutely essential, it was thought fit by Ankara and Mr. Denktas to resort to the same old malicious and unfounded allegations for purposes of propaganda. These letters and their date and time of circulation not only do not contribute to the "political truce between

the parties" which Mr. Denktas loudly proclaims but which he himself violates so blatantly but also raise questions as to the true intentions of Ankara and of the Turkish Cypriot leadership regarding the forthcoming talks, especially when seen also in the light of other counterproductive statements made by the Prime Minister of Turkey at Strasbourg this week.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Andreas J. JACOVIDES  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13318\*

#### Letter dated 14 May 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[14 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the fourth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 12 May 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the fourth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 12 May 1979

Your Excellency Phan Hien, head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, colleagues on the Vietnamese Government delegation,

I find it most regrettable that in his speech at the third plenary meeting [S/13302, annex], Mr. Phan Hien, head of the Vietnamese Government delegation, once again made slanderous charges, and even in abusive language, against the Chinese Government and leadership.

The Vietnamese side also vilified and distorted the eight-point proposal put forward by the Chinese Government delegation [S/13278, annex], asserting that this proposal was a means to implement a "big-nation expansionist and hegemonistic policy towards Viet Nam" and contained "extremely unreasonable and arrogant demands". The Vietnamese side, confounding right and wrong, alleged that China's proposals for solving the boundary question and dividing the sea area in the Beibu Gulf (Gulf of Tonkin in international usage) contravened the Sino-French boundary accords and that the Xisha and Nansha Island groups were Vietnamese territory. But who has practised expansionism and provoked boundary and territorial disputes between China and Viet Nam? Who has violated the Sino-French boundary accords and the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the two Parties? Who has created numerous border incidents and even provoked armed conflicts? We already made a preliminary exposition on these questions in the last two meetings. But in view of the fact that the Vietnamese side is still bent on distorting the facts to confuse public opinion, we deem it necessary to elaborate further on these points.

1. How did the boundary and territorial disputes between China and Viet Nam arise?

The boundary between China and Viet Nam is a determined boundary, delimited by the accords signed between the Chinese Government of the Qing Dynasty and the French Government in 1887 and 1895 and jointly surveyed and indicated on the ground by boundary markers. After the founding of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Sino-Vietnamese boundary line being clearly defined on the whole, there were no boundary disputes between the two sides. Only on a few sectors were there some differences of view left over from history waiting to be settled by the two sides.

The Government of the People's Republic of China has always taken the position that boundary questions left over from history should be settled in a fair and reasonable manner through friendly consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and that, pending a negotiated settlement, the *status quo* on the border should be maintained and conflicts avoided. Acting on these principles, the Chinese Government worked out negotiated settlements of its boundary questions and signed new boundary treaties with its neighbours—Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Mongolia.

Regarding the Sino-Vietnamese boundary question, the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged letters in 1957-1958, in which the two sides agreed that the boundary line delimited by the Sino-French boundary accords should be respected, that the *status quo* of the border should be strictly maintained pending a negotiated settlement of the boundary question by the two Governments, and that the local authorities were not empowered to settle any questions of territorial ownership. Acting in line with the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the two parties, the local authorities of the two countries in the border areas managed to deal satisfactorily with all kinds of issues that arose along the border. So the Sino-Vietnamese boundary was for many years a peaceful and friendly boundary.

In the two decades and more prior to 1974, the Chinese and Vietnamese sides respected each other's territorial sea and sovereignty in the Beibu Gulf area. There was a relationship of friendly co-operation on such matters as shipping, fishery, scientific research and resistance to imperialist aggression, and no disputes occurred.

The Xisha and Nansha Islands have been Chinese territory since ancient times, and this fact was solemnly acknowledged and honoured in the many notes, statements and other official documents of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its newspapers, periodicals, textbooks and official maps, and in the pronouncements of its leaders. On 15 June 1956, when referring to the question of sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, a Vietnamese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs stated to the Chinese side that "judging from history, these islands belong to China". On 4 September 1958, in a statement on its territorial sea, the Chinese Government declared that this definition of China's territorial sea "applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China, including . . . the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands".

On 14 September 1958, Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong stated in a note to Premier Zhou Enlai that "the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/235-S/13318.

Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam recognizes and agrees to the statement on defining China's territorial sea made by the Government of the People's Republic of China on 4 September 1958. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respects this decision." In a statement on 9 May 1965, the Vietnamese Government reiterated its consistent stand of clearly recognizing the Xisha Islands as belonging to China when it expressed condemnation of the fact that "United States President Lyndon Johnson designated the whole of Viet Nam and the adjacent waters which extend roughly 100 miles from the coast of Viet Nam and part of the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China in its Xisha Islands as a 'combat zone' of the United States armed forces". All these are indisputable facts which no one can deny.

After 1974, however, the Vietnamese authorities made an about turn in their position. Relying on their sharply increased military strength accumulated during the years of war and with the backing of Soviet social imperialism, they went in for regional hegemonism in a big way and adopted a policy of aggression and expansion. They constantly created incidents and disputes along the border, nibbled at and encroached upon Chinese territory, and used the boundary question to whip up nationalistic anti-China sentiment. Moreover, the Vietnamese authorities sought expansion on the sea and wanted to occupy the greater part of the sea area in the Beibu Gulf. Brazenly going back on their own word, they laid territorial claims to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands and even sent forces to occupy some of China's Nansha Islands.

That was how boundary and territorial disputes arose between the two countries.

It is common knowledge that Viet Nam has three neighbours. Not only China but its two other neighbours suffer, and even more so, from its aggression and expansion. Viet Nam and Laos concluded a boundary agreement in 1977, which made a new demarcation of the Vietnamese-Lao boundary. There is no need to remind you of the tricks you have played and the amount of Laotian territory you have annexed. The Lao people keep an account in their minds, too. You occupied Kampuchea's coastal islands, provoked conflicts along the Kampuchean-Vietnamese border, and then carried out a massive invasion of Kampuchea. Recently, you sent reinforcements and wantonly conducted military operations to put out the flames of the Democratic Kampuchean people's armed resistance. You have brought disaster to the Kampuchean people.

Facts show clearly that it is the policy of regional hegemonism and of seeking territorial expansion pursued by the Vietnamese authorities with Soviet backing that has given rise to boundary and territorial disputes between Viet Nam, on the one hand, and China, Kampuchea and Laos, on the other. It is, moreover, a source of turbulence and unrest in Indo-China and South-East Asia and constitutes a grave threat to peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

2. Who has departed from the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese parties?

In November 1956, representatives of China's Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces met representatives of Viet Nam's Hai Ninh, Lang Son and Cao Bang Provinces to discuss questions relating to border management. Their discussions touched on issues relating to the boundary. The two sides agreed to refer these to their respective central authorities for resolution. In November 1957, the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party proposed, in a letter to the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, that "the national border question, in view of its importance, must be settled in accordance with the existing legal principles or with new ones defined by the two Governments. Local authorities and organizations are strictly forbidden to enter into negotiations on setting up new boundary markers or on ceding territory to each other." In April 1958, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party expressed its agreement to this view in a letter of reply. This meant that both sides would respect the boundary line delimited by the Sino-French boundary accords, that they would strictly maintain the *status quo* of the boundary pending a negotiated settlement of the boundary question by the two Governments, and that the local authorities were not empowered to settle questions pertaining to territorial ownership. These letters exchanged between the Chinese and Viet-

namese parties constitute the common basis for dealing with boundary issues prior to a negotiated settlement of the boundary question. The Chinese Government has faithfully adhered to the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the two Parties and has respected the boundary line delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords. In the few sectors where there were issues left over from history, the Chinese Government has strictly kept to the jurisdiction along the border prevailing at the time of the exchange of letters, that is to say, in the early days following the liberation of China. We made no attempt to change the state of jurisdiction even in those areas which clearly belonged to China, according to the provisions of the Sino-French boundary accords, but which had been under Vietnamese jurisdiction for many years. In so doing, we proceeded entirely in the spirit of the agreement between the two Parties, namely, to maintain peace and tranquillity along the border. This does not mean that during future boundary negotiations ownership over such disputed areas will be decided in accordance with the line of actual jurisdiction. The Chinese side holds that if it is ascertained in future negotiations that certain areas under the jurisdiction of one side are situated beyond the boundary line delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords, these should, in principle, be returned to the other side unconditionally. The Vietnamese side is well aware of the above Chinese position, for it was stated explicitly on many occasions in our official documents and in the statements of Chinese leaders.

After 1974, in order to nibble off Chinese territory, the Vietnamese authorities, while expressing willingness to respect the letters exchanged between the two Parties, vigorously denied the principle of maintaining the *status quo* on the border affirmed by that exchange of letters and tried to negate the boundary line delimited by the Sino-French boundary accords. For that purpose, they produced specious arguments, now claiming that "a historical frontier has existed between Viet Nam and China for a long time", then that "the two sides have agreed to respect the historical boundary line", and calling for "maintaining the *status quo* on the border line left by history" or "restoring the *status quo ante* of the historical line", and so on and so forth. When you speak now of this line and then of that, what you are really after is to supplant the boundary delimited in the Sino-French accords by your unilateral "historical border line". Your intention was best expressed by one of your senior officials who said that "there were boundary conventions in the French period. But those conventions are out-dated and too elaborate and cannot be used as the basis for demarcating the boundary line".

In recent years, under the pretext of "restoring the *status quo ante* of the historical boundary line", you have created numerous incidents on the Sino-Vietnamese border in a systematic, planned and purposeful way constantly to nibble off and occupy Chinese territory. You made Vietnamese border inhabitants come over to reclaim land, build roads and plant trees on Chinese territory; you sent over armed personnel to patrol, set up posts, build fortifications, lay mines, put up barriers on Chinese territory or even intrude into Chinese villages to take census and issue coupons in an attempt to change the state of jurisdiction. In many areas, Vietnamese military and political personnel, under various pretexts, claimed a boundary line at will, destroyed the original boundary markers there and surreptitiously set up new ones, thus making territorial claims on the Chinese side. In the face of increasing Vietnamese intrusions and provocations, the Chinese side, setting store by the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and their over-all interests, always exercised restraint and forbearance. We repeatedly proposed prompt boundary negotiations between the two sides. In the meantime we enjoined our border troops and inhabitants to keep strictly within the border, use reason and persuasion with the intruding and provoking Vietnamese personnel instead of returning blow for blow and curse for curse and absolutely not to open fire and resort to force. Our people did not return fire even when armed Vietnamese personnel opened fire and caused casualties on our side. But the Vietnamese side regarded China's restraint and forbearance as a sign of weakness and intensified its armed provocations on the border. Especially after August 1978, when you suspended the boundary negotiations between the two countries, you immediately went all out to strengthen your anti-China military dispositions in the border areas and incessantly opened fire with guns and artillery, creating incidents



of bloodshed resulting in 300 casualties among our military and civilian personnel in a period of six months and thus provoked, at last, the armed border conflict.

Numerous indisputable facts prove that it is none other than the Vietnamese authorities themselves who have violated the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the two parties and have constantly upset the *status quo* on the border in an attempt to alter the boundary line fixed by the Sino-French boundary accords. The serious deterioration in the situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities.

3. Why did the previous two rounds of negotiations fail to yield results?

In August 1974, negotiations were held between China and Viet Nam at the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs level on the division of the Beibu Gulf sea area. In October 1977, negotiations at the same level were again held between the two sides on the boundary question and the division of the Beibu Gulf sea area. No results were achieved at either round of negotiations, mainly because the Vietnamese side disregarded the historical facts, distorted the Sino-French boundary accords and tried to impose on the Chinese side a so-called "sea boundary line in the Beibu Gulf", which was a pure figment of its imagination.

In December 1973, a Vietnamese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs clearly stated that "the Beibu Gulf sea area has not been divided between the two countries because Viet Nam has been at war all the time". But when the negotiations started in August 1974, the Vietnamese side suddenly asserted that in the Beibu Gulf "the boundary line was delimited long ago", alleging that the 1887 Sino-French Convention on the delimitation of the frontier between China and Tonkin made longitude 108°3'13"E the "sea boundary line" between the two countries in the Beibu Gulf. It asserted that for the last century all Governments of the two countries had "exercised sovereignty and jurisdiction according to that line and that the Beibu Gulf was a "historical gulf" belonging to China and Viet Nam. By making these assertions, the Vietnamese side aimed at taking possession of two thirds of the Beibu Gulf sea area for itself.

It is stipulated in the paragraph about Guangdong in the Chinese text of the 1887 Sino-French Convention that "as for the islands in the sea, those to the east of the southward red line drawn by the commissioners of the two countries, passing through the hill at the eastern tip of Tra-Co (Wanzhu in Chinese), which is to the south of Mong Cai and southwest of Zhushan), belong to China, and those to its west Jiutoushan Island (Co To Island in Vietnamese) and the other islands, belong to Annam". The French text of the Convention describes the red line as the meridian of Paris 105°43' of east longitude, which is Greenwich longitude 108°3'13"E. Clearly, this red line only indicates the ownership of the islands but is no "sea boundary line" between the two countries in the Beibu Gulf. Moreover, the term "Gulf of Tonkin" does not occur at all in the Convention, nor is the Gulf of Tonkin included in its entirety in the map attached to the Convention. Moreover, in the historical circumstances at the signing of the Convention, in the late nineteenth century, when the "doctrine of the freedom of the seas" was in vogue, it was inconceivable that China and France should regard such an expanse of the high seas as the Gulf of Tonkin as an island sea and divide it. The fantastic interpretation by the Vietnamese side of the Convention in disregard of its terms and the actualities of history is indeed a rare case in the history of international relations.

As for the assertion by the Vietnamese side that for nearly a hundred years the Governments of the two countries have always exercised their sovereignty and jurisdiction in accordance with the above-mentioned longitude, it is not at all based on facts. Everyone knows that the previous Governments in China and the French colonial authorities observed the 3-nautical-mile principle in regard to the territorial sea. The Government of the People's Republic of China declared a 12-nautical-mile territorial sea in September 1958. China has never exercised sovereignty over or jurisdiction in the Beibu Gulf sea area beyond its territorial sea. In September 1964, the Vietnamese Government also declared its territorial sea to be 12 nautical miles wide and published a map showing its territorial sea boundary in the Beibu Gulf. If, as the Vietnamese side claims, the vast sea area

in the Beibu Gulf west of 108°3'13"E was its inland sea long ago, why did it draw another territorial sea boundary within its own island sea? The Vietnamese assertion is absurd from the viewpoint of international law and is illogical and self-contradictory. Has any ship had to ask for permission from the Vietnamese authorities for entry into the sea west of 108°3'13"E? The "sea boundary line", a brain-child of the Vietnamese authorities, has never existed either in historical agreements or in reality. As for the assertion that the Beibu Gulf is a historical gulf belonging to China and Viet Nam, it is really news to us. We have no knowledge at all about such a declaration by previous Governments of the two countries at any time. Vietnamese insistence on this unreasonable proposition prevented any results in the negotiations, which went on for three months in vain. The division of the Beibu Gulf sea area between the two countries is still an unresolved issue.

After 1975, the Chinese side proposed on many occasions to hold negotiations on the boundary question. But the Vietnamese side always found excuses to put them off until June 1977 when it reluctantly agreed as Vice-Premier Li Xiannian personally made the proposal in a meeting with Premier Pham Van Dong. It was agreed that the division of the Beibu Gulf sea area be included as a topic in the boundary negotiations.

Negotiations started at Beijing in October 1977. The Chinese delegation suggested that the boundary question should be the first item for discussion and put forward a proposal consisting of five principles for the settlement of the boundary question. The following are the main points:

(a) Since the Sino-Vietnamese boundary is a determined boundary, the two sides should base themselves on the Sino-French boundary accords in rechecking the alignment of the entire boundary and settling all boundary and territorial disputes;

(b) Areas under the jurisdiction of one side which lie beyond the boundary line should, in principle, be returned to the other side unconditionally;

(c) The two sides should settle through friendly consultations any differences they may have as to the alignment of the boundary line in certain sectors;

(d) The two sides should then conclude a Sino-Vietnamese boundary treaty to replace the Sino-French boundary accords, delimit the national boundary and erect the boundary markers anew.

The Vietnamese side did not show interest in the fair and reasonable Chinese proposals. It clung to the unreasonable view that the sea boundary in the Beibu Gulf "was delimited long ago", and linked the question of dividing the Beibu Gulf with the boundary question. Insisting that "a border line between Viet Nam and China on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf has been delimited" in the Sino-French boundary accords, it claimed that "this is the most basic principle for the settlement of all kinds of boundary questions between the two countries"; since it was the "basis" for the entire negotiations, it must be discussed first. This was tantamount to raising a pre-condition which placed a great obstacle in the way of the negotiations. Although the Vietnamese side later agreed that the two sides should first discuss questions relating to the boundary, it played a new trick by submitting a "draft agreement on the national land border", insisting that the two Governments shelve their boundary disputes and first conclude an official boundary agreement. Obviously, the Vietnamese side harboured ulterior motives when it showed no interest in settling boundary disputes and easing the tension along the border while wanting first of all to conclude "a boundary agreement".

Desiring to facilitate the negotiations, the Chinese side gave full consideration to the Vietnamese views and, working on the basis of its original five-point proposal, presented for consultations with the Vietnamese side a comprehensive proposal listing nine principles for the settlement of the boundary question. The nine-point Chinese proposal provided in the main the following:

(a) The two sides should check the alignment of the entire boundary line between China and Viet Nam, basing themselves on the documents with attached maps relating to the delimitation of the boundary concluded by the then Chinese and French Governments and on the boundary markers erected according to those documents and maps;

(b) To facilitate the work of checking the alignment of the boundary, the two sides should exchange maps showing the boundary line between the two countries;

(c) During the process of checking the boundary alignment, if the two sides do not agree on the alignment of the boundary line in certain sectors, they should seek a fair and reasonable settlement through friendly consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation;

(d) After a joint check, the areas either side administers beyond the boundary should, in principle, be returned to the other side unconditionally; with due attention to the interests of the local inhabitants, readjustments on a fair and reasonable basis may be made in a small number of cases where both sides agree;

(e) Where the boundary follows rivers, it shall follow the central line of the main channel in the case of navigable rivers and the *thalweg* of the main channel in the case of unnavigable rivers; the ownership of the islands and sand-bars in these rivers shall be determined accordingly;

(f) After checking the alignment of the entire boundary and settling the boundary and territorial disputes, the two sides shall conclude a Sino-Vietnamese boundary treaty, set up a joint commission for delimiting the boundary on the ground and erecting boundary markers, sign a boundary protocol and draw up maps of the boundary;

(g) Pending the coming into force of the Sino-Vietnamese boundary treaty, the two sides shall respect the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957-1958, maintain the *status quo* of the border and make no unilateral attempts in whatever form and on whatever pretext to change the extent of actual jurisdiction so as to maintain tranquillity along the border and the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

To our surprise, however, the Vietnamese side deliberately distorted this sincere and reasonable Chinese proposal, picked faults with it and levelled the groundless charge that it sought to "alter the historical boundary line". The negotiations lasted more than 10 months, yet in all that time the two sides failed even to reach agreement on the procedure for conducting negotiations on the boundary question.

The above facts clearly show that the responsibility for the failure of the previous two rounds of negotiations to yield results rests squarely with the Vietnamese side. Frankly speaking, the basic reason why there has not been a negotiated settlement of the Sino-Vietnamese boundary question is that the Vietnamese authorities want to use this question as a means internally to fan up nationalistic anti-China sentiments and divert the discontent of their people and externally to cover up their aggression in Kampuchea and their control over Laos in pursuit of regional hegemonism to suit the needs of the Soviet southward drive strategy. We cannot but point out that you are following a dangerous course.

4. China's eight-point proposal provides a fundamental solution for the disputes between China and Viet Nam.

To achieve their great goal of socialist modernization, the Chinese people have a long-lasting need for an international environment of peace and a peaceful and tranquil border. The Chinese Government has always pursued a foreign policy of peace, and wishes to live in amity with all countries, irrespective of size, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. The Chinese Government wishes to seek a fair and reasonable solution to all outstanding issues with other countries through negotiation.

China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers, and there is a long, traditional friendship between the two peoples. Though there are serious differences between them

on a number of issues and there did occur some unpleasant things, the disputes between them are not impossible to resolve. The eight-point proposal on the handling of the relations between China and Viet Nam, which the Chinese Government delegation put forward at the second plenary meeting, has laid a solid foundation for a fundamental solution of the disputes between the two countries and for a real improvement in their bilateral relations. Moreover, it provides guiding principles for a definitive solution of the boundary and territorial disputes between the two countries. A fair and reasonable solution of the boundary question can be achieved only by honouring the Sino-Vietnamese boundary delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords. Otherwise, there will be no common basis for a solution. Prior to the holding of negotiations on the boundary question by the two Governments, border disputes could have been avoided and armed conflict averted if the Vietnamese side had respected the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957-1958, namely maintaining the *status quo* of the border and refraining from attempting forcibly to change the extent of actual jurisdiction. The Chinese proposal includes fundamental measures to eliminate tension and ensure peace and tranquillity along the border. The Vietnamese side professes to be most concerned about ensuring peace and stability in the border areas but in practice rejects the basic principle of "maintaining the *status quo* on the border". This fully shows that the Vietnamese side is aware of its untenable position and has ulterior motives. As to the division of the sea area in the Beibu Gulf, it is natural and indisputable that the two countries should define their respective economic zones and continental shelf in the Beibu Gulf in a fair and reasonable way, in accordance with relevant principles of present-day international law of the sea. As regards the Xisha and Nansha Islands, I have already cited many hard facts to show that the Vietnamese side had before 1974 explicitly recognized the Chinese Government's sovereignty over those two island groups. Our demand is that the Vietnamese side revert to its previous position of recognizing that fact and respect China's sovereignty over those two island groups and withdraw all its personnel from those islands in the Nansha group which it has occupied. In what sense can this demand be considered "unreasonable and arrogant"? It is the Vietnamese side that is unreasonable and when it shifts positions in a perfidious manner with a view to seizing and occupying Chinese islands and laying claim to Chinese territory. In a word, the Chinese eight-point proposal is directed at the root cause leading to the deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations and in the light of the facts of the disputes between the two countries. It is a fundamental solution to those disputes and sets forth basic principles for handling the relations between the two countries. It is reasonable and practicable. We still earnestly hope that the Vietnamese side will give it careful study and make a positive response so that there may be progress in our negotiations.

At the second and third plenary meetings, the Chinese Government delegation repeatedly proposed that the two sides reach a verbal agreement providing that all personnel captured in the armed conflict along the Sino-Vietnamese border shall, in principle, be repatriated as soon as possible and then turn the matter over to the Red Cross Societies of the two countries for concrete discussion and actual execution. The Vietnamese side, however, will not even agree to take up this question. Motivated by revolutionary humanitarianism, the Chinese Government is prepared at any time to release and repatriate all Vietnamese prisoners and demands the release and repatriation of all captured Chinese personnel by the Vietnamese side. Now, the Chinese side has decided unilaterally to release and repatriate the first group of captured Vietnamese armed personnel and hopes that the Vietnamese side will respond positively to this Chinese initiative.

DOCUMENT S/13319\*

Letter dated 14 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[14 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a brief summary of developments in the popular war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression between 23 April and 1 May 1979.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Brief summary of developments in the popular war of resistance of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression between 23 April and 1 May 1979

In Battambang, between 16 April and 1 May 1979, units of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army and guerrilla units launched strong attacks from the town of Battambang to Bavel on the Kamping Puoy and Kop Thom dams. Three hundred Vietnamese soldiers were killed, many others were wounded and a large amount of war *matériel* was destroyed or captured. In addition, on 28 April, units of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army seized control of the Mak Hoeun dam after putting many Vietnamese soldiers out of action. At Sre Anteak and at Ampil Pram Doeum, on 22 and 25 April, 16 Vietnamese soldiers were

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/236-S/13319.

killed and 12 weapons and a radio transmitter-receiver were captured.

On the other fronts:

1. *South-western zone*: Kra Nhoung, Trapeang Thom, Dam-bauk Khuos, Trapeang Keat, Phnum Angkor Daung, Anlung Phneav, Mlich, Kreang Leav and Koh Kong,

2. *Western zone*: Kbal Toek, Kraul Ko, Samrong and Chrak Teak,

3. *North-western zone*: Battambang, Koas Krala, north of Phnum Malay, on the road from Treng to Samlaut, Tuol Khpuos, Dang Tung and Anlong Vil,

Pursat: in the vicinity of Vat Luong and at Srê Sdao,

Kompong Chhnang: road from Sala Lek Pram to Kreang Leav and Romeas,

4. *Northern zone*: Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey: Banteay Samrong, Ampil, Phum Paav, Phum Chongkal, Phaong and O Kravanh,

5. *Kompong Thom and highway 6*: Russei Duoch, Phum Nou Em, Chamnar, Phum O Choeu Teal,

6. *River Bassac*: Koh Chanloh, east of Saang, east of Choeung Ek and Choeung Ek,

the Vietnamese aggressors suffered heavy losses. For all these fronts, between the dates indicated above, the provisional count of Vietnamese losses is as follows:

(a) Killed: 1,550 Vietnamese soldiers.

(b) Destroyed: 2 tanks, 21 military vehicles and much war *matériel*.

(c) Captured: 76 weapons of all categories, one transmitter-receiver and a large quantity of ammunition.

DOCUMENT S/13320

Letter dated 14 May 1979 from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[15 May 1979]

Further to my letter of 9 May 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13312], I wish to draw your urgent attention to a further atrocity perpetrated today in the town of Tiberias in northern Israel by the murder organization known as the PLO.

At 14.45 hours (local time) an explosive charge, hidden in a rubbish bin, went off in a main thoroughfare in an area containing many open stands and teeming with people. As a result two youths aged 16 were killed and 32 other persons were wounded, two of them seriously.

According to the Associated Press, reporting from Beirut, the terrorist PLO has already boasted of this criminal act.

This outrage proves once again the true character of the terrorist PLO. The Government of Israel is therefore duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations



**DOCUMENT S/13321\***

**Letter dated 11 May 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[15 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the Final Document on the Decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia, adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at its 1145th meeting, held at Belgrade on 27 April 1979.

I would be grateful if section II of the document, relating to the question of Namibia, were to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM  
*Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation  
with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration  
on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries  
and Peoples*

**ANNEX**

**Excerpt from the Final Document on the Decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on 27 April 1979**

[For the text of the relevant part, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. IX, para. 12, section II.]

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/563-S/13321.

**DOCUMENT S/13322\***

**Letter dated 11 May 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[15 May 1979]

I have the honour to convey to you once more the concern of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People over the systematic and increasingly repressive measures taken by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people in the territories illegally occupied by Israel in 1967.

While presumably not all repressive measures taken by the Israeli authorities receive publicity in the Israeli press, the following extract from *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition) of 6-12 May 1979 is a clear indication of the treatment meted out by the Israeli authorities to those who do no more than exercise their freedom of expression:

*"Author of PLO cable expelled to Lebanon*

*"A 27-year-old Bir Zeit student, Riad Abu Awwad—who reportedly drew up a message of support sent to a PLO conference in Damascus by a group of Israeli Arab students in January—was expelled to Lebanon last week by the military government.*

*"Abu Awwad had fought the expulsion order all the way up to the High Court, and had also appealed to Minister of Defence, Ezer Weizman.*

*"Crossing into South Lebanon, Abu Awwad was stopped by shepherds from the Shia village of Meis el-Jabal. He was brought for questioning to Christian militia leader Major Saad Haddad, who turned him over to Nigerian United Nations troops after establishing his identity."*

Several other instances of such provocative and repressive actions have also been brought to my attention by the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization. For instance, on 2 May 1979 a student at Bir Zeit University was shot and wounded during a demonstration. On 3 May Israeli troops using tear gas closed the university and informed the Acting President that they were not optimistic that the university would be reopened. On the same day Israeli troops surrounded Bethlehem University and closed it. Whether the military authorities will allow the university to reopen is unknown. Since 3 May, 70 students from Bir Zeit Univer-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/238-S/13322.

sity have been under arrest. In addition, on 7 May, the Israeli military authorities closed the secondary school at Bethlehem. These events were also referred to in document S/13313.

These are but a few of the provocative steps taken by the Israeli authorities in recent weeks which affect the human rights of inhabitants of the occupied territories and demonstrate an escalation of the systematic repression directed against those who exercise their freedom of expression. Such actions constitute a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, and a rejection of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions aimed at restoring peace in the area.

The issue of the *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition) quoted above also contains an article entitled "The water threat", which commences with the following two paragraphs:

"The Arabs could play havoc with the Israeli economy if they drilled a few dozen wells into Samaria's western slopes.

"Wells in the area between Anabta and Budrus could divert about one-tenth of the water that Israeli farmers are now using. Fields would be parched and crops would die."

Later in the same article, the writer warns "but once the autonomous Arab administration takes over, there

may not be anyone to protect Israel's interest and guarantee this flow".

This article is indicative of the campaign that the Government of Israel has mounted to instigate public fears and to win support for Prime Minister Begin's plans to circumscribe even the limited autonomy he proposes for the West Bank and Gaza.

It is clear that, contrary to Israel's protestations that it acts only with the sole purpose of restoring peace to the area, Israel is bent on pursuing policies and practices which are provocative in the extreme and merely tend to increase tension in the area.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, deeply concerned at these developments and the consequences that they could generate, has authorized me to point out that these systematic and increasingly repressive measures not only pose new obstacles in the path of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East but also aggravate the threat to international peace and security.

I shall be glad if this letter is circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Raúl ROA KOURI  
Acting Chairman of the Committee  
on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

#### DOCUMENT S/13323\*

#### Letter dated 15 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[15 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Viet Nam has now become a real outpost of the Soviet Union in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific".

I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Viet Nam has now become a real outpost of the Soviet Union in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific"

It will be remembered that, ever since the end of the war in 1975, Viet Nam has constantly referred to itself as "the outpost of the socialist bloc" headed by the Soviet Union. It has reaffirmed on a number of occasions, in its statements and messages to the Soviet leaders, that it is their outpost in the region of South-East Asia, in Asia and in the Pacific.

What has Viet Nam done from 1975 until now to confirm that role?

Towards neighbouring countries and the countries of South-East Asia:

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/239-S/13323.

1. To begin with, Viet Nam boasted of being "the greatest military Power in South-East Asia". It even had the audacity to claim, without any shame, that it was "the third largest military Power in the world". It then began to make repeated threats against neighbouring countries and the countries of South-East Asia. Behaving with all the arrogance of a great Power, it started hurling insults at the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, accusing them of every possible wrong.

2. At the non-aligned summit Conference at Colombo in 1976, Viet Nam, in collusion with Cuba, worked to create dissension and to gain supporters within the non-aligned movement by dividing its members into "progressive" countries and "reactionary" countries. Since then, it has continually engaged in both covert and overt activities aimed at stirring up discord in the movement, while seeking to recruit supporters within it to serve the interests of its bloc.

3. On 18 July 1977, Viet Nam swallowed up Laos overtly and "legally" by means of the so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation", which it forced Laos to sign. Now, Laos has become a military base for the Vietnamese and the Soviets.

4. After that, Viet Nam joined the Soviet economic alliance known as "COMECON".

5. On 3 November 1978, Viet Nam signed a military treaty with the Soviet Union under the style of a so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation". As a result of that treaty, Viet Nam forms an integral part of the Soviet bloc's military alliance.

6. Relying on that Soviet military alliance, Viet Nam mobilized more than 100,000 troops, with very large numbers of tanks, guns and modern Soviet aircraft, and on 25 December 1978 it attacked and invaded Kampuchea in the most barbarous and fascist manner.

7. Since the beginning of this year, 1979, Viet Nam has again been threatening the countries of South-East Asia, solely because they demanded the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea. At the same time, it is continuing its endless bloody acts of provocation on the Chinese frontier.

8. At present, Viet Nam, on the one hand, is continuing to escalate its war of aggression in Kampuchea in an attempt to occupy it completely and permanently and, on the other hand, is threatening and slandering Thailand and contriving frontier provocations against it more and more frequently, seeking to extend its war of aggression from Kampuchea to Thailand and the other countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

In Viet Nam itself, more and more Soviet advisers arrive each year to manage and direct Vietnamese affairs. For instance, they hold military command positions both in Viet Nam and on the front line of its aggression in Kampuchea. According to various sources from inside Viet Nam, there are approximately 7,000 Soviet, Cuban and East German military advisers in that country, not to mention the large number of assistance personnel from the Soviet Union. All this makes it clear beyond a doubt that Viet Nam, on the one hand, has sunk lower and lower as a Soviet lackey and, on the other, has become an outpost of the Soviet Union to be used for aggression, invasion and expansion against the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

The Soviet Union is now making regular use of the Cam Ranh, Da Nang and other naval and air bases. Soviet warships and reconnaissance aircraft often openly use those naval and air bases in their operations to threaten the independence, peace and security of the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

The situation in Viet Nam ever since the liberation, and its acts, have clearly shown that Viet Nam has actually become an outpost serving the Soviet expansionist strategy in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific. It is a very dangerous Soviet military base which threatens the independence, peace, security and stability of the whole of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific and which also affects the entire world. Thus, the struggle of the people of Kampuchea to destroy the Vietnamese aggressors and to drive all of them out of its territory is an effective contribution to the fight against the Vietnamese regional expansionists and the Soviet international expansionists in defence of the peace and stability of South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and the world. That is why the whole world and all mankind, particularly the countries and peoples of South-East Asia, have shown and are showing their solidarity with the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people. They are demanding the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea and resisting Vietnamese regional expansionism and Soviet international expansionism which are committing criminal acts of aggression and expansion in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific and throughout the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13327\*

#### Letter dated 16 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[16 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The more defeats it suffers, the more the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique displays its barbarous and arrogant nature as an international bandit".

I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The more defeats it suffers, the more the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique displays its barbarous and arrogant nature as an international bandit"

Since its invasion of Kampuchea, Viet Nam has unmasked itself as an aggressor and an expansionist, the Cuba of Asia and the lackey of the Soviet expansionists. Recently, however, world opinion has been particularly revolted by the arrogance and cynicism of the Vietnamese.

1. Viet Nam not only refuses to yield to world opinion which unanimously demands the withdrawal of its forces of aggression from Kampuchea but in fact continues systematically to escalate its war of aggression in Kampuchea, scorning the aspirations of the whole world and of all mankind for peace.

2. What is more, Viet Nam has extended its war to Laos and China. It has dragged Laos into the mire of its war of aggression in Kampuchea and has hurled never-ending slanders and provocations at China on the frontier.

3. Now, Viet Nam is setting upon Thailand, hurling false accusations and threats at it, seeking to extend its war of aggression to that country.

4. The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is infuriated because the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia) have demanded the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so that peace may be restored in the South-East Asia region. Turning the facts upside-down, it accuses them of standing in the way of peace and stability in the South-East Asia region and hurls repeated threats at them.

5. Viet Nam has even gone so far as to make vile and utterly dishonest attacks on Yugoslavia solely because it maintains its position of scrupulous respect for the principles of non-alignment and resolutely opposes any aggression and any interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, including the Vietnamese aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea.

The whole world and, in particular, the countries of South-East Asia and countries that stand for peace and justice are discerning even more clearly, through this arrogance on the part of Viet Nam, its barbarous nature as an international bandit. The danger of an extension of the war to Thailand and to the other countries of South-East Asia, which would also affect the whole world, is becoming ever more apparent to them. Accordingly, they have increased their vigilance and are even more resolutely intensifying their solidarity so as to resist Viet Nam's provocations and thwart its manoeuvres aimed at extending its war of aggression and expansion; for they are fully aware of the fact that the escalation of the war of aggression now being waged by Viet Nam in Kampuchea is not a danger to Kampuchea and its people alone but also a danger and a direct threat to the independence, peace and stability of the countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific, also affecting world peace and the interests of many countries. They have clearly seen that the only way of eliminating the danger of an extension of the war to other countries and ensuring that lasting peace and security are established in the regions of South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific is to pursue the struggle even more strongly in all its forms until Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea is halted and all Vietnamese troops and forces of aggression are withdrawn from Kampuchea, so that the Kampuchean people are left to settle their own affairs for themselves without foreign interference.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/253-S/13327.



## Letter dated 16 May 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith for information, the texts of the statements made by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the fourth plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi, on 12 May 1979. I would like to request that you have this letter and its enclosures circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the United Nations Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

Statement made on 12 May 1979 by the head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at the fourth plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi

At today's meeting, I would like first to make the following statement.

At the first plenary meeting, on 18 April 1979, in point 1 of its three-point proposal, "urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families", the Vietnamese delegation made it clear that "the two sides shall exchange at once lists of people captured by the two sides during the war so that they may be returned as soon as possible" [S/13257, annex].

However, at the second plenary meeting, on 26 April 1979, the Chinese side put this question outside the purview of the negotiations, saying that the return of the captured people would be discussed and agreed upon concretely between the Red Cross Societies of the two countries. At that meeting, the Vietnamese side made clear its views that the return of people captured during the war should be discussed and agreed upon by the two negotiating delegations and subsequently the Red Cross or another body would be entrusted with implementing it. But the Chinese delegation adamantly stuck to its views, even after the Vietnamese side had taken the initiative of handing to it a list of Chinese captured by Viet Nam during the recent war.

Now, while no agreement has been reached on this problem at this negotiating table, the Chinese Government issued on 11 May 1979 a statement on the unilateral return of a number of Vietnamese captured during the war and asked the Vietnamese side to return to the Chinese side and the Chinese captured during the war. It also asked the Vietnamese side to send people to a place and at a time laid down by the Chinese side itself to receive the above Vietnamese and discuss the return of people captured by the two sides during the war.

Obviously, this is an arrogant action at variance with the elementary principles of a negotiation, namely, the need for discussions to find a mutually satisfactory settlement. By unilaterally announcing its decision outside the conference table, the Chinese side has done something not serious which raises doubts about its professions of goodwill.

Today, the Vietnamese Government delegation makes it clear that out of humanity and prompted by its desire to see an early reunion of people captured during the war with their families, and by its wish in goodwill to remove obstacles to the talks, the Vietnamese side agrees with the Chinese side's proposal and has decided to send its representatives to meet those of the Chinese side with a view to handing over a number of people

of the Chinese side captured during the war, who are wounded or sick, and receiving a number of people of the Vietnamese side returned by the Chinese side and discussing with the latter necessary measures for the return of all people of the two sides captured during the war. Since, owing to technical reasons, the Vietnamese representatives are not in a position to be present on 19 May 1979 at the place set by the Chinese side, the Vietnamese side proposes that the above-mentioned meeting take place at 1000 hours on 21 May 1979 at Huu Nghi entry point.

This is a demonstration of the goodwill of the Vietnamese side, which desires to make the negotiations progress, thereby meeting the desire of the two peoples, of the South-East Asian peoples and of the peoples of the world.

## ANNEX II

Speech made on 12 May 1979 by the head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at the fourth plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations at Hanoi

At the previous meetings, the two sides have made clear their respective positions. We have put forth a comprehensive, fair, reasonable and sensible three-point proposal [S/13257, annex], aimed at solving both the urgent problems arising from the recent war and the fundamental questions concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China.

The Chinese side has tried its best to evade its responsibility for the criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and to elude Viet Nam's three-point proposal. With its eight-point proposal [S/13278, annex], it has raised questions going beyond bilateral relations. It has gone so far as brazenly to pose extremely absurd pre-conditions for the negotiations.

This is a big-nation attitude of dictate completely at variance with the principles governing negotiations—namely equality, mutual respect and discussions in order to seek a fair and satisfactory settlement—and with the agreement reached between the two sides to the effect that these talks are to deal only with problems concerning bilateral relations.

In committing aggression against Viet Nam, the Chinese side claimed by way of excuse that Viet Nam had embarked on provocations and encroachments on Chinese territory. Now at the negotiating table it affirms that the key problem is that Viet Nam must change her policy and, first of all, withdraw her troops from Kampuchea. This has laid bare its real purpose in the recent war of aggression, namely to use military force in an attempt to subjugate Viet Nam and to compel her to give up her correct policy of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity.

While posing pre-conditions at the negotiating table, the Chinese side has continued massing troops in border areas, deploying a dozen divisions and a large quantity of war material close to the Vietnamese border, carrying out military manoeuvres and indulging in ceaseless armed provocations and encroachments on Viet Nam's territory, territorial waters and air space. In addition, Chinese leaders have uttered threats that "China would give Viet Nam a second lesson". All this testifies to the deceptive character of the Chinese side's talks about goodwill and peace, designed merely to cover up its intention of maintaining a permanent tension in border regions of the two countries in an attempt to bring pressure to bear on Viet Nam and seek pretexts to commit aggression against the latter at any time it wishes.

At the last meeting, we criticized the slanderous contentions of the Chinese side regarding the foreign policy of Viet Nam. We made it clear that talking about hegemonism, there is only the big-nation hegemonism of the Chinese leaders and their collusion with imperialism against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, the peoples of South-East Asia and of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/254-S/13328.

the world. We reserve the right to comment further on this subject.

As we have stressed, the current situation is very serious. Our two delegations should make their utmost efforts to meet the earnest desire of our two peoples and the expectations of the peoples of South-East Asia and the world to remove all obstacles to bringing the negotiations to a fruitful outcome, with a view to eliminating the danger of a resumption of hostilities, ensuring peace and stability in the border regions, restoring normal relations between the two countries and the long-standing friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and China, thereby contributing to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

We have proposed that the two delegations immediately start discussions on point 1 of the Vietnamese proposal, "urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families", and point 1 of the Chinese proposal, "the two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles", by devoting alternately a meeting to each issue and proceeding in this way until the questions are settled.

However, the Chinese delegation still tries to elude this fair and reasonable proposal. It puts forward roundabout contentions, labelling point 1 of its proposal now a matter of prime importance, now a concrete matter, and refuses to enter into practical and useful discussions. The Chinese side must bear full responsibility for the lack of progress at these negotiations.

Once again, to show its goodwill, the Vietnamese Government delegation states its willingness to discuss with the Chinese Government delegation first point 1 of the Chinese proposal. More concretely speaking, at the next meeting, i.e., the fifth plenary meeting, the two sides will discuss the question of "restoration of friendly and good neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence" as mentioned in point 1 of the Chinese proposal. We will give our views on that question. At the sixth plenary meeting, the two sides will discuss point 1 of the Vietnamese proposal "urgent measures to secure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families."

We hope to receive a positive response from the Chinese side.

#### DOCUMENT S/13329\*

#### Letter dated 16 May 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith for information the text of the communiqué on the crimes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists issued by the Viet Nam Committee for Investigation into the Crimes of the Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists during their War against Viet Nam at a press conference on 15 May 1979 at Hanoi. I would like to request that you have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU  
Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

**Communiqué on the crimes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists issued in 15 May 1979 at Hanoi by the Viet Nam Committee for Investigation into the Crimes of the Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists during their War against Viet Nam**

The world has just witnessed a most serious international crime.

In the early hours of Saturday, 17 February 1979, the Chinese expansionists hurled an army of aggression, comprising over 600,000 men and thousands of tanks and artillery pieces, into a massive surprise attack against six provinces along the entire 1,400-kilometre frontier of Viet Nam, from Mong Cai to Phong Tho. The Chinese troops penetrated deep into Vietnamese territory, in some places as far as several dozen kilometres.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/255-S/13329.

The war of aggression against Viet Nam was the climax of a whole chain of criminal acts by the Chinese against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our people, aimed at annexing and subduing Viet Nam and carrying out the big-nation expansionist policy of the Chinese rulers. Some years ago, as the United States imperialist aggressors were compelled by their defeat to repatriate their troops, Chinese troops captured the Hoang Sa Islands (the Paracel) belonging to Viet Nam. They urged and masterminded the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to conduct a border war in the south-west of Viet Nam. In the north, they provoked skirmishes and encroached on our frontier area. They incited the Hoa to riot and concocted the so-called Nantsieo affair. Taking advantage of Viet Nam's difficulties caused by natural calamities, they cut off their economic aid, withdrew their experts and tried to blockade Viet Nam economically with a view to curbing and weakening it.

Repeatedly frustrated in their hostile anti-Viet Nam policy, the Chinese leaders, following the path of their feudalist predecessors, the colonialists and imperialists, waged a direct war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The world was shocked by the savage extermination which accompanied this act of aggression.

Wherever they went, Chinese troops wantonly killed Vietnamese civilians without any discrimination whatever. The bulk of the victims were women and children including expectant mothers and babies. They slew physicians and medical workers who were giving first aid to the wounded. They butchered civilians wherever they came across them: at home, on the fields, on the way to evacuation in underground shelters. Many families were wiped out or only survived with one or two small orphans.

Even more ruthless than the Nazis, they vied with one another in applying the cruelest murder methods of Chinese medieval tyrants. The horrible crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique were reproduced in Viet Nam. The executioners used machetes to chop people's heads or mince their bodies; they

shattered their skulls with iron sticks, pick-axes or shovels, hammers or rifle butts, and disembowelled them.

The savage massacre at Tong Chup, Hung Dao village, Cao Bang province, on 9 March 1979, four days after the Chinese authorities declared the withdrawal of their troops from Viet Nam, is not an isolated case. There the Chinese aggressors slaughtered 43 people at once, all of them women and children. The victims were 24 women—7 of whom were pregnant—and 19 children, including 7 babies.

They were slain with the most savage and inhuman methods as described below:

(a) The victims' skulls were smashed, gouged, then they were thrown into wells as in the case of the 26-year-old woman worker, Mac Thi Tinh, who was six months pregnant, and her two little children: Mong Thi Thuy, a three-year-old girl, and Mong Van Toan, a two-year-old boy;

(b) The victims' arms were fastened behind their backs with wire, their heads crushed and limbs smashed to pulp; then their bodies were thrown into streams;

(c) The victims' heads were chopped with machetes;

(d) The victims' bodies were cut up into pieces, then scattered;

(e) Bellies were slashed open as in the case of Mrs. Trinh Thi Hai's four children, aged 2 to 10 years old; Mrs. Hai herself was also killed;

(f) Women were raped, their breasts cut off and their genitals were stabbed and minced to pulp.

The prisoner Liu, native of Hunan, admitted on 23 February 1979 that he had witnessed a friend of his, Lichuan by name, kill two children: on his Commissar's order, the latter placed a little girl of some eight years of age and her younger brother about four years old face to face, then thrust his bayonet through both of them.

In Cao Lau village, Van Lang District, Lang Son Province, the Chinese thugs tore the body of Vi Viet Luong, a sixth form pupil, in two, dragged seven sleeping children outdoors, cut them to pieces and strew them all over the yard.

They laid mines everywhere: paths, walkways in the field, around wells, doorways, window sills, even in pigsties or paddy baskets, with a view to sowing more death, even after their retreat.

Not content with exterminating people, the Chinese aggressors also destroyed all sources and conditions of life, even the environment of the population.

Everywhere, they plundered all the paddy and other food. They took away or killed all buffaloes, oxen, horses and other animals, looted all productive tools, such as ploughs, harrows, picks, hoes, saws, hammers, etc. . . . They stole all clothing, furniture and family tools and destroyed whatever they were unable to carry away.

Public utility works and civilian dwellings were destroyed or burnt down.

They thoroughly and systematically wrecked schools, kindergartens, nurseries and hospitals; even churches and temples were not spared.

As regards educational, sanitary and religious institutions, they destroyed not only all class-rooms, hospitals, wards, pharmacies, places of worship, without leaving any walls standing, but also pupils' desks and educational aids, sick-beds, and medical and pharmaceutical equipment, altars and religious objects including Christian saints and statues of Buddha.

Almost all the hospitals and sanitary establishments in the invaded region were wrecked beyond use, to wit: 428 out of the total of 430 hospitals and infirmaries. Schools were in the same boat: 735 out of the total of 904 general education schools and 691 of the total of 691 nurseries were reduced to rubble, leaving nearly 200,000 children left with no place for education.

They burnt all books, journals, reviews, documents, exhibits of libraries and museums before dynamiting them flat; their savagery went so far as to destroy historic monuments and vestiges. This crime is typified by the destruction of the Pac Bo Grotto and the Pac Bo Museum in Cao Bang Province—a sacred monument in memory of our great leader President Ho Chi Minh, who devoted all his life to the liberation of the Viet-

name and other peoples and spared no effort to cultivate the friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples.

In line with this extermination policy, all cities, towns and villages in their path were utterly annihilated. All the four provincial capitals overrun by them—Cao Bang, Lang Son, Lao Cai, Cam Duong—were levelled. All the 320 villages they broke into were razed to the ground. Of the 420 houses in De Tham village, Hoa An District, Cao Bang Province, 330 were burnt down.

That is not all. They also destroyed the environment by burning large forested areas. Thousands of hectares of natural forests in Lai Chau Province were burnt out. In the Sapa resort, Hoang Lien Son Province, thousands of hectares of pine and "sam" forests surrounding the township, which played an important role in regularizing the climate and purifying the air, were also burnt away.

The aggressors threw pell-mell the bodies of civilians killed by them into streams and wells supplying drinking water. Into a well in Hung Dao village, Cao Bang Province, alone, they dumped as many as 15 corpses.

On the economic plane, they thoroughly and systematically destroyed industrial, agricultural and afforestation institutions with a view to undermining the Vietnamese people's building of socialism and weakening Viet Nam.

All the factories and mines they came across, such as the apatite mine, the power plant, the pottery and porcelain factory, the tea factory, the sugar mill, the agricultural products processing mill, etc., were destroyed to the foundations. They took away equipment, machinery and products. They flattened buildings, storehouses, basic construction works with mines and plastic charges in order to destroy them beyond repair.

The destruction of the Cam Duong mine is a typical instance. The Chinese aggressors demolished or burnt down all the workers' living quarters and public utility works such as State stores, restaurants, movie-houses, libraries, community halls. The school of first and second degrees was completely ravaged with its laboratory and experimenting instruments. The hospital of the mine was also razed to the ground, with its equipment and medicines taken away. They took away all the equipment and facilities used to exploit apatite ore and produce phosphate fertilizer, along with hundreds of trucks, bulldozers and thousands of tons of fertilizer. Then they used plastic charges and cannons to destroy all the works designed for ore extraction and production of phosphate fertilizer, the network of ore and fertilizer conveyors and the electric wiring. The two bridges in the mine area—the Lang Chieng and Lang Giang ones—were wrecked to their piers and abutments.

In the State farms they managed to get into, they looted and destroyed all tractors, bulldozers, road-rollers, transport vehicles, generators, transformers, depots of accessories, tractor-repair stations, tens of thousands of tons of chemical fertilizer, tens of thousands of tons of seeds of rice, secondary crops and vegetables. They took away or killed more than 100,000 buffaloes, oxen and horses and nearly 200,000 pigs.

Nearly 100 State farms and afforestation centres were ravaged, together with machinery, equipment, technical materials, storehouses, workers' living quarters. Tens of thousands of workers and employees were deprived of all houses and property.

In every area they trespassed, the aggressors destroyed all the water conservation works (reservoirs, pump stations, basins, irrigation and draining sluices), all the communication and transport works (railway stations, bridges spanning rivers). To wreck bridges thoroughly beyond repair, they exploded their main piers and abutments with heavy plastic charges. They removed whole lengths of railway, even took away sleepers to China and destroyed many portions of highways to impede transport.

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The war of aggression conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists has caused great immediate losses to the Vietnamese people. No less serious is its aftermath which cannot be fully reckoned now.

According to preliminary statistics, some immediate losses (till late March 1979) are listed below:



	Unit	Total in the invaded region	Enemy inflicted losses	Percentage
Number of provincial capitals destroyed	Provincial capital	4	4	100
Number of villages destroyed	Village	320	320	100
Housing area destroyed in cities (floor-space)	10,000 sq.m		60	
Number of city dwellers made homeless	10,000 people		15	
Number of houses destroyed in the countryside	10,000 houses		4.5	
Number of villagers made homeless	10,000 people		20	
Number of general education schools (first, second and third degrees) destroyed	School	904	735	82
Number of general education school pupils deprived of campuses	10,000 students		18	
Number of nurseries destroyed		691	691	100
Number of children left with no place of education	10,000 children		1.4	
Number of teachers left with no schools to teach	Teacher		5 570	
Number of hospitals and infirmaries destroyed	Hospital or infirmary	430	428	99.5
Among these:				
Provincial hospitals		4	4	100
District hospitals		26	24	92
Infirmaries		400	400	100
Number of afforestation centres destroyed		42	38	90
Number of State farms and agricultural stations destroyed			41	
Number of buffaloes and oxen killed or looted	10,000 head	26	15.7	60
Number of pigs killed or looted		30.5	24.4	80

The criminal aggression of the Chinese leaders, as a whole, reveals their nature as an extremely warlike, cruel, perfidious, vicious, obstinate and arrogant group who utterly flout morality and law. The Chinese war criminals are particularly dangerous because:

1. Their big-nation expansionism and hegemonism—the persistent heritage from the ambitions of ancient emperors—is set upon restoring a Chinese empire as centre of the world to rule over the globe, starting from South-East Asia.

2. The war criminals, far from renouncing their will of aggression, are still very bellicose and overtly threaten to reiterate their crime of aggression against Viet Nam and extend it to the other Indo-Chinese countries.

The war of aggression against Viet Nam is merely an initial move in the process of implementing their criminal scheme of expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. There is a very serious potential danger of new armed aggressions against Viet Nam and other neighbouring countries, prejudicial to peace, stability and security of the peoples of South-East Asia and the whole world.

On the other hand, the Chinese war criminals use their barbarous war of aggression against Viet Nam to intimidate and deter other peoples from following Viet Nam at the risk of being "punished" as Viet Nam was.

3. The war criminals act in collusion with United States imperialism and the most reactionary forces to conduct wars of aggression and carry out their big-nation expansionist policy against peace, independence and freedom.

4. The war criminals act under the guise of revolution and socialism to sabotage the revolution, the movements of national liberation, the movement of revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

They are the worst betrayers of the revolutionary cause of progressive mankind of our times.

5. The war criminals are most ignominious swindlers. Along with their criminal act of war, they resorted to their huge propaganda apparatus to fool the Chinese and other peoples.

Their treachery consists mainly in calumny, in twisting the truth, making white black and black white, confusing right and wrong, inverting justice and injustice, representing the victim as the aggressor and vice versa.

Playing the burglar who sounds the alarm while sending hundreds of thousands of troops to invade another country, they clamour that they were using their legitimate right of self-defence against aggression, calling themselves champions of peace, independence and freedom.

They noisily condemn aggression, castigate imperialism and expansionism and voice support for the national liberation movements while it is they themselves who are the real expansionists, allied to imperialism to conduct criminal wars of aggression and sabotage national liberation everywhere.

6. The war criminals flout and trample underfoot all principles of morality and international law.

They arrogate to themselves the right to punish other peoples whenever the latter refuse allegiance to them or do not let them invade their territories. In fact, they grant themselves the right to commit the crime of aggression and the crime of genocide, in defiance of international law and the human conscience.

7. The war criminals have mentally poisoned their troops with warlike, murderous thoughts, frantic national feuding, dehumanized them and turned them into a horde of devils deprived of all human character.

Therefore, nowadays, the reactionary Chinese leadership is the dangerous enemy not only of the Vietnamese people but

also of the whole socialist system and of the movements for independence, democracy and peace in Asia and throughout the world.

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The Nuremberg International Tribunal, trying the German Nazi war criminals, concluded that the conduct of a war of aggression against another country constitutes a supreme international crime because it gives rise to all other crimes. Under the Charter<sup>a</sup> of the Nuremberg International Tribunal, those who conduct a war of aggression are guilty of the crime against peace (article 6 a).

The Charter of the United Nations and many resolutions of the General Assembly condemn all acts of aggression, all use of or threats to use force in international relations in favour of the defence of peace and international security, of the peoples' inviolable rights to independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights deems that the flouting of human rights leads to savage acts shocking the human conscience, and defines the principles of respect for the fundamental rights and liberties of peoples, regardless of nations.

In conducting an undeclared large-scale war of aggression against Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country which has never touched the interests of China in any way, which, not so long ago, they still called their ally and assured that "China is Viet Nam's reliable rear", the Chinese leaders have despised and trodden underfoot the Vietnamese people's fundamental rights and all basic human rights, breaking their commitment, flouting the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The war of aggression against Viet Nam—the vanguard of the national liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for independence and freedom of nations—constitutes an extremely grave offence to the freedom, justice and peace-loving peoples, an insolent challenge to mankind's conscience.

Under international law, the Chinese expansionists and hegemons are guilty of the crime of premeditated aggression, of violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. At the same time, they are held guilty of the crime against peace and international security.

They are also guilty of crimes of war, under article 6 b of the Charter of the Nuremberg International Tribunal. This article regards as war crimes any violation of the laws of war such as killing, ill-treatment or deportation of civilians, plundering of public or private property and destruction of cities and villages without military necessity. In particular, they have violated the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons and war wounded in time of war, based on the principles of prohibiting any attempt to violate their lives and property.

By systematically and massively killing civilians in a most cruel manner and destroying all their sources of life, by ravaging the system of economic establishments, hospitals and schools, they are guilty of crimes against humanity, under article 6 c of the Nuremberg Charter, according to which the massacre of civilians and other inhumane acts against them are crimes against humanity.

<sup>a</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 82, p. 284.

According to a principle of international law already applied to the German and Japanese fascists, those who wage a war of aggression must be held totally responsible for reparations of all losses and damage caused by that war of aggression.

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Smartingly roused and strongly condemned by public opinion throughout the world and even in China, the Chinese rulers were compelled to unconditionally withdraw their army of aggression. But their reactionary, bellicose and aggressive nature remains unchanged. They have never given up their scheme to weaken and annex Viet Nam. They persist in keeping their troops at many positions on Vietnamese territory. They have been systematically carrying out war preparations and provocations along the whole length of the frontier. They are still concentrating more than half a million troops in the vicinity of the frontier, deploying a dozen divisions, thousands of artillery pieces and other war material close to the Vietnamese border. They continue to build strategic routes and combat fortifications. They carry out artillery bombardments, raids and spying and sabotage activities against Viet Nam and violate our territorial waters and air space with ships and aircraft. They are arrogantly threatening to rekindle the war, slanderously charging Viet Nam and Laos with "provocative, bellicose and anti-China" actions, overbearingly claimed the so-called "right to riposte" with a view to preparing for a new aggressive escalation against Viet Nam and other Indo-Chinese countries.

Facing the danger of a renewal and extension of this crime of aggression with extremely savage genocidal horrors in its train, the Vietnamese people earnestly call on the Governments and peoples of all countries, the revolutionary movements and the international democratic organizations and their comrades and friends in all continents to act more vigorously for the sake of freedom, justice and peace, positively support Viet Nam, vigorously condemn the reactionary Chinese aggressors, and demand that they respond to the three-point solution submitted by the Vietnamese Government [S/13257, annex] to guarantee peace and stability in the Viet Nam-China frontier area—a fair and sensible solution relevant to the actual situation and responding to the aspirations of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the yearnings for peace and stability of the peoples in South-East Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people call on the genuine Chinese communists and people to vigorously oppose and check in time the reactionary policies and unjust war conducted by the Chinese rulers.

The Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace, do not want war and are invariably willing to maintain friendship with the Chinese people but are determined to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

With the aggregate force of the whole nation united into a rock-like bloc, with their will and traditions of indomitable struggle against foreign invasion, with the force of a large international front which is wholeheartedly supporting and defending Viet Nam and sternly condemning the reactionary Chinese aggressors, the Vietnamese people are firmly confident in the victory of their just cause for the independence and freedom of their own country, for peace, justice and the dignity of all nations.

## DOCUMENT S/13330\*

Note verhalet dated 16 May 1979 from the Mission of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[16 May 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations would like to draw the attention of the Secretary-General and of the per-

manent missions of States Members of the United Nations to the following.

It is for some time now that to an increasing extent letters have been circulated as documents of the United Nations which bear the signature of a person calling

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/256-S/13330.

himself the "Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea".

The Permanent Mission of the German Democratic Republic regards such a situation as abnormal and inadmissible. As is well known, the brutal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which called itself "Democratic Kampuchea" and, according to cautious estimates, murdered about 3 million Kampuchean people and forced a sanguinary border war on the neighbouring Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, was completely liquidated as a result of a national uprising of the Kampuchean people. Under the leadership of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, self-administration committees were established and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was founded. Since that time, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and its organs have exercised real power in the country. Its efforts are directed towards normalizing life in Kampuchea, enabling tens of thousands of people who had been forced to leave their homesteads to return and towards reviving industry, trade, transport, education and health service, as well as cultural life, which had been totally paralysed.

Diplomatic relations exist between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and there is an embassy of the German Democratic Republic working in Phnom Penh. Despite attempts of escaped Pol Pot followers to disturb the process of improvement in Kampuchea, with the help of their foreign advisers, the organs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have already done a great work for normalizing life there. There is no doubt that the People's Revolutionary Council is the sole legitimate Government of Kampuchea, as was stated in the letters of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 16 and 23 February 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13090 and S/13116] and of 26 March 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General.<sup>10</sup>

Hence nobody other than a permanent representative appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council is entitled to represent the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations.

<sup>10</sup> See A/34/136.

In view of this, the continuation of the activities of the above-mentioned person, who represents nobody but himself, contradicts the actual state of affairs in Kampuchea and constitutes clear interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It is therefore incomprehensible that this person is now, as before, given the possibility of disseminating pamphlets one after the other, which, in essence, echo the content of radio broadcasts transmitted from the territory of China. If all Member States were to use the United Nations to have their favourite radio broadcasts propagated as official United Nations documents, the financial means of the Organization, which are paid by the Member States, would not suffice.

Is it not grotesque that those pamphlets, which contain boundless slanders and heinous attacks against States Members of the United Nations, are propagated under item 46 of the preliminary list of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, although their contents have nothing whatsoever to do with the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security"? The aim of those broadcasts is rather to undermine the implementation of the Declaration and to carry out the one-sided, expansionist and hegemonist concept of the present Chinese leaders in South-East Asia.

Thus the impression is gaining ground that, by the propagation of pamphlets of the above person, the United Nations and its apparatus is to be harnessed for a policy which contradicts its Charter and is detrimental to the authority of the world Organization.

The Permanent Mission of the German Democratic Republic advocates the full respect for and the observance of the tested principles of the United Nations and the speedy termination of the abnormal situation described above with regard to Kampuchea and explicitly supports the growing demands voiced in, as well as outside, the United Nations for recognizing and securing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations.

The Permanent Mission of the German Democratic Republic requests that the text of this note be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

## DOCUMENT S/13331

### Letter dated 16 May 1979 from the representative of Israel to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[16 May 1979]

With reference to the statement concerning the situation in Southern Lebanon which you made in your capacity as President of the Security Council at its meeting on 15 May 1979 [2144th meeting], I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to state the following.

Israel supports the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

As has been acknowledged by the Secretary-General in several of his reports concerning the United Nations

Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the situation in Southern Lebanon cannot be detached from the situation in the country as a whole. Attempts to do so will not enhance the cause of international peace and security, and in fact are bound to fail.

The terrorist groups operating under the umbrella of the murder organization calling itself the PLO are subverting the situation in Southern Lebanon, just as they are doing in the rest of the country. There are some 2,000 armed PLO terrorists south of the Litani River, and they constitute a threat to three tangible



targets: to the citizens of Israel, particularly in the north of Israel, to the villagers in Southern Lebanon, and to the men of UNIFIL in the fulfilment of their mandate.

Beyond that, the PLO terrorists constitute a menace to the restoration of Lebanese authority in the south as they do in other parts of that troubled country.

Moreover, the restoration of the effective authority of Lebanon throughout its territory is severely hampered by the fact that Lebanon is occupied and controlled by other foreign forces, principally the Syrian army of occupation.

It is essential to face the fundamental problems of Lebanon with realism. Until the uettle of restoring international peace and security is grasped, there can be

no real prospect of restoring the authority of Lebanon over all its territory within its internationally recognized boundaries.

It is obvious that in the present situation of terrorist intervention and subversion, as well as foreign domination in Lebanon imposed by the so-called PLO and Syria against the true interests of the people of Lebanon, the mandate of UNIFIL, as set out in Security Council resolution 425 (1978), cannot be successfully implemented.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13333\*

#### Letter dated 17 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[17 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The perfidiousness of Viet Nam in its attempt to extend its war of aggression to Thailand".

I shall be grateful if you will circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The perfidiousness of Viet Nam in its attempt to extend its war of aggression to Thailand"

Everyone is now fully aware that the Vietnamese strategy of aggression and expansion will not stop at the "Federation of Indo-China". This "Federation of Indo-China" is only a first step and a spring-board for Viet Nam to extend its aggression and expansion to Thailand and to all the countries of South-East Asia. For the time being, however, Viet Nam cannot push ahead, because of its failure to swallow up Kampuchea. The reason for this is that the people of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, forming a monolithic unit under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have risen up valiantly to fight the people's war against the Vietnamese aggression and are dealing it powerful blows everywhere, throughout Kampuchea. They are driving Viet Nam deeper and deeper into the inextricable morass of the people's war.

But the Vietnamese enemy, being of a barbarous and stubborn nature, does not resign itself to its successive bitter and ignominious defeats. Early in April, it made great efforts to rally its forces and launch a large-scale operation of general repression in Kampuchea. Its aim was to crush the leadership apparatus of Democratic Kampuchea at one blow and to suppress the struggle of the Kampuchean people. Once it had achieved that aim, it would have its hands free to push further

ahead or, in other words, to extend its aggression and invasion to other countries of the South-East Asia region. However, Viet Nam was unable to achieve that criminal aim, because the heroic Kampuchean Revolutionary Army and revolutionary guerrilla forces and the valiant people of Kampuchea resolutely dealt it powerful blows, inflicting on it a heavy loss of lives. Its troops, both at the front and in the rear, were cut to pieces. Maddened with rage, Viet Nam then invented all kinds of stories to account for its defeat, accusing all and sundry of being the cause of the failure of its criminal plan. But what is even more important is that all Viet Nam's inventions, accusations and slanders are in fact intended to camouflage, most perfidiously, its design of extending its war of aggression to Thailand.

What the Vietnamese enemy did recently was to order its running dogs in Phnom Penh to launch repeated accusations and slanders against Thailand and manifold provocations on the Kampuchean-Thai frontier, with the aim of finding a pretext for attacking and invading Thailand. Simultaneously with that, Viet Nam massed large numbers of troops in northern Laos, adjacent to north-east Thailand, in order to bring pressure to bear on Thailand. So as to "legalize" the stationing of those troops in northern Laos, Viet Nam ordered its puppets at Vientiane to make blustering statements, even to the point of bringing a complaint before the United Nations against China for allegedly violating and occupying part of northern Laos. This is truly the most ignoble perfidy on the part of Viet Nam, of a kind seldom seen in the world. The provocations and accusations now being launched against Thailand, and other stories invented by Viet Nam in order to accuse China and the countries of South-East Asia, are carbon copies of all those which Viet Nam invented to slander Democratic Kampuchea before throwing in more than 100,000 troops to attack and invade it. Still fresh in memory are the odious slanders hurled at Democratic Kampuchea by Viet Nam, some of which claimed that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had already been overthrown by a coup d'état while others reported internal uprisings in various places. Afterwards, it created an entirely fictitious "Liberation Front". All these stories were simply pretexts to prepare world public opinion for its large-scale military aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea. When one remembers all those inventions and slanders hurled at Kampuchea by Viet Nam during the past year and compares them with those it is reciting now, one sees clearly that this too is a Vietnamese manoeuvre of the most perfidious kind to prepare world public opinion and create pretexts for its future aggression against and invasion of Thailand.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/257-S/13333.

From all these facts, the countries and peoples of South-East Asia clearly discern the danger of an extension of the war of aggression now being waged in Kampuchea by Viet Nam, and also its strategy of aggression and expansion aimed at the entire region of South-East Asia. They realize the need to strengthen their solidarity in order to resist and combat even more strongly

and resolutely the expansionist strategy of Viet Nam, firmly supported by its Soviet masters. At the same time, they also realize the necessity of a determined campaign to demand categorically the withdrawal by Viet Nam of all its forces of aggression from Kampuchea, so that lasting peace and security may be ensured in this region, South-East Asia.

#### DOCUMENT S/13334\*

### Letter dated 17 May 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[17 May 1979]

As Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 9 May 1979 addressed to you by the representative of Israel.<sup>11</sup> In that letter, Israel once more publicly affirmed that it intends to continue to act in violation of basic principles of international law, the United Nations Charter and General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and with complete indifference to world opinion.

That attitude cannot but give rise to the most serious concern on the part of States Members of the United Nations.

In this connexion, I draw your attention also to the fact that Israel's declared refusal to withdraw from the territories it has occupied since 1967 and its stated intentions concerning those territories, as detailed in the letter under reference, ignore the recommendations of this Committee, which have been endorsed by the General Assembly.

In particular, its statement that "Under no circumstance will Israel contemplate or permit the establishment of a 'Palestinian State' in Judea, Samaria and Gaza" is a flagrant denial of the right of self-determination and a provocative reiteration of Israel's plans to annex and colonize those occupied territories in violation of international law.

Israel's refusal to withdraw from the territories it has illegally occupied since 1967 is manifestly a violation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the terms of which Israel often selectively quotes, ignoring the fact that the preamble of that resolution emphasizes the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war.

Furthermore, Israel's declaration that Jerusalem will always remain "one indivisible city—the eternal capital of our country" ignores the terms of Security Council resolution 252 (1968), which reads in part as follows:

"The Security Council,

" . . .

"Bearing in mind the need to work for a just and lasting peace,

"Reaffirming that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible,

" . . .

"2. Considers that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status;

"3. Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem;"

Such continued open defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions constitutes a stark contrast to the statement by the representative of Israel in his letter to you dated 28 March 1979, wherein he stated: "The Government of Israel is committed to peace and to the continuation of the peace process" [S/13206].

I state once again that the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is convinced that the principles on which it based its recommendations, and which have been endorsed repeatedly by the General Assembly, are a *sine qua non* for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Briefly, those principles are: the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty; the participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

On behalf of the Committee, therefore, I wish to express my disagreement with regard to the contentions of the representative of Israel, since they are intended to deny the Palestinian people their inalienable rights, as defined by various organs of the United Nations, and pose obstacles in the way of implementing those rights, thereby aggravating the Palestinian problem, which is recognized as being at the heart of the Middle East conflict.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Raúl ROA KOURI  
Acting Chairman of the Committee  
on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/258-S/13334.  
<sup>11</sup> A/34/231.

DOCUMENT S/13335\*

Letter dated 17 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[17 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the resolution on Lebanon adopted at the Tenth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Islamic States, held at Fez, Morocco, between 8 and 12 May 1979.

It would be appreciated if you could have this resolution circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Resolution on Lebanon adopted at the Tenth Conference  
of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Islamic States

The Tenth Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Islamic States held at Fez (Kingdom of Morocco) between 8 and 12 May 1979,

Recalling the principles and ordinances of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Charter of the United Nations,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/259-S/13335.

Noting with grave concern the continuation of Israel's aggressive policy against Lebanon in general, and South Lebanon in particular, and the persistent bombardment of its villages, and noting Israel's rejection of the implementation of Security Council resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978) and 444 (1979) calling for the restoration of the Lebanese administration authority in South Lebanon, as well as the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon,

Considering the Israeli aggression against South Lebanon as constituting a threat to international peace and security in the Middle East and the world,

1. Declares its support for the unity of Lebanon, the land and the people, for the independence of Lebanon, its sovereignty, and for assisting the Lebanese State to regain and exercise its authority all over its territory;

2. Strongly condemns the acts of aggression and violence committed by Israel in Lebanon, particularly in South Lebanon;

3. Calls upon international organizations to take the necessary measures to terminate immediately these serious aggressions, and calls upon the Security Council to bear its responsibilities for carrying out its resolutions regarding South Lebanon; and calls further upon the States of the world to take a firm stand regarding these acts of aggression and apply sanctions as provided by the Charter of the United Nations.

DOCUMENT S/13336\*

Letter dated 18 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[18 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a press release dated 13 May 1979 concerning the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to assess the situation after the recent dry season and to decide on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this important text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Press release of 13 May 1979 concerning the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to assess the situation after the recent dry season and to decide on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead

On 6 and 7 May 1979, the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea met under the chairmanship of the President of the State Presidium, Khieu Samphan, and the Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Pol Pot. During its deliberations, which lasted two days, the Council of Ministers was unanimous in its assessment of the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/260-S/13336.

situation after the recent dry season and decided precisely what were the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead by the Government, the people, the Revolutionary Army and the revolutionary guerrillas of Kampuchea.

I. ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION DURING  
THE RECENT DRY SEASON

A. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CLEARLY IDENTIFIED THE REASONS WHICH LED THE LE DUAN-PHAM VAN DONG CLIQUE TO LAUNCH AGGRESSION ON SO LARGE A SCALE AGAINST DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

The fact that Viet Nam mobilized so many troops to launch aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on so large a scale is not a sign of its strength. Viet Nam's action in resorting to a large-scale attack stemmed from the series of strategic defeats it had suffered and the impasse it had reached in pursuing its "Federation of Indo-China" strategy.

Viet Nam had not wanted in actual fact to resort to such large-scale and overt aggression. Such a course of action was sure to result in excessive losses for Viet Nam in military, political, economic and diplomatic terms, both at home and abroad, and those losses would continue over an extensive period because the opponent was the people of Kampuchea, who have a long tradition of determined struggle and the advantage of good fighting leadership.

Viet Nam would have preferred to use the quiet approach of a snake to swallow up Kampuchea. It would have preferred to employ such manoeuvres as "special friendship" "special solidarity", infiltration, coup d'état, elimination of the leadership (by poisoning or assassination), and fomenting of domestic re-



volt. Had such manoeuvres succeeded, there would have been no reaction either within the country or abroad. Viet Nam would then have been able to continue to swallow up South-East Asia with ease.

However, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have fought valiantly against Viet Nam and inflicted a series of strategic defeats on it. Because of all those defeats, Viet Nam has been forced to resort to its ultimate weapon, thereby baring its odious face to the entire world. For more than 30 years, Viet Nam has hypocritically worn the mask of the "revolutionary" and the "fair dealer". Now the mask is off, revealing the jackal face of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, execrated by all countries and peoples in the world.

#### B. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REVIEWED THE GENERAL SITUATION AT THE FRONT DURING THE RECENT DRY SEASON

Viet Nam hoped that a *blitzkrieg* strategy would bring it instant victory. It had over-estimated its own strength. With its numerous divisions and many Soviet aircraft, tanks and artillery pieces, it was hoping to succeed with a single blow. In that way, it thought, it could dispose of the Kampuchean problem in a trice. If it managed to crush Kampuchea, it could at one and the same time establish its "Federation of Indo-China" and solve its domestic political and economic problems, as well as the complex diplomatic problems arising out of its aggression against Democratic Kampuchea.

However, the dry season is already over and Viet Nam has still not succeeded in attaining its objective and ending the Kampuchean people's struggle. The war continues throughout Kampuchea. The Vietnamese troops are forced to continue to fight the war themselves. What is more, the Vietnamese must send successive waves of reinforcements from their country. Because of their inability to conclude the war in Kampuchea, they have become mired in inextricable difficulties of every kind. Insurmountable problems are emerging for them, in Kampuchea, in Viet Nam itself, in Laos, in South-East Asia, in Asia and throughout the world. They are unable to resolve either the new problems resulting from their aggression in Kampuchea or the old problems, and new difficulties are constantly arising.

#### C. REVIEW OF THE SITUATION AT THE FRONT

Viet Nam launched its aggression against Kampuchea in late December. In January it was gloating, in the belief that it could dispose of the Kampuchean problem by the end of the month with a victory on the battlefield. However, at the end of January, it had managed to gain control only of Phnom Penh, some provincial capitals and a few strategic roads. The war goes on, with our Revolutionary Army also making both large and small attacks. Faced with this situation, the Vietnamese enemy has clearly realized that the war in Kampuchea is far from over. Consequently, the Vietnamese have had to send in further reinforcements:

(a) By dispatching three new divisions from Viet Nam;

(b) By moving troops from some areas in Kampuchea and concentrating them in other areas in order to carry out campaigns of repression. Thus, in February, Viet Nam launched campaigns of repression in the south-western zone and the central zone. But by the end of February, we had smashed every one of those campaigns and continued to launch guerrilla attacks.

Thus, in late February and early March, Viet Nam failed in its attempt to smother the struggle of our people and our Revolutionary Army in both the south-western zone and the central zone.

In late March and in April, the Vietnamese enemy again regrouped its troops with a view to conducting campaigns of repression in the west, north-west and north, and penetrated deeply into those three areas.

Thus, during the dry season, Viet Nam launched two major campaigns of repression:

(a) In the south-western and central areas;

(b) In the west, north-west and north, not to mention the medium-scale and small-scale campaigns it conducted throughout the country.

The aim of the Vietnamese enemy is to shatter the struggle of our people. But it has not achieved its goals and the struggle of our people continues on all fronts and in all areas of the country, where we are everywhere on the attack. We have defended and preserved our forces everywhere. Our leadership remains intact in all zones. We have the support and close unity of our people in combating the Vietnamese aggressor. We also have the support of the entire world.

Thus, as the rainy season begins, Viet Nam's war of aggression with the support of its Soviet master, has not succeeded in smothering the struggle of our people. Our people's war that began in January is being vigorously carried on everywhere throughout the country.

The Soviet Union and Viet Nam have mobilized all their resources and have done everything they could to gain a lightning victory. But they have failed to attain their objective. Of course, we are encountering many difficulties, but they are only temporary. The Vietnamese enemy, on the other hand, is beset with serious difficulties, fundamental difficulties of all kinds, in Kampuchea, in its own country and throughout the world. Most important of all, our people's war has not been extinguished. It continues to be waged vigorously. These are the chief factors which enable us to move forward.

#### D. ASSESSMENT OF THE ENEMY'S SITUATION AND OUR SITUATION, IN EACH FIELD, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

A review of the course of the war requires an assessment of four factors: the military, the political, the economic and the diplomatic. Our conduct of the people's war is based on those four factors.

##### 1. The military factor

During the recent dry season, from the point of view of manpower and *matériel*, the Vietnamese enemy enjoyed military superiority over us. That is why they were able to penetrate into Kampuchea at many places. That is the strong point of the Vietnamese enemy and its Soviet master. We cannot mount a frontal attack on the enemy's heavy forces. We can, however, carry out guerrilla attacks, and this we can do throughout the country. That is our strong point and Viet Nam's weak point. It is because Viet Nam has weak points that we are able to attack it, so that the military situation is confused throughout the country. We are able to attack the Vietnamese enemy, hold it at bay, wear it down and destroy its troops. In such a situation, the enemy's great weakness is its lack of manpower to finish the war and smother the struggle of our people.

In order to get out of that situation, the Vietnamese enemy must solve two problems:

(a) Mobilization and dispatch of additional Vietnamese forces from Viet Nam;

(b) Conscription in Kampuchea.

Can the enemy solve these problems as it wishes? It cannot. In order to achieve the "Khmerization" of its war, Viet Nam must continue for a long time the "Vietnamization" of the war. "Vietnamization" of the war is the linchpin of "Khmerization" of the war.

Can it continue the "Vietnamization" of the war at whatever pace it chooses? Let us consider the following.

Before its aggression against Kampuchea, Viet Nam was already suffering from a serious famine. Now that it has attacked Kampuchea, the famine can only grow worse. On the military front, large numbers of Vietnamese soldiers are being killed in the attack on Kampuchea. Consequently, the people and youth of Viet Nam are seeking to evade conscription by going underground or fleeing abroad. With each passing year, the flight of Vietnamese is exacerbating the political crisis in Viet Nam and affecting the sources of new manpower. On the aggression front in Kampuchea, after only four months, desertions are becoming increasingly frequent.

A review of the situation in Viet Nam and on the Kampuchean front alone shows clearly that Viet Nam is beset by countless difficulties. In addition, it is enmeshed in great difficulties in Laos, on the Vietnamese-Chinese frontier, in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

In such circumstances, the Vietnamese enemy cannot continue the "Vietnamization" of the war in Kampuchea as it pleases.

The longer our people's war goes on, the greater will be Viet Nam's difficulties. During the dry season, we took a toll of more than 40,000 Vietnamese, dead or wounded. If we eliminate 20,000 more during the present rainy season, Viet Nam will have lost over 60,000 men. So by the next dry season it has to find 60,000 additional men to replenish its ranks. That is not an easy task when the people and youth of Viet Nam are continuing to flee their country, when the situation in Laos continues to evoke and when Viet Nam continues to encounter complex problems elsewhere.

Thus, the strategy of "Vietnamizing" the war in Kampuchea is meeting with countless difficulties. In the circumstances, "Khmerization" of the war is unattainable.

If we fight the Vietnamese enemy for a year, he will be trounced for a year. If we fight him for two years, he will be trounced for two years, and so on for five years, for 10 years. We have devised a long-term strategy. If we unrelentingly launch guerrilla attacks throughout this rainy season, during the next dry season and in all the seasons to come, Viet Nam will not be able to withstand. However stubborn it may be, Viet Nam will not be able to withstand.

### 2. *The political factor*

An assessment of the political situation, both in Viet Nam and in Kampuchea, shows that the outcome of the war of aggression against Kampuchea will not be a bright one for Viet Nam but will be extremely sombre.

The Vietnamese people have suffered greatly as a result of the inability of those in power to settle the military issue in Kampuchea speedily, the loss of large numbers of Vietnamese soldiers on the Kampuchean front and the existence of conscription in Viet Nam. The lives of the people and youth of Viet Nam are already blighted by more than 30 years of war. Now they are still being required to wage a war of aggression in Kampuchea and to go off to fight against China. The longer the war continues, the more the Vietnamese people will suffer, both physically and mentally and in terms of their living conditions, so that the political situation in Viet Nam will go from bad to worse.

In Kampuchea, on the other hand, the past four months have confirmed the great unity of the Kampuchean nation, both at home and abroad, in combating the Vietnamese enemy, an aggressor and annexationist that swallows up territories. Viet Nam and its puppets have no political base in Kampuchea. They can engage in demagogy as much as they please, but they cannot and will not succeed. In the first place, Viet Nam's puppets are complete nonentities, with the Vietnamese doing everything in their stead. Secondly, their Vietnamese masters have no material for their demagogy towards the people of Kampuchea. Starved and poverty-stricken, the Vietnamese can only come and plunder our people. More specifically, during the past four months, they have plundered our people's rice and livestock. Not content with having robbed the people of everything, the Vietnamese have raped their daughters. They cannot deceive the people of Kampuchea by sleight of hand. Accordingly, the political base of the Vietnamese in Kampuchea cannot be expanded or consolidated. It is doomed to destruction. The entire Kampuchean people execrates them and is dealing them ever more powerful blows.

### 3. *The economic factor*

As the economy of Viet Nam was already in an extremely difficult situation, the war in Kampuchea is a heavy additional burden.

In Viet Nam, the economy is already in a disastrous state. With the war of aggression in Kampuchea, it is becoming even worse. The difficulties have increased tremendously as a result. Viet Nam's foreign trade is breaking down, collapsing and slipping away from the Vietnamese enemy as through a sieve, because Viet Nam is corrupt and must, in addition, support the burden of its war of aggression in Kampuchea. All the assistance from the Soviet Union and its supporters will be of no avail in a protracted war. In Kampuchea, the Vietnamese enemy has plundered the rice which it cost us so much effort to produce so that they could send it to Viet Nam, without any concern for the famine which our people might suffer. In addition, this year the enemy has conducted campaigns of repression to prevent

our people from growing rice. All this creates antagonism between the enemy and our people. Now, wherever the enemy reaches, it completely destroys our people's livestock and rice. Its aim is to starve our people and thus smother their struggle. But our people will not accept death by starvation; they join together and fight the Vietnamese enemy in order to be able to overcome the food problem and annihilate the enemy.

### 4. *The international factor*

During the recent dry season, Viet Nam acquired a most odious reputation in South-East Asia, in Asia, in Oceania, in Africa, in North America, in South America and in Europe. All mankind has condemned it. Only the Soviet Union and its few followers support it. In the international arena, Viet Nam is like a mangy dog which everyone chases. Driven into a corner, all it does is snarl and bare its teeth at everyone, thus revealing more clearly than ever its true nature.

In brief, a review of these four factors—military, political, economic and international—shows us that Viet Nam is stronger than we only temporarily and only in the military sphere, and even in the military sphere it is embroiled in growing and increasingly complex difficulties. It is basically weak in the political, economic and international spheres. Thus, as time goes on, political and economic factors and international support for our struggle will exert growing pressure on Viet Nam, creating serious difficulties for it in the military sphere. As a result, its military forces will grow progressively weaker. And once Viet Nam is weakened militarily, those political, economic and international forces will exert ever stronger pressure on it, until it is totally defeated.

The Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea fully grasped the situation, in all its aspects, at the front in Kampuchea during the recent dry season.

However, the Council is well aware of the ferocity, barbarity and stubbornness of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its Soviet masters. It clearly perceives their pernicious manoeuvres, which they will doubtless continue in the military, political, economic and diplomatic spheres, and especially their stubborn pursuit of the "Vietnamization" of the war in Kampuchea, which they intend to make the nucleus, the soul and the linchpin of the "Khmerization" of their war in Kampuchea, and their intention of creating the necessary conditions to achieve that goal.

In the light of that assessment of the situation, the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea decided on the tasks to be undertaken in the period ahead.

## II. GENERAL TASKS IN CONTINUATION OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO COMBAT THE VIETNAMESE ENEMY AGGRESSOR AND TO WIN NEW VICTORIES

The Council of Ministers stated specifically that we must continue to hold aloft the standard of battle and forcefully and vigorously prosecute the people's war against the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and seek to exterminate the Kampuchean nation, by:

(a) Adhering firmly to the position of independence, sovereignty and reliance on our own forces;

(b) Uniting with all forces devoted to independence, peace, justice and democracy which oppose Vietnamese regional expansionism;

(c) Adhering to the position of long-term struggle, of enduring all difficulties and of overcoming all obstacles in the way of victory;

(d) Adhering to the position of a powerful and resolute offensive in fighting the Vietnamese enemy, an aggressor and annexationist which swallows up territories, with noble revolutionary heroism.

More specifically:

1. We must vigorously continue the people's war, on the basis of guerrilla warfare, and actively carry out guerrilla attacks everywhere, taking the offensive, unceasingly demonstrating sovereignty, creativity and initiative, and drawing up and carrying out plans for the daily destruction of the enemy's manpower.

We must strengthen and develop our guerrilla units and intensify guerrilla activity; we must build up, develop and



strengthen our Revolutionary Army in every sphere—political, ideological, organizational and, progressively, in combat techniques.

2. We must persevere in our efforts to build up, strengthen and develop the people's forces, both in the areas under our control and in those temporarily under enemy control. The population of the areas under our control is with us and is fighting the Vietnamese aggressors. The population of the areas temporarily under enemy control is also part of our people and also constitutes the forces fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations.

We must pay sustained attention to political, ideological and organizational work, and strive whole-heartedly to solve the problems of our people's living conditions according to our abilities and means. We must make every Kampuchean into a valiant warrior fighting in every way and by every means against the Vietnamese enemy, the aggressor and annexationist which swallows up territories.

The entire Kampuchean people, in the areas under our control and in the areas temporarily under enemy control, are filled with bitter hatred for the Vietnamese enemy, and this hatred is constantly increasing. This tremendous strength of the Kampuchean people is dealing severe blows to the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and is plunging it into the deepest abyss of the people's war.

3. We must continue to work for the consolidation and development of the great unity of the Kampuchean nation, both at home and abroad, in order to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations, until they are completely expelled from Kampuchea, and to build an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

4. We must endeavour to solve the problem of supplies for the people's war, boosting production by every means and in all circumstances. We must preserve all the products of our work so that we may be masters of the situation and prevent the Vietnamese enemy from coming to destroy them. We must show a great spirit of solidarity in resolving the problem of material living conditions.

5. We must endeavour to develop solidarity with all countries and peoples in the world, particularly those of South-East Asia which are also threatened by the aggression and expansionism of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique.

The Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is fully aware that the historical circumstances of the struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people against the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories and exterminate nations mark a new era in the struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people, and of the nations and peoples of the world and all mankind, against the Vietnamese regional expansionists and their masters, who are engaging in continued extortion and acts of aggression and expansion and making threats in the most arrogant fashion in all parts of the world, particularly South-East Asia, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, Asia, Oceania, Europe and Latin America.

The entire nation and people of Kampuchea, both at home and abroad, are victims of the acts of aggression, annexation and national extermination committed by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. Accordingly, they have enthusiastically united in a single monolithic bloc and are holding aloft the standard of the independent and sovereign Kampuchean nation to combat the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists who swallow up territories until they are completely expelled from the territory of our beloved Kampuchea.

At the same time, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation and people are firmly convinced that they will continue to have the support—ever-stronger, in ever-growing numbers and in an ever-increasing variety of forms—of all the forces committed to independence, peace, justice, democracy and neutrality throughout the world, in their just struggle against the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and seek to exterminate the Kampuchean nation. All such forces view the struggle waged by the nation and people of Kampuchea as their own, and are opposing and will continue to oppose the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors by every means and to demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all Vietnamese forces of aggression.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people take this opportunity to express their sincere thanks to all countries, Governments, peoples, political organizations and individuals who have taken and are still taking forceful action in support of the just struggle of the Kampuchean nation and people.

The nation and people of Kampuchea will prevail in their just struggle!

The defeat of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique of aggressors and annexationists, who swallow up territories and exterminate nations, is ineluctable!

#### DOCUMENT S/13337\*

Note verbale dated 18 May 1979 from the Mission of Mongolia to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[18 May 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations wishes to draw to the attention of the Secretary-General, and of the Permanent Missions of Member States of the United Nations, the abnormal situation which has arisen as a result of the illegal presence at the United Nations of a so-called representative of the former anti-popular Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which long ago ceased to exist. It is quite irregular that this individual, who represents no one, is using the machinery of the United Nations on the orders of his Peking masters to disseminate slander and lies against sovereign Member States of the United Nations.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/267-S/13337.

It is well known that the people of Kampuchea long ago rose against and overthrew the hated and blood-thirsty Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime which, with the direct connivance of the Chinese expansionists, had pursued a policy of genocide in the country and exterminated over 3 million completely innocent citizens. It is also well known that the new Government established by the people of Kampuchea themselves long ago assumed full power throughout the country and is taking effective measures to normalize the life of the population, restore economic activity, and rebuild public, political and cultural life, which had been utterly wrecked under the previous régime. The country's schools are resuming their work, thousands of people who had been driven into forced labour camps by the former repressive ré-



gime are returning to their homes, administrative organs of power are being formed in all the rural areas, and other necessary steps are being taken to eliminate permanently the severe consequences of the criminal actions of the former dictatorial Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime. The new Government of Kampuchea is thus the true spokesman for the wishes and aspirations of the people of Kampuchea and their legitimate representative.

In its foreign policy, the new Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment which is demonstrated in its sincere desire to re-establish good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with all the countries of South-East Asia, and to contribute to the cause of peace and progress throughout the world. Today it is recognized by many States, including all the countries of the socialist community and a number of non-aligned States.

In the light of the actual situation, it is absolutely clear that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, embodying the new and genuinely popular power, is the only spokesman for the wishes of the people of Kampuchea, and, consequently, that only the representatives which it designates have the right to represent Kampuchea and its people in all international

organizations, including the United Nations. To ignore this real state of affairs, and worse still, to allow the continued presence at the United Nations of an individual who claims to speak on behalf of the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique which no longer exists, amounts to gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people. This state of affairs is in contradiction with the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations and therefore seriously undermines its authority and is detrimental to its work.

The Permanent Mission of the Mongolian People's Republic, in expressing resolute protest against the continued illegal presence at the United Nations of the so-called representative of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which collapsed long ago, therefore hopes that this intolerable situation will be ended immediately and that a true representative of the people of Kampuchea, representing the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, will be given the opportunity to participate in the work of the United Nations.

The Permanent Mission of the Mongolian People's Republic requests that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/13338\*

#### Letter dated 21 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[21 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The allegations of the gangsters who lead the Hanoi gang of aggressors".

I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The allegations of the gangsters who lead the Hanoi gang of aggressors"

The whole world knows that Viet Nam sent more than 100,000 men of its army of aggression to invade Kampuchea, in flagrant violation of the principles of non-alignment, the Charter of the United Nations and all international laws. That is perfectly clear. The whole world strongly opposed the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea, and continues to denounce and condemn it and to demand that Viet Nam withdraw all its forces of aggression from Kampuchea. At the outset, Viet Nam denied that it had committed aggression against Kampuchea and alleged that the war in Kampuchea was a civil war. Subsequently, however, when it could no longer refute the pertinent accusations of world opinion, Viet Nam confessed

that it had indeed sent its troops to attack Kampuchea, but said it had done so in accordance with the so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation" that it had "signed" with its running dogs at Phnom Penh two months after its invasion of Kampuchea. Then, recently, during its talks with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, the gang of aggressors at Hanoi confirmed that it was effectively taking part in the war of aggression in Kampuchea. But it claims that this is a "special case"! That is truly the allegation of a gangster! Is there any provision of the Charter of the United Nations, any principle of non-alignment or any international law which states that, in "special cases", a country may arrogate to itself the right to commit aggression against another independent and sovereign country? If today Viet Nam, claiming that this is a "special case", arrogates to itself the right to invade Kampuchea, tomorrow it will use the same right to invade Thailand and the other countries of South-East Asia, and will then claim that these too are "special cases". Such are the allegations of gangsters voiced by the Vietnamese expansionists and such is the law of the jungle by which they live.

Cynical allegations such as these arouse general indignation and render the gang of aggressors at Hanoi even more abject. They reveal the hypocrisy, the arrogance and the barbaric and Fascist nature of that gang which, after committing its aggression, still shamelessly dares to claim that it is exercising its "right" and states that it "loves" peace and "respects" the independence and sovereignty of neighbouring countries. The criminal allegations used by Viet Nam to justify its invasion of Kampuchea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, prompts the countries and peoples of South-East Asia to increase their vigilance and to strengthen further their solidarity in order to foil all the manoeuvres and acts of expansion and aggression of the Vietnamese and their Soviet

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/268-S/13338.

masters, and to demand even more resolutely the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces of aggression from Kampuchea.

For their part, the nation, the people and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army are energetically combating these Vietnamese allegations relating to the "special case". They forcefully demand that Viet Nam unconditionally withdraw all its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea and leave the people

of Kampuchea to direct their own destiny without any foreign interference. If Viet Nam persists in pursuing its aggression against and its invasion of Kampuchea and violating the legitimate rights of the people of Kampuchea, the people and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, determined to wage the people's war heroically, will strike Viet Nam with ever more powerful blows until they achieve complete victory.

## DOCUMENT S/13339\*

### Letter dated 21 May 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[21 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the fifth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 May 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Speech made by Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the fifth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 May 1979

Five plenary meetings of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government delegations have been held as of today. It is most regrettable, however, that no progress has been made. The Chinese side has made unremitting efforts to advance the negotiations, and that is a plain fact. But in its statement at the last meeting, the Vietnamese side alleged that "the Chinese side must bear full responsibility for the lack of progress" in the negotiations [S/13328, annex II]. This is distorting truth to evade the responsibility of the Vietnamese side in obstructing smooth progress in the negotiations. This attempt will never succeed.

Everyone knows that the Chinese Government delegation has come to Hanoi for negotiations with the Vietnamese Government delegation out of a sincere desire to restore the normal relations between States, uphold the traditional friendship between the two peoples and seek a peaceful settlement of the disputes between the two countries. In the past month, the Chinese Government delegation reviewed, in a matter of fact way, the stages through which Sino-Vietnamese relations have passed in recent years, made a clear and objective exposition of the major issues existing between the two countries and cited many indisputable facts showing the essential background of and the root cause for the drastic deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations and for the armed conflict along the border [see S/13255, appendix]. At the second plenary meeting on 26 April, the Chinese Government delegation put forward an eight-point proposal on principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam [S/13278, annex]. Our proposal covers every major aspect of the relations between the two countries and states the basic principles that should be underscored, above all, the principles that the two sides should abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and that neither should seek hegemony. This proposal corresponds to the actual state of Sino-Vietnamese relations and provides a correct orientation for these negotiations; it is wholly reasonable and feasible. If the two sides could agree on those basic principles, our negotiations would have the necessary guidelines for solving

all the specific issues. This would lead to a fundamental solution of the disputes between China and Viet Nam and thus lay a solid foundation for the normalization of relations between the two countries. This important proposal submitted by the Chinese Government is in accord not only with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples but also with the strong desire of the Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian peoples for the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. Hence, it enjoys widespread sympathy and support among the people of all countries and just public opinion.

In a spirit of negotiating on an equal footing, the Chinese side listened attentively to the views of the Vietnamese side at the meetings, carefully studied all its proposals and stated our realistic observations.

It is regrettable that the attitude of the Vietnamese side in these negotiations was entirely different. Instead of making a positive response, it unjustly attacked China's constructive observations and proposals. At the very outset of the negotiations, the Vietnamese side, in its first statement on 18 April, wilfully distorted the facts and called black white by slanderously charging that China was to blame for the deterioration in our friendly bilateral relations and for provoking the armed border conflict. At each of the subsequent meetings, the Vietnamese side never failed to repeat such anti-China calumnies in increasing absurdity and abusiveness. It even launched vicious attacks against Chinese leaders and announced that it would "forever repeat" these calumnies. Spinning wild tales at will, the Vietnamese authorities alleged that China "warned South Viet Nam against waging armed struggle in the 1960s", "undermined the unity of people in the three Indo-Chinese States", "had been on the verge of recognizing the Lon Nol régime", "had formed a joint command for a South-East Asia liberation army" and so on and so forth. They have fabricated dozens of such lies and slanderous allegations. You even revived the lie, fabricated some time ago by the Vietnamese authorities and exploded right at that time by the international press, that China "was aiding Vang Pao in Laos" and used it to slander China in the negotiations. And this was said without a blush. China's all-out support to Viet Nam in its wars of resistance against France and the United States and especially her support to the South Vietnamese people in their struggle against aggression was known to the whole world. Until a few years ago, Vietnamese leaders told Chinese leaders on many occasions that Viet Nam could not have won victory without China's support and assistance. If the Vietnamese side were not so forgetful politically, it ought to remember the facts and not confound truth and falsehood. China's consistent support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Kampuchean and Lao peoples is also common knowledge. No amount of lies can distort the facts. When China was giving the Kampuchean people energetic support in their just struggle against the Lon Nol clique, it was the Soviet Union, leader of your alliance, and not China, who kept its embassy at Phnom Penh. That is a fact people still remember clearly. After their victory against imperialism, the people of the three Indo-Chinese States wanted to recuperate and rehabilitate and could have devoted themselves to building up their respective countries. But the Vietnamese authorities, prompted by growing ambitions to seek regional hegemony and set up an "Indo-Chinese Federation", began by stationing large armies in Laos and exercising over-all control in that country. Then they flagrantly launched

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/269-S/13339.



a massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, a country which refused to concede its sovereignty and be humiliated, and installed with their bayonets a puppet régime composed of Kampuchean traitors and their lackeys. The chief culprit responsible for wrecking the revolutionary cause of the Indo-Chinese peoples is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who plunged the Indo-Chinese people again into dire misery. The dozens of allegations with which the Vietnamese side sought to vilify and defame China were refuted by the Chinese side on the spot. But unashamed of its clumsy tricks, the Vietnamese side kept fraudulently alleging everywhere that there are dozens of its questions which China has "failed to answer", trying in this way to slander and defame China. But these allegations of yours can neither deceive the people of the three Indo-Chinese States and world opinion nor damage China's international prestige. They do, however, provide further proof that the Vietnamese authorities have become unscrupulous in their hostility against China because they are bent on achieving their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, and gladly play the role of "Cubans of Asia" in the southward drive of the Soviet Union's global policy. The actions of the Vietnamese side prove that your intention is to turn serious negotiations into a forum for vicious anti-China propaganda and that you do not intend to discuss and resolve the existing disputes in real earnest.

As to the "main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" submitted by the Vietnamese side during the negotiations [S/13257, annex], we have carefully studied this proposal and checked it against your words and actions, and we cannot but point out that it is a hypocritical proposal. Your three-point proposal evades the crucial and substantive issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations and, in particular, shies away from the principle of not seeking hegemony. You fidget in your seats whenever there is mention of anti-hegemonism, and you rush out with objections such as it is tantamount to "interference in internal affairs" and it is "not within the scope of our bilateral relations" in a desperate attempt to obstruct China's just defence of the anti-hegemonist principle. This shows that your shunning this principle is because it is a sore point, and this fact inadvertently reveals your determination to pursue a policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism. It must be pointed out that concurrently with the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations the Vietnamese authorities have continued their military build-up along the Sino-Laotian border, have stepped up their offensive against the patriotic Kampuchean army and people who are carrying on firm resistance to Vietnamese aggression, and have used the puppet clique in Kampuchea and coerced the Laotians into joining in an anti-China campaign. Vietnamese aggression and expansion have developed to such a grave extent that armed provocations against Thailand have occurred from across the Kampuchean-Thai border and that spies have been sent into Thailand from Laos. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have made naval and air bases available to the Soviet Union and permitted the latter to build an electronic monitoring station in Cam Ranh Bay. Pursuance by the Vietnamese authorities of the policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism is an important reason for the worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations and is the root cause for the deteriorating situation and tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The Vietnamese side cannot evade such a major question of principle as the opposition to hegemonism in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. At the same time, we give the Vietnamese side our sincere advice that it should not try to use the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and its three-point proposal as a camouflage for its acts of aggression and expansion aimed at stamping out the armed resistance of the Kampuchean army and people to defend their motherland against Vietnamese aggression, tightening its all-round control in Laos and setting up an "Indo-Chinese Federation".

During the negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities launched a co-ordinated campaign, inside and outside the conference room, to whip up an anti-China hysteria, aggravate tensions along the border and poison the atmosphere of the negotiations. You suggested in the three-point proposal that the two sides should stop all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activity and restore normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. But you have, in actual practice, intensified your military build-up in the

border areas, continued to bombard Chinese territory and send armed troops and commandos across the border on harassment missions, thus seriously disturbing the peace and tranquillity of China's border areas and disrupting our production and construction in those areas. From 17 March to early May, there have been nearly 400 cases of Vietnamese armed provocation and incursion resulting in dozens of casualties among Chinese frontier guards and border inhabitants. Moreover, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to drive Vietnamese citizens and Chinese nationals into China both across the land border and via the sea. More than 20,000 were expelled in the month of April alone. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to incite anti-China sentiments through a massive anti-China campaign in all forms of their media—newspapers, television and radio—and clamoured incessantly for war so as to create tension. An anti-China war atmosphere prevails in every corner of Viet Nam. Under such circumstances, the Vietnamese side, instead of immediately stopping its hostile activities against China and adopting fundamental measures to secure peace and stability along the border, has kept on stressing the "urgency" of point 1 in its three-point proposal, that is, the one on "urgent measures", and insisted that this be made the first item on the agenda. This cannot but make people wonder about the motivation of the Vietnamese side. Your endless prating about this proposal reminds one of the fact that in the wake of its first large-scale armed aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities also put forward a three-point proposal in February 1978 allegedly for settling issues in the relations between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. That three-point proposal included such points as a five-kilometre withdrawal by the armed forces of each side, non-aggression and the cessation of subversive activities. However, it was under cover of this "peace proposal" that the Vietnamese authorities stepped up their deployment for war, intensified their acts of subversion and started a surprise attack on a more massive scale toward the end of that year to invade and occupy Kampuchea by force of arms. That lesson of history shall not be forgotten. We must check people's words against their deeds. We hope the Vietnamese side will prove its sincerity for peace by its deeds.

The Vietnamese side crudely accused the Chinese side of "setting pre-conditions for the negotiations". That is a sheer distortion of the facts. I said at the negotiations that "if relations between China and Viet Nam are to be normalized, the Vietnamese authorities must stop their anti-China hostility and abandon their policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism" [S/13299, annex]. This is most practical and is aimed at a fundamental solution of the issues between China and Viet Nam and truly restoring normal relations between the two countries. If the Vietnamese authorities persist in an attitude of anti-China hostility and continue to push the policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism, how can Sino-Vietnamese relations be normalized? How can the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples be preserved intact? How can peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border be secured? How can peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia be maintained? The Chinese side has urged Viet Nam to stop its anti-China hostility and abandon its policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism, and it has justly called on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. In describing this just Chinese position as "setting pre-conditions for the negotiations" and "wanting Viet Nam to change its line of independence and international solidarity", the Vietnamese side is itself equating anti-China hostility, the pushing of a policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism and the military occupation of Kampuchea with its "line of independence and international solidarity". Your accusation that China wants to "impose its views" on you can only draw public laughter and will not serve to conceal the truth that you pursue policies of opposition and hostility to China and of aggression and expansion. The Vietnamese authorities have imposed a military occupation and colonial rule on the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, but this you claim to be Viet Nam's "lofty internationalist duty" and a form of legitimate co-operation in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, the objectives and principles of the non-aligned movement and the principles of the Bandung Conference. This attitude is pure hegemonism and a gross distortion and violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles



of the non-aligned movement and the Bandung Conference. It is absolutely unacceptable to the people of Kampuchea, Laos and the rest of the world, and will not be tolerated by them.

At the last few meetings, the Vietnamese side kept raising the issue of "how" to conduct future discussions. We have already stated explicitly that no matter how you change the way discussions are conducted, your purpose will always be to evade the crucial and substantive issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations, and to avoid discussion on the principle of not seeking hegemony. The way you want the discussions conducted is not desirable because it will not facilitate progress in the negotiations or help the normalization of bilateral relations but will only lead the negotiations astray. We hold that in order to enable the negotiations to yield real results and re-establish normal relations between China and Viet Nam, it is necessary to start with the fundamental issues. First, the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony must be adhered to, for these are the basic principles that will re-establish normal relations between the two countries and safeguard the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

In order to repatriate as soon as possible all the Chinese and Vietnamese captives in the armed border conflict, the Chinese Government delegation has repeatedly proposed at the negotiations that the two sides reach an agreement in principle on this matter and leave the details and execution to the Red Cross Societies of the two countries. The Vietnamese side kept saying that the repatriation of captured personnel is an "urgent" matter requiring the adoption of "urgent measures", but it has failed to respond to China's reasonable proposal. So, to facilitate the earlier reunion of the Vietnamese captives with their families, the Chinese Government announced its decision on 11 May to release and repatriate some captured Vietnamese armed personnel in the near future and proposed once again that the Red Cross Societies of China and Viet Nam meet as soon as possible to discuss and execute the repatriation of all captives on both sides. It was only then that the head of the Vietnamese Government delegation issued a statement on 12 May [S/13328, annex I] expressing agreement at last with the Chinese proposal. Yet at the same time, it arbitrarily and unjustifiably levelled charges against this Chinese action, which is an expression of revolutionary humanitarianism.

To sum up, this round of negotiations amply shows that the Chinese side has made great efforts in order to have the negotiations yield results. But regrettably, the reasonable proposals of the Chinese side have failed to get a positive response from the Vietnamese side. On the contrary, the Vietnamese side resorted to all kinds of clumsy tricks to evade the fundamental issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations, distorted the facts and fabricated a host of fantastic charges and allegations to tie down the negotiations and obstruct their smooth progress. Facts prove that the failure to achieve progress in the negotiations has resulted from the lack of good faith on the part of the Vietnamese side, which must bear full responsibility. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people in South-East Asia and the rest of the world all entertain the wish that progress may be made in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. We hope that the Vietnamese side will not disappoint them.

In the five plenary meetings of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, each side has put forward its proposals, elucidated its views and made clear its position. In keeping with the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides that the negotiations be held alternately at Hanoi and Beijing, we suggest that the present round of negotiations at Hanoi be concluded with this session and that the next round be held at Beijing. Matters concerning concrete arrangements may be discussed and decided upon by the two sides through diplomatic channels. The Chinese Government delegation will soon leave Hanoi for home. We look forward to the Vietnamese Government delegation coming to Beijing for further negotiations. In spite of major differences of principle between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, the Chinese side will, as always, continue to surmount obstacles and difficulties, work hard for the success of the negotiations and play an active part in trying to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam, consolidate the traditional friendship between our two peoples, secure peace and tranquillity along the Sino-Vietnamese border and safeguard peace and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world as a whole. At the same time, we sincerely hope that the Vietnamese side will give up its peremptory attitude and show good faith in the negotiations. We hope that the Vietnamese side will consider China's eight-point proposal earnestly, seriously and realistically and make due efforts for progress in the negotiations.

## DOCUMENT S/13340\*

Note verbale dated 21 May 1979 from the representative of Viet Nam to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[21 May 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to transmit herewith, for information, the text of the speech delivered by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the fifth plenary meeting of the Vietnamese-Chinese negotiations at Hanoi on 18 May 1979, and requests the Secretary-General to have the present note and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

### ANNEX

Speech delivered by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the fifth plenary meeting of the Vietnamese-Chinese negotiations at Hanoi on 18 May 1979

At the fourth plenary meeting, the head of the Chinese Government delegation, Han Nianlong, repeated the slanderous charges and unreasonable demands put forward by the Chinese

side during the previous two rounds of the Viet Nam-China talks on the border and territorial problem, held in 1974 and in 1977-1978, in an attempt to shift the blame to the Vietnamese side and to deceive public opinion. The Chinese side also attempted in an awkward manner to link the so-called "anti-hegemony" issue with the border and territorial problem. Nevertheless, undeniable facts have increasingly laid bare the Beijing leaders' big-nation expansionist and hegemonistic policy against Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries. We flatly reject the above-mentioned deceitful contentions of the Chinese side and reserve the right to give further comments, when necessary, on the border and territorial problem between Viet Nam and China.

In four meetings, each side has made clear its general views and put forward its proposals. We have advanced a three-point proposal [S/13257, annex] and the Chinese side an eight-point proposal [S/13278, annex].

The Vietnamese side has studied and given proper comments on the Chinese side's eight-point proposal. At the same time we have made a constructive suggestion on discussing alternately point 1 in each side's proposal. With the goodwill we have always shown, we have declared our willingness to discuss first point 1 in the Chinese side's proposal. To our deep regret, the Chinese delegation has entirely evaded the Vietnamese side's three-point proposal and wanted only to impose the eight-points of the hegemonistic policy. It has even refused to discuss point 1

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/270-S/13340.

of its own proposal. World public opinion has thus realized even more clearly that the Chinese side has come to this forum not to settle any question whatever with the Vietnamese side, but only for propaganda purposes in order to side-track public opinion. Four meetings have been held but the talks have made no progress whatsoever. The responsibility for that situation rests entirely with the Chinese side. Public opinion is awaiting a reasonable attitude of the latter.

At this meeting, we wish to propose the following:

(a) The two sides will take turns in raising issues they are interested in discussing at each meeting. If at one meeting one side raises a problem for discussion, it will be for the other side to raise a problem at the following meeting.

(b) The side that raises an issue will speak first; the other side will make known its views subsequently.

(c) To facilitate the exchanges of views it is necessary to raise problems one meeting in advance: at one meeting a problem will be raised for discussion at the next.

Our above-mentioned proposal is fair and mutually satisfactory and is not intended to improve our views on the interlocutor. We have but one earnest desire, that is to remove all obstacles with the Chinese side and to make the talks progress. We wish to know the views of the Chinese side. If it agrees, we are prepared to leave to it the right to raise a topic for the sixth plenary meeting. The Vietnamese side will raise a topic for the seventh plenary meeting.

## DOCUMENT S/13341

### Letter dated 21 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[21 May 1979]

I have the honour to enclose herewith two letters dated 17 May 1979 from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization concerning the Israeli illegal occupation and colonization of Palestine.

I would request you to have the enclosures circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdulmohsen EL-JEAN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

malicious acts, thereby safeguarding the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### LETTER DATED 17 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I would like to bring to your immediate attention an article in *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition) of 13-16 May 1979, in which it was reported that Zionist settlers—10 families and two singles—had moved into Kfar Darom in the occupied Gaza Strip, with the sole intention of establishing a new *moshav* in the nearby area. Veteran settlers in the area are demanding the establishment of even more settlements in the occupied Gaza Strip to reduce their so-called "sense of isolation" in a densely populated Palestinian area.

There is no doubt that this illegal and blatantly provocative act is but further confirmation that the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine intends to pursue its policy of colonizing Palestinian land with settlements, in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention and numerous United Nations resolutions, with special reference to Security Council resolution 446 (1979) calling on Israel to desist from such policies.

In drawing your attention to this serious situation I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to put an end to these racist and

#### LETTER DATED 17 MAY 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

With reference to Security Council resolution 446 (1979), I would like to draw your attention to an article in *The New York Times* of 17 May 1979 in which it was reported that Israeli President, Mr. Yitzak Navon, had visited Zionist settlements concentrated around the Palestinian town of Bethlehem in the occupied West Bank, on 16 May. A visit which was seen as assurance of the Israeli right to establish new settlements in occupied Palestinian territory, occupied in 1967. He told Zionist settlers he was certain they could remain in their new homes permanently.

In the same article, Professor Raanan Weitz, co-chairman of the Jewish Agency's Settlements Department, warned against the establishment of settlements consisting of only a few hundred residents and urged instead the building of new towns of at least 5,000 families each.

These statements confirm the intent of the racist Zionist entity to pursue its illegal occupation and colonization of Palestine in total disregard and contempt of United Nations resolutions and international opinion and at the expense of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

I call on you to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to these illegal acts which aggravate the tensions in the area.

(Signed) Zehdi TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

## Letter dated 22 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[22 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial of "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Let us continue to raise high the flag of the intensive people's war in order to combat the Vietnamese enemy even more strongly by basing our action on guerrilla warfare".

I should be grateful if you would circulate the present text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Editorial of "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Let us continue to raise high the flag of the intensive people's war in order to combat the Vietnamese enemy even more strongly by basing our action on guerrilla warfare"

The nation and people of Kampuchea wish to live as an independent and non-aligned country and as a nation having its own civilization, its own traditions, its own sound and noble virtues, its honour and its dignity. But Viet Nam and its Soviet masters have kindled the flames of war and imposed that war on our nation and our people, with a view to transforming our territory into their military base and using it as a spring-board to attack successively Thailand and the other countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific. They are relying on their many modern weapons and on the repression and indiscriminate slaughter of our innocent population—men, women, old people and children—to seek to crush Kampuchea with one blow and to reduce it to silence, as they have done in the case of Laos and its people.

On 25 December 1978, the Vietnamese enemy, supported and urged on by its Soviet masters, mobilized more than 100,000 men and launched its aggression against an invasion of Kampuchea in the most barbaric and Fascist manner, totally disregarding all international laws and the Charter of the United Nations.

In January 1979, the Vietnamese enemy occupied Phnom Penh and the chief towns of the provinces. But everywhere it met with fierce and valiant resistance on the part of the heroic Kampuchean revolutionary army and the heroic Kampuchean people, who inflicted on it heavy losses in men and equipment.

The Vietnamese enemy sought to "khmerize" the war by making Kampuchean fight Kampuchean, while the Vietnamese armed them with Soviet weapons. But virtually the entire population of Kampuchea categorically refuses to live with the Vietnamese, to be their slaves and to fight their own compatriots. Thus the Vietnamese policy of "khmerizing" the war has failed completely.

Then, at the beginning of February 1979, the Vietnamese sent reinforcements consisting of 30,000 soldiers, that is, three new divisions, to carry out search operations in south-west Kampuchea. But, successively, both the remaining original Vietnamese forces and the new forces were subjected to harassment and to attrition and annihilation attacks by our heroic revolutionary army and guerrillas, who daily inflicted heavy losses on them.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/272-S/13342.

At the end of March and the beginning of April 1979, the Vietnamese enemy sent further reinforcements, consisting of three additional divisions, to carry out a new campaign of repression, particularly in the north-west part of the country, with a view to breaking the resistance of our people in one blow. But thus far, it has been unable to achieve its criminal purpose. Moreover, the Vietnamese enemy has been subjected to powerful blows by our heroic revolutionary army and guerrillas on all fronts and all battlefields and has constantly suffered heavy losses.

We are now in the fifth month of the Vietnamese aggression against and invasion of our country, and the great movement of the people's war continues to intensify throughout the country. The Vietnamese enemy has thus been unable to achieve its criminal aim. Basically, it has been unable to crush Democratic Kampuchea, to control the territory, economy and population of Kampuchea, or to "khmerize" its war of aggression. For our part, we have basically defended and preserved our forces, the power of our State, our population and our economy. In short, the Vietnamese enemy has been unable to curb the struggle of our people or to force Kampuchean to fight Kampuchean in its place. It must thus wage its war of aggression itself.

At the same time, in the international arena, Viet Nam is vigorously condemned by the whole world and all of mankind. It stands accused as the aggressor of Democratic Kampuchea, a regional expansionist, a lackey of the Soviet Union and a destroyer of peace and stability. All that is due to our people and our revolutionary army who, united in a monolithic bloc around the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and inspired by an implacable hatred of the Vietnamese invaders, are determined always to raise high the flag of the people's war of liberation in order to combat the barbaric and unjust war of aggression of the Vietnamese enemy and its Soviet masters. Our heroic revolutionary army and guerrillas and our heroic people, scrupulously applying the Party's policy of the people's war, taking guerrilla warfare as their basis, have launched counter-attacks against the Vietnamese enemy aggressor everywhere with ever-increasing strength and have launched guerrilla attacks throughout the country. Wherever the Vietnamese enemy penetrates, whether the lines are near or far, we can attack it everywhere, at the front, in the rear, within or outside its defence perimeter, or to pin it down, by using the close-knit network of our guerrillas and their attacks throughout the country; at the same time, we are preserving our forces, constantly wearing down and annihilating those of the enemy, and progressively developing and consolidating our own in all spheres. Furthermore, we are solving our temporary difficulties as they arise. Thus our guerrilla units have been rapidly developed and strengthened throughout the country. Moreover, we possess troops that are concentrated to annihilate the enemy forces on all fronts. By using those methods we shall be able to combat the enemy both now and for a long time to come.

We are determined to continue to raise high the flag of national honour and dignity, the flag of national identity and pride, the flag of independence, sovereignty and the national entity of Kampuchea, and we are determined to pursue our people's war, taking guerrilla warfare as our basis and launching attacks to wear down and annihilate the enemy forces, to harass them, wear them down and annihilate them continually until they can stand no more. Then we shall administer the final blow.

Our final victory is certain!

Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation will live forever!



DOCUMENT S/13343\*

Note verbale dated 18 May 1979 from the representative of Bulgaria to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[22 May 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to bring the following to his attention.

An abnormal situation has been created lately, whereby a certain individual, with no justification whatsoever, is claiming to be considered a representative of a Member State of the United Nations and continues to circulate as official documents of the United Nations numerous calumnies and base accusations against the people of Kampuchea and its legitimate Government. He is patronized and emboldened by his Beijing promoters though representing nobody but himself since the régime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, which he claims to represent, was overthrown and eliminated once and for all as a result of the united efforts of the heroic nation of Kampuchea which has been through terrible suffering and ordeals.

Proceeding from these considerations the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully associates itself with the strong indignation and insistent demands for the termination of these absolutely inadmissible practices.

As is well known, on 7 January 1979 the people of Kampuchea rose in arms and swept away the despotic, reactionary and fascist régime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. Consequently, a new Government was formed—the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin, which entirely controls Kampuchean territory. Thus, a new political situation has emerged in the history of Kampuchea, which has achieved her independence as a freedom-loving nation. Led by its new Government, the people of Kampuchea began actively to work for restoring the national economy, for ensuring the cultural and social needs of the country. In

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/274-S/13343.

the field of foreign policy, the People's Revolutionary Council has directed its efforts towards building an independent, peace-loving, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea, towards establishing friendly relations with all neighbours and other countries and towards strengthening peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the whole world.

The Government of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea has been recognized already by a number of countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The People's Revolutionary Council is the sole genuine and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, exercising sovereign powers in the People's Republic of Kampuchea and entitled to represent the interests of the Kampuchean people outside the country's territory, the United Nations included. Therefore, it is the only legitimate Government of Kampuchea as a Member State of the United Nations which has the right to address the United Nations on behalf of the Kampuchean people.

In joining its voice of protest with other Permanent Missions, the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely insists that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its Government be duly respected as a full-fledged Member State of the United Nations at all international forums, at the United Nations and in other international organizations. To continue recognizing the full powers of any self-appointed "representative" whatsoever will be in contradiction to international legal rules and inevitably will be detrimental to the prestige of the world Organization.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has the honour to request that the text of the present note be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

DOCUMENT S/13344\*

Letter dated 22 May 1979 from the representative of Hungary to the Secretary-General

[Original: English/French/Russian]  
[23 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you the communiqué adopted at the meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held at Budapest on 14 and 15 May 1979.

I should be grateful if you would have the communiqué circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) András HALÁSZ  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Hungary  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/275-S/13344.

## ANNEX

### Communiqué adopted at the meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held at Budapest on 14 and 15 May 1979

A meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance was held at Budapest on 14 and 15 May 1979.

Taking part in the meeting were P. Mladenov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; F. Puja, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic; O. Fischer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic; E. Vojtaszek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic; St. Andrei, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania; A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; B. Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

In accordance with the directives of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the Ministerial Committee, having held an exchange of views on questions of security and co-operation in Europe, cessation of the arms race and disarmament, examined measures, with due regard for current developments, to implement the tasks set forth in the declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Committee at its meeting held in Moscow on 23 November 1978 [S/12939, annex].

1. On behalf of their States, the Ministers emphasized that the development of the international situation fully reaffirmed the timeliness of the conclusions and the importance of the proposals contained in the declaration of 23 November 1978, intended to ensure real progress in solving the fundamental problems of today and above all the problem of ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, eliminating armed conflicts and seats of tension and deepening the process of international détente.

The Ministers declared the firm determination of the States represented at the meeting to continue to work for the practical implementation of those proposals in close co-operation with other peace-loving countries and democratic and progressive forces. Such practical results can be achieved through constructive negotiations between the States concerned through a purposeful search for and formulation of generally acceptable solutions. In this work for the benefit of peace it is imperative to show perseverance, to take active practical steps and to overcome any difficulties without delay or procrastination.

2. In that context the participants in the meeting considered the most pressing task related to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. They stressed that in the current circumstances a major step in this direction, fully consistent with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, would be the conclusion among all the participating States of that Conference of a treaty on the non-first use of either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other. The conclusion of such a treaty will go a long way towards reinforcing the political and legal foundation underlying the observance in Europe of the principle of the non-use or threat of force, enhancing its effectiveness and thereby providing new safeguards against the unleashing of armed conflicts on the European continent.

At present, conditions are also ripe for expanding the measures to strengthen confidence among States, for taking concrete steps in the field of military détente in Europe in the spirit of the Final Act of the all-European conference. In addition to the measures which are being implemented now in accordance with the Final Act, the States represented at the meeting are prepared to agree on prior notification of significant military movements in the same area, major air force manoeuvres in that area and major naval manoeuvres conducted in close proximity to the territorial waters of other participating States of the all-European conference. The countries represented at the meeting are also prepared to agree on the non-enlargement of the military-political groupings in Europe, the limitation of the levels of military manoeuvres and the extension of confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean. They are also willing to give very careful consideration to other proposals aimed at strengthening confidence among States and at military détente.

What is required now is at an early date to begin discussing and negotiating practical measures of such a nature as would contribute to the building of confidence among States in Europe, the easing of the military confrontation and the subsequent lessening of the concentration, and the reduction of the armed forces and armaments on the continent. The States represented at the meeting propose that a conference be convened that end on a political level to be attended by all the European States, the United States and Canada. They believe it desirable for such a conference to be held in 1979. The venue and the date of the conference can be agreed upon among all the States concerned through consultations which the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are ready to start immediately.

3. On behalf of their States, the Ministers expressed dissatisfaction over the lack of real progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. They pointed out that the socialist countries, in their proposals of 8 June 1978, provided realistic answers to the key issues before the talks, broadly taking into account the ideas of the other participants in the talks, contributing thereby to a significant accommodation of the positions. The States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) however, have failed—for almost one year now—to give a business-like reply to these constructive proposals.

The ministers emphasized that if speedy and successful headway is to be made at the Vienna talks the Western participants must also show goodwill.

4. The Ministers stated further that the latest steps to intensify the arms race, which have recently been taken within the NATO bloc, are in direct contradiction with the interests of détente and its deepening. Of particular danger in this respect are the plans for deployment on the territories of some West European countries of medium-range nuclear missile weapons aimed at targets on the territories of European socialist States, as well as the revival of plans for the development and deployment of neutron weapons.

The States represented at the meeting are convinced that the strengthening of the security of all States in Europe should not be sought through the further intensification of the arms race but rather through the limitation of nuclear missile weapons and conventional armaments on the basis of complete reciprocity. They believe that all the necessary conditions exist now to that effect and, as they stated in the Moscow Declaration of 23 November 1978, they are ready to make efforts in this direction jointly with other States. It should be clear, however, that if a positive result is to be achieved along these lines a constructive approach is necessary on the part of all. Therefore, the States represented at the meeting call on the member States of NATO to desist, in the interest of the security of European countries, from exacerbating the situation in Europe and fueling military tensions, to renounce the measures for stepping up the arms race, and to embark firmly on the road of military détente and disarmament.

5. The Ministers reiterated the view of their States to the effect that the Madrid meeting of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held in 1980, is called upon to promote and consolidate the relaxation of tensions, strengthen security and expand all-European co-operation. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are prepared to make their constructive contribution to ensure its success.

They stressed in that connexion that for the success of the Madrid meeting it was extremely important that it should be held in a business-like and constructive atmosphere, characterized above all by a commitment of all its participants to achieve practical results at the meeting. Accordingly, the States represented at the meeting are in favour of focusing the work of the Madrid meeting on negotiating concrete positive steps for implementing the principles and understandings of the Final Act both as an integral whole, including strong measures for military détente, and for the development and expansion of equal and mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation.

The States represented at the meeting believe it essential to ensure a thorough and comprehensive preparation of the Madrid meeting and to that end are willing to keep in touch and hold bilateral and multilateral consultations with all States signatories

to the Final Act of the all-European conference. The subjects of the consultations may also include the question of the level of representation of States at the meeting, bearing in mind its importance for the cause of détente, security and co-operation in Europe.

Of great importance for the success of the Madrid meeting would be a constructive preparation and productive work of the proposed all-European conference on the question of military détente.

6. In expressing the position of principle of their States as regards the need for ending the arms race and ensuring a decisive transition to real disarmament measures, particularly nuclear disarmament, the Ministers unanimously declared themselves in favour of redoubling the efforts to the utmost with a view to a speedy achievement of practical agreement regarding:

(a) The conclusion and bringing into force of the new Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms and a transition to the next stage of negotiations on their reduction;

(b) The dates and procedures for holding talks on ending the production of nuclear weapons of all types and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to and including their complete elimination;

(c) The permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and simultaneous renunciation by all States of the use or threat of force in their mutual relations;

(d) The conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests;

(e) The adoption of measures to strengthen the guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, including the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against the States that do not possess nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territories, and the undertaking not to deploy nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

The participants in the meeting confirmed once again that their countries strongly advocate the reduction of military expenditures by States having a major military and economic potential. They call for starting negotiations promptly on the specific extent of such reductions as the first step for the next three years or any other initial period acceptable to all.

The States represented at the meeting are against building up armed forces and armaments on the territories of other States. They pronounce themselves in favour of concluding agreements on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, for new international efforts to be made towards the dismantling of military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, towards the creation of non-nuclear zones and zones of peace in various regions, including Europe.

They state again that they are ready to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization concurrently with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, as the first step, to dismantle their military organizations, starting with the mutual reduction of military activities.

7. The Ministers pointed out that new attempts have lately been made to undermine the process of international détente, create new hotbeds of military danger, launch campaigns hostile to socialist countries and stir up animosity between peoples. The revival in some countries of the activities of neo-fascist and neo-nazi organizations and trends is highly dangerous too.

The States represented at the meeting are convinced that all such attempts are doomed to failure if peace-loving States and peoples demonstrate proper vigilance, give an adequate rebuff, and step up in every possible way their activities in the struggle for further progress towards a more durable peace in Europe and in the world at large.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty call upon all States to build their relations on the basis of strict observance of the principles adopted by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe: sovereign equality, respect for rights inherent in sovereignty; refraining from the threat or use of force; the inviolability of frontiers; the territorial integrity of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination; co-operation among States and the fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law.

The socialist States represented at the meeting will continue, as before, to act consistently and unswervingly in the interests of peace, détente and international co-operation.

The meeting of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding.

## DOCUMENT S/13345\*

### Letter dated 22 May 1979 from the representative of South Africa to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 May 1979]

At the request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. R. F. Botha, I am enclosing the text of a letter he addressed to you on 22 May 1979.

I would appreciate it if the present letter and its annex could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. Adriaan EKSTEEN  
Chargé d'Affaires  
of the Permanent Mission of South Africa  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 22 MAY 1979 FROM THE MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The preoccupation of the General Assembly with the question of South West Africa/Namibia at this stage

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/33/568-S/13345.

is inappropriate and unwarranted. The resumed session in particular is uncalled for. It will contribute further to the decline of the credibility of the General Assembly because Members know that no justification exists for the Assembly to meet at this time, least of all for the evident purpose of censuring South Africa. After three decades of acrimony and dispute over the question of South West Africa/Namibia, an agreement was reached, as contained in the proposal of the five Western Powers of 10 April 1978 [S/12636], on all the substantive elements involved in this issue and for the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). My Government has not deviated from this settlement plan accepted by it on 25 April 1978 and endorsed by the Council in resolution 435 (1978). Nothing that is said or will be done in this resumed session can alter the truth involved in the events which purportedly gave rise to the holding of it.



I wish to emphasize, as I had to do on a previous occasion, that the present difficulties have arisen in spite of the fact that all the elements which formed the basis of so many years of dispute and acrimony between South Africa and the United Nations have been eliminated.

Over the years it has been demanded of South Africa that we grant immediate independence to South West Africa/Namibia on the basis of:

- (a) A unitary State;
- (b) One-man, one-vote;
- (c) The removal of discrimination on the basis of colour;
- (d) The holding of free and fair elections to the satisfaction of the United Nations;
- (e) The right of all South West Africans to return to participate peacefully in the political process.

South Africa has committed itself to doing all this and has already gone a long way towards making possible the realization of these goals.

The settlement plan provides for:

- (a) A comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts as a prerequisite for implementation including in particular the reduction of South African troops and, therefore, for a practical plan of implementation based on the proposal;
- (b) The restriction to base of all forces of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and such restrictions to be monitored by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG);
- (c) The release of all South West Africans wherever detained, including those detained in the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia;
- (d) Consultation, *inter alia*, with the South African Government on the composition of UNTAG.

Neither South Africa, nor the people of South West Africa/Namibia, have ever retreated from their agreement to the original proposal. Indeed, South Africa insists that the original proposal, as approved in its final and definitive form by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), be implemented without delay.

From 12 to 22 January 1979, the Secretary-General's Special Representative visited South West Africa/Namibia and South Africa with a view to discussing the final implementation details. Upon his departure from South Africa, Mr. Ahtisaari and I agreed that the road to implementation of the settlement plan was open. At that stage there was not the slightest suggestion, and never had been, that SWAPO would be given bases in South West Africa/Namibia and at the same time be exempted from monitoring across the border.

The Special Representative then visited the front-line States from 28 January to 10 February. During that tour, he also held consultations with the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, at Luanda on 9 and 10 February. It was during those discussions that SWAPO demanded that 2,500 fully armed SWAPO terrorists be permitted to cross over into South West Africa/Namibia. SWAPO was prepared to allow its troops to be confined with their arms—at five widely dispersed bases in major centres—under United Nations monitoring.

The monitoring of SWAPO forces outside South West Africa/Namibia by UNTAG, as stipulated in the settlement proposal, was rejected.

Subsequent to the Special Representative's visit to the front-line States on 26 February 1979, you reported to the Security Council on the implementation of the settlement proposal [S/13120]. In paragraphs 11 and 12 of that report, you in effect conceded the demands made by SWAPO by providing specifically for the exemption from monitoring by UNTAG of SWAPO outside South West Africa/Namibia and for the establishment of armed SWAPO personnel at "designated locations" inside the Territory. Those paragraphs constitute a violation of the terms of the settlement proposal.

The strategy of SWAPO in introducing those outrageous new demands was to sabotage the implementation of the original proposal and thus avoid free elections, which it knew it would lose. At the same time it wanted to shift the blame onto South Africa by forcing her to reject the deviations and then represent her as the culprit.

In support of the contention that SWAPO should be exempt from monitoring outside South West Africa/Namibia by UNTAG, the spurious claim is now being made that the proposal makes no specific provision for such monitoring. However, item 3 of the annex to the original proposal states categorically under the heading "UN" that:

"UN military personnel commence monitoring of cessation of hostile acts and commence monitoring of *both South African and SWAPO troop restrictions.*" (Italics added.)

At the same item, under the heading "South African Government" and "SWAPO", the annex states that all South African forces and SWAPO personnel are to be restricted to base. The proposal, therefore, clearly places the monitoring of South African and SWAPO restrictions to base on a par and places a positive obligation on UNTAG to monitor both.

SWAPO has never had and does not now have any bases inside the Territory. It follows, therefore, that SWAPO troop restrictions can be monitored only at their bases outside South West Africa/Namibia, wherever those may be.

Moreover, it was pointed out to South Africa by the five Powers during the negotiations that, in terms of paragraph 12 of the proposal, the neighbouring countries were requested

"to afford the necessary facilities to the United Nations Special Representative and all United Nations personnel to carry out their assigned functions and to facilitate such measures as may be desirable for ensuring tranquillity in the border areas".

In the annex to the proposal, the assigned duties of the United Nations personnel are clearly stated to be, *inter alia*, the monitoring of both SWAPO and South African troop restrictions to base.

In paragraph 13 of your report of 29 August 1978 [S/12827], you again made an unambiguous reference to the monitoring of the restriction to base of SWAPO forces in the neighbouring countries.

In addition, you yourself emphasized the importance of paragraph 12 of the proposal in your letter to me dated 1 January 1979 [S/13002] when, in reply to my categorical remark concerning the monitoring of SWAPO bases in neighbouring States, you stated:

"Certainly paragraph 12 of the settlement proposal is a very important element, and I have been assured by representatives of the States which border on Namibia that they will co-operate fully with the United Nations in ensuring that UNTAG will be able to carry out its mandate."

SWAPO's claims that its armed personnel are mobile and that they have no permanently structured bases clearly support South Africa's case that SWAPO has never had bases in South West Africa/Namibia. There can be no doubt, particularly not in the minds of any of the representatives of the five Western countries, that when, during the long months of negotiations which preceded final agreement, the monitoring of SWAPO bases was under discussion, the bases referred to were bases outside South West Africa/Namibia.

If no UNTAG monitoring of SWAPO troop restrictions in neighbouring countries was intended, there would have been no justification for the monitoring of South African troop restrictions either. The clear understanding on the part of South Africa and the South West Africans that SWAPO troop restrictions, like South African troop restrictions, would be monitored by UNTAG, was an important element in the acceptance of the proposal by the leaders of the democratic parties in the Territory.

A further objectionable element of your report concerns the establishment of an armed SWAPO presence inside the Territory at bases, euphemistically designated "locations" in your report. The settlement proposal contains no such provision whatsoever. This is not a legalistic argument; it is a simple fact. The relative paragraph constitutes an open invitation to SWAPO to infiltrate in large numbers from base camps in neighbouring countries across the 1,500-kilometre-long northern border into South West Africa/Namibia prior to, or within a few hours after, the cease-fire. At the commencement of the cease-fire, the infiltrators would simply come forward and demand to be assigned, under arms, to "designated locations" inside the Territory.

Contrary to the deviations introduced by your report, the language of the proposal clearly indicates that SWAPO personnel inside the Territory at the time of the cease-fire are required to return to their bases, where they will be restricted under UNTAG monitoring. If, thereafter, they wish to come back, provision is made for them to be repatriated peacefully from across the border, under United Nations supervision, through designated entry points. Thus, item 5 of the annex to the proposal, under the heading "SWAPO", states that:

"Restriction to base continues. Peaceful repatriation under UN supervision starts for return through designated entry points."

The democratic political parties in South West Africa/Namibia claim that the establishment of armed SWAPO personnel inside the Territory would amount to SWAPO having its own private army inside the Ter-

ritory. They object to this arrangement and claim the same right to such private armies, should this be allowed.

The deviations in your report of 26 February 1979 are clear capitulations to SWAPO demands. It is indisputable that the issues which form the subject of paragraphs 11 and 12 of the report are of major consequence. If there were any doubt about the clarity of the original proposal in this regard, it was incumbent on the parties to consult with South Africa.

In recent months South Africa has brought to your attention some 350 incidents of physical violence and intimidation by SWAPO against the people of South West Africa/Namibia. The attention of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Zambia has also repeatedly been invited to these acts of violence emanating from inside their countries. SWAPO cannot claim a free hand to continue its acts of subversion and aggression against the Territory and its people. SWAPO should not be allowed to rely on the General Assembly to provide a protective shield, if not encouragement, for perpetrating these heinous acts. SWAPO should not be afforded sanctuaries by members of the United Nations from where it can launch attacks on South West Africa/Namibia.

A proposal which provides for a peaceful settlement and for the holding of free and open elections in the Territory now exists. Why does SWAPO continue to murder, maim, abduct and intimidate civilians? SWAPO never intended to participate in a peaceful process. It knows that it does not enjoy the support of the majority of the people of the Territory—contrary to what the General Assembly is proclaiming in this regard. It can only hope to achieve power through brutal force.

The proposal for a settlement of the 30-year-old South West African problem developed from a joint initiative of the five Western countries, South Africa and others in April 1977. What was the essential ingredient that made these negotiations possible? What was the factor around which the whole negotiation process had to pivot? What was the sole indispensable link between all the parties? Clearly it was the element of *good faith*. South Africa trusted the five Powers to conduct the negotiations impartially and relied on them to ensure that agreements and understandings arrived at between the five Powers and South Africa would be safeguarded when translated into United Nations reports and Security Council decisions. There was no other way. It was likewise assumed that the Front-Line States would negotiate in good faith, that their objective would be the achievement of a settlement, and not a manoeuvre to put SWAPO in power at all costs, failing which to force a break-down in the negotiations and blame South Africa, seeking to bring it into maximum discredit.

Yet what has been the history of the negotiations? Security Council resolution 432 (1978) on Walvis Bay was very far from what South Africa has from the beginning been led to expect. The call for an UNTAG military component of 7,500 men in your report of 29 August 1978, was more than double the figure that had ever been considered in the preceding discussions. With South Africa adopting a reasonable and responsible attitude, these crises were overcome, only for you,

again without consultation, to include in your report of 26 February 1979 paragraphs 11 and 12, which would allow SWAPO bases in South West Africa and exempt SWAPO from monitoring across the border, both in direct violation of the clear and indisputable terms of the proposal. This serious misrepresentation of fact was grave enough, but it was overshadowed by information reaching South Africa from an impeccable source as to the events preceding the formulation of those clauses. They are clearly derived from SWAPO demands for the return of 2,500 SWAPO forces across the border, to be contained in bases in South West Africa/Namibia, as set out in the fourth draft of your report of 26 February 1979. Moreover, the two offending clauses were included in a letter and its annex sent in your name, almost a week before your report appeared, to 12 Heads of State or Government (the five Powers, the five front-line States, Nigeria and the Sudan).

How can the people of South West Africa/Namibia be expected to have confidence in the impartiality of the United Nations under these circumstances?

Once the incorporation of those clauses into official United Nations documentation had been contrived, an impasse was inevitable. Next, they were exploited by the front-line States at a meeting with SWAPO at Luanda on 3 and 4 March 1979 [S/13141]. At that meeting, whose minutes have now been made public, both the President of Angola and Mr. Sam Nujoma were determined to wreck the settlement plan, because they recognized that impartial democratic elections in the Territory, which SWAPO had no chance of winning, would spell the end of SWAPO's existence. The break would be accomplished by SWAPO rejecting your proposal or the composition of UNTAG, and also certain other components of the United Nations plan. However, this course was abandoned in favour of the tactic of fully embracing the two deviant proposals in paragraphs 11 and 12 of your report and using them to force South Africa to dissociate herself from the settlement plan. South Africa would then be castigated and discredited for "causing" the collapse of the negotiations. Mr. Nujoma was persuaded not to sabotage the nego-

tiations himself so that the maximum negative propaganda could be directed against South Africa.

Where is the *good faith*? How can a solution crystallize out of these conditions? And what are the credentials of the General Assembly for meeting under these circumstances to discuss South West Africa/Namibia? If it fails to take the foregoing facts into account, the Assembly will be meeting under false pretences, enveloped by a cloud of hypocrisy. If the Assembly should choose to censure South Africa despite the facts as they are now known, it will be a travesty of justice and a conspiracy against decency and honesty. There is no way in which the Assembly can escape the truth.

As indicated above, South Africa, supported by the overwhelming majority of the people of South West Africa, has agreed to everything demanded in respect of the Territory for years by the United Nations.

South Africa will continue to respect the interests and wishes of the people of the Territory, which are paramount. South Africa cannot be a party to persuading the people to accept proposals which will render them vulnerable to a take-over by threat and force. As stated by the South African Prime Minister in the House of Assembly on 6 March 1979 [S/13148, annex]:

"If South Africa is to be punished and victimized for its honourable and firm commitment to its assurances and undertakings toward the inhabitants of a neighbouring State, it is prepared to accept the consequences of its viewpoint rather than follow the path of dishonour and be branded by the nations of southern Africa as an unreliable neighbour prepared to place its own transitory salvation above the interests of the other nations of the region."

South Africa reserves the right to address the General Assembly, if it should be deemed necessary to expand on this exposition.

(Signed) R. F. BOTHA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
of South Africa

#### DOCUMENT S/13346\*

#### Letter dated 23 May 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[23 May 1979]

I wish to draw your urgent attention to a terrorist outrage perpetrated in the town of Petah Tikvah this morning by the terrorist organization known as the PLO.

At 1000 hours local time, an explosive device, placed on the roof of a bus shelter, went off and resulted in 17 casualties. These included three fatalities (a mother and her infant child, and another woman) and 14 persons injured, two seriously.

It should also be pointed out that, some hours earlier, terrorist bombs went off at Hebron without causing

damage or casualties, and another bomb was dismantled at Jerusalem, providentially averting another atrocity.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, as well as the Reuters news agency at Damascus, the terrorist PLO has already boasted of its responsibility for all those incidents.

As I pointed out in my letter of 22 April 1979 [S/13264], 19 children had been victims of PLO outrages since the beginning of this year, including two fatalities. Since that date, five children were injured on 29 April, when an explosive device went off behind the

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/277-S/13346.



bus station at Kfar Saba (see my letter of 9 May [S/13312]) and two boys were killed in Tiberias on 14 May when an explosive charge, hidden in a rubbish bin, went off in a main thoroughfare in that town (see my letter of the same date [S/13320]). And today, as indicated above, a baby fell victim to indiscriminate PLO terror.

The United Nations has declared 1979 the International Year of the Child. The terrorist PLO has chosen its own murderous way to mark the year—with the slaughter and injury of innocent children. That is the work of international criminals of the worst kind, bent on the mass murder of civilians, while masquerading under the banner of a national liberation movement.

Their latest atrocity at Petah Tikvah this morning serves as a violent and unconscionable reminder of the PLO's continued commitment to indiscriminate terror against defenceless civilians in Israel and elsewhere.

The time has surely come for Members of the United Nations to recognize the implications and consequences flowing from any form of co-operation with the terrorist PLO both within and without the framework of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, given the true character of the criminal PLO and its violent aims, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13347

#### Letter dated 22 May 1979 from the representative of Gabon to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[23 May 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to send you herewith a press release dated 22 May 1979 concerning the article by Jon Bradshaw transmitted by a letter dated 7 May addressed to you by the representative of the People's Republic of Benin.

The Bradshaw article, among a mass of purportedly accurate facts, refers to certain events which allegedly occurred in Gabon and which are nothing more than evidence of a real lack of information.

I shall be very grateful if you will circulate this press release as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Leon N'DONG  
Permanent Representative of the Gabonese Republic  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX Press release

The Gabonese delegation has carefully studied the article by Jon Bradshaw entitled "The Man Who Would Be King" transmitted by a letter dated 7 May 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Benin and circulated at his request as a Security Council document [S/13304].

Among other things, the article by Jon Bradshaw contains three principal assertions which, by reason of their mendacious, libelous and defamatory character vis-à-vis Gabon, its illustrious Head of State and its history, inevitably prompt the most forceful protests on the part of the Gabonese delegation.

It is stated in that article: "Foccart's activities in Africa were centred in Gabon. Foccart and the Gabonese President Albert Bongo had long been allies. Foccart helped Bongo foment a military coup in February of 1964. He was instrumental in the death of Léon Mba, Bongo's chief political opponent."

One wonders what meaning Jon Bradshaw ascribes to the term "political opponent". It is well known that the first President of the Gabonese Republic, Léon Mba, and the current Gabonese Head of State, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, were members of the same political party, the Bloc Démo-

cratique Gabonais (BDG), at the time when the Union Démocratique et Socialiste Gabonaise (UDSG) was the opposition party. At an early stage, President Bongo became not only the intimate friend of President Léon Mba, but also his principal confidential associate, his Minister and subsequently his Vice-President. Thus, at the time of the attempted coup d'état in February 1964, President Bongo was already the deputy director of the office of President Léon Mba. This close collaboration between the two men, which would cease only with the death of President Léon Mba, was formally sanctioned when the political officers of the BDG designated His Excellency Mr. Bongo as the running-mate of President Léon Mba in the March 1967 presidential election. By an open and overwhelming vote—almost 99 per cent of the ballots—the Gabonese people elected Mr. Léon Mba and Mr. Bongo President and Vice-President of the Republic respectively. After the death of President Léon Mba, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo assumed the presidency in accordance with the Constitution of the Gabonese Republic.

Thus, the use of the term "political opponent" in connexion with these two distinguished Gabonese reveals not only bad faith, but above all intellectual dishonesty and an exceptionally malignant imagination.

It is also stated in the article: "Bongo was kidnapped while leaving a movie house in Libreville in 1968 and never seen again. It was said that Denard killed Mba personally, slashing him to pieces with a machete." This statement is both gratuitous and scandalous; it is completely untrue and in flagrant contradiction with the actual facts.

The Gabonese delegation simply wishes to recall that President Léon Mba died in France on 28 November 1967, stricken by an incurable disease from which he had suffered for several years. After lying in state in our former embassy, situated in the rue Greuze in Paris, his mortal remains arrived at the Libreville airport, which now bears his name, at 6 p.m. on 30 November. On 4 December, a State funeral was held at Libreville in the presence of the delegations of many friendly countries.

At this stage two questions can be posed: is Mr. Jon Bradshaw really writing about Gabon, President Léon Mba and President Bongo, or simply about the figments of his fertile imagination?

Finally, it is stated in the article: "On Sunday morning, 16 January 1977, Denard and 91 mercenaries were aboard a four-engine, unmarked DC-7 en route from Libreville, in Gabon, to

Cotonou, in Benin". The Gabonese delegation wishes to repeat here that the DC-7 aircraft which allegedly transported mercenaries to Benin did not take off from Gabon. This can be confirmed by reference to the statements made by the Gabonese delegation during the various Security Council debates on this matter.

The Gabonese delegation, which vigorously condemns the use of mercenaries, greatly regrets that, in an article which should have been devoted to the perpetrators of that interna-

tional crime, and for reasons which he alone understands, Jon Bradshaw distorts such important facts to this extent. This strange and equivocal attitude does not redound to the credit of Bradshaw himself or to that of the profession he is supposed to represent, and even less to that of the periodical which agreed to publish the article.

Lastly, this attitude of the author, which cannot be deemed commendable, simultaneously calls in question the accuracy of all the facts he has reported.

#### DOCUMENT S/13348\*

**Letter dated 24 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[24 May 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the very serious Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon, still in progress at the time of writing.

On Wednesday 23 May 1979, the Israeli air force raided the towns of Haret El-Naame, Damour, Aichiye and Rihaan. Civilians were killed and injured, among them children and women, and material damages were extensive.

Israeli naval vessels launched an attack against the city of Tyre and the neighbouring area, resulting in the killing of at least two civilians and the wounding of many others. There was also extensive material damage to property and residential areas.

Israeli artillery shelled the towns of Juaiya, Cana, Kaoukaba, Bourgoz and the Palestinian refugee camp of El-Bass.

This information is only preliminary since the attacks on Lebanon were in progress at the time of writ-

ing. No reason has been given by the Israelis to "justify" this last series of aggressions against Lebanon.

The press has been reporting certain incidents in the Tel-Aviv and Hebron areas many hundreds of kilometres away from Lebanon. It would seem strange indeed that the Israelis, who have been claiming peaceful intentions in recent debates on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, should continue to perpetrate such abominable acts of aggression, ignoring the efforts now under way at the Security Council. We strongly reject that such serious escalation be "justified" by a so-called policy of preemptive strikes or the inadmissible "right of hot pursuit", let alone by retaliation on civilians who in no way can be held responsible for any acts of war, more particularly when such acts are committed well inside Israel.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/278-S/13348.

#### DOCUMENT S/13349

**Letter dated 24 May 1979 from the President of the Security Council to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People**

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[25 May 1979]

I wish to refer to your letter dated 13 March 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/13164], concerning General Assembly resolution 33/28, adopted on 7 December 1978, and to inform you that following a meeting on 15 May between His Excellency Mr. Raúl Roa Kouri, Acting Chairman of the Committee, and me, I held consultations with the members of the Security Council on the subject. As a result of those consultations, I have the honour to inform you that the members of the Security Council are following the matter with great attention, with a view to holding a meeting of the Council at an early date.

(Signed) Vasco FUTSCHER PEREIRA  
President of the Security Council

**Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer  
Force for the period 25 November 1978 to 24 May 1979**

[Original: English]  
[24 May 1979]

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**ANNEX**

*Map.* "UNDOF deployment as of May 1979" (see end of volume).

**INTRODUCTION**

1. The present report describes the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period 25 November 1978 to 24 May 1979. Its purpose is to provide the Security Council with an account of the activities of UNDOF in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to it by the Council in resolution 350 (1974) of 31 May 1974 and extended by resolutions 363 (1974) of 29 November 1974, 369 (1975) of 28 May and 381 (1975) of 30 November 1975, 390 (1976) of 28 May and 398 (1976) of 30 November 1976, 408 (1977) of 26 May and 420 (1977) of 30 November 1977, 429 (1978) of 31 May and 441 (1978) of 30 November 1978.

**I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE FORCE**

*A. Composition and command*

2. The composition of UNDOF as of 24 May 1979 was as follows:

Austria .....	523
Canada .....	171
Finland .....	151
Poland .....	89
United Nations military observers (detailed from UNTSO) .....	91
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 025</b>

The average strength of UNDOF is normally about 1,250 all ranks. The present temporary strength is due to the repatriation of the Iranian contingent and its partial temporary replacement by a reinforced company from the Finnish contingent of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

3. Major-General Hannes Philipp retained command of UNDOF until the end of his term of duty on 21 April 1979. With effect from 21 April 1979, Colonel Guenther G. Greindl of the Austrian contingent was designated Officer-in-Charge pending the appointment of a new Force Commander. Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo continues as the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Missions in the Middle East.

*B. Deployment*

4. UNDOF personnel remain deployed within or close to the area of separation, with base camps and logistic support units located nearby. UNDOF headquarters is located in Damascus. The UNDOF deployment as of May 1979 is shown on the attached map.

5. Until 10 March 1979, the Austrian battalion manned 18 positions and 7 outposts and mounted 19 daily patrols in the area of separation north of the Damascus-Quneitra road, and the Iranian battalion manned 15 positions and 3 outposts and mounted 16 daily patrols in the area of separation south of that road. Following the withdrawal of the Iranian battalion, all positions and outposts were manned on a reduced basis by the Austrian battalion during the period 11 to 15 March 1979.

6. Since the completion of the deployment of the reinforced Finnish company from UNEF on 16 March 1979, the Austrian battalion has manned 24 positions and 8 outposts and has been mounting 10 daily patrols in the area of separation north of the readjusted contingent boundary (see attached map). The reinforced Finnish company has manned 9 positions and 2 outposts and has been mounting 8 daily patrols in the area of separation south of the readjusted contingent boundary.

7. The Austrian base camp is located near the Wadi Faouar, 8 kilometres east of the area of separation. The reinforced Finnish company base camp is near the village of Ziouani, west of the area of separation. The Austrian battalion continues to share its base camp with the Polish logistic unit, and the reinforced Finnish company shares Camp Ziouani with the Canadian logistic unit. The Canadian signals unit has detachments at the two base camps, as well as at Damascus, Quneitra and Tiberias.

*C. Rotation*

8. The Austrian battalion completed partial rotations on 29 November 1978 and 26 February 1979; a



further partial rotation will be conducted during the period 21 to 28 May 1979. The Iranian battalion completed a full rotation on 29 November 1978 and was withdrawn from UNDOF on 15 March 1979. The Canadian logistic unit rotates in small groups; a partial rotation is in progress. The Polish logistic unit carried out a full rotation in November-December 1978 and a further full rotation, which began on 11 May 1979, is under way. The Finnish reinforced company carried out a partial rotation from 25 to 29 April 1979.

## II. ACCOMMODATION AND LOGISTICS

### A. Accommodation

9. During the period under review a study of mission accommodation, including maintenance costs, has been completed. The expansion and improvement of living accommodations, in keeping with United Nations standards, at positions within the area of separation has been partly completed for all Austrian battalion positions north of the Quneitra road. Planning is under way for similar improvements at all remaining positions. Additionally, the forward UNDOF command headquarters at Quneitra and the medical shelter are nearing completion. The petrol, oil and lubricants station at Camp Faouar (Austrian-Polish base) has been completed.

10. Position 81 and the building at position 80, which were destroyed by fire, have now been reconstructed. Additional maintenance facilities have also been constructed for both the Canadian and Polish contingents, and a small warehouse has been erected within the Canadian base camp. The preliminary work for one further warehouse in the Canadian base (Camp Ziouani) has now been completed as have preparations for the installation of protective siding for all prefabricated buildings in both the area of separation and base camps.

11. On 26 April 1979 a fire destroyed a prefabricated building at the reinforced Finnish company headquarters at Camp Ziouani.

### B. Logistic support

12. Logistic support to the Force continues to be provided by the Canadian and Polish logistic units, as outlined in the report of 27 November 1974 [S/11563, paras. 25 to 27]. Air support to UNDOF continues to be provided by the UNEF controlled Canadian air transport unit, with two Buffalo DHC-5 flights weekly to Tel Aviv and Damascus from Ismailia as well as special flights as required. The Canadian and Polish units have continued to provide second-line transport, including delivery of water, petrol, rations, mail and miscellaneous cargo, as well as equipment maintenance and vehicle repair. Limited third-line support to UNDOF continues to be provided from UNEF resources.

13. During the period under review, the Polish mine-clearing teams have cleared 21,090 metres of patrol paths and 1,600 metres of roads and trails, as well as 33,000 square metres of ground at positions within the area of separation. In this process, two anti-personnel mines, 11 anti-tank mines and 12 artillery projectiles were destroyed. Road improvements and snow removal operations, primarily within the northern sector of the area of separation, have been carried out with emphasis

on access roads to positions of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO).

## III. ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCE

### A. Functions and guidelines

14. The functions and guidelines of UNDOF as well as its tasks remain as outlined in my report of 27 November 1974 [*ibid.*, paras. 8-10].

15. UNDOF has continued, with the co-operation of the parties, to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it. This has been facilitated by the close contact maintained by the Force Commander and Officer-in-Charge and his staff with the military liaison staffs of Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic.

### B. Freedom of movement

16. The Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces of 31 May 1974 [S/11302/Add.1] provides for all contingents to operate with full freedom of movement. However, restrictions on the freedom of movement still exist and efforts to correct the situation are continuing.

### C. Personnel matters

17. The general discipline, conduct and bearing of all members of the Force continue to be of a high order reflecting credit on the soldiers and their commanders, as well as on the countries contributing contingents.

### D. Maintenance of the cease-fire

18. UNDOF continues to supervise the observance of the cease-fire between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic. The cease-fire has been maintained during the period under review. No complaints referring to the UNDOF area of operation have been lodged by either party in this regard.

### E. Supervision of the Agreement on Disengagement with regard to the areas of separation and limitation

19. UNDOF continues to supervise the area of separation to ensure, in accordance with its mandate, that there are no military forces within it. This is carried out by means of static positions and observation posts, which are manned 24 hours a day, and by foot and mobile patrols operating at irregular intervals on predetermined routes. UNDOF observation functions have been made more effective by the introduction of some new equipment. UNDOF has continued to meet all assigned operational commitments by considerably reducing leave and recreation and by working overtime. In addition, it has been necessary temporarily to reduce the operational strength of some positions and decrease the number of daily patrols within the area of separation.

20. The safety of Syrian shepherds who graze their flocks close to and west of the A line continues to be of concern to UNDOF. The establishment of new mine-cleared patrol paths and, from time to time, of standing patrols in these areas has helped to prevent incidents.

21. UNDOF has continued to facilitate and supervise the fortnightly meetings of Druse families living on both sides of the A line. Thirteen family meetings have been held during the period under review. Both parties continue to show good co-operation in making the family meetings possible in accord with the agreed procedures.

22. Mines within the area of separation continue to cause danger to members of UNDOF, as well as to the civilian population. During the period under review, several civilians have been seriously injured or killed by mine explosions.

23. In accordance with the terms of the Agreement on Disengagement, UNDOF continues to conduct bi-weekly inspections of the areas of limitation in armament and forces. The inspections are conducted with the assistance of liaison officers from the parties, who accompany the UNDOF inspection teams to their respective areas. UNDOF lends its assistance and good offices in cases where one of the parties raises questions concerning the observance of the agreed limitations of armament and forces. In carrying out these functions, UNDOF has continued to receive the co-operation of the parties, although restrictions of movement and inspection are sometimes placed upon UNDOF teams during inspections in certain areas on both sides of the area of separation. UNDOF has sought the lifting of those restrictions so as to guarantee its freedom of access to all locations on both sides.

#### IV. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

24. By its resolution 33/13 D of 8 December 1978, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for UNDOF at a rate not to exceed \$1,682,833 gross (\$1,666,000 net) per month for the period from 1 June to 24 October 1979 inclusive, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the period of six months authorized under its resolution 441 (1978) of 30 November 1978. Accordingly, should the Security Council renew the UNDOF mandate beyond 31 May 1979, the costs to the United Nations for maintaining UNDOF up to 24 October 1979 will be within the level of the authorization to enter into commitments provided by the General Assembly in its resolution 33/13 D, assuming continuance of its existing strength and responsibilities. Appropriate financial provision will need to be made by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session in respect of periods after 24 October 1979, if the period of extension determined by the Security Council goes beyond that date.

#### V. IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973)

25. In deciding in its resolution 441 (1978) to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months, the Security Council also called upon all the parties concerned to implement immediately its resolution 338 (1973) and requested the Secretary-General to submit at the end of the extended period a report on developments in the situation and the steps taken to implement that resolution.

26. The search for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and, in particular, the efforts undertaken at

various levels to implement resolution 338 (1973) have been dealt with in the comprehensive report on the Middle East problem [S/12896] which the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 32/20 of 25 November 1977. Since the submission of that report, the Secretary-General has maintained contacts on this matter with the parties and interested Governments.

#### VI. OBSERVATIONS

27. The United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, which was established in May 1974 to supervise the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces of 31 May 1974, has continued to perform its functions effectively, with the co-operation of the parties. During the period under review, the situation in the Israel-Syria sector has remained quiet and there have been no serious incidents.

28. Despite the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, the situation in the Middle East as a whole continues to be potentially dangerous and is likely to remain so unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached. I continue to hope that determined efforts will be made by all concerned to tackle the problem in all its aspects with a view to arriving at a just and durable peace settlement, as called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973).

29. In the prevailing circumstances, I consider the continued presence of UNDOF in the area to be essential. I therefore recommend that the Security Council extend the mandate of the Force for a further period of six months until 30 November 1979. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic has given its assent to the proposed extension. The Government of Israel has also expressed its agreement.

30. In concluding the present report, I wish once again to express my gratitude to the Governments contributing troops to UNDOF and to those which provide UNTSO military observers assigned to the Force. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to General Hannes Philipp, who was the Commander of UNDOF until 21 April 1979, and to Colonel Greindl, who has assumed command of the Force as Officer-in-Charge since that date, to the officers and men of the Force and its civilian staff, as well as to the UNTSO military observers assigned to UNDOF. They have performed with exemplary efficiency and devotion to duty the important and difficult tasks assigned to them by the Security Council. I also wish to express my appreciation for the dedicated service rendered by the Iranian battalion from September 1975 to March 1979.

#### ANNEX

[Map. "UNDOF deployment as of May 1979". See end of volume.]

DOCUMENT S/13351

Letter dated 25 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[25 May 1979]

I have the honour to request you to circulate the enclosure as a document of the Security Council so as to enable the world to see the blood-thirsty nature of the ruling circles at Tel Aviv.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 24 MAY FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE  
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL

I am instructed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your immediate attention.

Pursuing their unremitting policy of genocide against the Palestinian people and in conformity with the so-called Israeli declaration of late, to hit at the Palestinians at all times and in a manner chosen by the armed forces, the terrorist armed forces of the racist Zionist junta at Tel Aviv carried out the following criminal acts.

On 22 May 1979 at 5.30 p.m. Israeli artillery shelled the Palestinian refugee camp at Rashidiyeh for 120 minutes. At 9 p.m. they shelled Nabiteyeh and Arnoun for 60 minutes.

On 23 May, Israeli war planes attacked Al-Sultan School at Na'imeh, and also raided Damour and Aishiyeh, hitting a refrigerator factory near Damour. By 5.30 p.m., New York time, the total number of victims were 68 civilians wounded, 11 killed, including 2 policemen.

During those savage and brutal raids, the Israeli Air Force used fragmentation and incendiary bombs supplied by the United States, as well as time-bombs which exploded as fire brigades were fighting fires, in particular the fire at the refrigerator factory. Damage to property is extensive.

These barbaric crimes—a continuation of the Zionist scheme for the genocidal elimination of the Palestinian people—are perpetrated with the obvious collaboration and connivance of the Government of the United States.

During the past 48 hours, the Israeli navy has committed an act of piracy on the high seas, by seizing a merchant vessel flying a Panamanian flag with a cargo of Mercedes automobiles.

It is evident from the aforementioned facts that the racist Zionists have been receiving increasing encouragement from the United States and others to pursue their cruel, inhuman and unrelenting policy of genocide against the Palestinian people.

The United Nations and its organs including the Security Council are called upon to assume their responsibility to put an effective end to such criminal and inhuman acts committed by Members of this Organization.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13352\*

Letter dated 25 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is an arch-criminal clique".

I shall be grateful if you will circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN PRASITH  
Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique is an arch-criminal clique"

The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has now acquired throughout the world the sinister reputation of being an attacker of neighbouring countries, a Fascist murderer of innocent populations, the Cuba of Asia, a lackey of the Soviet expansionists, falsely revolutionary and falsely non-aligned.

This clique metes out cruel and barbarous treatment not only to neighbouring peoples and countries but also to the Vietnamese people. Since it seized power and gained control of the whole of Viet Nam, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has been oppressing and repressing all the people of Viet Nam,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/280-S/13352.



regardless of ethnic origin, in an extremely cruel and barbarous manner:

(a) It exploits, pillages, represses, arrests and kills the population by every means (legal, overt, secret or by corruption), causing immense suffering to the Vietnamese people.

(b) It is starving the Vietnamese people, for it takes no account of their living conditions and, what is worse, the Vietnamese administration steals all that the Vietnamese people produce by their labours. Moreover, all the international humanitarian assistance destined for the Vietnamese people is seized by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique to meet the needs of its war of aggression in Kampuchea. It is for this reason that many members of the starving Vietnamese population die each day.

(c) In order to obtain gold, money and other property from the Vietnamese population, the Vietnamese administration at all levels is organizing the forced exodus of the population, many of whom have died at sea.

(d) In addition, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has declared martial law and general mobilization in order to force the Vietnamese population and Vietnamese youth to enlist and come to attack Kampuchea, where many of them die daily.

To sum up, during the four years since the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique seized power throughout Viet Nam, it has killed many members of the population and many Vietnamese young people through its direct repression and its criminal policy. The Vietnamese people find all its crimes revolting; they have risen everywhere in combat the clique in every possible way and are dealing it severe blows. In particular, the Vietnamese people are opposed to the martial law which forces sons and husbands to become aggressive soldiers and to die in Kampuchea for the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. The Vietnamese people are opposed to the war of aggression against Kampuchea and are clamouring for the immediate return of their sons and husbands.

The Vietnamese soldiers who have come to attack Kampuchea under the martial law decreed by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique are suffering daily losses as a result of our

blows and are exploited, oppressed and despised like animals by their leaders who have come from Hanoi. For example, during the fighting, the latter give the order that no one must retreat, even when faced with deadly obstacles or dangers. Any soldier who dares to retreat is killed immediately. A second example: when a post is on the point of falling into our hands, the Vietnamese leaders do not evacuate with their wounded but kill all of them. A third example: the soldiers using machine-guns and cannons, from the 12.7 machine-gun up, are chained to their weapons by their leaders, so that they cannot escape. Furthermore, insults, blows and withholding of rations from soldiers are a current practice in the Vietnamese army of aggression. All these facts anger the Vietnamese soldiers and they are becoming increasingly disgusted with the war of aggression in Kampuchea. They see clearly how miserable the life of a soldier participating in such aggression can be. Moreover, they realize that they are caught in an impasse, for they have come to attack the Kampuchean nation and people who have taken a position of resolute struggle in defence of their territory and their country, possess a rich store of experience in the people's war and have rid themselves successively of all enemy aggressors. If the Vietnamese continue to act as soldiers participating in aggression and invasion, serving the expansionist policy of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and those holding power at Hanoi, they will surely die in Kampuchea. That death will be a miserable one, for they will perish as aggressors. Thus, the only way in which they can escape the clutches of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong criminal gang is to desert, as many Vietnamese officers and soldiers have already done. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea pursues a clearly humanitarian policy with regard to Vietnamese deserters. The Kampuchean people and the Kampuchean revolutionary army punish only the Vietnamese soldiers who have committed crimes and brought ruin and devastation to the Kampuchean nation and people. As regards those who were forced by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique to come to attack Kampuchea and who refuse to obey orders by deserting, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and the Kampuchean revolutionary army will apply a humanitarian and considerate policy by receiving and helping all of them. If they wish to go and live in other countries, we shall help them to do so.

## DOCUMENT S/13353\*

### Letter dated 29 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[29 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The crimes of the Vietnamese aggressors against the Kampuchean people are on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind".

I shall be grateful if you will circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Permanent Representative a.i.  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The crimes of the Vietnamese aggressors against the Kampuchean people are on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind"

Ever since it invaded Kampuchea with more than 100,000 troops, Viet Nam has committed countless crimes and sown

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/283-S/13353.

devastation beyond all common bounds against our innocent population. Everywhere they have gone, the Vietnamese troops have cold-bloodedly massacred, burnt and destroyed all in sight. The goal of Viet Nam is to get rid of our race altogether and to engulf our entire territory, so that its criminal design of "a Federation of Indo-China" can be carried out, at whatever cost.

To date, more than four months have already elapsed and Viet Nam has still not succeeded in its strategy and its criminal ambition. Since the day it first trod Kampuchean soil, the Vietnamese enemy has had constantly to contend with the powerful and resolute blows of our heroic Revolutionary Army and guerrillas and our heroic people, who throughout the country have put up determined counter-attacks, thus driving it into an inextricable morass. At the same time, its troops and war matériel are suffering heavy losses, by the day and by the month, as a result of the annihilating attacks and war of attrition being waged by our Revolutionary Army and revolutionary guerrillas. However, being of a barbarous and Fascist nature, an aggressor, an annexationist, a gobble of territories and an exterminator of nations, Viet Nam is still trying to send new reinforcements to Kampuchea, with a view to launching further operations to repress and massacre our innocent population and destroy our economy.

In early April, with the unreserved support and participation of its Soviet masters, Viet Nam assembled its troops and sent into Kampuchea further reinforcements, numbering several

divisions, to launch a large-scale operation of general repression, the purpose of which was to crush our nation and our people at one fell swoop. To carry out its criminal purpose, the Vietnamese enemy and aggressor applied its Fascist policy. Everywhere it went, it burnt and destroyed everything: the houses and villages of our innocent population, the schools, the crèches, the hospitals, the workshops, even the rice granaries. It crushed and destroyed all our crops beneath its tanks. It shot everything living on sight, thus massacring cold-bloodedly our population and our cattle. Everywhere in the villages, the fields, rice plantations and meadows, only the dead bodies of our oxen and buffalo are to be seen. At Samlot, for example, in Battambang province, where the population resolutely refuses to coexist with it and become its slaves, the Vietnamese enemy captures those who are unable to escape, ropes them together in several lines and leads them away to be shot in a most Fascist manner. These acts are aimed at exterminating altogether our compatriots, our race. When the Vietnamese enemy captures our compatriots, it kills them. When it cannot capture them, it destroys our economy so that our people will die from hunger. These are Fascist acts of the most criminal kind, unprecedented in the history of mankind.

We appeal to countries, peoples, public organizations, political parties, and international organizations and personalities that are committed to peace and justice in the world to denounce and condemn in strong terms these monstrous crimes and this

huge-scale devastation which Viet Nam is inflicting on the innocent Kampuchean people, and we urge them to take effective action and to engage forcefully and resolutely in all forms of activity that will compel Viet Nam to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kampuchea all its troops and forces of aggression, so that peace and security can be restored in Kampuchea, as well as in South-East Asia, in Asia and in the Pacific, and so that world peace will likewise be assured.

The people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are determined to make every sacrifice to combat resolutely the barbarous, Fascist and unspeakable acts of Viet Nam. In actual fact, during the last operation of general repression carried out by the Vietnamese enemy and aggressor, the heroic Kampuchean Revolutionary Army and guerrillas and the heroic Kampuchean people launched strong and valiant counter-attacks against the Vietnamese aggressors on all fronts—the south-western, the western and the north-western—and inflicted on them heavy losses of men.

We are determined to continue to hold high the banner of honour and national dignity, of national identity and pride; to resist the war of aggression waged by the Vietnamese enemy until we finally triumph; to defend and to preserve our territory, our race and our national personality and at the same time to help in combating the aggressive and expansionist ambition and strategy of the Vietnamese-Soviets in South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13354\*

#### Letter dated 29 May 1979 from the representative of the United Arab Emirates to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[29 May 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group during the month of May, I have the honour to refer to the resolutions of the Council of the League of Arab States which were adopted by our Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance at Baghdad on 31 March 1979, and in particular paragraph 7 of those resolutions which reads as follows:

“Member countries shall undertake to notify all foreign countries about their stand vis-à-vis the Egyptian-Zionist treaty and to call on these countries to refrain from supporting this treaty since it constitutes an aggression on the rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation and is a threat to peace and security in the world.”

The Arab Group, accordingly, is opposed to any direct or indirect action which any principal or subsidiary organ of the United Nations, including the Security Council, may take which would either confer any legitimacy whatsoever or be interpreted to grant recognition, express or implied, to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

I have the honour to request the circulation of the present letter as an official document of the General Assembly, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ali HUMAIDAN  
Permanent Representative of the  
United Arab Emirates  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/284-S/13354.

**DOCUMENT S/13355\***

**Letter dated 29 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon  
to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[29 May 1979]

Pursuant to my letter of 24 May 1979 [S/13348], I have the honour to draw your attention to the continued acts of aggression against Lebanon by the Israeli air force and land positions.

The areas affected are the towns and villages of Tyre, Tibnin, Al-Rihan, Ad-Duwair, Al-Qlaileh, Arnoun, Nabatiyyeh and Kfar Rumman. Four persons were killed and 17 wounded—all civilians. Material damage was extensive.

The Lebanese Government wishes to protest vigorously against these unwarranted acts of aggression which are carried out contrary to international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the Armistice Agreement concluded between Lebanon and Israel on 23 March 1949.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/285-S/13355.

**DOCUMENT S/13356**

**Letter dated 30 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[30 May 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to call an urgent meeting of the Security Council to discuss the rapidly deteriorating situation in Southern Lebanon resulting from Israeli escalation of its attacks and the adverse effect this may have on the implementation of Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 444 (1979).

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

**DOCUMENT S/13358\***

**Letter dated 30 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[30 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a brief report of developments in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have this report circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Permanent Representative a.i.  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**Brief report of developments in the people's war of resistance being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression**

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean guerrillas are continuing their strenuous efforts in the people's war in all parts and regions of the country and day after day are inflicting on the Vietnamese aggressors heavy losses in men and war matériel.

**1. On the Rattanakiri-Stung Treng front**

On 6 May, we destroyed five depots belonging to the Vietnamese enemy situated south of O Kah, east of Vocunsai and north of Krachab. These depots contained paddy, rice, salt,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/287-S/13358.



ammunition and medicaments. We wiped out 30 Vietnamese soldiers who were guarding the depots and seized 20,000 rounds of ammunition for AK rifles, 15 cases of grenades, 50 cases of mines, 50 tons of rice, 200 tons of paddy, 10 tons of salt, 20 weapons of different types and some medicaments. During the period 17 April-11 May, on the same front, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the guerrillas wiped out many more enemy soldiers at Barkham, O Dambauk, Koh Pong, Hatt Pak, east and south of Voensai, at Steay Neang, at kilometre-8, at O Svay, Srê Kor, Srê Sami, Chantouk, on the outskirts of Ta Lav, east of Barkeo, north of Krachab, at Siem Pang and at the Pongror dam.

2. *On the Kratie-Mondulkiri front*  
(17-24 April)

We launched attacks on the Mondulkiri-Kdol highway, at Kdol itself, on the outskirts of Phum Mourl, at Srê Khgnom, at O Royum, O Kangchas, at Phum Rovak, on the highway leading to Koh Nhiek and at Koh Nhiek itself.

3. *On the Preah Vihear and Oddar-Meanchey-Siem Reap fronts*

During the period 26 April-15 May, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and our guerrillas wiped out more than 300 enemy soldiers.

4. *On the Battambang front*

On 3 May, we attacked the Vietnamese enemy at the Pailin coffee plantation, over which we gained complete control. During the period 26 April-6 May, we attacked the Vietnamese aggressors south of Kaub, at Srê Anteak, near the Pakdeveat dam, at Bar Vel, at the dam situated south of Nimit, at Sangker Ya, at Chambak, on the Malay highway, west of the Kamping Puoy dam, south of Mak Heun, on the Pailin highway leading to the coffee plantation.

5. *On Kompong Thom and Kompong Cham fronts* (13 April-9 May)

We killed more than 300 Vietnamese aggressors, on these two fronts, in guerrilla attacks and special attacks. First and foremost, our guerrillas successfully countered attempts to steal our people's rice.

6. *On the Pursat and Kompong Chhnang fronts and on national highway 5* (17-25 April)

Attacks at Romeas, at the new Kompong Chhnang aerodrome, at Kraing Lovea, at Phum Sdok, at Phum Tuol Kor, at the exit from Baribo, at Banteay Chey, between Ponley and Sap Angkam.

7. *On the south-western fronts,*  
*national highways 3 and 4*

Attacks at Mlich, west of Trapeang Andoeurk, at Phum Daung, at Phum Kaun Trom, at Kaaung, west of the Samrong bridge, at the exit from Stung Chral, at the Srê Ambel dam, at Moha Saing, at the entry to Trapeang Kraloeung, east of Phnom Kdei, at the Docurm Treang bridge, east of Vat Chakrei Ting.

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*Total for these operations:*

(a) Nearly 2,000 soldiers belonging to the Vietnamese aggressor were wiped out;

(b) One tank, 19 military vehicles, two mortars and two machine-guns were destroyed;

(c) The following items were captured: 20,000 rounds of ammunition for AK rifles, 15 cases of grenades, 50 cases of mines, two radio transmitting and receiving sets, numerous weapons of different types, 50 tons of rice, 200 tons of paddy, 10 tons of salt and some medicaments.

**DOCUMENT S/13361**

**Letter dated 30 May 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[30 May 1979]

Following my letter of today calling for an urgent meeting of the Security Council [S/13356], I am transmitting herewith a memorandum to the President referring to the diplomatic mandate which the Security Council had given its President at its meeting of 15 May 1979 and embodied in the statement by the President [2144th meeting, para. 2].

My delegation wishes that this memorandum be integrated in the records of the Council, when it meets, and requests that it should be immediately circulated as a document of the Council.

We hope that you will find this memorandum useful if you should choose, with the concurrence of the Council, to pursue diplomatic efforts with a view to renewing the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon within a framework that will lead to the total and unequivocal implementation of Council resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978) and 444 (1979).

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

**Memorandum to the Security Council**

1. The delegation of Lebanon proposes that the Security Council should now review the question of Southern Lebanon

in the light of the line of action pursued since the President's statement of 26 April 1979 [2141st meeting].

Through weeks of lengthy consultations, and in a unanimous spirit of conciliation and concern for peace and security, intensive efforts were deployed, by various parties, under the aegis of the Security Council, to secure the implementation of its resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978) and 444 (1979).

Unlike the representative of Israel and his Prime Minister, the Lebanese Government felt very encouraged and took very seriously, to the letter, the mandate given to the President of the Security Council, on 15 May [2144th meeting], to "proceed with his present diplomatic efforts", pursuing "with perseverance" and in the proper "atmosphere" the efforts that were undertaken "under the auspices of the Council to secure a rapid improvement in that situation".

2. In this spirit, and to enable the President of the Security Council to proceed in his efforts, the Lebanese Government did not press for any debate or condemnation, though day after day, Israel was pursuing its policy of defiance and aggression, in words as well as in action: shelling was continuous, raids were carried out daily against civilian targets, territorial waters were violated, the land was raped, innocent victims—children and women, peasants and workers—were killed in large numbers, and tens of thousands were driven out of their destroyed homes, in cities and villages, seeking refuge and shelter.

Bringing such acts to the Security Council's attention, without expecting any practical results, had become an almost futile exercise. The Lebanese Government believed that the time had come for the Council to choose between allowing Israel to continue escalating the so-called "cycle of violence" or putting an end, forcefully and unhesitatingly, to a course of action that inevitably leads to a state of affairs wherein international peace

and security will be most seriously imperilled, in the Middle East, and beyond—in areas for which the Middle East is today so significant, in so many respects.

3. As there are no visible signs of any Israeli compliance with the Security Council's consensus, Lebanon can only express regret that precious time was lost, and so was hope and confidence in the ability of Israel's friends to flex her determination to kill, destroy, and arrogantly disrupt every effort at establishing international law and order. Witness the Israeli representative's declaration, immediately after the Council's meeting of 15 May. Indeed, it had become an established rule, with our delegation, not to answer the all too numerous, and almost always repetitive, letters from the representative of Israel. Their logic seemed self-defeating and, in terms of international law, a very thin cover for the aggressive policy that Israel is bent on pursuing, particularly towards Lebanon.

Yet in some of his recent correspondence, the representative of Israel, upon instructions from his Government, has contributed to the debate, now before the Security Council, some novelties that cannot be left unanswered, lest silence be construed as a sign of acquiescence, fear, or respect.

Reference is made more particularly to the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council dated 16 May [S/13331] commenting on the statement made by the President at the meeting of 15 May. Given the very serious, tragic and persistent acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel, the Lebanese Government considers that the Council must now be called upon to take a most drastic attitude, in full cognizance of the facts.

#### *Israel's attitude: the facts*

4. Instead of responding positively to the Security Council's spirit, and Lebanon's call for peace and security, the representative of Israel has come forth with the following:

(a) "The mandate of UNIFIL as set out in resolution 425 (1978) cannot be successfully implemented" and "there can be no real prospect of restoring the authority of Lebanon over all its territory within its internationally recognized boundaries";

(b) "The restoration of the effective authority of Lebanon throughout its territory is severely hampered by the fact that Lebanon is occupied and controlled by the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Syrian army";

(c) The Prime Minister of Israel—while declaring that "Israel has no territorial demands on Lebanon" and "supports the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon"—invites the President of Lebanon to "discuss the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon... on the basis of the Lebanese-Israeli border".

In previous, and concurrent utterances of unique cynicism, the Prime Minister of Israel, his representative at the United Nations, and various spokesmen of their Government, had complemented this strange, complex, and defiant policy by a further expression of political arrogance when they announced that "Israel will continue to strike at PLO bases in Lebanon by land, sea and air" and will exercise a "right to hot pursuit", without limiting itself to "reprisal raids", but acting "at a time and in a manner of [their] own choosing".

5. If it was found necessary, and probably useful, to amply quote from such Israeli statements, it is neither in a spirit of rhetoric, nor to engage in a useless polemic—but rather to confirm with the Council that Israeli intentions were no sooner declared than translated into action: for the Israeli Army, in an unprecedented style of "State terrorism", has been conducting acts of indiscriminate aggression—by land, sea and air—against UNIFIL, its area of operation, urban and rural concentrations in various parts of Lebanon, and Palestinian refugee camps where only civilian casualties have been registered.

In contrast with that policy, it had been the intention of the Lebanese Government, when asking on 25 April for a Security Council meeting [S/13270], to submit a draft resolution calling, among other things, for the establishment of a "zone of peace" in Southern Lebanon, in implementation of resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and within the context of the General Armistice Agreement<sup>a</sup> concluded between Lebanon and Israel on 23 March 1949. Later, in the letter to the Council of 7 May

<sup>a</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4.

[S/13301], the position of Lebanon concerning the General Armistice Agreement and its revival was stated in unequivocal terms. And so was Lebanon's interest in the revival not only of the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission but also in creating the objective conditions that would be conducive to its becoming operationally more effective in the preservation of international peace and security in the area. If Israel's Government and army had any respect for the Charter of the United Nations, and if they were in the least genuine in their so-called respect for Lebanon's territorial integrity, then they would have allowed the Mixed Armistice Commission to function normally and naturally instead of taking international law in their own hands and establishing themselves as judge and jury, victimizing Lebanon through overstretched and often fallacious principles of vicarious responsibility.

Vicarious responsibility can be established only when the facts are internationally verified. Accordingly, Lebanon's responsibility cannot be invoked by Israel for acts committed against it outside Lebanese territory, within Israel or elsewhere.

#### *Peace and general armistice*

6. It is in this perspective that one can best understand Lebanon's attitude vis-à-vis the so-called offer of peace made by Mr. Begin and echoed in his representative's letter to the Council of 16 May 1979. The reply had come, in the most limpid and responsible manner, from the President of the Republic of Lebanon when he rejected it in the Cabinet meeting of 9 May by saying:

"The crux of the struggle between the Arab States and Israel is an indivisible question of right and justice. Today we feel more than ever that it is impossible to reach a peace settlement in the Middle East which is not a solution to the Palestinian problem. No durable and just peace can therefore be achieved which does not respect the Palestinians' right to their land and to self-determination. As for the border between Lebanon and Israel, it has never been under dispute and cannot today become an object of debate. Our borders are internationally recognized boundaries confirmed by international law and recognized by Israel through the General Armistice Agreement of 1949 and the various official commitments of nations large and small, let alone resolutions, decisions and recommendations of the United Nations, the Security Council, and the various international bodies. They all have given our frontiers a sanctity and legitimacy that compels their respect as well as respect to our independence, our national sovereignty and our territorial integrity.

"If at times abnormal conditions have been created on these borders, they can only be considered as transient and temporary. They will be, and can only be dealt with at the appropriate time, within the framework of Lebanese sovereignty."

#### *Permanence of the General Armistice Agreement*

7. It may be relevant at this juncture, to elaborate on the General Armistice Agreement of 1949 referred to by President Sarkis and the reasons for which Lebanon so strongly calls for its respect:

(a) The General Armistice Agreement was negotiated and signed as stated by the United Nations mediator, Mr. Ralph Bunche, "in pursuance of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948 [resolution 62 (1948)]". It was later confirmed by resolution 73 (1949) of 11 August 1949. It was since reconfirmed and upheld by a number of other resolutions, reports of the Secretary-General and dispositions taken by the appropriate United Nations authorities, despite Israeli attempts at making it inoperative since June 1967.

(b) The preamble of the General Armistice Agreement, its articles I, III and VIII and the prior Security Council resolutions all emphasize its character as a "general" armistice, hence imperative and permanent, since its termination is not merely contingent upon the parties' mutual agreement, but also and more specifically upon the establishment of a "permanent peace in Palestine". It "shall remain in force until a peaceful settlement between the Parties is achieved" (article VIII, para. 2). The "parties" referred to obviously mean *all* the parties involved in the Palestine question.

(c) Article I, paragraph one, may still be more eloquent: "The injunction of the Security Council against resort to military force in the settlement of the Palestine question shall henceforth be scrupulously respected by both Parties."

(d) Article II sheds further light on the spirit of the General Armistice Agreement:

"With a specific view to the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948, the following principles and purposes are affirmed:

"1. The principle that no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council is recognized.

"2. It is also recognized that no provision of this Agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and positions of either Party hereto in the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine Question, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military considerations."

(e) Article VIII further provides that no revision of the Agreement, even by mutual consent, could suspend articles I and III "at any time", as these refer to "the injunction of the Security Council", and the objective of the Agreement, which is defined as "promoting the return of permanent peace in Palestine".

(f) Article VIII finally stipulates that the Security Council is alone empowered to act on both interpretation and revision of the Agreement "on the grounds that this Agreement has been concluded in pursuance of Security Council action towards the end of achieving peace in Palestine".

8. Such are some aspects of the Armistice Agreement which President Sarkis and his Government—and consistently all previous Governments—have considered to be a sufficient and binding framework for the restoration of peace on the Lebanese-Israeli border.

It follows naturally, therefore, in our view, that Mr. Begin's offer was objectless and only destined to disguise the real issue. Indeed, a state of peace in Palestine, involving all the parties concerned in the "Palestine question", is what Israel must accept, and what we must all aim at. Only within the framework of such a comprehensive settlement will the present Lebanese-Israeli General Armistice Agreement be dissolved.

To reject the General Armistice Agreement or to challenge resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) because of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is therefore to ignore totally the fundamental realities of the question, both in its historic origin and developments, as well as its evolution within the United Nations framework.

Hence, the criminal fallacy of Mr. Begin's attitude vis-à-vis the Palestinians in Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Not only have the Palestinians been driven into Lebanon by Israel, against their own free will as well as that of Lebanon, but their association to a peace settlement is made compulsory by the Security Council resolutions, particularly those that have established the General Armistice Agreement of 1949, such as resolution 62 (1948).

#### *Restoration of Lebanese sovereignty*

9. The objective conditions for the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty and the creation of a "zone of peace" in the UNIFIL area of operation, by virtue of resolutions 425 (1978) and 426

(1978), have been amply dealt with in the letter by the representative of Lebanon to the Security Council of 7 May.

Paragraphs 11 and 13 of the aforementioned letter—concerning particularly the Palestinians and the Lebanese citizens of the so-called "enclave"—restate integral and fundamental components of Lebanon's national policy. The points raised subsequently by the Israeli representative, in this context, fail to take this matter into consideration, for reasons conveyed to him that are beyond the scope of this discussion.

It may be pertinent to add, at this stage in the debate, that it is very strange indeed that the representative of a Member State, and the least qualified for that, should arrogate to himself and his Government a right of tutelage over the sovereignty of others. This in itself would have warranted action by the Security Council and the General Assembly under the appropriate Articles of the Charter.

While the Council should refuse to be distracted from the issue at stake, note must be taken of the answer of the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic when he stated in his letter of 4 May 1979 [S/13298]:

"... Syria is committed to one Lebanon, to the Lebanon that has always played and can indeed continue to play a significant role in the Arab world, the role of the cradle of Arab civilization and its openness to the world at large... The Syrian forces in Lebanon are part of the Arab deterrent force under the direct command of the Lebanese Government. The Lebanese Government has the full right to decide over the duration of the mission of the Arab deterrent force in Lebanon including the Syrian Forces."

#### *Role and responsibilities of UNIFIL*

10. As has been brought to the attention of the Council, the Government of Lebanon is now actively engaged in restoring its Army so as to be able, at the earliest possible date, to assume alone the full responsibility of pacifying and reconstructing a country which resisted, through five years of untold tragedies, destruction, war and a near to total disruption of all the instruments of power and constitutional authority.

Conscious of these realities, the Council had already, when passing resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), assigned to UNIFIL a task that would have otherwise been unnecessary: "restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority".

In the light of recent developments in Southern Lebanon, the Government of Lebanon now feels that it has become imperative properly to redefine the mandate and prerogatives of UNIFIL so as to assure to the Force freedom of deployment and secure the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel. Only in so doing can the Council compel Israel to respect the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the unchallenged sovereignty of the legitimate authorities of the land, in practical and unequivocal compliance with international law and United Nations resolutions.

The position of Israel vis-à-vis UNIFIL and resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) must be reconsidered and ascertained beyond ambiguity. A persistent negative attitude will in itself then warrant a condemnation by the Council which must resort to other avenues of action opened by the Charter.

## DOCUMENT S/13363

### Letter dated 30 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[30 May 1979]

I would like to refer to the resolution of the Security Council on the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) [resolution 449 (1979)]. I informed you that the delegation of Kuwait was willing to accede to the general sentiment of the Council in renewing the mandate of UNDOF without explanations of vote.



However, the delegation of Kuwait would like to reaffirm the views of the Government of Kuwait on UNDOF as expressed during the meeting of the Security Council on 30 November 1978 [2101st meeting].

The Government of Kuwait would like to reiterate that it accepts the extension of the mandate of UNDOF solely because of the acceptance by the Government of Syria of this extension.

I request you to circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

## DOCUMENT S/13364

### Note by the President of the Security Council

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[30 May 1979]

1. The Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations has informed the President of the Security Council that the Government of the People's Republic of Angola is still engaged in collecting all available information required in pursuance of paragraph 6 of Council resolution 447 (1979). It has therefore been suggested that the time-limit for the completion of the report requested under paragraph 6 of that resolution should be further extended by one month, that is, until 30 June 1979.

2. Informal consultations have shown that no member of the Security Council objects to the proposed extension, and the Secretary-General and the permanent representative of Angola have been informed accordingly.

## DOCUMENT S/13365

### Letter dated 21 May 1979 from the representative of Benin to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[30 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for circulation as a Security Council document, in connexion with the complaint of Benin regarding the mercenary aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, the text of a statement made by the Head of State during the audience granted to Mr. Robert Galley, the French Minister of Co-operation, during his official visit to Benin.

(Signed) Thomas S. BOYA  
Permanent Representative of Benin  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Statement by President Kérékou to Mr. Robert Galley, the French Minister of Co-operation, during his official visit to Benin

Cotonou, 8 May 1979

Sir, on behalf of the militant people of Benin, the national council of the revolution and the revolutionary military government, we welcome you to the free land of the People's Republic of Benin.

We hope that you will enjoy your stay here in Benin, among the militant men and women of the Beninese revolution.

Through your current official visit, we are expressing our keen desire to see a frank and sincere dialogue initiated between you and ourselves at all levels and in all fields.

In fact, there is no doubt that the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples and our two States have existed for a very long time and sometimes are even tinged with a certain degree of paternalism which is unacceptable between two sovereign and independent peoples. It is the existence and erroneous interpretation of that paternalism which created a situation of economic instability and socio-cultural alienation in Benin after its accession to nominal independence on 1 August 1960.

Thus our country, the People's Republic of Benin, was pompously and ironically called "the Latin Quarter of Africa" during the colonial period and "the sick child of Africa" during the neo-colonial period.

In those circumstances, you will readily understand that the militant people of Benin, rich in and proud of the glorious age-old traditions of their ancestors, could not resign themselves to vegetating in national indignity and being subjected to political, economic and socio-cultural pressures, whatever their source.

It was therefore to put an end to that abnormal situation once and for all that our national armed forces decided to assume their full responsibility in the view of the world and of history by proclaiming the revolution on 26 October 1972 on behalf of the Beninese people as a whole. That highly patriotic act of our national armed forces was warmly welcomed and vigorously applauded by all the dynamic elements of the Beninese nation.

It was that same inflexible determination to achieve national liberation which led us to issue, on 30 November 1972, in the view of the world and of history, our proclamation-programme on nation-building, the fundamental basis of which is our new policy of national independence.

On 30 November 1972 we recognized and denounced all the causes and defects of our political instability, our economic stagnation and our socio-cultural alienation. Without any ambiguity, we cited alien domination as the primary source of those causes and defects.

It was for that reason that on 30 November 1972 we also decided to break radically and definitively with our sad and shameful colonial and neo-colonial past by defining clearly our future relations of brotherhood, friendship and co-operation with all peoples and all foreign countries in these terms:

"The relations of the People's Republic of Benin with foreign countries must henceforth be based on the principles of non-alignment, equality, mutual respect for sovereignty, reciprocal benefits and national dignity."

#### *The defeat of the mercenaries of Sunday 16 January 1977*

By means of this clear definition of our relations with fraternal and friendly countries throughout the world, we Beninese inteded henceforth to assume full responsibility for our own future in all fields.

But so just and noble a mission of national liberation could not be carried out if confusion existed at the national or international levels. It is for that reason that on 30 November 1974, at Goho, we definitively chose the socialist road to development, based on Marxism-Leninism.

And that is also the reason why on 30 November 1975 we created our avant-garde Party, a new type of party, the Party of the exploited social classes and strata in Benin, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, and established the People's Republic of Benin.

Since then, all the objective conditions have been created to enable all Beninese people to regain confidence in themselves and give free rein to their creative genius and all their energy so as to tackle all the tasks of nation-building with courage and determination.

At a time when our militant people expected all their friends to give them firm political, economic and socio-cultural support with a view to the accomplishment of the huge task of nation-building which they had just assumed freely in full exercise of their sovereignty, they were basely and treacherously made the victims of an armed imperialist aggression aimed at colonial reconquest on Sunday 16 January 1977, regrettably with the guilty complicity of certain countries which according to the dictates of history and reason should have been included among their best friends.

You will readily understand that the relations of brotherhood, friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of Benin and the countries whose citizens had taken an active part in the ignoble and barbarous aggression of Sunday 16 January 1977 were seriously impaired.

As you are now fully aware, the horde of mercenaries recruited, financed and armed by the enemies of the Beninese people and their democratic people's revolution included a large number of French citizens. What is even more serious and unacceptable is the fact that the leader of that horde of mercenaries is a French colonel called Bourgeaud, alias Colonel Maurin, alias Bob Denard, an international mercenary who is constantly boasting to the press that he has given our people a slap and is actively preparing to give them a punch on the next occasion, on express instructions from his masters.

In view of the silence of the competent French authorities regarding such statements by a French citizen, internationally known as a mercenary, we in Benin wonder whether the armed aggression aimed at the colonial reconquest of our country did not have the moral and material support of certain French authorities occupying a high place in the French State hierarchy.

Moreover, all the official representations by the Beninese Government vis-à-vis the French Government aimed at arranging for the extradition of the French mercenaries so that they may be judged by the competent Beninese courts have thus far elicited no favourable reaction.

For that reason, we hope that your current visit will enable us to understand the point of view of the French Government regarding these serious events, which caused our people to mourn and resulted in enormous human and material damage to our country, the People's Republic of Benin.

In any event, the Revolutionary Military Government, on behalf of the militant revolutionary people of our country, the People's Republic of Benin, has not failed to denounce publicly and condemn firmly in international forums, such as the Security Council, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the movement of non-aligned countries, all countries, no matter how friendly, whose citizens basely, treacherously and ignobly participated in the imperialist armed aggression aimed at the colonial reconquest of our country, Benin, on Sunday 16 January 1977.

We must, however, acknowledge that despite the deterioration in the political climate between your country, the French Republic, and our country, the People's Republic of Benin, our relations of co-operation have not been interrupted, although they have suffered from a certain marked stagnation.

We therefore sincerely hope that your present visit to our country is a sign of the French Government's desire to see our relations of friendship and co-operation in all fields return to normal, on new, sound and solid foundations. Those are the wishes we express on behalf of the militant Beninese people as a whole and their democratic people's revolution.

Once again, we welcome you to the free land of Benin.  
Ready for the revolution! The struggle continues.

## DOCUMENT S/13366

### Letter dated 30 May 1979 from the representative of Gabon to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[30 May 1979]

Further to the corrigendum issued by the representative of Benin—document S/13304/Corr.1 of 25 May 1979—I have the honour to transmit a press release to you herewith.

I shall be very grateful if you will circulate this press release as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Léon N'DONG  
Permanent Representative  
of the Gabonese Republic  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Press release

Further to the corrigendum issued by the Permanent Representative of Benin to the United Nations—document S/13304/Corr.1 of 25 May 1979: annex II, instead of Léon Mba, read Germain M'Ba—the Gabonese delegation wishes to reaffirm the position of its country as set forth in document S/13347 of 23 May. The corrigendum of 25 May issued by the representative of Benin does not modify the mendacious, tendentious and defamatory character of the part of the article by Jon Bradshaw concerning Gabon.

In the light of the aforementioned corrigendum, the sentence in question would read as follows: "He was instrumental in the death of Germain M'Ba, Bongo's chief political opponent, who was kidnapped while leaving a movie house in Libreville in 1968 and never seen again."

The Gabonese delegation, which is extremely surprised that an article signed and published in a magazine should have been corrected by a third party, wishes simply to recall that His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo became President on 28 November 1967 in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Gabonese Constitution. On 12 March 1968, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, dissolved all the political parties which then existed in Gabon and established a new party—the Parti Démocratique Gabonaise—which all Gabonese without distinction were called upon to

join. It was in response to that solemn appeal by the President of Gabon that Germain M'Ba voluntarily returned to Gabon to place himself at the service of his country. Some time later, he was appointed Counsellor for Economic Affairs in our Embassy at Bonn (Federal Republic of Germany), while simultaneously performing the functions of Special Adviser on Economic Affairs to the President of the Republic. Subsequently, he became Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Gabonese Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany at Bonn until 1971. Consequently, any claim that Germain M'Ba was killed in 1968 in the macabre circumstances described in the article is completely untrue and constitutes a trumped-up story in very poor taste.

New York, 30 May 1979

## DOCUMENT S/13367\*

### Letter dated 31 May 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[31 May 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Shameful defeat of the clique of Vietnamese aggressors in the non-aligned movement".

I shall be grateful if you will circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Permanent Representative *a.i.*  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Shameful defeat of the clique of Vietnamese aggressors in the non-aligned movement"

Viet Nam brazenly considers itself the most progressive non-aligned country. But it has sent more than 100,000 troops to attack and invade Kampuchea, which is a member of the non-aligned movement, thus scorning and trampling underfoot with extreme arrogance the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement. The whole world and, in particular, the non-aligned countries have strongly opposed Viet Nam and have censured it severely for that aggression.

In specific terms, at two meetings of the Security Council in January and March this year, the non-aligned countries, together with the other States members of the Council, severely condemned the Vietnamese aggression and demanded the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops that were committing aggression against Kampuchea. Faced with the condemnation of all the non-aligned countries and of all countries committed to peace and justice in the world, the clique of Vietnamese aggressors at first denied that they had attacked and invaded Kampuchea, alleging that there had been a so-called internal rebellion. Subsequently, unable to camouflage its invasion of and aggression against Kampuchea, the clique of Vietnamese aggressors embarked on the basest manoeuvres to legalize its invasion, with a view to occupying the territory of Kampuchea permanently. Simultaneously, Viet Nam and its Soviet master carried out many secret and overt activities, used enticement and trickery and exerted pressure on various countries, especially the non-aligned, to induce them to recognize the Vietnamese valets of Phnom Penh. However, the world emphatically opposed their pernicious schemes and

their criminal activities; it unmasked and denounced them. Thus, Viet Nam suffered successive ignominious defeats. But the clique of Vietnamese aggressors feels no shame on that account. It flouts international opinion, which has condemned it and is now condemning it in strong terms everywhere.

Recently, it has been stepping up its military activities in the aggression against Kampuchea, its propaganda in the international community, and its diplomatic activities to deceive world opinion, especially the non-aligned countries. It is trying to pass off its Phnom Penh valets as the "authentic representatives" of the Kampuchean people and to introduce them into the non-aligned movement, so as to have more partisans within the movement and thus to divide and undermine it.

At the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned Countries which was held on 8 May this year at United Nations Headquarters, the clique of Vietnamese aggressors, without any shame, raised the question of the recognition by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Phnom Penh régime, the puppet of the Vietnamese, and also the matter of its participation in the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned movement which is to be held soon at Colombo (Sri Lanka). However, almost all the members of the Co-ordinating Bureau strongly opposed this request by Viet Nam. That is because they continue to regard the Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the only legal and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people and as a full member of the non-aligned movement. Accordingly the Co-ordinating Bureau decided to invite the representative of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to participate in the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned movement at Colombo and refused to recognize the Phnom Penh puppet régime of the Vietnamese.

This constitutes for the clique of Vietnamese aggressors a further shameful defeat in the international community and a brilliant victory for the Kampuchean people, who are struggling for independence, peace and non-alignment, and for all countries committed to peace and justice in the world.

The Kampuchean people consider this last decision of our non-aligned movement as an act of justice and an expression of solidarity with themselves, who are the victims of the expansionist and aggressive acts of Viet Nam, fully supported by the Soviet expansionists. At the same time, they regard this decision as expressing the encouragement and support of the non-aligned movement for the brave struggle they are waging against Vietnamese aggression to defend their national independence, sovereignty and dignity and to preserve and defend their consistently non-aligned position.

The Kampuchean people take this opportunity to express their deepest gratitude to all the non-aligned countries that have supported Democratic Kampuchea.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/291-S/13367.



DOCUMENT S/13368

Letter dated 31 May 1979 from the representative of Kuwait  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[31 May 1979]

I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the meetings of the Council to be convened pursuant to the request by the representative of Lebanon, which is contained in document S/13356.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENTS S/13369 AND ADD.1

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for  
the period 1 December 1978 to 31 May 1979

DOCUMENT S/13369

[Original: English]  
[31 May 1979]

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ANNEX

Map. "Deployment of UNFICYP, May 1979". (See end of volume.)

INTRODUCTION

1. The present report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus covers developments from 1 December 1978 to 31 May 1979 and brings up to date the record of activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), pursuant to the mandate laid down in Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and subsequent resolutions of the Council

concerning Cyprus, including, most recently, resolution 443 (1978) of 14 December 1978.

2. In its resolution 440 (1978) of 27 November 1978, the Security Council called upon the parties to comply with and co-operate in the implementation of the Council's resolutions within a specific time-frame, urged the representatives of the two communities to resume negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on an agreed basis, and requested me to report by 30 May 1979 on the efforts made in this regard and on progress towards the implementation of its resolutions. In its resolution 443 (1978), the Council requested me to continue the mission of good offices, entrusted to me in paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975), to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of resolution 443 (1978) by 31 May 1979. Developments on these subjects are summarized in section V of this report.

I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF UNFICYP

3. The table below shows the strength of UNFICYP as of 31 May 1979:

MILITARY PERSONNEL			
<i>Austria</i>			
HQ UNFICYP .....	5		
Infantry battalion UNAB 15 .....	319		
Military police company .....	6	330	
<i>Canada</i>			
HQ UNFICYP .....	8		
Infantry battalion—3 <sup>e</sup> Bataillon, Royal 22 <sup>e</sup> Regiment .....	468		
Signal squadron .....	19		
Medical centre .....	7		
Military police company .....	13	515	
<i>Denmark</i>			
HQ UNFICYP .....	5		
Infantry battalion—UN XXXI .....	347		
Military police company .....	13	365	

<i>Finland</i>		
HQ UNFICYP .....	6	
Military police company .....	5	11
<i>Ireland</i>		
HQ UNFICYP .....	7	7
<i>Sweden</i>		
HQ UNFICYP .....	8	
Infantry battalion UN 73C .....	406	
Military police company .....	13	427
<i>United Kingdom</i>		
HQ UNFICYP .....	24	
HQ BRITCON .....	5	
Armoured reconnaissance squadron—B		
Squadron Life Guards .....	119	
Infantry battalion—41 Commando Royal		
Marines .....	342	
HQ UNFICYP support regiment .....	40	
Engineer detachment .....	8	
Signals squadron .....	53	
Army aviation flight .....	19	
Transport squadron .....	101	
Medical centre .....	6	
Ordnance detachment .....	15	
Workshop .....	39	
Military police company .....	8	
B Flight 84 Squadron, RAF (Whirlwind) ...	38	817
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 472</b>
<b>CIVILIAN POLICE</b>		
Australia .....	20	
Sweden .....	14	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34</b>
	<b>TOTAL UNFICYP</b>	<b>2 506</b>

4. During the period under review, the Government of Austria, in consultation with the Secretariat, temporarily increased the number of engineers by 15 for the period from February to July 1979, in order to carry out some urgent work in the Austrian contingent base camp at Famagusta. In addition, the strength of the Austrian contingent was increased by a further three to a total of 330 to improve the operational capability of the contingent. The strength of the Danish contingent was increased from 360 to 365 in order to man an additional observation post.

5. The Secretary-General is keeping the strength of the Force under constant review, bearing in mind the manning requirements for carrying out the operational commitment of UNFICYP under its mandate and financial limitations.

6. The current detailed deployment of UNFICYP is shown on the map attached to the present report.

7. Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl continues to be my Special Representative in Cyprus, and the Force remains under the command of Major-General James Joseph Quinn.

## II. UNFICYP OPERATIONS FROM 1 DECEMBER 1978 TO 31 MAY 1979

### A. Mandate and concept of operations

8. The function of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus was originally defined by the Security

Council in its resolution 186 (1964) in the following terms:

“in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions”.

That mandate, which was conceived in the context of the confrontation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, and between the Cyprus National Guard and the Turkish Cypriot fighters, has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the Council, most recently in its resolution 443 (1978). In connexion with the events that have occurred since 15 July 1974, the Council adopted a number of resolutions, some of which have affected the functioning of UNFICYP and, in some cases, have required UNFICYP to perform certain additional or modified functions.<sup>12</sup>

9. UNFICYP continues to supervise the cease-fire lines of the National Guard and of the Turkish forces and to use its best efforts to prevent the recurrence of the fighting (see part D). It also continues to provide security for civilians engaged in peaceful activities in the area between the lines, in accordance with its normalization functions (see part E).

10. UNFICYP continues to use its best efforts to discharge its functions with regard to the security, welfare and well-being of the Greek Cypriots living in the northern part of the island. The freedom of movement of UNFICYP in the north, though still subject to restrictions, is sufficient for it to carry out humanitarian work on a satisfactory scale (see parts C and G).

11. UNFICYP has continued to visit on a regular basis Turkish Cypriots still residing in the south (see para. 35).

12. In addition, UNFICYP has continued to function in support of the relief operations co-ordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in co-operation with the World Food Programme (see para. 41). It has also continued to discharge certain functions handed over by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) at the time of the withdrawal of its delegation from Cyprus in June 1977. Delegates from the ICRC visited Cyprus in December 1978 and May 1979 and travelled widely throughout the island, conferring with officials of the Cyprus Government, the Turkish Cypriot community and UNFICYP.

### B. Liaison and co-operation

13. UNFICYP has continued to emphasize the essential requirement of full co-operation at all levels to enable it to carry out its role effectively. These efforts have been met with a positive response from both sides.

<sup>12</sup> These include resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July, 354 (1974) of 23 July, 355 (1974) of 1 August, 357 (1974) of 14 August, 358 (1974) and 359 (1974) of 15 August, 360 (1974) of 16 August, 361 (1974) of 30 August, 364 (1974) and 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, 367 (1975) of 12 March, 370 (1975) of 13 June and 383 (1975) of 13 December 1975, 391 (1976) of 15 June and 401 (1976) of 14 December 1976, 410 (1977) of 15 June, 414 (1977) of 15 September and 422 (1977) of 15 December 1977, 430 (1978) of 16 June and 443 (1978) of 14 December 1978.

Liaison between UNFICYP and both the Turkish forces and the National Guard remains satisfactory. The existing channels of communication at different levels between the military leadership of UNFICYP and the National Guard and the Turkish forces have continued to function satisfactorily to the benefit of all concerned.

#### C. Freedom of movement of UNFICYP

14. The situation in regard to UNFICYP access to the north and to Greek Cypriots living in the north as well as from its installations situated in the north to those between the lines has remained essentially as it was described in my last report [S/12946 of 1 December 1978, paras. 15-17]. UNFICYP officers can speak to Greek Cypriots in the north in privacy, but are not permitted to move beyond Rizokarpaso.

15. In that connexion, a welcome improvement is the opening for UNFICYP personnel of the Nicosia-Myrtou-Kyrenia road. This greatly facilitates the operation of resupplying the Maronite villages to the north. Further expansion of UNFICYP freedom of movement is currently under discussion with the Turkish Cypriot side.

16. Freedom of movement of UNFICYP has also occasionally been limited by the National Guard in the vicinity of the cease-fire line. One such case has yet to be resolved.

17. Problems connected with the use of privately owned motor vehicles, which were mentioned in my last report [*ibid.*, para 18] have now been resolved and a workable arrangement has been found.

#### D. Maintenance of the cease-fire

18. UNFICYP surveillance over the area between the cease-fire lines is based upon a system of 135 observation posts, 65 of which are permanently manned. Standing patrols are deployed as required to help resolve cease-fire violations, and mobile patrols are conducted by day and night. The combination of a static surveillance system and a mobile one ensures the necessary continuous surveillance of the cease-fire lines and enables UNFICYP to react speedily to any incident.

19. A project is under way to improve the United Nations patrol track, which runs through the length of the buffer zone. When this work is completed in the next few months, UNFICYP ability to monitor the cease-fire will be improved by further reducing reaction time and cutting operational costs.

20. UNFICYP has continued to investigate all confirmed shooting incidents and movements and construction forward of the cease-fire lines. The nature and frequency of these incidents has remained essentially unchanged since my last report [*ibid.*, paras. 20-22]. Good channels of communication and liaison between UNFICYP and the two sides have allowed the United Nations Force to deal promptly with problems of this nature and to put an end to any violations of the cease-fire.

21. There have been cases of encroachment by construction of new positions forward of the cease-fire lines. After UNFICYP intervention, such positions have, with one exception, all been dismantled. Improvements to existing positions and construction of new defensive

fortifications by the National Guard on or very close to the cease-fire line, though at a reduced pace, have caused concern to UNFICYP and have been protested by the Turkish side. UNFICYP is continuing its negotiations with the Cyprus Government with a view to having such activity discontinued wherever it may be regarded as provocative.

#### E. Maintenance of the status quo

22. The cease-fire lines extend to a length of about 180 kilometres across the island, from Kato Pyrgos on the north-west coast to Dherinia, near the east coast south of Famagusta. The total area between the lines, the width of which ranges from 20 metres at some points to 7 kilometres in others, covers about 3 per cent of the land area of the island. The UNFICYP position in this area, and its function in maintaining the cease-fire and the *status quo*, including peaceful civilian activities, without prejudice to an eventual political settlement concerning the disposition of the area, have been described in past reports [see S/12253 of 9 December 1976, para. 19].

23. As explained in my last report [S/12946, para. 24], maintenance of the *status quo* in the confrontation area within urban Nicosia in particular remains a matter of some concern to UNFICYP.

24. Efforts are continuing to resolve the problem of different interpretations of the cease-fire lines [*ibid.*, para. 25]. The delineation of two minor parts of the Turkish forces' cease-fire line has been agreed upon. Negotiations are also under way with the National Guard to resolve remaining differences of interpretation.

25. UNFICYP has endeavoured to facilitate normal farming activity in the area between the lines, especially by providing escorts to enable farmers to work their fields and orchards in sensitive areas. Currently, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot farmers work some 160 different locations in this area.

26. Quantities of commercial commodities and other movable properties have been removed from houses and other premises in the new town of Famagusta (Varosha) during the period under review, but on a lesser scale than previously [*ibid.*, para. 27]. The Turkish Cypriot authorities have indicated that records are being kept and that certain properties will be accounted for in the event of a political agreement.

#### F. Mines

27. No additional confirmed mine fields have been detected in the past six months. A project to improve the mine-field warning sign system to reduce further the potential danger to civilians and UNFICYP personnel has been completed.

#### G. Humanitarian functions and normalization of conditions

28. UNFICYP continues to discharge humanitarian functions and to promote normalization of the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north. Temporary visits to the south for family reasons have continued to be made possible on an *ad hoc* basis, both directly and through the good offices of UNFICYP. As to visits to the north for Greek Cypriots residing abroad, the situation has remained unchanged since my last re-



port [*ibid.*, para. 30]. The Turkish Cypriot authorities have taken the position that Greek Cypriots abroad may also approach the Turkish Cypriot offices in London and New York for that purpose.

29. Permanent transfers of Greek Cypriots from north to south have decreased markedly during the period under review. The total number of such transfers was 15, compared to 150 during the previous six-month period [*ibid.*, para. 10]. The Greek Cypriot population in the north is now 1,548. No Maronites moved south during the period, 70 had done so during the last period. All transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily.

30. The situation of the two Greek Cypriot primary schools operating in the north has not changed since the last report. The school in Ayia Trias, where there are 58 pupils, still has only one teacher. UNFICYP has repeatedly approached the Turkish Cypriot authorities to secure permission for the appointment of a second teacher. In the other primary school at Rizokarpaso, there are five teachers for 164 pupils. Permission continues to be denied to have a class added to the Rizokarpaso primary school to provide one year of secondary schooling there. Through the good offices of UNFICYP, permission was granted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for 193 Greek Cypriot children, who are attending secondary school in the south, to spend the Christmas holidays in their homes in the Karpas, and for 196 Greek Cypriot children to spend the Easter holidays with their parents. The same facilities were granted for Maronite children attending school in the south and whose families reside in the north.

31. Contacts between members of the Maronite group residing on opposite sides of the cease-fire lines are frequent. In the north they enjoy considerable freedom of movement and visits across the cease-fire lines are arranged on an *ad hoc* basis. UNFICYP is currently discussing with the Turkish Cypriot authorities complaints by Maronites who moved south with regard to the alleged uncompensated use of land they left in the north.

32. As for medical care available to the Greek Cypriots in the north, the situation remains as described in my last report [*ibid.*, para. 35].

33. Complaints by Greek Cypriot farmers in the Rizokarpaso area that they had been prevented from farming remote fields were denied by the Turkish Cypriot authorities, who indicated that all farmers in the area were being treated equally.

34. No restrictions on freedom of worship in the north have been reported for the period under review.

35. Periodic visits by UNFICYP officials to the Turkish Cypriots living in the south are continuing and contact with their relatives in the north is maintained.

36. Further meetings on the Nicosia sewerage project, on which agreement was reached in September 1978 [*ibid.*, para. 54], have been held between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme. In connexion with this project, UNFICYP has provided escorts for inspection of the construction site and facilitated the transfer of equipment. Agreement was recently reached by the two communities regarding contract speci-

fications and related matters, and construction work is expected to commence in June.

### III. THE CIVILIAN POLICE ELEMENT OF THE FORCE (UNCIVPOL)

37. UNCIVPOL continues to be deployed in support of military units and operates in close liaison with both the Cyprus police and the Turkish Cypriot police. UNCIVPOL contributes to the maintenance of law and order in the area between the lines and to the protection of the civilian population, particularly in areas where intercommunal problems exist. It assists in the control of the movement of civilians in the area between the cease-fire lines, escorts persons transferring from the north to the south and vice versa, inquires into complaints of criminal activity with intercommunal content and, in the north, distributes social welfare payments to Greek Cypriots in their habitations, in addition to monitoring their welfare. UNCIVPOL also assisted in returning some Turkish Cypriots who had wandered into the south.

38. UNCIVPOL continues to maintain a missing persons bureau at UNFICYP headquarters. As will be recalled, agreement in principle was reached at the high-level meeting of 12 February 1977 to set up a joint investigatory body for the tracing of and accounting for missing persons of both communities [S/12342 of 7 June 1977, para. 32, and S/12463 of 1 December 1977, para. 39]. Despite intensive consultations, differences remained regarding the terms of reference of that body, particularly the precise role and identity of its third member.

39. On 16 December 1977, the General Assembly adopted resolution 32/128, which provided for a representative of the ICRC to be the third member of the missing persons committee. Initially, both sides expressed their support of that resolution. Subsequently, however, difficulties arose in connexion with the role of the ICRC representative. On 20 December 1978, the General Assembly adopted resolution 33/172, which provided that the investigatory body should be under the chairmanship of a representative of the Secretary-General with the co-operation of the ICRC; the representative of the Secretary-General was to be empowered, in case of disagreement, "to reach a binding independent opinion which shall be implemented". Following the adoption of that resolution, the Turkish Cypriot side reiterated its adherence to the provisions of resolution 32/128. It was evident that implementation of resolution 33/172 would depend in the first instance on the readiness of both parties to appoint their representatives to the investigatory body, as called for in paragraph 2 of the resolution. One of the parties was not prepared to do so. The Secretary-General raised the question of the committee on missing persons in the course of the high-level meeting held at Nicosia on 18-19 May 1979, and agreement was reached on a proposal put forward by him for the solution of the problem. Mr. Denktas̄ undertook to submit this agreement to the appropriate authorities.

### IV. HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

40. Since my last report, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has continued, at my request

to assist the displaced and needy population on the island in his capacity as Co-ordinator of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance for Cyprus.

41. The Co-ordinator's programme, financed from cash contributions from Governments, continues to concentrate on the provision of temporary accommodation, health facilities, schools and educational materials, funds for agricultural and reforestation projects and various welfare projects. The 1979 programme provides \$16,020,408 for the financing of 27 projects. Some 23,000 Turkish Cypriots, who are listed as displaced and needy, are being provided with food and other basic supplies, mainly channelled through the United Nations assistance programme. The 1,551 Greek Cypriots and some 606 Maronites in the north who are in need of assistance receive food rations and allowances through the distribution centres.

42. UNFICYP has continued to support the Co-ordinator's relief programme by delivering food supplies and other items. A total of 848 tons of relief supplies was distributed or delivered during the period under review through UNFICYP facilities. This included 577 tons, representing 253 truckloads of foodstuffs, clothing, gas and diesel oil, delivered to Greek Cypriots and Maronites in the north, and 271 tons, i.e. 69 truckloads, delivered to the Turkish Cypriots in the north. Since August 1974, a total of 18,006 tons of relief supplies have been provided to Greek Cypriots and Maronites in the north and 17,547 tons to Turkish Cypriots.

43. During the period under review, UNCIWPOL distributed social welfare payments to the Greek Cypriots in the north in the amount of £C 86,980.

44. In the medical field, UNFICYP provides emergency medical services, including medical evacuation by ambulance or helicopter. Delivery of medicines to the Turkish Cypriot community is made on a regular basis, and emergency requests for medicines are met immediately.

45. As part of its involvement in economic affairs, UNFICYP continues to provide escorts for work parties, farmers, inspection teams and anti-malaria spraying teams in the area between the lines. Other economic functions include the delivery of mail and postal parcels, as well as delivery of spare parts and equipment for water supply and electricity installations, and rendering assistance in the recovery of movable property.

#### V. GOOD OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

46. I have actively pursued the mission of good offices entrusted to me by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975) and continued by subsequent resolutions, including most recently resolution 443 (1978). In this connexion, I have borne in mind the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 33/15 of 9 November 1978 and Security Council resolution 440 (1978).

47. In my last report to the Security Council [S/12946, para. 57], I mentioned that certain specific suggestions, intended to provide a framework for a settlement of the Cyprus problem and to contribute to the resumption of intercommunal negotiations, had been submitted to the parties and to myself on 10 November 1978. At the time, those suggestions were being con-

sidered by all concerned. In this connexion, I held detailed discussions from 14 to 18 December with Foreign Minister Rolandis of Cyprus, who had come to New York at the request of President Kyprianou for consultations concerning the difficulties being encountered in relation to the 10 November suggestions. Mr. Rolandis suggested that I might undertake a new initiative in devising an agreed basis and agenda for the resumption of the negotiating process, taking into account the various proposals and suggestions that had been put forward in that regard. In indicating my readiness to make a renewed effort along these lines, I suggested the possibility of a high-level meeting under my personal auspices, which might adopt the agreed agenda and refer it to the interlocutors as a basis for their work.

48. In the light of these consultations, the first of a series of tentative working papers was submitted to the parties on 19 December. On 10 January 1979, the Greek Cypriot side informed my Special Representative that it accepted that paper. Consultations were also held by my Special Representative in Cyprus with Mr. Denktas, who submitted to him on 9 January a set of suggested revisions and amendments to the paper of 19 December. However, Mr. Denktas stressed that he appreciated my initiative; he underlined the Turkish Cypriot community's constructive attitude towards it, and encouraged me to try to secure the prior agreement of the parties to an agenda for the resumed talks.

49. Over the next two months, intensive efforts were exerted, in consultation with all concerned in New York and at Nicosia, to bridge the substantial differences between the parties and to produce a working paper that would command the support of all concerned. This consultation process helped to pin-point the outstanding issues and served as a proving ground for testing substantive proposals. However, despite all the efforts, wide differences remained on several major issues.

50. On 4 April, I received a visit at Geneva from Mr. Rolandis, who handed to me a letter with an attached aide-memoire concerning the Greek Cypriot position and observations concerning the Turkish Cypriot position. Mr. Rolandis indicated that the Greek-Cypriot community would welcome it if I would convene a high-level meeting for the purpose of devising an agreed basis and agenda for the resumption of the negotiating process. On 9 April, I met in Zurich with Mr. Atakol, who reaffirmed the position of the Turkish Cypriot community favouring a high-level meeting. On 11 April it was announced that the parties had agreed in principle to such a meeting.

51. The high-level meeting was held at UNFICYP headquarters at Nicosia, under my personal auspices, on 18 and 19 May. On the latter day, after intensive negotiations, the following communiqué was agreed:

"1. It was agreed to resume the intercommunal talks on 15 June 1979.

"2. The basis for the talks will be the Makarios/Denktas guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.

"3. There should be respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all citizens of the Republic.



"4. The talks will deal with all territorial and constitutional aspects.

"5. Priority will be given to reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under United Nations auspices simultaneously with the beginning of the consideration by the interlocutors of the constitutional and territorial aspects of a comprehensive settlement. After agreement on Varosha has been reached, it will be implemented without awaiting the outcome of the discussion on other aspects of the Cyprus problem.

"6. It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions.

"7. The demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus is envisaged, and matters relating thereto will be discussed.

"8. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-alignment of the Republic should be adequately guaranteed against union in whole or in part with any other country and against any form of partition or secession.

"9. The intercommunal talks will be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay.

"10. The intercommunal talks will take place at Nicosia."

Agreement was also reached on a proposal put forward by me regarding the Committee on Missing Persons (see para. 39 above).

52. Mr. Denktaş announced on 21 May that Mr. Umit Suleiman Onan would remain as the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor for the talks. On 31 May, Mr. Kyprianou announced the appointment of Mr. George Ioannides as the Greek Cypriot interlocutor.

## VI. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

53. Voluntary contributions in the amount of approximately \$238.1 million have been paid to the UNFICYP Special Account by 64 Member States and one non-member Government in respect of the periods from the inception of the Force on 27 March 1964 to 15 June 1979. In addition, voluntary contributions from public sources, interest earned on investment of temporarily undisbursed funds and other miscellaneous income received by the Account have totalled about \$6.3 million. Accordingly, some \$244.4 million have so far been made available to the UNFICYP Special Account towards meeting the costs of UNFICYP to the United Nations for the periods through 15 June 1979.

54. The costs to be borne by the United Nations for the operation of UNFICYP for the periods from the inception of the Force to 15 June 1979 are estimated at \$309.3 million. This figure includes the direct cost to the United Nations of maintaining the Force in Cyprus, as well as the amounts to be paid to Governments providing contingents in respect of their extra and extraordinary costs for which they seek to be reimbursed by the United Nations. The amount of \$244.4 million so far received by the UNFICYP Special Account falls short of the requirement of \$309.3 million indicated above by approximately \$64.9 million. However, in addition to

the voluntary contributions that have already been paid to the Account, some \$100,000 are expected to be received in due course against pledges made by Governments but not yet paid by them.

55. If to the amount of \$244.4 million so far received the amount of \$100,000 of anticipated receipts is added, the receipts of the UNFICYP Special Account since March 1964 can then be expected to total approximately \$244.5 million. The difference between this figure and the costs of approximately \$309.3 million to be met becomes \$64.8 million. Accordingly, unless additional contributions from existing or new pledges are received before 15 June 1979, the UNFICYP Special Account deficit as of that date will be \$64.8 million.

56. If the Security Council should decide to extend for six months beyond 15 June 1979 the period during which the Force is to be stationed in Cyprus, it is estimated that the additional cost to the Organization for the Force at approximately its present strength, assuming continuance of present reimbursement commitments, would amount to approximately \$12.1 million, as detailed below.

### UNFICYP COST ESTIMATE BY MAJOR CATEGORY OF EXPENSE (thousands of US dollars)

<b>I. Operational costs incurred by the United Nations</b>	
Movement of contingents .....	178
Operational expenses .....	1 225
Rental of premises .....	410
Rations .....	845
Non-military personnel, salaries, travel, etc.	1 365
Miscellaneous and contingencies .....	200
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4 223</b>
<b>II. Reimbursement of extra costs of Governments providing contingents</b>	
Pay and allowances .....	7 100
Contingent-owned equipment .....	700
Death and disability awards .....	100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7 900</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>12 123</b>

57. The above costs of UNFICYP for the next six-month period, which will have to be covered by voluntary contributions, do not reflect the full cost of this operation to Member and non-member States. In fact, they exclude the regular cost that would be incurred by the troop contributors if their contingents were serving at home (i.e., regular pay and allowances and normal *matériel* costs), as well as such extra and extraordinary costs as the troop contributors have agreed to absorb at no cost to the United Nations. The troop-contributing Governments have informed me that the costs of UNFICYP absorbed by them are of the order of \$17.7 million for each six-month mandate period. Accordingly, the full costs of UNFICYP to Member and non-member States for the next six-month period are estimated at approximately \$29.8 million.

58. In order to finance the costs to the Organization of maintaining the Force for a period of six months after 15 June 1979 and to meet all costs and outstanding claims up to that date, it will be necessary to receive voluntary contributions to the UNFICYP Special Account totalling \$76.9 million.



## VII. OBSERVATIONS

59. During the period under review, UNFICYP has continued, in co-operation with the parties, to keep the peace along the cease-fire lines. There have been no serious breaches of the cease-fire by shooting or by movement forward. The well established system of surveillance, combining static and mobile controls, has enabled UNFICYP to react quickly to incidents and prevent possible escalation.

60. In the buffer zone between the lines, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot farmers have been working their land in approximately 160 different locations without incident. Especially in the more sensitive areas, civilian activities of this kind depend on the provision of the necessary escorts by UNFICYP. The strength of the Force has been kept under review; on the basis of reports from my Special Representative and the Force Commander, I consider that any reduction would be inadvisable at this time.

61. In section V of the present report, I gave an account of my efforts, in pursuance of the mission of good offices entrusted to me by the Security Council, to initiate an effective negotiating process with a view to achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. Those efforts which were pursued intensively during the period under review culminated in the high-level meeting that was held at Nicosia under my personal auspices from 18 to 19 May 1979. In the course of that meeting, agreement was reached on a basis for the resumption of the intercommunal talks, and this was recorded in a 10-point communiqué. The talks are scheduled to start on 15 June, bringing to an end a hiatus of more than two years.

62. The 19 May agreement constituted a heartening outcome of the high-level meeting, which I had agreed to convene despite considerable uncertainty as to the chances of breaking the impasse between the parties over the basis for any resumed negotiations. I was pleased to note that a spirit of enlightened statesmanship and co-operation prevailed at the meeting. This was most helpful in overcoming the great difficulties in the way of the agreement, which I consider to be a sound basis for restarting the negotiating process. The agreement also represents, in my view, an appropriate response to the wish expressed by the Security Council in its resolution 440 (1978).

63. It should be emphasized that while the agreement of 19 May delineates the basis and priorities for the forthcoming talks, it does not resolve—and indeed was not meant to resolve—the substantive differences confronting the parties. The negotiations are bound to be arduous. I and my representatives will of course exert every effort to facilitate the work of the interlocutors. In the last analysis however it will be for the parties to demonstrate the political will and statesmanship that alone can ensure future progress. In that connexion, I wish once again to urge the parties to exercise restraint in their public statements both before and during the negotiations, so that the best possible climate is created and maintained during this delicate process. It should be noted that the talks are to be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay. It is my intention to keep the Security Council fully informed.

64. As indicated above (para. 39), the high-level meeting also achieved encouraging progress towards a solution of the differences concerning the investigatory body for the tracing of and accounting for missing persons of both communities. I hope that the agreement on the formula that I put forward at Nicosia will soon be finalized, so as to make it possible for this tragic problem to be settled and to remove a source of discord between the two communities.

65. In the light of the situation on the ground and of political developments, I have concluded once again that the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable. Now that the intercommunal talks are about to be resumed, it is imperative that UNFICYP should continue to perform its functions with undiminished effectiveness. In helping to maintain calm in the island, the Force also facilitates the search for a peaceful settlement. I therefore recommend to the Security Council that it extend the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. In accordance with established practice, I have undertaken consultations with the parties concerned on this subject and shall report to the Council on these consultations as soon as possible.

66. The financial situation of UNFICYP has continued to be a cause for concern during the period under review. The deficit of the UNFICYP account, including the current period, is now of the order of \$64.8 million. The claims of the troop contributing Governments in respect of extra and extraordinary costs incurred by them for which they seek to be reimbursed by the United Nations have been paid only until September 1975. As indicated in paragraph 57 above, the "extra and extraordinary costs" for which these Governments bill the United Nations represent in some cases only a fraction of the actual costs incurred by them in maintaining their contingents. The Governments concerned have conveyed to me their growing and very serious concern over the disproportionate financial burden they have been carrying. I therefore earnestly hope that Governments will respond generously to my appeals for voluntary contributions, and that Member States which have not contributed in the past will now agree to review their positions in this important matter.

67. I take this opportunity to express once again my appreciation to the Governments contributing contingents to UNFICYP, both for the excellence of the troops and for the disproportionate financial burden that they are bearing in order to make it possible to maintain this important peace-keeping operation of the United Nations. I also wish to place on record the debt of gratitude owed to those Governments which have been making voluntary financial contributions for the support of UNFICYP.

68. In concluding the present report, I wish to express my warm thanks to my Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, to the Commander of the Force, Major-General James J. Quinn, and to the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff. They have continued to carry out with exemplary efficiency and devotion the important and difficult task entrusted to them by the Security Council.

### ANNEX

[Map. "Deployment of UNFICYP, May 1979". See end of volume.]

[Original: English]  
[15 June 1979]

In my report of 31 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 65] I recommended that the Security Council extend the

stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months and I indicated that I would report to the Council on my consultations with the parties concerned on the subject as soon as possible. I am now in a position to inform the Council that the parties concerned have signified their concurrence in the proposed extension.

DOCUMENT S/13370\*

Letter dated 1 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[1 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique pays lip service to peace and wages war".

I shall be grateful if you will circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Permanent Representative a.i.  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique pays lip service to peace and wages war"

In recent times the Hanoi leaders have been loudly proclaiming that "Viet Nam is peace-loving and very concerned about peace and stability in the region of South-East Asia".

This is really the height of cynicism and effrontery.

The Hanoi leaders' words immediately aroused laughter in the entire world, especially among the countries and peoples of South-East Asia. They likewise caused deep indignation, because the very same Hanoi leaders sparked off the war which is currently ravaging "Indo-China" and is seriously threatening the peace and stability of South-East Asia. And now they dare to pose as apostles of peace!

How is Viet Nam peace-loving and how is it concerned about the peace and stability of South-East Asia? In order to give a precise reply to these questions, we have only to recall some events in order to illustrate the activities in which Viet Nam has been engaged in recent times and those that it is currently carrying out:

1. Since 18 July 1977 Viet Nam has occupied Laos "legally" under the "treaty of friendship and co-operation" which it forced Laos to sign. To date, it has dispatched more than 50,000 troops to be stationed permanently in Laos to control, exploit and repress the Lao people.

2. On 25 December 1978 Viet Nam dispatched more than 100,000 troops to attack and invade Kampuchea, thus flouting with extreme arrogance the most basic international laws, the Charter of the United Nations and all the principles of non-alignment. More than 150,000 Vietnamese troops are currently continuing their aggression against and occupation of Kam-

puchea. They have sown immense devastation and have committed countless crimes against the innocent Kampuchean nation and people, and are continuing to do so. They have sparked off their war of aggression, which is ravaging our entire country and threatens perilously to spread next to Thailand and to other countries of South-East Asia.

3. Because of the danger that the war would spread to the whole of South-East Asia, the peoples and countries of the region united to demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all the Vietnamese forces which had attacked Kampuchea and the immediate and unconditional cessation of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea. However, not only did Viet Nam scorn all their just demands, but it was seized with mad rage and began to hurl insults against the countries of South-East Asia, accusing them of opposing peace. In addition, it threatened them, telling them not to repeat "the same errors". It is currently making violent threats against Thailand. It has hurled and is hurling provocation and slander of every kind against Thailand, and it is causing frequent border incidents. Thus Viet Nam has created an extremely tense situation in the whole of South-East Asia—a situation that is ready to explode into a regional war.

These few recent incidents are evidence enough that the words of "peace" uttered by Viet Nam really mean the war of aggression. As for its "concern" about peace and stability in South-East Asia, its true concern is to carry out as soon as possible its plan for aggression and expansion throughout South-East Asia. This is the long-term strategy of Viet Nam.

All this is prompting the world and mankind as a whole, and in particular the countries and peoples throughout South-East Asia, which is situated in the sphere of the expansionist strategy of Viet Nam, to redouble their vigilance regarding the honeyed words of the Hanoi leaders, which in fact cover up poison of the most virulent kind. This is because their past experiences have clearly taught them that every time Viet Nam smiles at or embraces them, it is certain to be hatching some black intrigue against them. When Viet Nam speaks of peace, it means that it is preparing the war of aggression. When Viet Nam proposes a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" to a country, it means that it is seeking to swallow up the territory of that country and to wipe out the nation. This truth Viet Nam itself has revealed to the world by its successive actions, especially those committed since the barbarous aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. That is why the countries and peoples of South-East Asia are continuing to strengthen even further their solidarity, to fight for the total and unconditional withdrawal from Kampuchea of the Vietnamese troops of aggression and to combat resolutely the Vietnamese regional expansionists and the Soviet international expansionists, who are currently carrying out activities of aggression in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/292-S/13370.

DOCUMENT S/13373

Letter dated 31 May 1979 from the representative of Zaire to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[1 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a press release dealing with the article by Jon Bradshaw published in the 27 March 1979 issue of *Esquire*, a copy of which was sent to you by the Permanent Mission of Benin [S/13304].

The Executive Council of Zaire would like to set right once again some of the misunderstandings contained in that article.

As other delegations which have dealt with the same question, I have the honour to request you to circulate the press release as a Security Council document.

(Signed) KABEYA WA MUKEBA  
Permanent Representative of Zaire  
to the United Nations

ANNEX  
Press release

The article by Jon Bradshaw, published in the 27 March 1979 issue of *Esquire*, on the career of Bob Denard, the well-known mercenary, is certainly not without interest for the international community. What is lamentable, however, is the fact that its author is ill-informed, a short-coming which he tries to remedy

by using his fertile imagination. An example of this is the statement by the author that Bob Denard "recruited 30 mercenaries to support President Mobutu of Zaire's invasion of oil-rich Cabinda" [S/13304, annex II].

This unfounded assertion evidences the unreliability of the author, who, although dealing with an interesting subject (mercenaries), spins his story around dubious facts.

It has never been the intention of the Zairian authorities to practise a neo-imperialistic policy. The Republic of Zaire has no need to covet the natural resources within the territory of a neighbouring country because it has enough of its own.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Zaire takes this opportunity to remind international opinion of the main lines of Zaire's foreign policy. They are based on the following principles:

1. *Authentic Zairian nationalism*, involving two corollaries: positive neutralism or, in other words, non-alignment, and openness to the world without complexes and without exclusions;
2. *Zaire's dedication to Africa*: it is within this very context that Zaire has sheltered certain liberation movements.
3. *Authenticity*: this is the permanent quest for original solutions, adapted to each situation, to the various problems confronting the contemporary Zairian society.

The Permanent Mission of Zaire questions the credibility of the facts recounted in this article.

New York, 31 May 1979

DOCUMENT S/13374\*

Letter dated 4 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[4 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a summary of developments in the people's war of resistance by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Summary of developments in the people's war of resistance by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression

Throughout the territory of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors are bogged down in the guerrilla warfare being waged by the people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea which are allowing them no respite and are destroying their vital forces day by day.

1. *Battambang-Tasanh front*

(a) On 2 and 3 May, Tasanh was the scene of fierce fighting between the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and the Viet-

namese aggressors. The latter launched three attacks on Tasanh but were unsuccessful.

(b) On 2 May, from dawn to 4 p.m., our soldiers launched a fierce counter-attack against the enemy. The latter suffered more than 70 dead and many wounded.

(c) On 3 May, the Vietnamese aggressors again attacked Tasanh. Our counter-attack left nearly 100 dead in the enemy's ranks. At 4 p.m. on the same day, the Vietnamese aggressors returned to the attack against Tasanh, supported by six tanks. Our heroic soldiers, after fierce fighting, inflicted nearly 200 casualties on them and destroyed one tank.

2. *Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey-Preak Vihear front*

During the period 4-20 May, our guerrillas smashed a repressive operation carried out by a Vietnamese battalion against our population in Phum Anlong Thmar and killed 45 Vietnamese; they completely destroyed an enemy ammunition dump at Phum Kamprak. The revolutionary army of Kampuchea and the guerrillas inflicted heavy losses on the Vietnamese forces in attacks at Phum Toek Thla, at Sampeou Loun, north of Phum Chheu Kram, at Phaong, on the Kauk Mon-Phum Toek Chom road, on the Phum Antil-Srê Dam road, at Phum Kauk Mon, at Tonle Sar, on the Kauk Samrong-Banteay Chmar road and at Phum Soeng.

3. *Rattanakiri front during the period 2-15 May*

Attacks against the Vietnamese aggressors at O Smang, at Phum Svay Rieng, on national route 7 north of Stung Treng,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/294-S/13374.



and between O Bab and Rrapeang Chres. At O Dambauk, a Vietnamese regiment tried to conduct a repressive operation in the area but met with stiff resistance from our guerrillas, who killed more than 50 of the enemy.

4. *Kratie-Mondulhiri front during the period  
29 April-14 May*

Numerous attacks by our guerrillas, particularly at Koh Nhiek, at Phum Koh Moyeul Kraom, at the fork in the DEE-Pich Chinda road and on the Koh Nhiek-Kratie road. At Koh Nhiek, an enemy military vehicle struck one of our mines and all 30 of its occupants were killed.

5. *Kompong Chhnang-Kompong Speu front during  
the period 1-3 May*

Attacks between Amleang and Chreav, in the vicinity of Kbal Toek and south of Trapeang Cho.

6. *Pursat front: additional figures on enemy losses:*

- (a) On 24 April: 46 Vietnamese soldiers wiped out in the vicinity of Leach;
- (b) On 28 April: 30 Vietnamese soldiers wiped out at Prek Chik;
- (c) On 4 May: 20 Vietnamese soldiers also killed at Prek Chik.

\* \* \*

*Total Vietnamese losses on these fronts on the dates indicated:*

- (a) Nearly 2,000 aggressor soldiers wiped out, many wounded;
- (b) One tank, seven military vehicles, one ammunition dump destroyed;
- (c) Numerous weapons captured, including B40s and AK rifles.

**DOCUMENT S/13375\***

**Letter dated 5 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

[Original: French]  
[5 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "New diplomatic defeat for the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Manila".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

**ANNEX**

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "New diplomatic defeat for the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Manila"

The fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has just been held at Manila, capital of the Philippines. At the invitation of the secretariat of the Conference, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Ieng Thirith, the Minister for Social Affairs, participated in the session.

The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, its Soviet masters and their supporters were active in many ways in opposing the presence and activities of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea at the Conference. They tried to force the Conference to withhold recognition from the representatives of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to recognize instead the lackeys of the Vietnamese at Phnom Penh. However, the despicable manoeuvres and activities of this clique suffered a new, ignominious defeat when the Conference decided to recognize only the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea as the sole legal and legitimate representative of Kampuchea.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/297-S/13375.

According to the schedule established beforehand, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea was to address the Conference on 17 May. The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, furious at its successive defeats, made an intensive effort to prevent the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea from taking the floor at the fifth session of the Conference. It raised protests and called upon the officers of the session to strike the name of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea from the list of speakers. Not content with engaging in political manoeuvres, it made vile efforts to disrupt the session and to prevent our representative from taking the floor. However, the President of the Conference, disregarding the protests and provocations of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its masters, finally invited the delegate of Democratic Kampuchea to make her statement. Having thus suffered a new diplomatic defeat in the very midst of the Conference, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and its supporters ignominiously fled from the hall just as our delegate was mounting the rostrum to deliver her address.

This represents a new, bitter diplomatic defeat at the international level for the clique of Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet masters. This defeat shows clearly that the Vietnamese-Soviet expansionists, accused of the most savage, fascist crimes of aggression against Kampuchea, are utterly isolated in the international arena. All their despicable manoeuvres and activities against the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea at the fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development exposed more clearly than ever to the Conference's 5,000 participants, representing 158 countries, the arrogance, savagery and cruelty of this clique and its masters. All the participants in the Conference were well aware that, if these people are so arrogant and crude in the international arena, they are certainly more so in their exceedingly cruel fascist aggression against the innocent population of Kampuchea. The representatives of all the countries participating in the fifth session of the Conference at Manila were indignant at the utterly vile attitude of this clique. At the same time, they felt even greater sympathy for the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea and gave increased support in every manner to the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet masters.

DOCUMENT S/13376\*

Letter dated 5 June 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[5 June 1979]

I wish to draw your attention to ongoing and increasing attempts by PLO criminals based in Lebanon to conduct acts of indiscriminate terror against the civilian population of Israel.

On 4 June 1979, a coastal patrol of the Israeli Navy intercepted a speed-boat attempting to enter Israeli waters off Rosh Hanikra on the border with Lebanon. A number of missiles were spotted aboard and the boat was ordered to stop. When it resisted and tried to make off, it was engaged in an exchange of fire in the course of which it was sunk. In the wreckage a floating rocket launcher was found with a delaying device which could be operated after the "mother ship" had returned to its base in Lebanon.

This criminal attempt must be seen against the background of a series of related events. As will be recalled, the Israeli Navy foiled a similar PLO attempt against Israeli civilians at the beginning of April when the 500-ton cargo ship *Stephanie* was intercepted off Israel's Mediterranean coast. The six heavily armed terrorists aboard all admitted that they belong to Fatah, headed by Yasser Arafat, and that the object of their mission was to engage in mass murder (see my letter of 22 April [S/13264]).

On 22 April, a design of this kind took its tragic toll. On that occasion, as reported in the same letter, four PLO terrorists landed by means of a rubber dinghy at Nahariya some six miles from the Lebanese border. As a result of the ensuing violence, four Israel civilians, including two little sisters, died, and two other civilians were wounded.

All these attempts are part of a concerted PLO campaign of violence which, as you noted in your statement to the Security Council on 31 May 1979 [2146th meeting], has a direct bearing on the situation in Southern

Lebanon, even though they take place outside the area of operation of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

In the morning and evening of 24 May, civilian centres in northern Galilee were shelled from across the Lebanese border. Two persons were injured.

Also on 24 May, an explosion occurred in a supermarket at Jerusalem and one man was injured.

On 28 May, an explosive device went off on a bathing beach at Haifa, injuring one woman.

On 3 June, an explosion occurred in a bookstore at Jerusalem and as a result three people were injured.

As is its wont, the PLO boasted of its responsibility for all those incidents within hours of their occurrence through its news-agency in Lebanon, its radio station in Baghdad and on radio Damascus.

Moreover, on 30 May, a cache of sabotage *matériel* was found near Har-Dov on the Lebanese border. The cache, apparently meant to be used by PLO criminals, included Kalachnikov assault rifles, Karl Gustav machine guns, hand-grenades and several sabotage devices.

Beyond indiscriminate terror for its own sake, the purported aim of this campaign of violence by the PLO is to subvert the ongoing peace process in the Middle East.

Given the true character and aims of the terrorist PLO, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/298-S/13376.

DOCUMENT S/13377\*

Letter dated 6 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[6 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea Démocratique" entitled "It is the Vietnamese aggressors who are starving the people of Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/299-S/13377.

ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea Démocratique" entitled "It is the Vietnamese aggressors who are starving the people of Kampuchea"

Immediately after its foundation, on 17 April 1975, Democratic Kampuchea began the task of construction on the enormous devastation caused by the five-year war of aggression. Thus, we began to build Democratic Kampuchea virtually from nothing, lacking everything. But the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with its far-sighted policy, was able, with tenacity, to resolve the innumerable and complex problems of the post-war period, while fundamentally retaining its position of independence and sovereignty and relying on its own forces. Leaning on the strength of the people and the country's resources, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea was able to resolve successfully all the basic problems.

In order to resolve the problem of food-stuffs, for example, our people built dams and reservoirs, dug irrigation canals and constructed dykes, and laid out new rice-fields in a checker-board pattern throughout the countryside of Kampuchea, thus resolving the problem of water irrigation for the cultivation of rice in both the dry and rainy seasons. The yield per hectare grew steadily from year to year. Thus, within the space of only three years following the liberation, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had successfully resolved the problem of food-stuffs: our people ate their fill and had a surplus for export. All foreign guests who visited Democratic Kampuchea witnessed the successes achieved by the people of Kampuchea in that field. They praised Democratic Kampuchea, which, in only three years, had been able to resolve the problem of food-stuffs and have a surplus for export. Those results exceeded their estimates.

Democratic Kampuchea was thus not a country where famine raged, as was the case in Viet Nam. But since the Vietnamese aggressors invaded our country, they have plundered our rice and have transported it to Viet Nam by the tens and hundreds of thousands of tons. When they cannot transport it to Viet Nam, they destroy it. And their crimes do not stop there. At the approach of the rice-growing season, they have massacred our oxen and our buffaloes and destroyed our seed, ploughs,

harrows, carts and other tools of production. At present, they are continuing to oppress and massacre our people in order to prevent them from engaging in production and resolving the problem of food-stuffs. They confine the people to the areas which they control in order also to prevent them from growing crops. They do this with a view to starving the people of Kampuchea and weakening them so that they will no longer have the strength to fight against them. Their aim is to exterminate the nation of Kampuchea completely, to swallow up our territory, to integrate it into Viet Nam and to send their nationals to occupy our country permanently.

It is because of the criminal and barbarous acts of the Vietnamese aggressors that the serious threat of famine is hanging over our people this year. In order to remove the threat of famine in Kampuchea, there must no longer be any Vietnamese troops of aggression in the country. The nation and people of Kampuchea call upon international public opinion to continue and to intensify the struggle by all means in order to force Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea immediately and unconditionally so that our people can find peace again and can engage in production in a normal manner in order to meet their needs. Once peace has been restored, the people of Kampuchea will be fully capable of resolving the problem of food-stuffs completely and successfully.

## DOCUMENT S/13378

### Letter dated 6 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[6 June 1979]

I have the honour of sending to you a letter from the Deputy Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization addressed to you. It is self-explanatory as it is concerned with yet another defiance by the Zionists at Tel Aviv of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the tenets of international law.

I request Your Excellency to circulate the enclosed letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

#### LETTER DATED 6 JUNE 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

With reference to Security Council resolution 446 (1979), I would like to draw your attention to an article in *The New York Times* of 4 June 1979, in which it was reported that the Israeli Cabinet had decided to permit the establishment of a new Zionist settlement adjacent to the Palestinian town of Nablus, a highly sensitive area of the occupied West Bank. The Cabinet also authorized the confiscation of privately owned Arab land for the purpose.

The prospective settlers comprise 50 families from the ultra-rightist neo-fascist group Gush Emunim, which claims the "divine" right to create new settlements throughout occupied Palestine.

In this context I would bring to your attention an article published by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, No. 107, of 5 June 1979, where it is reported that the terrorist Menachem Begin defending the settlement of Palestinian lands claims: "settlement is a right and a duty. We have and will continue to fulfill that right and duty."

During recent weeks the world has witnessed in silence growing neo-fascist settler vigilantism, there have been several serious incidents ranging from intimidation, harassment, provocation, vandalism and even attempts to assassinate Palestinian students. Such silence has been construed by the racist Zionists as their right to pursue their policy of confiscation and colonization of Palestinian land.

Such evidence confirms the racist Zionist entity's intent to pursue its illegal occupation and colonization of Palestine in total disregard and contempt of United Nations resolutions and international opinion, and at the expense of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

I call on you to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to these illegal and highly provocative acts which aggravate tensions in the area.

(Signed) Hasan ABDEL RAHMAN  
Deputy Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations



## Letter dated 6 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the Secretary-General

[Original: Arabic/English]  
[7 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the letter dated 25 May 1979 addressed to you by Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I would like this letter to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 25 MAY 1979 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE  
LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE SECRETARY-  
GENERAL

On 23 May 1979 the Israeli Air Force launched a savage air attack on the villages of Damour and An Na'ma to the south of Beirut, inflicting a large number of casualties on the population, mostly children, women and the elderly—both Palestinian and Lebanese. At the same time, the Israeli armed forces continued their attacks by air, land and sea on the region of Southern Lebanon, directing their guns and artillery against all the residential areas in villages and camps and against schools, economic establishments and agricultural lands, causing great losses of life and property and the evacuation of a large number of the inhabitants, who became homeless. In their attacks the Israeli forces used internationally prohibited anti-personnel weapons, such as concussion, time and incendiary bombs. Moreover, their aggression was directed against the places where international forces are stationed in Southern Lebanon.

Then the Israeli leaders, with their customary arrogance, declared that the aggression against the Palestinians and Lebanon would continue and that it would be a daily task of the Israeli forces. This announcement comes at a time when some parties are still claiming that the Washington agreement concluded between the Egyptian Government and the Israeli Government, under the auspices of the Government of the United States of America, is a step towards a so-called peace. The matter has gone beyond the excuses which the Israeli aggressor uses to justify his aggression and has become an officially declared war against the Palestine Liberation Organization, against the Palestinian Arab people in their camps and against other Lebanese villages and towns. Moreover, it is a war of aggression against the sovereignty and security of the Lebanese Arab people

themselves. The war of annihilation which the aggressor Israeli authorities are waging against our people, our institutions and our camps is a crime punishable under international law and is taking place at this stage in this century in which all mankind, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of civilized nations have condemned such heinous crimes as are being perpetrated by the Israeli forces against us on land, by sea and by air. Moreover, they even boastfully announce it and declare their resolve to continue it and to regard it as part of the daily operations of their forces, as was stated by Ezer Weizman, the Minister of Defence of Israel.

But that is not all. The Zionist entity is engaging in piracy in Lebanese territorial waters and on the high seas. Its naval force destroyed two civilian ships in the ports of Sidon and Tyre, which were carrying food-stuffs and medical supplies, and Israeli naval forces seized another ship which was proceeding from Cyprus to Tripoli, carrying civilian automobiles and ambulances to Samed, which finds employment for the children and families of Palestinian martyrs and is registered with the Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs as a philanthropic organization. All this constitutes a violation of the freedom of maritime trade and is piracy punishable under international law.

We are confident that the international community will not permit the aggressor to continue his aggression and to declare boastfully that he will persist in it and in defying the international will and the prestige of international forces by aggression against the sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations, namely Lebanon, and endeavouring to annihilate our Palestinian Arab people, whose right to struggle for the restoration of their land and to return to it, to self-determination in freedom and to the establishment of an independent national state on its territory has been affirmed by the United Nations.

On grounds of national and international responsibility, I call upon you to take action to stop the aggressor and to stand by our people and their inalienable rights. I would also request you to distribute this communication to the representatives of all Member States.

YASSER ARAFAT  
Chairman of the Executive Committee  
of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
and Commander in Chief of the  
Palestine Revolutionary Forces

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/300-S/13379.

Letter dated 7 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[7 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "New trickery by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique".

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "New trickery by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique"

It will be recalled that towards the end of 1977, at the very time when Viet Nam was launching 14 divisions against Democratic Kampuchea, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique was making a great show of what it called "special friendship", "special solidarity", with the people of Kampuchea. Subsequently, when Viet Nam was making preparations to launch its second large-scale aggression against Kampuchea, Pham Van Dong was feverishly carrying out his "smiling diplomacy" manoeuvre among the countries of South-East Asia, claiming that Viet Nam was "the champion of peace", that Viet Nam "respected" the independence and sovereignty of neighbouring countries, that it wished "to coexist peacefully" with neighbouring countries and all the countries of South-East Asia etc. . . . At that time Pham Van Dong went so far as to propose to the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia) that they should work together for the establishment of a zone of peace, true independence, neutrality and progress. Yet only a few days after Pham Van Dong's return to Hanoi, Viet Nam sent more than 100,000 troops savagely to attack and invade Kampuchea. The whole world strongly opposed that aggression and vigorously denounced and condemned the Vietnamese aggressors. The whole world, in particular the ASEAN countries, called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the Vietnamese army of aggression from Kampuchea. Until now Viet Nam, with singular arrogance, has been turning a deaf ear and is continuing as if nothing had happened, to attack and invade Kampuchea, trampling underfoot all international laws and the Charter of the United Nations.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/301-S/13380.

At the present time, Viet Nam is pursuing its invasion and the escalation of its war of aggression in Kampuchea and is continuing to massacre our people. At the same time, it has massed many divisions along the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand and is continually threatening and accusing Thailand and launching military provocations against it. Worse still, Viet Nam is intensifying its invective against Thailand and arrogantly claiming that the Vietnamese troops currently stationed along the Thai frontier can arrogate to themselves the right to penetrate Thai territory in order to pursue the troops of the revolutionary army of Kampuchea. It goes so far as to threaten Thailand that it will seize a number of Thailand's frontier provinces in a matter of hours. Thus the words and the deeds of the Vietnamese aggressors reveal their dark and criminal scheme to extend their war of aggression against Kampuchea to Thailand and to continue their expansion against the countries of South-East Asia. This is clear as daylight. The peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of South-East Asia and most especially the Thai people, are perfectly well aware of it.

Nevertheless, at the very time when it is feverishly making military, political and psychological preparations to extend the war to Thailand and engaging in espionage activities for that purpose, Viet Nam, suddenly and without shame, noisily proposes a so-called treaty of non-aggression with the ASEAN countries. It even has the audacity to claim that Viet Nam, more than any other country on earth, loves peace.

This impudent declaration by the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique immediately provoked derision throughout the world. The question that was asked was, if this clique really loves peace and wants to conclude non-aggression treaties with other countries, why does it not immediately withdraw all of its army of aggression from Kampuchea? Peace and peaceful coexistence would be restored immediately in South-East Asia with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. If, on the contrary, Viet Nam persists in refusing to withdraw all of its army of aggression from Kampuchea, then all its declarations about a so-called treaty of non-aggression with the ASEAN countries will still be nothing but manoeuvres to camouflage its aggression against Kampuchea and its criminal military activities along the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand and to prepare for aggression and invasion against Thailand. They will serve only to lull the vigilance of the countries and peoples of South-East Asia in face of the Vietnamese peril. This is obvious. Having learned from the experience of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea, the countries and peoples of South-East Asia are constantly intensifying their vigilance, uniting more closely and opposing the Vietnamese-Soviet manoeuvres of aggression and expansion in the region. They are continuing to demand, more strongly than ever, the total and unconditional withdrawal, without delay, of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

#### DOCUMENT S/13381

Letter dated 31 May 1979 from the Secretary-General  
to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[7 June 1979]

I have the honour to refer to the establishment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in pursuance of Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

In April last, the Norwegian Permanent Representative informed me that his Government was obliged, for overriding administrative reasons, to withdraw the Norwegian helicopter unit from UNIFIL at the end of the present mandate. Because the helicopter unit is absolutely essential for the functioning of UNIFIL, I considered it necessary to begin searching for a suitable replacement unit without delay, in the event the Security Council should decide to extend the mandate of UNIFIL beyond 19 June.

In this connexion, the Government of Italy has informed me that it is willing to make available a replacement helicopter unit. It is my intention to accept this offer subject to the usual consultations and on the understanding that the necessary practical arrangements will be finalized only if and when the Security Council decides to extend the present mandate of UNIFIL. I am informing the Council of this matter now in order to avoid any gap in the servicing of UNIFIL in this critical area.

I should be most grateful if you would bring this matter to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

#### DOCUMENT S/13382

#### Letter dated 7 June 1979 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English/French/Russian/Spanish]  
[7 June 1979]

I have brought your letter dated 31 May 1979 [S/13381] concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon to the attention of the members of the Security Council. They considered the matter in informal consultations on 7 June and agreed with the proposals contained in your letter.

The Chinese representative has informed me that China, not having participated in the voting on resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), dissociates itself from this matter.

(Signed) Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY  
President of the Security Council

#### DOCUMENT S/13383\*

#### Letter dated 8 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[8 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a summary of developments in the people's war of resistance by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Summary of developments in the people's war of resistance by Democratic Kampuchea against the Vietnamese aggression

The revolutionary army of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean guerrillas are continuing their attacks throughout the country in order to destroy the enemy's vital forces to the greatest possible extent, particularly on the following fronts:

#### 1. Kompong Cham-Kompong Thom (30 April-9 May)

The Vietnamese armed forces of aggression suffered major losses at Chhoeu Toeun, Chrauy, Banteay and Trapeang Sangkê, in the vicinity of Chamcar Maysak near Phaum Dei Kraham, east of Boeng Ket, Arak Thnot, Tuol Sambuor and Srê Kandal, near Khtuoy and Srê Porpel, at the Stung Trang market-place, at the chief town of Speu, between Speu and Srê Veal, at Baliang and Ta Aung, at the Prêk Kak hevea plantation, between Rum-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/302-S/13383.



pong and Taing Kauk, on the Kompong Thmar-Chamcar Andaug road, and at Andaug Steay.

### 2. *Stung Treng-Kratie (5-20 May)*

Attacks were launched at Phum Phlong and east of Siempang in the Stung Treng region. In the Kratie region, there were attacks at Phum Samraung, Srê Sap and Phum Chroap, between the Sambaur district and Phum Pramê, at Srê Khtum, on national route 7 between Kratie and Sauol and in the vicinity of Svay Chres, at Srê Phes, and at Phum Khlek Klak between Mondulkiri and Kdol.

### 3. *Battambang*

On 12, 20 and 21 May, the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean guerrillas wiped out large elements of the enemy armed forces at Phum Takong, in Phum Malay and west of Mak Hoeun.

### 4. *South-western zone, south of national route 4*

During the period 1-5 May, attacks were launched along national route 4 near Phum Sbek Preal, Trapeang Keat, Anlong Phnheav, Phum Ta Am and Dambauk Khpos.

\* \* \*

#### *Provisional totals for these fronts:*

- More than 600 Vietnamese aggressors wiped out and many wounded;
- 7 military vehicles destroyed;
- 39 weapons of all types captured together with large quantities of other war *matériel* and ammunition.

## DOCUMENT S/13384

### Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon for the period from 13 January to 8 June 1979

[Original: English]  
[8 June 1979]

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#### ANNEX

Map. "UNIFIL deployment as of June 1979" (see end of volume).

#### INTRODUCTION

1. The present report describes developments relating to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the period from 13 January to 8 June 1979. Some of the information was contained in my interim report of 19 April 1979 concerning the implementation of resolution 444 (1979) [S/13258] and in my special reports of 19 April and 9 May [S/13254 and S/13308]. The purpose of the present report is to provide a comprehensive account of the activities of UNIFIL since my report of 12 January [S/13026] in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council in resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and extended by resolutions 434 (1978) and 444 (1979).

#### I. COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE FORCE

##### A. COMPOSITION AND COMMAND

2. The composition of UNIFIL as of 8 June 1979 was as follows:

<i>Infantry battalions</i>		<i>Headquarters company</i>	
Fiji .....	656	Ireland .....	129
Ireland .....	625	<i>Engineer company</i>	
Nepal .....	643	France .....	115
Netherlands .....	800	<i>Logistic units</i>	
Nigeria .....	776	France .....	494
Norway .....	653	Norway .....	289
Senegal .....	592	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 772</b>

3. In addition to the above personnel, UNIFIL is assisted by 37 military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO).

4. The Iranian infantry battalion was withdrawn in late January and the French infantry battalion in mid-March. In early March, the new Dutch infantry battalion of 800 all ranks arrived, and the Fijian, Nepalese and Nigerian contingents were strengthened by 150, 50, and 180 additional personnel, respectively. Governments have been approached to provide additional troops to bring the Force up to its authorized strength.

##### *Command*

5. Command of UNIFIL continues to be exercised by Major-General Emmanuel A. Erskine. Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo continues as the Chief Coordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East.

##### *Rotation of contingents*

6. During the present reporting period, French, Irish, Nepalese, Nigerian and Norwegian contingents carried out full rotations. The rotation of the Senegalese contingent is under way.

### Casualties

7. During the period covered by the present report, four members of UNIFIL were killed and 23 injured as a result of firing incidents. Six soldiers were killed and 15 wounded as a result of accidents.

### Discipline

8. The discipline, understanding and bearing of the members of UNIFIL, who have worked in difficult and often dangerous conditions, have been of a high order, reflecting credit on the soldiers and their commanders, as well as on the countries that contribute contingents to the Force.

### B. DEPLOYMENT

9. There has been a significant change in the deployment of the Force since the presentation of my report of 12 January 1979. With the withdrawal of the Iranian and French battalions, UNIFIL had to redeploy with seven instead of eight battalions as before.

10. The present deployment of UNIFIL is as follows (see annexed map):

(a) The Force headquarters is located at Naqoura.

(b) The Senegalese battalion is deployed in the northern part of the western sector with its headquarters at Marakah.

(c) The Fijian battalion is deployed in the southern part of the western sector. Its headquarters is at Qana.

(d) The Nigerian battalion is deployed in the northern part of the central sector with its headquarters at Tayr Zibna.

(e) The Dutch battalion is deployed in the southwestern part of the central sector. Its headquarters is at Haris.

(f) The Irish battalion is deployed in the southeastern part of the central sector. Its headquarters is at Tibnin.

(g) The Nepalese battalion is deployed in the western part of the eastern sector. Its headquarters is at Blate.

(h) The Norwegian battalion is deployed in the eastern part of the eastern sector. Its headquarters is at Ebel es Saqi.

(i) The Irish headquarters company is based at Naqoura.

(j) The French logistic component is located at Naqoura.

(k) The French engineer company is located at Ras al Lawzah.

(l) The Norwegian logistic component is deployed as follows:

(i) The maintenance company is located in the vicinity of Tibnin;

(ii) The medical company is at Naqoura;

(iii) The helicopter wing is at Naqoura.

(m) UNTSO military observers continue to man OP Lab. The other four OPs (Hin, Ras, Mar and Khiam) are manned by the Dutch, Irish, Nigerian and Norwegian battalions.

(n) A composite guard detachment is situated in Tyre Barracks. This unit of 45 men from one battalion continues to be drawn on a two-week rotation basis from all battalions in the Force.

## II. ACCOMMODATION AND LOGISTICS

### A. ACCOMMODATION

11. Since the presentation of my report of 12 January 1979, the Force has made some progress on the transfer of personnel from tented to prefabricated accommodation both in the field and at headquarters. At Naqoura the prefabricated accommodation programme is virtually completed. In addition to personnel accommodation, a prefabricated hospital complex has been made operational, and communal buildings, cook-houses, dining halls, messes and offices are now functioning in their new installations. Work on storage facilities for supplies has also progressed well. In the contingent areas, the programme inaugurated during the second mandate period to provide basic accommodation in camps and OPs continues, with units concerned providing the necessary labour. However, the project has at times been slowed down owing to the prevailing situation in the area of operation.

### B. LOGISTICS

12. Logistic support for UNIFIL continues to be provided by the French and Norwegian logistic units. The strength of the logistic components of the Force remains approximately at the same level as recorded in my report of 12 January 1979. However, in view of the nature of its functions, the French engineer company is listed separately in the present report and not as a component of the French logistic unit as before. The functions of UNIFIL logistic units remain as described in my report of 13 September 1978 [S/12845, paras. 22 and 23]. Communications continue to be provided by contingents and by Field Service officers.

13. During the period covered by the present report, UNIFIL has continued its efforts to increase purchases of supplies from Lebanese sources or through Lebanon. This it has been able to accomplish only on a modest scale in view of continuing difficulties of communication and supply. Arrangements for supplementary provisioning of the Force from the Israeli side have thus been maintained. Included in such provisioning are purchases of frozen meat and dry rations originating in Cyprus and shipped to UNIFIL through the port of Haifa.

## III. FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCE

### A. GUIDELINES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

14. The guidelines for the operation of UNIFIL are set out in my report on the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) [S/12611 of 19 March 1978], which was approved by the Security Council in its resolution 426 (1978). As stated in that report, UNIFIL was envisaged as a two-stage operation. In the first stage, the Force was to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory to the international border. Once that was achieved, UNIFIL was to establish and

maintain an area of operation. In this connexion, the Force was to supervise the cessation of hostilities, ensure the peaceful character of the area of operation, control movement and take all measures deemed necessary to ensure the effective restoration of Lebanese sovereignty in the area.

#### B. CO-OPERATION WITH UNTSO

15. There has been no change in the institutional and operational relationship linking UNIFIL and UNTSO in Lebanon as described in my report of 12 January 1979 [S/13026, para. 14]. The only new development to be recorded during the present reporting period concerns the reduction from two to one (OP Lab) in the number of former UNTSO observation posts along the Israel-Lebanon armistice demarcation line manned by UNTSO military observers.

#### C. CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES

16. During the period under review, contacts with the parties concerned have been maintained both at United Nations Headquarters and in the area with a view to further implementing the UNIFIL mandate, particularly as regards the full deployment of the Force, the progressive restoration of the authority and sovereignty of the Lebanese Government in the area and the control of infiltration attempts into the UNIFIL area of operation. As mentioned in my interim report of 19 April 1979 [S/13258, para. 4], I requested Mr. Brian E. Urquhart, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, to visit the region in mid-February. In the course of that visit, Mr. Urquhart had discussions with senior officials in Lebanon and Israel, with the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East and the Commander of UNIFIL. General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator, maintained contact with the parties concerned with a view to securing progress in the further implementation of resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 434 (1978) and 444 (1979). Until his departure, in March 1979, Mr. John Saunders, my Special Representative for humanitarian assistance in Lebanon, also assisted UNIFIL by providing a liaison channel with the Lebanese authorities at Beirut whenever required. Pending the arrival of his successor, this function is being carried out by the Acting Head of the United Nations Development Programme office in Lebanon. The services of Mr. Sami Sanbar, Director of the United Nations Information Centre at Beirut, have also been beneficial to the Force.

17. General Erskine has been in constant contact with the parties on matters concerning the deployment and functioning of the Force. In the area of operation, negotiations and consultations were held by members of UNIFIL with the various armed groups, as required, to ensure the smooth functioning of the Force and to minimize the risks of confrontation and armed clashes. This was generally done by UNIFIL headquarters staff, through United Nations military observer teams and through contacts by the battalion commanders. The battalion commanders investigated local violations of the cease-fire and all other situations involving incidents which might have led to hostile activities within the

UNIFIL area of operation. UNIFIL also maintained regular contacts with the local civilian authorities and population.

#### D. IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASED PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES

18. The Security Council in resolution 444 (1979) invited the Government of Lebanon to draw up, in consultation with the Secretary-General, a phased programme of activities to be carried out over the next three months to promote the restoration of its authority in the area. This matter has been dealt with in some detail in my interim report of 19 April and I need only recall briefly its main points here. The phased programme was worked out by the Lebanese authorities with the assistance of UNIFIL. It set for its first phase four main objectives: first, an increase by the Lebanese Government of the Lebanese civilian administrative presence in the south; secondly, the introduction of a battalion of the Lebanese national army into the UNIFIL area of operation; thirdly, the consolidation of a cease-fire in the area and the cessation of harassment of UNIFIL and the local population in its area by the *de facto* forces; and fourthly, further deployment and control by UNIFIL in the border area controlled by the *de facto* forces on the basis of the proposals put forward by the UNIFIL commander in November 1978 [S/13026, para. 22]. The first two objectives were achieved by 18 April when, in the circumstances described in my interim report, a Lebanese battalion of 500 all ranks was introduced and deployed in the UNIFIL area of operation.

19. Since 19 April, persistent efforts have been undertaken, both in the field and at United Nations Headquarters, to bring about the achievement of the remaining objectives. General Siilasvuo and General Erskine contacted the Israeli authorities at various levels. While making clear that the ultimate goal of UNIFIL remains the full control of its area of operation and the restoration of the sovereignty of the Lebanese Government in the south, the two immediate aims for practical reasons are the establishment of an adequate security zone around UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura and a complete cessation of the harassment of the local population and UNIFIL personnel in the UNIFIL area by the *de facto* forces. These efforts have been fully and actively supported at United Nations Headquarters by the Secretary-General, the President and the members of the Security Council and by interested Governments. The sense of urgency underlying the situation affecting UNIFIL was reflected in the statements made by the President on behalf of the members of the Council on 26 April and 15 May [2141st and 2144th meetings]. It is also relevant to make a reference in that connexion to the two letters addressed to the President of the Council by the representative of Lebanon on 7 and 30 May [S/13301 and S/13361].

20. Despite all those efforts, little further progress has been achieved so far. At a meeting held on 3 June, the Israeli authorities informed General Siilasvuo and General Erskine that they would agree as a first step to build a by-pass road near UNIFIL headquarters, which would reduce confrontation with UNIFIL by the *de facto* forces stationed in the village of Naqoura. While



this proposal constitutes some modest progress, it is not considered adequate by UNIFIL and negotiations are continuing.

#### E. CONTROL OF INFILTRATION ATTEMPTS

21. During the period under review, UNIFIL has intensified its action to prevent the entry of armed elements in the area where it exercises full control. To that end it has further refined and diversified the methods described in my report of 13 September 1978 [S/12845, para. 27]. There has been an increase in patrolling activity, with greater emphasis on night patrolling. The ongoing deliveries of night observation equipment have greatly improved UNIFIL ability to control its area of operation. This has enabled UNIFIL to stop some 40 major infiltration attempts involving 140 armed elements, who were escorted out of the area of operation. UNIFIL ability to contain and control the small groups of armed elements within the UNIFIL area of operation has also been improved with the use of the new equipment.

22. Efforts undertaken by UNIFIL to keep armed personnel out of its area of operation have also involved the *de facto* forces and, on occasion, Israeli military personnel. Measures aimed at controlling entry of armed personnel have proved generally effective.

#### F. OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCE

23. Consistent with the UNIFIL objective of promoting a progressive return to normal economic and social life in the area, the Force has continued to support the United Nations emergency relief and reconstruction programme for Southern Lebanon, which is co-ordinated by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for humanitarian assistance in Lebanon. In so doing, it has collaborated actively with the Lebanese Government's assistance efforts in the area, which are now under the direct supervision of the Governor of Southern Lebanon who has been granted special powers and resources by the central authorities at Beirut. That collaborative effort has contributed significantly to the fulfilment of one of the objectives stipulated in the first phase of the programme of activities. In my interim report of 19 April, I provided a summary of those activities [S/13258 paras. 9 and 10]. Subsequent to that report, work has continued in all projects referred to therein, although progress is occasionally hampered by shelling and harassment by the *de facto* forces of Lebanese personnel commissioned to work in the area.

#### G. INCIDENTS

24. The number of incidents involving Palestinian and Lebanese armed elements and UNIFIL has increased during the period under review. The majority of those incidents involved attempts at infiltration of armed personnel into the UNIFIL area of operation which were successfully prevented by UNIFIL. They have also taken the form of hijacking of United Nations vehicles and firing at UNIFIL personnel, although the over-all policy of co-operation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has, for the most part, kept such tendencies in check. The most serious of those incidents occurred on 3 February in the Fijian battalion

headquarters area at Qana, which resulted in the death of two Fijian soldiers and the wounding of four others. On that occasion, four Norwegian medical personnel aboard a UNIFIL helicopter that had been dispatched to evacuate one of the wounded Fijian soldiers were also killed as the craft accidentally hit an overhead electric cable and crashed [*ibid.*, para. 16].

25. Incidents involving the *de facto* forces and UNIFIL have occurred with greater frequency and intensity than before. This has involved restrictions on the freedom of movement of UNIFIL personnel, vehicles and helicopters; firing and other provocations against UNIFIL positions, installations and patrols; and firing into villages and other acts of harassment of the local civilian population within the UNIFIL area of operation. These activities were significantly stepped up at the time of the deployment of the Lebanese army battalion in the UNIFIL area of operation. There were deliberate attacks against UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura on two occasions. I have referred in my interim report of 19 April to one such incident, on 29 March, which resulted in the death of one soldier and the wounding of two others, all members of the French logistic unit [*ibid.*, para. 18]. The other incident occurred on 18-19 April, in which eight UNIFIL personnel were wounded, six from the Irish headquarters company and two Dutch captains. I brought this serious incident to the attention of the Security Council in a special report of 19 April to the Security Council [S/13254].

26. During the period under review, the *de facto* forces have shown an increasingly alarming trend towards the use of force not only to frustrate the objective of UNIFIL to gain wider deployment in the area under their control but also to encroach into what appear to be selected points inside the UNIFIL area of operation. Such activity seems to be concentrated on the villages of Tibnin, Shaqra and Brashit in the Irish battalion area and in some villages located in the southern sector of the Dutch battalion area. On various pretexts, these villages have from time to time come under heavy shelling and serious threats of destruction. These actions have resulted in a number of deaths and injuries to villagers. They have also caused some of the local population to flee from the villages into northern areas of Lebanon. By the beginning of June, approximately 70 per cent of the population have fled from the village of Brashit; approximately 30 per cent from Shaqra; and approximately 10 per cent have fled from Tibnin and most other villages affected.

27. UNIFIL observation posts and positions in the area controlled by the *de facto* forces have from time to time been subjected to harassment by them. Among the most serious incidents of that nature was the attack on OP Hin on 4 May. In the morning of that day, a group of armed personnel, allegedly from a neighbouring village, forced their way into OP Hin and abducted the three Dutch soldiers of UNIFIL manning the post. On the same day, a civilian Field Service officer on a resupply mission was also abducted by the *de facto* forces. The three soldiers and the Field Service officer were held in the village of Al Dohayrah until late that evening, when they were released as a result of negotiations between General Erskine, the leader of the *de facto* forces and the Israeli authorities. In another incident, three

Irish positions were isolated for three weeks in the latter part of April, when the *de facto* forces cut all their supply routes.

28. In my interim report of 19 April, I referred to the increasing incidence of Israeli military personnel presence on Lebanese territory controlled by the *de facto* forces [S/13258, para. 19]. UNIFIL has recorded a total of 291 such border violations during the period under review. The most serious border violation occurred on 9 May when a sizable unit of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) entered into the UNIFIL area of operation manned by the Irish battalion in the vicinity of Shaqra. I submitted a special report on that incident to the Security Council on the same day [S/13308].

29. During the period under review, there has been a serious escalation of exchanges of fire across the area where UNIFIL is fully deployed, involving, on one side, Palestinian armed elements and, on the other, either the *de facto* forces or Israeli forces. Particularly heavy exchanges of artillery and mortar fire took place between 19 and 24 January, between 12 and 17 March, between 22 and 25 April, and during much of the month of May. On most occasions UNIFIL was able to bring about a cease-fire.

30. The most serious recent incident involved heavy exchanges of fire over a period extending from 26 to 30 May between the *de facto* forces and armed elements. The latter were reported to have initiated most of the firing. On that occasion, the *de facto* forces not only fired on targets in the Tyre pocket and north of the Litani river but also into the UNIFIL area of operation. A significant number of rounds impacted inside villages in the UNIFIL area, in some instances close to United Nations positions. At the village of As Siddiqin, four civilians were killed and one wounded. Reasons given by the leader of the *de facto* forces for shelling targets in the UNIFIL area of operation were that Palestinians had fired at them from inside the UNIFIL area. After exhaustive investigation and checking with approximately 100 UNIFIL posts in the area, the above allegations proved totally unfounded. Fire eventually ceased after persistent efforts by UNIFIL with the parties.

31. Following these exchanges of fire, there were no serious incidents in the area, except one on 6 June when exchanges of fire, reportedly initiated by the *de facto* forces, took place between the armed elements at the Chateau de Beaufort area and the *de facto* forces in the vicinity of Marjayoun.

32. Finally, it is relevant to mention certain incidents involving Israeli forces and Palestinian armed elements outside the UNIFIL area of operation, since they have had a bearing on the situation in the area. There were several bomb explosions and other armed activities in Israel for which Palestinian organizations claimed responsibility. A number of extensive attacks by air, sea and by long-range artillery were launched by Israeli forces against targets in the Tyre pocket and north of the Litani river. These incidents inevitably contributed to an increase of tension in the area and had an adverse effect on the functioning of UNIFIL. They have been brought to the attention of the Security Council and/or the General Assembly by the representative of Israel [S/13028, S/13037, S/13041, S/13053, S/13058,

S/13127, S/13192, S/13206, S/13239, S/13249, S/13260, S/13261, S/13264, S/13312, S/13320, S/13346 and S/13376], the representative of Lebanon [S/13051, S/13242, S/13348 and S/13355] and the representatives of the PLO [S/13036, S/13045, S/13052, S/13241, S/13266, S/13269, S/13284, S/13305, S/13351 and S/13379].

#### IV. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

33. By its resolution 33/14 of 3 November 1978, the General Assembly, among other things, authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for UNIFIL at a rate not to exceed \$11,142,000 per month for the period from 19 January to 31 October 1979 inclusive, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the period of four months authorized under its resolution 434 (1978). Accordingly, should the Council renew the UNIFIL mandate beyond 19 June 1979, the costs to the United Nations for maintaining UNIFIL up to 31 October 1979 would be within the level of the authorization to enter into commitments provided by the General Assembly in its resolution 33/14, assuming continuance of its existing strength and responsibilities. Appropriate financial provision will need to be made by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session in respect of periods after 31 October 1979, if the period of extension determined by the Council goes beyond that date.

#### V. OBSERVATIONS

34. During the period under review, there have been continued efforts at all levels to secure the further implementation of the mandate of UNIFIL as a whole. In my interim report to the Council of 19 April, I gave an account of these efforts within the context of the situation in the UNIFIL area of operation. In particular I described the steps which had already been taken in fulfilment of the first phase of the programme of activities drawn up by the Government of Lebanon in consultation with the Secretary-General and in accordance with resolution 444 (1979). Of these, the most significant was the deployment of a Lebanese army battalion in the UNIFIL area of operation in mid-April and an increase of Lebanese civilian administrative personnel in Southern Lebanon. These certainly represent important steps towards the restoration of the Lebanese Government's authority and sovereignty in Southern Lebanon which is one of the most important objectives of the mandate assigned to UNIFIL in resolution 425 (1978).

35. I regret to say that, in spite of the efforts of succeeding Presidents of the Security Council, the Secretary-General, various Governments in a position to bring their influence to bear, the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions and the Force Commander, a stalemate has persisted since mid-April. Continuing difficulties have been encountered in securing the further deployment of UNIFIL into its full area of operation and this situation has been aggravated by the conditions of heightened tension in the area. In my two reports of 19 April, I described some of the incidents which had resulted from the forceful opposition of the *de facto* forces to the deployment of the Lebanese battalion. Since that time, as indicated in my interim



report, this unco-operative attitude has persisted and has on all too frequent occasions taken the form of threats and harassing actions both against UNIFIL and against the civilian population in the area of operation. Continued representations to the Israeli authorities have as yet failed to achieve the change of position required for a significant improvement in the deployment of UNIFIL.

36. The Security Council has voiced its concern over this situation publicly on two occasions since mid-April. I myself am deeply concerned not only at the continued opposition to the full carrying out of the UNIFIL mandate, but also at the forceful manifestations of that opposition and the risks which such manifestations constitute to the lives and security both of the civilian population in the area and of the personnel of UNIFIL.

37. The attitude of some factions of the armed elements has also posed serious problems for the functioning of UNIFIL. There has been some increase in attempts at infiltration of the UNIFIL area of operation, one of which led, on 3 February, to a serious clash with UNIFIL troops. Hijacking of UNIFIL vehicles and firing at UNIFIL positions have also occurred with greater frequency. These developments are disturbing although they have in most instances been brought under control with the co-operation of the representatives of the PLO.

38. I wish to assure the Council that I shall continue my efforts to persuade the parties concerned to afford their co-operation for the full implementation of the UNIFIL mandate. Each of the parties has its own particular preoccupations with the situation in Southern Lebanon and it is our task to try to find means by which these preoccupations can be made compatible with the co-operation with UNIFIL which has hitherto been notably lacking in some important respects. In that connexion, there have recently been certain developments which might lead to a relaxation of tension. The PLO leadership have recently reaffirmed their commitment not to initiate any action from inside the UNIFIL area of operation and have stated that they will not shell IDF or *de facto* forces targets from Lebanese territory unless they are attacked first. It is also relevant to mention a recent joint communiqué issued by the PLO and the allied Lebanese parties within the context of discussions on the situation in Southern Lebanon, according to which "all armed forces will be evacuated from villages and towns" and "the PLO will remove all of its offices from the city of Tyre". I shall be following up these and related developments in the hope that it may be possible to bring about conditions in which the UNIFIL mandate can be progressively realized.

39. I wish here to express appreciation to the Government of Lebanon for its co-operation in the efforts of UNIFIL to make progress in extremely difficult conditions. I am very much aware that the situation in Southern Lebanon is closely related to the situation in the rest of Lebanon, and that we have an obligation to give a very high priority to assistance to the Lebanese Government in its efforts to restore its authority and sovereignty in the area.

40. I wish to express appreciation to the successive Presidents of the Security Council for their tireless ef-

orts to bring about positive developments in this situation. Their involvement is a symbol of the responsibility assumed by the United Nations in this extremely sensitive area of the world and of the determination of the Organization to make progress by peaceful means in the interests both of the Government and people of Lebanon and also of international peace and security. I have also greatly appreciated the efforts of a number of Governments in pursuit of resolution 444 (1979), which urged Member States which were in a position to do so to bring their influence to bear in support of UNIFIL's discharge of its mandate.

41. Although the present report shows clearly the obstacles which have so far prevented UNIFIL from fulfilling all of its tasks, I wish to emphasize once again the indispensable function which UNIFIL is actually performing in bringing calm to a sorely affected area and in reducing the active threat to international peace and security which the situation in Southern Lebanon would otherwise constitute. For that reason and taking into account all aspects of the problem, I feel obliged to recommend for the Council's consideration the extension of the mandate of UNIFIL for a further period of six months. The Lebanese Government has informed me of its full agreement with this recommendation. Although I am aware that there may be reservations about the period suggested, I believe that taking into account both the political and practical factors concerned, such a recommendation is realistic.

42. Although, as I have explained, I have no alternative but to make this recommendation, I must also express my view that UNIFIL cannot continue to function without certain essential conditions being fulfilled. An adequate security zone around the UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura is perhaps the most immediate of these. A cessation of the harassment of the civilian population and of UNIFIL by the *de facto* forces is another prerequisite. It goes without saying that a change in the position of the Israeli authorities is yet another prerequisite for significant progress. The continuation of the over-all co-operation of the PLO is also an essential condition of the effective discharge by UNIFIL of its duties. The fulfilment of these conditions will enable UNIFIL to achieve a significant and steady rate of progress in fulfilling all of the tasks assigned to it by the Security Council. This alone can in the end justify the continuation of this very important peace-keeping operation.

43. In concluding this report, I wish to pay tribute to the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, to the Commander of UNIFIL, Major-General Erskine, and his staff, both civilian and military, the officers and men of the contingents of UNIFIL as well as the UNTSO military observers assigned to the area, for their courage, dedication and steady discipline in the face of a very difficult and sometimes dangerous situation. I wish also to express my appreciation to the Governments which are providing contingents and other forms of support to UNIFIL.

#### ANNEX

[Map: "UNIFIL deployment as of June 1979". See end of volume.]



## Letter dated 8 June 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[8 June 1979]

Further to my letter of 28 February 1979 [S/13126], I should like to clarify the background to the closure of Bir Zeit University near the town of Ramallah, north of Jerusalem.

As will be recalled, under the Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967, there were no universities in Judea and Samaria and the Jordanian authorities refused to grant university status to any institution seeking it. However, under Israel administration since 1967, rapid strides have been made in the educational field, and there are now two full-fledged universities and two colleges in Judea and Samaria.

Bir Zeit, a secondary school during most of the Jordanian occupation, was accorded university status in 1973. Since then, its student body has risen to 1,200 and its faculty to over 100. Recently, approval was given for the opening of new faculties, the enlargement of the Board of Governors and a large-scale building programme.

The institution enjoys complete academic freedom. There is no interference in its programme of studies and no administrative restrictions are imposed on the running of its day-to-day affairs. For the current academic year, work permits were granted for all the 32 foreign lecturers for whom application was made.

Taking advantage of Israel's liberal policies, terrorist organizations based in Arab countries have endeavoured to plant agents in the student body and to recruit accomplices. Under cover of academic freedom, the institution has been turned into a hotbed of student agitation and subversion against Israel. Since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty on 26 March 1979, student disturbances have increased. They reached a violent climax on 2 May, when students erected roadblocks at Ramallah, closed off the entrances to the town, stoned cars and endangered the lives of passengers and passers-by. In the face of such violence, the Israel authorities closed the university until further notice.

This measure must be seen against the norms of any democratic, law-abiding society. The issue is not academic freedom or freedom of speech and belief, political or otherwise. For these are basic freedoms which Israel upholds and protects by law. The issue is whether those same freedoms may be exploited as a cover for incitement to violence and for subversion and terroristic activity aimed at endangering the lives and safety of ordinary citizens who, for their part, are entitled to protection and security.

The decision to close the university was also taken against the background of a long record of criminal activities centred in the institution. Over the years, numbers of students and faculty, as well as individuals on the university's board of governors and administra-

tive staff, have been actively involved in hostile activities on behalf of the terrorist PLO which, in conformity with its aims, tries to engage in the mass and indiscriminate murder of Israeli civilians. In March 1978, an active cell of terrorists affiliated with the so-called "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine", a constituent of the PLO, was uncovered, in which there were eight students from Bir Zeit. In December 1978, a group associated with the "Democratic Front", another element within the PLO, was discovered, in which there were seven Bir Zeit students. Another student, subsequently expelled to Lebanon, was arrested for trying to enlist Arab students in Israel to work within the framework of the "Progressive Arab Movement", which calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. At present, a first-year student at Bir Zeit is a wanted criminal as a member of Yasser Arafat's Fatah organization and as head of a particularly murderous group, the other members of which have already been apprehended. That group laid bombs indiscriminately at Jerusalem and Natanya, which resulted in the deaths of four persons and the wounding of 35 others, some seriously. The group also set up five explosive devices, which providentially were discovered and dismantled before any damage was done.

Elections to the student council at Bir Zeit were conducted on the basis of membership in terrorist organizations. Students from the university have incited high-school pupils at Ramallah and elsewhere, as well as students from other institutions of higher learning, to conduct violent demonstrations against the Israel-Egypt peace treaty and the peace process. They harassed students from other institutions who refused to demonstrate or strike. Organized groups of students from Bir Zeit were recently apprehended on their way to agitate for demonstrations in the Gaza district.

Several faculty members from abroad and Arab lecturers of foreign nationality support the students' illegal activities and have taken an active part in their demonstrations. By engaging in local politics and subversive activities, they have abused their permits as visitors to reside and work in the area.

The university authorities have hung maps on the premises showing "Palestine" as embracing the whole of the State of Israel. They have conferred preferential conditions and privileges on politically active students who have been convicted of or detained for security offences.

These facts demonstrate beyond any doubt that there have been attempts to engage in terrorist activity at Bir Zeit, while hiding behind academic freedom, just as other PLO terrorists take cover behind other Arab civilians when and where it suits their purposes.

Israel will continue to encourage and support the development of institutions of higher education in Judea and Samaria and, in conformity with the spirit of aca-

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/304-S/13385.

democratic freedom—and in keeping with its liberal policies, which mark it off from other régimes in the Middle East—it will not interfere in the academic affairs of those institutions. But it expects that such institutions will concentrate on the furtherance of higher education and not on the fostering and promoting of terroristic activities which threaten the lives and safety of other people. If any institution of higher learning deviates from the functions for which it was accorded recognition, the Israel

authorities will be bound to take all appropriate measures.

I have the honour to request that this letter be distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13386\*

#### Letter dated 11 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[11 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a statement made at Colombo on 7 June 1979 by the spokesman of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the slanderous remarks made by the Vietnamese delegation about the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Statements made at Colombo on 7 June 1979 by the spokesman of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea concerning the slanderous remarks made by the Vietnamese delegation about the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The Vietnamese delegation has been most conspicuous ever since its arrival at Colombo. Cohesion and solidarity among the non-aligned countries and support for the integrity of the principles of non-alignment are matters of supreme indifference to it. What causes it the most concern and gives it sleepless nights is the indifference and disregard shown by public opinion in Sri Lanka and the delegates to the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo for the clique of its Phnom Penh lackeys. Nevertheless the Vietnamese have done their utmost to ensure that maximum publicity is given to the presence of the representatives of that clique at Colombo. They are particularly infuriated by the fact that the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary, which came directly from the front where the people of Kampuchea are waging a heroic fight against Vietnamese aggression, enjoys universal esteem and consideration. The cause of national and popular liberation, for which hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of the heroic people of Kampuchea have fought, enjoys the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples and countries in the world, and particularly of the non-aligned countries. This cause is in keeping with the principles of non-alignment and can be identified with the cause upheld by the overwhelming majority of countries represented at the current meeting at Colombo. That is the reason why all efforts made by the Vietnamese delegation to win recognition for the puppet régime in Phnom Penh among the non-aligned countries have failed. The overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries

has always recognized the Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the only legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea and continues to lend its sympathy and support to the struggle currently being waged by the people of Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression in order to win back the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the right to decide its own future without any outside interference.

That is only just, for Democratic Kampuchea is the victim of aggression perpetrated by Vietnamese occupation troops numbering 150,000, who are engaging in a most cruel and barbarous genocidal war designed to obliterate Kampuchea as a national entity and wipe out the Kampuchean race and replace it by the Vietnamese race, as happened in the case of the Islamic Kingdom of Champa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of Kampuchea Krom (now the southern part of Viet Nam) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Now the Vietnamese, who have failed in their attempt to liquidate the leadership of Democratic Kampuchea overnight and extinguish the fighting spirit of the people of Kampuchea, are seeking to silence the voice of these people on the international scene. They have chosen the present ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned Countries at Colombo as the background for their sordid manoeuvre. In doing so the representatives of Hanoi stop at no artifice, untruth or slander campaign. They have mounted an intensive press campaign and are engaged in feverish efforts to foist the clique of their Phnom Penh lackeys on the host people and Government of Sri Lanka and on all the delegates at the present meeting.

The representatives of Hanoi think that they can do exactly as they please. They take the hospitality and courtesy of the host country as a sign of weakness towards them. For example, during the morning of 6 June, although permission was denied them by the Sri Lankan organizers of the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, the Vietnamese delegation held a press conference to dispute all decisions taken earlier at the meeting which did not accord with their ambitions.

In doing so the representatives of Hanoi are seeking to apply at the international level, and particularly at this Colombo meeting, the practice of which they are past masters at home and in the occupied territories of Kampuchea and Laos. This sheds considerable light on the true nature of the present régime at Hanoi, which wants the law of the jungle to prevail everywhere.

In view of the machinations of the representatives of Hanoi, vigilance must be exercised. It is imperative that all the non-aligned countries should resolutely oppose a practice which was hitherto unknown in our movement. There is an urgent need to take suitable measures to prevent and thwart the sinister manoeuvres of the emissaries of Hanoi so as to ensure that our present meeting is undisturbed and successful.

One thing is plain for all the world to see. The Vietnamese have not the slightest interest in the future of the non-aligned movement or in the defence of its principles. They are using

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/305-S/13386.

the movement as a battleground for the conduct of activities designed to further their interests and those of their bloc. This in itself is sufficient reason for questioning Viet Nam's membership in our movement, which has been seriously jeopardized by its aggression against Kampuchea and its occupation of Laos. And then there is the matter of its alliance with the Soviet bloc, in the military field (Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of 3 November 1978), in the political field (Hanoi claims to be the forward bastion of the "socialist camp") and in the economic field (as a member of COMECON). Furthermore, the presence of Soviet naval bases at Cam Ranh and Haiphong and of Soviet air bases at Da Nang should convince even the most hardened sceptics of the deliberate and marked alignment of Viet Nam with a bloc.

Now the representatives of Hanoi have the effrontery to try and reverse the roles. They who are "non-aligned" in name only and whose activities since their arrival at Colombo have seriously impeded the smooth progress of the proceedings of our meeting and manifestly damaged the interests of our movement, have the presumption to demand the expulsion of Democratic Kampuchea, a founding member of the non-aligned movement, whose people have made and are continuing to

make so many sacrifices for the cause of non-alignment. If any member State is to be expelled it can only be the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and none other.

The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, which came straight from the battlefield and which represents a people who is shedding its blood daily for the cause of independence, peace and non-alignment, is seeking only to make a modest contribution to the defence and consolidation of cohesion and solidarity in the movement and to safeguard the integrity of, and to reaffirm, the basic principles of non-alignment. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea has been given the task of acquainting all the delegates of non-aligned countries participating in the present Colombo meeting with the truth about the Vietnamese occupation in Kampuchea and about the struggle being waged by the people of Kampuchea. That is its absolute right. No one can dispute that right, least of all the delegates from Hanoi, who represent a régime which is responsible for the most monstrous crimes against the nation and people of Kampuchea and which is being condemned and denounced all over the world for its aggression against Kampuchea, for its occupation of Laos and for its cowardice and unscrupulousness in international relations.

## DOCUMENT S/13387\*

### Letter dated 11 June 1979 from the representative of Lebanon to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[11 June 1979]

On the eve of the meeting of the Security Council to discuss the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Israeli warplanes are still overflying Beirut and other areas of Lebanon for the seventh consecutive day. Shelling was also continuing today, particularly of Hasbaya and Aishiyah.

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to these, as well as the preceding acts of aggression committed by Israel against Lebanon. Here is a summary list of such acts committed in the past few days:

1. On 6 June 1979, at 1500 hours, the towns and villages of Nabatiyeh, Kfar Rumman, Arnoun, Kfar Tibnin, Zawtar, Mayfadoun, Shoukine, ad-Duwayr ash-Sharqiya and Yuhmor were continually bombarded until 0100 hours on 7 June.

At 1900 hours, the villages of Mazraat al-Jumruk and Aishiyah were also continually shelled until 0200 hours of the next morning.

At 2100 hours, Bar'ashit, Shaqra and Madel Silm were shelled for one hour.

At 2200 hours the village of Bafliyah was shelled, causing the total destruction of a house, and its owner was hit. Several other houses were damaged.

2. On 7 June, at 1200 hours, Israeli warplanes overflew Beirut for several hours.

3. On 8 June, six Israeli aircraft raided the village of Habboush between 1605 and 1715 hours. As a result, 20 houses were hit.

At 1615 hours, Israeli aircraft overflew the area of Baalbek, in the Bekaa, the eastern region of Lebanon.

At 1900 hours, the towns and villages of Arnoun, Nabatiyah el-Fawqa and Kfar Rumman were subjected to heavy artillery and rocket shelling.

At 2000 hours, Hasbaya and the neighbouring areas were shelled by Israeli artillery.

4. On 9 June, at 1300 hours, the village of al-Mansouri was shelled.

5. On 10 June, Hasbaya was shelled at 2200 hours.

At 1800 hours, Israeli aircraft overflew at low altitude Bourj al-Barajneh, a suburb of Beirut.

We would like also to draw your attention to the fact that, on 8 June, as reported by the American press and international news agencies, the Dutch contingent of UNIFIL had to return fire to prevent forceful incursion into its area of operation. Thirty shells were reported to have fallen on the village of al-Mansouri and neighbouring areas, wounding two villagers.

These violations, which have occurred since the latest cease-fire arranged through the good offices of the United Nations peace-keepers in the area and announced by you during the meeting of the Security Council of 31 May [2146th meeting], are indicative of Israeli policy to exacerbate tensions and to prevent the restoration of peaceful conditions in Lebanon. Such a policy, on the eve of the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL, lays the blame where it rightly belongs—on Israel. This has already been corroborated by the Secretary-General in his report of 8 June [S/13384].

You are kindly requested to have this letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ghassan TUÉNI  
Permanent Representative of Lebanon  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/306-S/13387.



**Letter dated 31 May 1979 from the Secretary-General to Governments of all States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies, containing a further appeal for voluntary contributions for the financing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus**

[Original: English/French/Spanish]  
[12 June 1979]

I should be most grateful if you would bring to the urgent attention of your Government this further appeal which I am addressing to all States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies in order to obtain additional voluntary contributions for the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

The importance of UNFICYP has been emphasized time and again by the Security Council, and the stationing of the Force in the island has been repeatedly extended by it. In its resolution 443 (1978) of 14 December 1978, the Council, noting my report of 1 December [S/12946], decided to extend the stationing of the Force in Cyprus for a further period ending 15 June 1979 and requested me to continue my mission of good offices. I have reported to the Council that the continued presence of UNFICYP remains indispensable and that in helping to maintain calm in the island UNFICYP also facilitates the continued search for a peaceful settlement.

In pursuance of the mission of good offices entrusted to me by the Security Council, I visited Nicosia on 18 and 19 May for the high-level meeting in the course of which a 10-point agreement for the resumption of the intercommunal talks was worked out by the leaders of the two communities under my personal auspices. The talks will resume on 15 June.

This hopeful event makes it even more essential, in my view, that peaceful conditions in Cyprus be maintained to facilitate the resumed negotiating process and the solution of the many difficulties which still remain.

In this connexion I am obliged to draw attention to the difficulties I face in maintaining the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, owing to the continuing deficit in the UNFICYP budget. The United Nations operation in Cyprus is financed in part by the troop-contributing Governments and in part by Governments making voluntary contributions. But the voluntary contributions received have consistently fallen short of needs, resulting in an accumulated deficit for the period ending 15 December 1978 of more than \$53 million. Additionally, \$11.8 million, of which \$100,000 have been received, are required to meet that portion of the total cost of UNFICYP for the current six-month period ending 15 June 1979 that is normally financed by such contributions. This would leave costs of approximately \$17.7 million, based on past practice, to be met by the troop-contributing countries, a figure that included both certain reimbursable extra costs and the non-reimbursable regular costs incurred by them which these countries finance at their own expense (see annex). The Governments concerned have conveyed to me their growing and very serious concern over the disproportionate financial burden they have been carrying which has obliged some of them to review their commitments relating to their

participation in UNFICYP. I am equally concerned at the inability of UNFICYP to meet its financial commitments in full and at the implications of this situation in regard to the continued functioning of the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

I consider it essential to rectify the serious financial situation confronting UNFICYP. Under existing arrangements, this can only be done by obtaining additional voluntary contributions to replenish the UNFICYP Special Account. I therefore urgently request Governments to consider increasing their contributions, or to begin making voluntary contributions, if not made before. I also wish to express the hope that regular financial contributors to the UNFICYP account will find it possible at least to maintain the level of their contributions. I now appeal to your Government to respond promptly and generously with a voluntary contribution to enable UNFICYP to carry out its important function.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM  
Secretary-General

#### ANNEX

##### Financial position of UNFICYP

Since 1964, 65 countries have made payments or pledges of voluntary contributions to support the United Nations operation in Cyprus. Contributions to the UNFICYP Special Account since the beginning of the operation, as well as the pledges and payments received so far for the period from 16 June to 15 December 1978, are listed in the attached table.

In order to provide contingents for UNFICYP, the troop-contributing Governments divert from national duty troops and other resources at an ongoing cost to them of some \$17.7 million for each six-month period. This figure includes: *a* the troops' regular pay and allowances and normal *matériel* expenses for which, under existing arrangements, the United Nations is not required by the troop contributors to reimburse them; these therefore constitute costs of maintaining the Force which are being financed directly by the troop-contributing Governments; and *b* certain extra and extraordinary costs that they incur in respect of UNFICYP for which, under existing arrangements, the troop contributors would be entitled to claim reimbursement from the United Nations but which they have agreed to finance at their own expense as a further contribution to the United Nations operation in Cyprus.

Including the above two elements of costs, the actual cost of financing the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the six-month period ending 15 June 1979 would total approximately \$29.5 million, estimated as follows:

	\$ Million
1. (a) Regular troops' pay and allowances and normal <i>matériel</i> costs and	
(b) Certain extra and extraordinary costs of the troop-contributing Governments that are financed directly by them .....	17.7
2. Direct costs to the United Nations which the Organization is required to meet (including the extra and extraordinary costs of Governments providing contingents for which they seek to be reimbursed) financed through voluntary contributions .....	11.8
TOTAL	29.5

\* Incorporating document S/13388/Corr.1 dated 15 June 1979.

Voluntary contributions from Governments are required to finance the second of these cost elements, as indicated in the cost estimates included in my report of 1 December 1978 [S/12946, sect. VI].

The voluntary contributions received from Governments have not been sufficient to cover these costs. The accumulated deficit from the inception of the operation through 15 December 1978 now stands at \$53 million, as compared to the deficit of \$52.3 million about six months ago, as indicated in my letter to you of 10 November 1978 [S/12928]. Two payments, amounting to \$125,960, have been received so far towards that portion

of the costs of maintaining the operation during the current six-month period ending 15 June 1979 (that is, \$11.8 million) that are to be financed by voluntary contributions.

As a result of the deficit, the bills presented by the troop-contributing Governments to the United Nations for reimbursement of extra and extraordinary costs have been met only to September 1975. The practical effect of this situation has been that, as indicated above, these Governments have continued to shoulder a disproportionate burden in providing contingents for this United Nations peace-keeping operation.

PLEDGES AND PAYMENTS TO THE UNFICYP SPECIAL ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD  
27 MARCH 1964-15 DECEMBER 1978 AS AT 25 MAY 1979

(In U.S. dollar equivalent)

Country	34th period (16 June- 15 December 1978)	Total pledges	Payments received
Australia	50 000	2 219 875	2 219 875 <sup>a</sup>
Austria	125 000	2 690 000	2 690 000 <sup>a b c</sup>
Belgium	144 362	3 060 522	3 060 522
Botswana	—	500	500
Canada	—	—	— <sup>a</sup>
Cyprus	150 000	2 116 359	2 116 359
Democratic Kampuchea	—	600	600 <sup>d</sup>
Denmark	—	3 645 000	3 645 000 <sup>a b</sup>
Finland	—	—	900 000 <sup>b</sup>
Germany, Federal Republic of	500 000	—	17 500 000
Ghana	—	76 897	76 897
Greece	400 000	15 750 000	15 750 000
Guyana	—	11 812	11 812
Iceland	2 750	47 157	47 157
India	10 000	30 000	30 000
Iran	50 000	144 500	94 500
Iraq	5 000	30 000	30 000
Ireland	—	50 000	50 000
Israel	—	26 500	26 500
Italy	200 000	5 981 645	5 947 128
Ivory Coast	—	60 000	60 000
Jamaica	—	29 137	29 137 <sup>e</sup>
Japan	200 000	2 440 000	2 440 000
Kuwait	25 000	65 000	65 000
Lao People's Democratic Republic	—	1 500	1 500 <sup>e</sup>
Lebanon	—	3 194	3 194
Liberia	—	13 321	11 821
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	—	50 000	50 000
Luxembourg	4 509	80 139	80 139
Malawi	—	5 590	5 590
Malaysia	—	7 500	7 500
Malta	—	1 820	1 820
Mauritania	—	4 370	4 370
Morocco	—	20 000	20 000
Nepal	—	800	800
Netherlands	219 901	2 518 425	2 518 425
New Zealand	—	51 697	51 697
Niger	—	2 041	2 041
Nigeria	—	10 800	10 800
Norway	327 985	5 258 265	5 258 265
Oman	—	8 000	8 000
Pakistan	—	35 791	35 791
Philippines	500	11 000	11 000
Qatar	—	21 000	21 000
Republic of Korea	—	16 000	16 000
Senegal	—	4 000	—
Sierra Leone	—	46 425	46 425
Singapore	—	7 500	7 500
Somalia	—	1 000	1 000
Sweden	200 000	5 720 000	5 720 000 <sup>a b</sup>
Switzerland	274 194	4 077 796	4 077 796
Thailand	—	2 500	2 500
Togo	—	1 020	—
Trinidad and Tobago	—	2 400	2 400
Turkey	—	1 839 253	1 839 253

Country	34th period (16 June- 15 December 1978)	Total pledges	Payments received
United Arab Emirates .....	—	10 000	10 000
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	1 643 645	50 894 092 <sup>f</sup>	50 894 092 <sup>a, b</sup>
United Republic of Cameroon .....	—	13 567	13 567
United Republic of Tanzania .....	—	7 000	7 000
United States of America .....	4 350 000	113 550 000 <sup>g</sup>	110 371 177
Uruguay .....	—	2 500	2 500
Venezuela .....	2 500	8 000	8 000
Viet Nam .....	—	4 000	4 000 <sup>h</sup>
Yugoslavia .....	—	40 000	40 000
Zaire .....	—	30 000	30 000
Zambia .....	—	38 000	28 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9 005 346</b>	<b>241 295 810</b>	<b>238 015 950</b>

<sup>a</sup> Indicative figures over a six-month period of the costs absorbed by Governments providing contingents (see above, third paragraph, item 1 of tabulation) are as follows: Australia \$300,000; Austria \$1.1 million; Canada \$5.2 million; Denmark \$400,000; Sweden \$2.6 million and the United Kingdom \$8.1 million.

<sup>b</sup> Payment has been made or will be made by means of an offset against the Government's claims for reimbursement of its costs.

<sup>c</sup> In addition, the following payments have been received for the period from 16 December 1978 to 15 June 1979: Austria \$125,000; Jamaica \$960.

<sup>d</sup> Contributions received in 1964.

<sup>e</sup> Contributions received in 1967.

<sup>f</sup> Maximum amount pledged.

<sup>g</sup> Maximum amount pledged. The ultimate contribution will be dependent on contributions of other Governments.

<sup>h</sup> Contributions received in 1964-1966.

## DOCUMENT S/13389\*

### Letter dated 12 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[12 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a summary of the latest developments in the people's war of resistance waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Summary of the latest developments in the people's war of resistance waged by Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression

The revolutionary army of Kampuchea and Kampuchea's guerrillas are stepping up their attacks throughout the territory of Kampuchea so as to wipe out the greatest possible number of the enemy's vital forces.

#### 1. The Pursat-Kompong Chhnang front from 7 to 28 May

Our armed forces launched attacks along the canal between Leach and Maung, on the road leading from Leach to Peam Pruos, and south-east of Pursat on highway N5 at Mong Russey. At Phnom Rung, on the railway line running from

Kompong Chhnang to Pursat, we attacked the village of Kbal Cham and killed one Soviet, in the province of Kompong Chhnang south of the town of Kompong Chhnang, in the district of Baribau. During this period eight villages in the province of Pursat were liberated by our revolutionary army and our guerrillas.

#### 2. Battambang front from 3 May to 2 June

On 3 May, the village of Bovel and the coffee plantation at Pailin were the scene of violent fighting. The Vietnamese aggressors suffered heavy losses in that fighting. From 21 to 26 May we attacked the enemy at Phnom Tepdei and, on the road that runs along Stung Sangker, liberated the villages of Kang Hat and Rong and a section between the Kompong Kol sugar refinery and Dang Tong on the road between Treng and Samlot. From 27 May to 2 June our armed forces engaged in fierce fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors in the frontier region between Kampuchea and Thailand at Mak Hoeun, at Kam Reing, on the road from Kam Reing to Phnom Koy, from Kam Reing to Samrong, and from Sala Krav to the Pailin coffee plantation.

#### 3. Kompong Cham-Kompong Thom front from 13 to 30 May

Between 18 and 30 May, in the province of Kompong Cham, our armed forces launched attacks in the district of Chamcar Loeu, on the road leading from Speu to Chambak Meas and in the district of Barai.

Between 13 and 26 May, in the province of Kompong Thom, our armed forces launched attacks in the district of Santuk, in the district of Taing Kauk and in the Sandan district. Eleven villages were liberated.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/307-S/13389.



#### 4. South-western front from 5 to 23 May

Attacks were launched by the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and our guerrillas on highway N2 at Traing Sleng and at Trapaing Sap, on highway N3 at Khlok, at Phnom Srang, south of highway N4 at Anlong Pnhiev, north of Kaun Trom, and at Kang Meas. On 14 May our heroic fighters engaged in fierce combat near the frontier between Kampuchea and Viet Nam at Dang Tong, at Rong Veng and at Kompong Trach and killed more than 100 men, including the district chief of Kompong Trach, who is a Vietnamese. A large number of villages were liberated.

#### 5. Western front from 7 to 21 May

Attacks at Raing Slat and at Kraing Skea. On 21 May our forces drove the enemy forces out of the northern regions of Kompong Speu and liberated the regions of Aural, Chreav and Trapaing Cho and put them to flight so that they retreated to Amlaing. Our forces destroyed two tanks and two military vehicles and seized one tank and two military vehicles.

#### 6. Rattanakiri front from 8 to 15 May

Attacks on the Vietnamese aggressors at Svay Rieng, at Trapaing Chres, at O Chorn, at Voeunsai and at Bo Keo. We killed 35 Vietnamese soldiers and destroyed two military vehicles at Banlung.

#### 7. Kratie-Mondulakiri front from 4 to 29 May

Numerous attacks by our guerrillas on national highway N7, particularly between Kratie and Snuol, at Mrich, at O Leav, at Koh Nhiek, at O Chi Meit and at O Te.

#### 8. Siem Reap, Oddar Meanchey and Preah Vihear front from 17 to 26 May

In the district of Koulen four of our compatriots, whom the Vietnamese aggressors had treated as cannon-fodder, managed to escape into our liberated zone bringing four rifles with them. Further attacks by our armed forces at Talam, Phum Seng, Phum Po, Phum Pong Tek, Anlong Thmar, Banteay Samrong, Pra Mi and Phum Tasem.

#### 9. Koh Kong-Srê Ambel front and highway N4

On 13 May there was an attack by our revolutionary army and our guerrillas at Troeung Lapeou in the province of Koh Kong, at Phum Tal in the district of Srê Ambel, and at Veal Rinh on highway N4.

#### 10. Front around Phnom Penh from 5 to 16 May

Our guerrillas and our revolutionary army launched attacks at Kandeng, at Wat Ang Taprok, at Anlong Romeit and at Wat Ang Taphal.

\* \* \*

Total casualties on these fronts as of the dates mentioned:

- 28 villages liberated;
- Almost 1,500 Vietnamese aggressor soldiers, including six officers and one Soviet, annihilated and many others wounded;
- Two tanks and 18 military vehicles destroyed, one tank and two military vehicles seized;
- 184 weapons seized, including B40s, M79s, AKs and AR15s and 300 mines seized.

### DOCUMENT S/13390\*

#### Letter dated 13 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[13 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Defeatism and fear are sweeping the ranks of the Vietnamese aggressors".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the present text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Defeatism and fear are sweeping the ranks of the Vietnamese aggressors"

In the escalation of its barbarous and fascist war of aggression, the Vietnamese enemy aggressor has in recent months sent several divisions as reinforcements to Kampuchea. The object was to crush, at one blow before the end of the dry season, the struggle waged by our people and to exterminate our nation. Consequently, during the dry season, and particularly during April and May, there was continual fierce fighting between our heroic revolutionary army, our heroic revolutionary guerrillas and our people, on the one hand, and the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, on the other hand, with the full support of their Soviet expansionist masters. The Vietnamese enemy has now massed several divisions along the border between Kam-

puchea and Thailand with a view to conducting a new search-and-destroy campaign, and a campaign of repression and annihilation. It hopes, first of all, to mop up the frontier region and to crush our struggle and, secondly, make a show of strength to impress the world, to bring pressure to bear on Thailand and to intimidate the countries of South-East Asia.

However, during these five months of war of aggression waged by the Vietnamese enemy on Kampuchea, and particularly in the course of its campaigns towards the end of the dry season, our heroic revolutionary army and guerrillas launched resolute attacks on all battlefields, large, medium and small, and on the enemy's rear, inflicting heavy losses amounting to tens of thousands.

Our heroic revolutionary army and our guerrillas have intensified their activities in all directions, attacking the Vietnamese enemy night and day and wiping out a large number of its vital forces. The Vietnamese aggressors have no respite, and are living in a constant state of uncertainty. They are now at the end of their tether, worn out and sunk in defeatism since they are encountering further difficulties every day and have to endure all kinds of shortages, and their soldiers are growing tired and are afraid of our revolutionary war. In the space of a few months, desertions have already become a frequent occurrence. Some quit the ranks to seek refuge in Thailand while others leave to return home. At the beginning of last May we captured many Vietnamese soldiers, all young, in the province of Takeo. These soldiers had abandoned their military uniforms and their weapons and were only wearing shorts. They revealed that 400 soldiers like them, after their defeats on national highway 5, deserted the army to return to Viet Nam. On all fronts desertions are taking place. A number of soldiers managed to escape, but others were stopped by their leaders, who handcuffed them and chained them to their weapons to prevent them from running away. Moreover, according to the Vietnamese soldiers we captured, the morale of

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/310-S/13390.

the Vietnamese aggression troops is badly undermined and the Vietnamese soldiers are afraid of the war in Democratic Kampuchea, first of all, because they are encountering many difficulties, having time neither to eat, to sleep nor to rest and having constantly to fight and shed blood and, secondly, because a great many of their companions are being killed every day. In short, this war is far more difficult for them than previous wars. They now wonder for what cause they must come to die on the aggressors' front in Kampuchea. Worse still, their families, their aged parents, their wives and their children, left to their fate in Viet Nam, are suffering from famine. These soldiers are by no means sure that they will be able to see them again for they may die of hunger or during their exodus on the sea, after being driven out by the Hanoi authorities, or they may themselves be killed on the battlefields in Kampuchea.

Many letters from Vietnamese soldiers, addressed to their friends, their aged parents or their families and left on the battlefields, clearly show this spirit of defeatism, this fear and this anxiety about dying for an aggressor's cause which is abhorrent to them.

All this reflects the inextricable difficulties encountered by the Vietnamese enemy both within its own country and on the

aggressors' front in Kampuchea, although it has managed to muster several divisions to continue the escalation of its war of aggression, to wage fascist search-and-destroy campaigns against the people of Kampuchea and arrogantly threaten Thailand and other countries in South-East Asia by its display of force, the number of its troops and its modern Soviet weaponry. Its soldiers are also steeped in defeatism. In the space of only five months, since the beginning of the war of aggression in Kampuchea, Viet Nam is already enmeshed in this situation. Therefore if the war continues, defeatism will sweep through its entire army.

We appeal to all Vietnamese aggressor soldiers not to come and be killed on the front of aggression in Kampuchea in place of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique. They must return home to raise their families, take care of their aged parents and their wives and children, who are dying of hunger and are constantly subjected to repression by the Hanoi authorities or forced to join the exodus.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has a humanitarian policy for the Vietnamese aggressors' soldiers who abandon the army. It will give them assistance and facilities to enable them to rejoin their families.

## DOCUMENT S/13391\*

### Letter dated 11 June 1979 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[13 June 1979]

I have the honour to send you herewith the declaration adopted at the special session of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* held at Kingston from 22 to 25 May 1979 and to request that it be circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Serge Elie CHARLES  
Acting Chairman of the  
Special Committee against Apartheid

#### ANNEX

Declaration adopted at the special session of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* held at Kingston from 22 to 25 May 1979

At its special session held at Kingston, Jamaica from 22 to 25 May 1979—with the participation of Governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, southern Africa liberation movements and experts—the Special Committee against *Apartheid* adopted the following declaration:

1. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* pays tribute to the Governments, organizations and peoples of the Caribbean countries for their important contribution to the movement for the emancipation of Africa and the elimination of racial discrimination.

2. The Special Committee pays homage to the Caribbean leaders for their historic role in promoting the solidarity of all oppressed people in the struggle for freedom, justice and self-determination. Leaders in the Pan-African movement, such as Marcus Garvey, Sylvester Williams, George Padmore and Dantes Bellegarde, leaders for political and social liberation, such as José Martí, Frantz Fanon, Antonio Maceo and Nathaniel Critchlow, and the writers and intellectuals of the Caribbean have made positive contributions in furtherance of the principles cherished by the United Nations. Their lives and their work

are an inspiration to the struggle today and deserve to be made known to peoples all over the world.

3. This special session was guided by the opening address by the Prime Minister of Jamaica, His Excellency Mr. Michael Manley, who analysed the present situation in southern Africa in its broader context and pointed to the full spectrum of the struggle which the international community and the world's people must wage for the liberation of southern Africa.

4. Meeting at a critical period in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa, the Special Committee calls for new strategies for decisive and effective action in order to bring about the speedy and total eradication of *apartheid*. The colonial and racist forces and the vested interests which profit from the exploitation and oppression of African peoples are striving by violence, bribery and deceit to perpetuate and consolidate their illegal and racist minority rule in southern Africa.

5. The Special Committee stresses the need for the mobilization of all freedom-loving Governments and peoples to thwart those manoeuvres and render full support to the just and legitimate struggle of the national liberation movement of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, a struggle which they are waging by all means at their disposal. It appeals to all Governments, churches, trade unions, student and youth organizations and all other groups to join in concerted action for the liberation of southern Africa. It also calls upon the Security Council to impose effective and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the *apartheid* régime in South Africa.

6. The Special Committee recognizes that, in that mobilization, the continent of Africa, the countries of the Caribbean and people of African descent everywhere have a significant role to play. It encourages the closest co-operation among them and by them with the United Nations.

7. The special session has provided an opportunity for consultations on action to promote the international mobilization against *apartheid*. The Special Committee commends the proposals emerging from the discussions to the United Nations and to Governments and organizations for their urgent and earnest consideration.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/313-S/13391.

## Letter dated 14 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[14 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The crimes of genocide committed by the Vietnamese aggressors against the innocent population of Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the present text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Commentary by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The crimes of genocide committed by the Vietnamese aggressors against the innocent population of Kampuchea"

The Vietnamese aggressors are proving to be the greatest criminals of our times by virtue of their ferocity and barbarity in Kampuchea, which is unparalleled. Since the day they invaded Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors have wrought wholesale devastation and committed countless vile and unspeakable crimes against our population, indiscriminately attacking old people and children, and men or women. In their massacres of our population they have employed the most fascist and most barbarous methods. For example, they pour gasoline over our compatriots and then burn them alive; they pierce their hands and their ears and string them together, or tie them together in rows and then take them off to be shot; they rape the women until they are dead or, if they are not yet dead, they finish them off by stabbing them with bayonets, etc. By means of these atrocities, the Vietnamese aggressors are trying to exterminate our entire race, so that they can swallow up the whole of Kampuchea and incorporate it into their sinister

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/315-S/13393.

"Indo-Chinese Federation". During the past few months they have been launching a campaign of widespread general repression for the purpose of crushing the heroic struggle of our people and finally occupying the whole of Kampuchea. But, once again, they have failed to carry out their criminal plan. This Vietnamese defeat is due to the staunch and widespread unity of our nation, of our people and of our revolutionary army in supporting the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to their resolute struggle and their heroic popular war of resistance, which has enabled them to inflict heavy losses on the vital forces of the Vietnamese enemy, creating insoluble difficulties for it and forcing it deeper and deeper into the quagmire of the people's war in Kampuchea.

However, because of its barbarous and fascist nature and its thirst for the blood of our innocent people, the Vietnamese enemy is frantically casting around for all kinds of means and methods, however ignoble and despicable, in order ruthlessly to exterminate our innocent population at all costs. Specifically, only recently, in the districts of Leach and Bakan, the Vietnamese enemy, using fighter planes flying low over the ground, savagely strafed our villages and our people who were working in the fields and rice plantations, as well as convoys of carts, causing loss of life and considerable damage to the property of our people.

The nation and people of Kampuchea, profoundly shocked and outraged by these extremely cruel and cowardly crimes of genocide, strongly denounce and condemn the Vietnamese annexationist enemy, which is bent on devouring territories and exterminating entire nations, and appeals to all peace-loving and justice-loving countries, peoples, international organizations, mass organizations, political parties and personalities throughout the world, to denounce and condemn Viet Nam in the strongest terms and to take effective measures to halt these barbarous crimes committed by Viet Nam against the innocent population of Kampuchea and not to let Viet Nam destroy the lives and property of the population of Kampuchea. We also take this opportunity to appeal to them further to intensify all efforts to bring about the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops and forces of aggression, numbering 150,000, from Kampuchea.

## DOCUMENT S/13394

## Letter dated 13 June 1979 from the representative of Morocco to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[14 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you of the following.

During the night of 31 May-1 June 1979, a column of the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces was attacked while it was advancing peacefully between the towns of Tantan and Tarfaya, situated within territory which has from time immemorial been under Moroccan sovereignty.

Morocco suffered more than 20 dead, several dozen wounded and extensive material damage.

During the night of 4 June, while His Majesty King Hassan II was receiving Mr. Edem Kodjo, Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African

Unity, to inform him of the flagrant aggression and violation of Moroccan territory, the town of Assa, likewise situated in the southern part of the national territory of Morocco, was attacked. The grim results of this second attack consisted of extensive material damage, including the total destruction of a public building, several dead, including six civilians who were going peacefully about their business, and many wounded.

Thus, within four days, Morocco was the victim of two flagrant attacks, carried out and directed by forces whose point of departure was situated in neighbouring Algerian territory, to which they returned after committing their heinous crimes.



Thus, Algeria, a State Member of the United Nations, has deliberately violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, notably by resorting to the use of force against the territorial integrity of the Moroccan State.

The Government of the Kingdom of Morocco is therefore both justified in addressing itself to the Security Council and compelled to do so, for the situation created and imposed on it by Algeria cannot continue without seriously threatening the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

Morocco will, of course, continue to exercise its inherent right of self-defence in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter whenever it is subjected to repeated armed attacks, and will pursue its attackers both within and outside its territory.

Morocco is deeply attached to the principles of the United Nations, with which it is determined to comply in all circumstances, but wishes to reaffirm its desire for peace and its determination to do nothing, beyond exercising its inherent right of self-defence, that might jeopardize or endanger international peace and security.

It is doubtless of interest to recall that throughout this recent period Morocco has been the victim of a number of armed attacks and that its territorial integrity has been violated more than once.

On each occasion, with the aim of protecting north-west Africa from anything that might jeopardize its security and stability, it has refrained from responding to the blind forces of aggression by actions involving force which are equally blind.

Consequently, on behalf of my Government, I have the honour to request you to make the necessary arrangements to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider the acts of aggression committed by the Algerian Government against Morocco. The Council should also take as a matter of urgency all effective measures, in accordance with the prerogatives conferred upon it by the Charter, to avert the obvious threats to peace thus created and to check the acts of aggression of which Morocco is the victim.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI  
Permanent Representative  
of the Kingdom of Morocco  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13395\*

#### Letter dated 15 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[15 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, an editorial by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Over-all intensification of guerrilla activities".

I should be very grateful if you would arrange for this text to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Editorial by "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Over-all intensification of guerrilla activities"

During the dry season which is now over, the Vietnamese aggressors mobilized more than 150,000 members of their armed forces to wage widespread search-and-destroy campaigns in the south-western region, the central region, the western region, the north-western region, the northern region, etc., for the purpose of stifling the resistance movement of our people before the rainy season. However, up to now, they have basically failed in their criminal scheme. At present, not only has our people's struggle, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, not been crushed, but the guerrilla war has spread like an uncontrollable forest fire in the dry season.

Now the rainy season is upon us. The rain is falling heavily throughout the territory of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese enemy may launch further search-and-destroy campaigns during this rainy season. But in contrast to the dry season, it will have far more difficult problems with communications, transport, and the movement of troops, tanks, pieces of artillery, etc. We must take advantage of this situation and intensify our guerrilla activities at all points and wipe out as many vital forces of the enemy as possible.

In order to wage an effective guerrilla war at all points, we must apply our combat forces' strategy dynamically and take account of the particular situation on each front. We must be resourceful, maintain our position of independence and sovereignty and of utmost reliance on our own forces and be constantly on the offensive. At the same time, we must carefully estimate the strong and weak points of the enemy on all fronts and at all times, so as to find favourable opportunities for wiping out the maximum number of its vital forces. Specifically we must cut off the enemy's bridges and supply lines, fell trees to obstruct roads, dig traps, lay mines, set up ambushes, and launch swift and deadly attacks. In short, we must employ procedures and methods to wipe out the vital forces of the Vietnamese enemy aggressors with maximum efficiency, showing great initiative. We will attack the enemy at all points both day and night. Our combat strategy must be to take the offensive against the enemy at all times.

By doing this we will be able both to wipe out the maximum number of vital forces of the enemy and train and develop our forces in all areas.

All units of our heroic revolutionary army and our heroic guerrillas must master this strategy so as to eliminate the maximum number of vital forces of the enemy during the present rainy season and create even more favourable conditions for wiping out more of the enemy's forces until it has been totally annihilated and we finally emerge the victors.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/318-S/13395.

**DOCUMENT S/13397**

**Letter dated 15 June 1979 from the representative of Morocco  
to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[15 June 1979]

I have the honour to inform you that after conveying the letter of 13 June 1979 [S/13394] to you, Morocco has once more fallen victim of another aggression in the Tantan region.

Therefore, and by order of my Government, I request you to convene urgently the Security Council in order to consider this situation which becomes more and more dangerous for peace and security.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI  
Permanent Representative of the  
Kingdom of Morocco to the United Nations

**DOCUMENT S/13398\***

**Letter dated 17 June 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[18 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your urgent attention to the following.

On Friday, 15 June 1979, at 1630 hours (local time), a United Nations vehicle was involved in a road accident at Sha'ar Ha-Ga'i on the main highway to Jerusalem. The vehicle was driven by a Nigerian officer serving with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Gom; he was accompanied by Mark Okoronkwo, also from Nigeria, who works at UNIFIL headquarters at Naqoura. The officer's behaviour aroused suspicion and, as a result, an Israel police officer decided to search two cases which were found in the car. They were discovered to contain:

- (a) Twenty-eight sticks of explosive material each weighing 500 grams;
- (b) Seventy "fingers" of gelignite, each weighing 100 grams;
- (c) Sixty detonators;
- (d) Ten hand-grenades;
- (e) Three sub-machine-guns;
- (f) A large quantity of ammunition.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gom admitted that he had received the cases from a PLO terrorist in Lebanon and that he was to deliver them to a PLO contact-man at Jerusalem.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gom and his companion were brought before a magistrate today, Sunday, 17 June.

He was remanded for 15 days and his companion for six days.

As you are aware, this is not the first time that a soldier serving with UNIFIL has been caught red-handed while attempting to smuggle into Israel arms and explosives for the terrorist PLO. I am instructed to protest vigorously and emphatically against this repeated criminal abuse of a United Nations peace-keeping force to serve as a cover for co-operation with PLO terrorists—despite assurances received from the United Nations to take action to prevent the recurrence of activities of this kind. The acts of terror carried out by PLO criminals against innocent civilians in Israel, whether successful or not, demonstrate the special gravity of such activities. Anyone aiding and abetting the PLO in its activities aimed at the indiscriminate mass murder of civilians bears a heavy responsibility, particularly if he happens to be a member, and a high-ranking officer at that, of a United Nations force.

Accordingly, I must earnestly request that action be taken forthwith to prevent once and for all any recurrence of such activities which, as you will surely agree, are in flagrant violation of the peace-keeping mandate of UNIFIL.

I should be grateful if arrangements could be made to have the present letter distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/323-S/13398.

## Letter dated 16 June 1979 from the representative of Algeria to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[18 June 1979]

The representative of Morocco has addressed to you a letter reporting certain acts of war within Moroccan territory, the responsibility for which he wrongly attributes to my country. Such accusations are entirely groundless and are designed solely to divert the attention of the international community from the basic facts of the question of Western Sahara, which in reality is entirely a matter of decolonization.

## I

Algeria categorically refutes the presentation and interpretation of the acts of war in question and expresses its indignation at this attempt by Morocco to shift onto it the responsibility for the tragic consequences of Morocco's mistaken policy of expansionism and annexation. In any event, Morocco, which knows full well that no Algerian armed forces have crossed the Moroccan frontier, has not produced and could not produce any proof of the allegations which it has so frivolously made. It resorts to an astonishing syllogism in order to "prove" the existence of something which does not exist. Being well aware it could not maintain, without losing all credibility, that "Algerian forces" had actually crossed the Moroccan frontier, Morocco simply referred to "forces", taking care not to identify them further but nevertheless concluding, by a syllogism of dubious consistency, that Algeria was therefore an aggressor because it had somehow used "force" against the territorial integrity of the Moroccan State, 400 kilometres from its frontier.

These "forces" which Morocco, in an attempt to maintain confusion and abuse the good faith of the members of the Security Council, does not identify are constituted by the armed organization of the Saharan people, the Polisario Front, which is fighting for self-determination and independence.

Actually, if the Saharan fighters of the Polisario Front, in their national liberation struggle, are striking such heavy blows at the troops illegally occupying their territory and putting them on the defensive even inside Moroccan territory, with the aim of destroying the military bases from which their adversaries come, this is proof of the fact that they are largely in control of Western Sahara, part of which they have effectively liberated and where they have set up their own bases to support their fight for national liberation and to drive out the occupying forces.

How could anyone think that the Saharan troops could attack their adversary in its own territory, across an almost impassable desert, and at places more than 400 kilometres from Algeria's western frontier, if they were not in control of the land in Western Sahara that they have partly liberated from its illegal occupiers?

This is the reality, cruel as it may be to the Moroccan Government bogged down in a war of conquest. This reality entirely demolishes Morocco's argument concerning an alleged act of aggression by Algeria that is logically, geographically and physically impossible.

## II

It is clear from the foregoing that Morocco, which pays no heed to proving the materiality of the acts which it wrongly imputes to Algeria, is deliberately confusing the issue. Its purpose is also clear. By invoking a supposed right of self-defence without first proving the existence of an attack by Algeria, Morocco is justifying in advance an act of aggression which it is preparing against my country. Taking refuge behind Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which manifestly does not apply in this case, Morocco is preparing to commit armed aggression against Algeria, thus violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, adding to the aggression committed against the Saharan people since 1975 a further aggression against a neighbouring State, and assuming the historical responsibility for unleashing a conflict with incalculable consequences for the security and stability of a large part of the African continent.

Invoking Article 51 of the Charter, which permits the exercise of the right of self-defence, is as inappropriate and unjustified as the so-called "right of hot pursuit" with which Morocco is threatening Algeria. The right of hot pursuit, which cannot be dissociated from colonialism, is directly linked in its manifestations to the pouncings of occupying forces in reaction to national liberation struggles. It is one of the intolerable semblances of legality which colonialism tries to impose by conferring legal validity on all forms of violence in opposition to the emancipation movement of peoples. Having been rejected along with other errors of the past, the right of hot pursuit is now resurrected and therefore rejuvenated, thanks to Morocco. A favourite weapon of the colonial forces of the past, and now a preferred instrument of violence for Israel and the racist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes against the peoples of Lebanon, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola, the right of hot pursuit is a prime example of an act of "deliberate and premeditated armed aggression", in the words of the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Mongi Slim, to the Security Council on 2 June 1958 [819th meeting, para. 49]. The right of hot pursuit, a dusty argument of the colonial Powers which Morocco pulls out of the imperialist legal scrap-heap to invoke against Algeria, recalls to us the horrors of the massacre of thousands of innocent civilians in southern Africa, victims of haughty white racist power.

In any event, to argue that the right of hot pursuit is a variation of the right of self-defence provided for in Article 51 of the Charter certainly requires a high degree of frivolity combined with blatant ignorance of the conditions for self-defence.

In these circumstances, Algeria casts back upon the Moroccan authorities full responsibility for the consequences which would inevitably follow from the violation of its frontiers, as stated by the President of Algeria in a message of 9 June to the President of the Sudan, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity



(OAU). It is also in these circumstances that, on the same date, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria addressed a message to the same effect to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In addition to the order given by the King of Morocco to his armed forces to exercise a so-called right of hot pursuit, there is now the letter of 13 June [S/13394] in which Morocco brought before the Security Council a complaint concerning alleged aggression, thus exposing the Moroccan plan, which constitutes an extremely serious threat to Algeria and the region. Pursuing its policy of confusing the issue, Morocco is asking the Council to regard as aggression coming from a third State any armed action by a national liberation movement against forces of occupation. It is thus asking the Council to provide a cloak of legality in order to conduct its armed actions against a neighbouring State, while at the same time creating a legal precedent which would justify in the eyes of the United Nations Israel's attacks on Lebanon and those of the racist countries of southern Africa on the front-line States.

### III

By persisting in imputing to my country the responsibility for the failure of their policy of occupation and expansion, the Moroccan leaders are distorting the facts, using diversionary tactics and, being prisoners of that policy, are now reckless enough to want to create vis-à-vis Algeria a conflict situation that endangers peace and security in the region. Being incapable of putting an end to the resistance of the Saharan people, Morocco is attempting to create the impression that the question of Western Sahara is a dispute between the States of the region. This distortion of the issue reveals both the strength of the national liberation struggle being waged by the Saharan people and Morocco's inability to cope, otherwise than by pressing blindly forward, with the consequences of its policy of annexation, occupation and aggression.

No one could be deceived by these new Moroccan manoeuvres, both ridiculously futile and extremely dangerous, the aim of which is to create a diversion and reduce a decolonization issue to a supposed dispute between two States of the region.

Morocco persists, once again by bringing the matter before the Security Council, in shifting onto Algeria, in the face of all the evidence, responsibility for the misfortunes afflicting our entire region as a result of the military occupation and partitioning of the national territory of the Saharan people.

The situation is clear. If the region is at present in a tragic impasse, it requires a curious kind of logic to say that this is the fault of Algeria and not of the unbridled expansionism of its neighbour.

The fact is that the situation created by Morocco in Western Sahara, with its explosive repercussions throughout the region, is unquestionably the result of its obstinacy in denying the existence of the people of that territory and their fundamental right to self-determination and independence, even though that right was solemnly reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

At a time when many convergent efforts are being made to create a climate conducive to the search for a just and lasting political settlement of the question of Western Sahara, and no doubt precisely of that trend, Morocco is taking action at the international level to justify further escalations in aggression. This policy of diversion and threats, in addition to constituting a violation of international law, of the basic principles of the Charter, of resolution 2625 (XXV) on "principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States" and of resolution 3314 (XXIX) containing the Definition of Aggression, can neither intimidate Algeria nor mislead Maghreb, African and international opinion concerning the true nature of the conflict which is casting a shadow over our region. Nor can it outwit the Security Council, which is fully aware that the problem of Western Sahara belongs in the context of the historical process of decolonization.

### IV

There is a conflict. But it is only between the Saharan people struggling for its independence and the two occupying States which have usurped its territory. No exercise in confusing the issue, no wrongful accusation of a neighbouring State, can mask the reality of an attempt to silence the voice of a people once again subjugated by the policy of conquest, partition and war of extermination. No futile attempt to travesty the facts, no expedient agitation before the Security Council, can turn the international community from its sacred duty or divert it from the course of helping the Saharan people to forge their own destiny.

Morocco is not only practising a policy of expansionism for which it has tried in vain to obtain endorsement, but is posing as a victim of aggression, while obstinately opposing the right of the Saharan people to an independent existence. Since the day on which it assumed the grave responsibility of invading the territory of the Saharan people, Morocco can only be regarded as an aggressor State, with all the legal consequences that such a description entails, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, with resolution 2625 (XXV) and with resolution 3314 (XXIX). In particular, the latter resolution describes as an act of deliberate aggression the use of armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination and independence. The same resolution consequently affirms the legitimacy of the support given to peoples which, like the Saharan people, are struggling in such circumstances to obtain their right to self-determination against armies of invasion.

One of the two occupying States, Mauritania, which, like Morocco today, had brought a complaint before the Security Council in October 1977 concerning the attack on Zouérate by the Polisario, now recognizes that the real problem at the root of the serious situation in the region is the fact that the people of Western Sahara has been deprived of its rights through occupation and partition. As a result of that recognition, it has now obtained the agreement of Polisario to maintain the ceasefire and to seek the admittedly still difficult road to peace. This example, which had the threefold merit of showing that the Western Sahara affair is not a dispute between two States, that it is a problem of decolonization

and that it was futile to try to mislead the Security Council, should serve as a guide to Morocco.

Any action which the Security Council might decide to take could only be within the framework laid down by our Organization for expediting the solution of the question of Western Sahara, which in any event is on the agenda of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, through the implementation of the decisions concerning the effective exercise by the people of West-

ern Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

I would request you to have the present text circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Mission of Algeria  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13400\*

Letter dated 18 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[18 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary of "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique regards aggression against other countries as a noble duty and a shining cause".

I should be very grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary of "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique regards aggression against other countries as a noble duty and a shining cause"

Since its aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique has been, through its propaganda machine, singing the praises of the "resounding victories" of the Vietnamese army of aggression in Kampuchea, which is said to have carried out a "noble duty" in its "shining" cause by committing aggression against Kampuchea and invading it and by totally occupying Laos. It is impossible to be more barbarous, fascistic and cynical than that!

This means that the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique regards its aggression and invasion perpetrated against other countries as "a noble duty and a shining cause". Thus, not only does it feel no shame at its criminal invasion of Kampuchea and its total occupation of Laos, which most barbarously and fascistically violate all international laws, but what is more,

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/324-S/13400.

it takes great pride in them. Seldom does one find such cynical criminals in this world! Normally, after committing his misdeed, a criminal feels some remorse. But the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, which has committed countless crimes against the nation and people of Kampuchea and against Laos and its people—crimes which world public opinion and all mankind are denouncing and condemning with the utmost vigour—feels great joy at these crimes and regards them as its glory. This reveals even more clearly to the whole world and to all mankind the true nature—barbarous, fascistic and ignoble—of the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique, which is unequalled in our time.

Everyone is well aware that Viet Nam is scornful of all human conscience and is filled with boundless ambition and that, consequently, the danger that the war will extend to Thailand and to the entire South-East Asian region is a certainty. Hence the current Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea is not a matter of life or death for Kampuchea alone; it also constitutes a threat of the most serious kind to the independence, sovereignty, security and peace of the countries of the entire region of South-East Asia and the Pacific and to world peace. The present Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea must therefore be extinguished in time, before it extends successively to the other neighbouring countries; this must be done by joining forces and taking a position of solidarity with the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea and by demanding the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. If Viet Nam persists in scorning the just demands unanimously expressed by the whole world and by all mankind, other concrete measures will then have to be taken in order to compel it to respect international law, the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of non-alignment.

It is only by resolving the problem of Kampuchea—the key problem of peace and security in South-East Asia today—in accordance with established principles that it will be possible to avert the danger of extension of the war and to provide lasting safeguards for peace, security and stability in all of South-East Asia and in the world.

#### DOCUMENT S/13401\*

Letter dated 19 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[19 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, an editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Let us devote ourselves to the work of production during this rainy season".

I should be very grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/325-S/13401.

## ANNEX

Editorial from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "Let us devote ourselves to the work of production during this rainy season"

The rains are beginning to fall now in all the regions of Kampuchea. This is the beginning of the season of work in the fields and the rice paddies. But this year we have to face a number of obstacles and difficulties due to the search-and-destroy campaigns carried on by the Vietnamese aggressors. They want to prevent our population from farming the crops, so that it will starve and no longer have the strength to fight them. In that way they could swallow all of Kampuchea. But our people are not remaining idle in the face of this situation. They are not letting and will not let the Vietnamese enemy carry on the search-and-destroy operations as they please. They refuse to die of hunger as the Vietnamese aggressors want them to. Our people, in order to overcome all of these obstacles and difficulties, are struggling to eliminate the active forces of the enemy and are working to the maximum extent on production.

With regard to production, we have two guidelines for the rainy season:

1. Cultivation of the fields;
2. Cultivation of the rice paddies.

### 1. Cultivation of the fields

In order to save manpower and time, in places where old fields already exist, it is not necessary to clear too much new land. We must clear away the brush from these old fields in order to grow all possible crops there. Among field crops, the most important is fast-growing rice. This type of rice must be harvested in July or early August. Where there is a shortage of fast-growing rice seeds, we must grow maize. But we must endeavour to grow field rice to the maximum extent. After the

rice has been harvested, we must begin to grow manioc, since manioc can be planted as late as the months of July and August. In addition to rice, maize and manioc crops, we must also plant banana plants and grow other secondary food crops, such as sweet potatoes, beans, sesame and vegetables.

### 2. Cultivation of the rice paddies

Where we can grow paddy rice, we must do so to the maximum extent. In the rice paddies of the highlands, we should plant fast-growing rice in order to save production manpower. In the rice paddies of the lowlands we should carry on normal rice cultivation.

This year, to be sure, we shall encounter difficulties due to the search-and-destroy campaigns of the aggressor Vietnamese enemy, campaigns which have caused us heavy losses in livestock, seed and means of production. But we have the opportunity to grow rice and field crops. During the present rainy season, at all our bases throughout the country, we are mobilizing all our forces, our population, to grow all the food crops possible.

Parallel with this, we must care for and defend our field crops and paddy rice in order to prevent the Vietnamese enemy from destroying them, by developing and intensifying our guerrilla activities to destroy the active forces of the aggressors, to cut off their supply and communication routes, and so on. At harvest time, we must take effective steps to store, hide and protect our production, to keep it safe from the enemy's pillage and destruction, so that we can meet our own needs and maintain the front under all circumstances, keeping ourselves masters of the situation.

In order to be successful in a war of long duration and to destroy the Vietnamese aggressor, we must have adequate food supplies. The task of production is therefore a task of destroying the aggressor Vietnamese enemy until total victory is won.

## DOCUMENT S/13402

Letter dated 13 June 1979 from the representative of Benin to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[19 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for publication as a Security Council document in connexion with Benin's complaint which is still before the Council, a special communiqué issued by the Revolutionary Military Government on the sentencing of mercenaries and their associates involved in the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

(Signed) THOMAS S. BOYA  
Permanent Representative of Benin  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

Imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977

DECISIONS OF THE SESSION OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SITTING AS A NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL TO DEAL WITH THE FACTS OF THE AGGRESSION

(Special communiqué issued by the Revolutionary Military Government)

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers on Wednesday, 23 May 1979, the Head of State presented the decisions of the National Revolutionary Council following the conclusions of the investigations of two commissions of inquiry established after the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday 16 January 1977, one to investigate the internal ramifications of the network

of mercenaries and traitors to the Beninese cause and the other to hear Théodore Ahoussinou, known as "Radelec", and his accomplices concerning the subversive network established by them with a view to carrying out attempts on the lives of the responsible figures of the Beninese revolution.

The National Revolutionary Council, having before it the two investigation files presented to it by the Head of State, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, on the basis of ordinance No. 74-68 of 18 November 1974, which provides for the establishment, powers, composition, organization and functioning of the National Revolutionary Council and which stipulates in its article 7: "The National Revolutionary Council may sit as a National Revolutionary Tribunal to judge, without appeal, such acts and events as it declares to be political infractions and attempts against State security", sat as a National Revolutionary Tribunal on 9 April 1979 for the purpose of judging the perpetrators, accomplices and all persons involved in the events which were the subject of the above-mentioned two inquiries. This high authority of our revolution made public the record of its deliberations, the essence of which is as follows.

Everyone remembers the strange noises which on Sunday, 16 January 1977, awakened the working people of Cotonou, our economic capital.

Everyone also knows that those whistling, crackling and rumbling noises were the work of drug-maddened mercenaries armed with the most modern and sophisticated weapons for the cynical purpose of physically liquidating the responsible figures of our Party and our revolutionary State.



Everyone—except those who, entangled in their own contradictions, undermined by hatred and confusion, are struggling pitifully in an attempt to hide the truth—everyone, we say, knows that those mercenaries, vile stateless individuals, with no faith and no law, are the sadistic agents of international imperialism and its African henchmen.

Indeed, after the proclamation of the Programme Speech of 13 November 1972, after the choice of our socialist option for development on 30 November 1974, and especially after the birth on 30 November 1975 of our vanguard Party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, a Party whose task it is to educate our people, organize it and harden it for war in its revolutionary struggle of national liberation, international imperialism decided to do everything in its power to succeed in its diabolical plan of colonial reconquest with a view to safeguarding its avaricious interests and keeping our people's back forever bowed so that it could be enslaved and exploited.

Everyone is convinced that such efforts are possible only when the external network can count on the assistance and firm support of an internal network.

Everyone remembers also that after the joint session held from 7 to 12 March 1977, the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Revolutionary Council and the Revolutionary Military Government, publishing the report of the special commission of inquiry, promised to deal with the matter of the internal network of that ignoble imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

For that reason, and in conformity with that decision of the higher national authorities, there was established, by ordinances No. 77-7 of 18 February and No. 77-41 of 3 December 1977, a National Commission of Inquiry, which encircled, surrounded and dismantled that internal network of the aggression of 16 January 1977 and whose report has been submitted to the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

Accordingly, at the close of its first regular session for the year 1979 and in application of the provisions of ordinance No. 74-68 in article 7, the National Revolutionary Council sat on 9 April 1979 as a National Revolutionary Tribunal to take note of the report of the National Commission of Inquiry and to pronounce sanctions against all the persons implicated in the internal network of the imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977.

After hearing the said report and after extensive discussion, the National Revolutionary Tribunal ruled case by case and pronounced the following sanctions by simple majority in a secret ballot:

*Imperialist armed aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977*

Sentenced to death:

1. *Beninese traitors*

Joseph A. Fadest;  
Nicolas Takin;  
Achille Zogo;  
Emile Derlin Zinsou, twice condemned to death;  
Gratien Pognon;  
Amadou Assouma, known as Tchinnin;  
Amédée Adotevi, once condemned to death;  
Paul Darboux;  
Bertin Babliba Borna, once condemned to death;  
Idelphonse Lemon, once condemned to death;  
Adrien Hounghedji, once condemned to death.

2. *African mercenaries*

Marc Soglo;  
Juste Parfait Rustico;  
Cossi Paulin Tohoue;  
Antoine Kohoun;  
Mathias J. Adeochoun;  
Roch Augustin Aissi;  
Lucien Zogo;  
Issa Aliou Djato;  
Ousman Boukari;

Mazou Idrissou;  
Alpha Ba Oumarou;  
Ibrahima Kaba;  
Saliou Diallo;  
Mohamed Dowgound;  
Mamadou Ba;  
Mamadou Diallo;  
Ali Diawara;  
Kalilou Kone;  
Mamadou Sako;  
A. Koholin;  
A. Maman;  
Barro Ba;  
Bakary Zoumarou;  
Lamine Kaba;  
Oumar Sy Savaneh;  
Ibrahima Diallo;  
Abdourahmane Kaba.

3. *European mercenaries*

Bob Denard, alias Colonel Maurin, alias Gilbert Bourgeaud;  
Marc Aubert;  
Eric Berardengo;  
Robert Bermont;  
Siegfried Birnbaum;  
Dominique Boucher;  
Daniel Bourrel;  
Gervais Boutanquoi;  
Philippe Boyer;  
Roger Bracco;  
Jacques Buteri;  
Guy Lefèvre;  
Dominique Cabot;  
Louis Capasso;  
André Cau;  
Michel de la Contrie de Charette;  
Benoît Charrier;  
Jean Michel Chesse;  
Hugues de Chivre;  
Jean Bernard Chrétien;  
Marc Colot;  
Olivier Danet;  
Bernard Delrue;  
Jean Pierre Delstanches;  
Christan Despres;  
Philippe de Doyard;  
Jacques Guillots;  
Helmut Gruber;  
Alfons Holzapfel;  
Yvon Jouguet;  
Werner Kolibius;  
Francis Leal;  
Jean Paul Lecorgne;  
Taddée Surma;  
Gérard Lejon;  
Jean Yves Le Meur;  
Michel Loiseau;  
Patrice Loth;  
Michel Lourdais;  
Frantz Heimann;  
Dominique Malacrino;  
Hugues Wagner;  
Thierry Richelles;  
Jean Pierre Malivert;  
Gérard Michel;  
Jean Louis Milliotte;  
Dominique Musial;  
Pierre Paillard;  
Jacquy Perrin;  
René de SAYS Resciniti;  
Laurent de Sarnez;  
Guy Scheeck;  
Raymond Schenpf;  
Denis Simon;  
Didier Souppart;  
Jean Pierre Sutter;  
Raymond Thomann;  
Gérard Thuret;  
Guy Toumi;

Jean Pierre Van Den Berghe;  
Gérard Peyre;  
Mercier and associates.

Sentenced to imprisonment for 10 years:  
Justine Caitano, wife of Marc Soglo.

Sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years:  
Lucien Gnonhoue;  
Keita Sanfa.

Acquitted:  
Franck Lahami;  
Rémy Aizansi;  
Odette Noudogbessi;

Codjo Paul Soglo. This person shall be subjected to a military sanction, in accordance with the statute of the People's Armed Forces of Benin.

*The matter of Theodore Ahoussinou, known as "Radelec",  
and his associates*

The following persons were acquitted outright:  
Théodore Ahoussinou, known as "Radelec";  
Thomas Bodea;  
Jean Kodoko Agbessi;  
Désiré Adihou;  
Maurice Guedegbe;  
Martial Gohoungo;  
Cathérine Ahouandjinou;  
Paulin Zohoungbogbo.

Death to the traitors!  
Death to the mercenaries!  
Ready for the Revolution!  
The struggle continues.

Cotonou, 24 May 1979

## DOCUMENT S/13403

**Note verbale dated 19 June 1979 from the representative of Angola to the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[20 June 1979]

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations presents his compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to forward the attached text of a communiqué issued by the Minister of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola, Colonel Iko Carreira, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party.

The Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Angola requests that this communiqué be issued and circulated as a document of the Security Council in connexion with the question of South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

### ANNEX

**Communiqué by the Minister of Defence of the People's Republic of Angola, Colonel Iko Carreira, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA—Workers' Party**

On 11 June 1979 at 7.00 a.m., a squadron of Mirage aeroplanes belonging to the racist South African army bombed the village of Humbe, in the Province of Cunene, causing loss of lives and injury among the civilian population. They also destroyed various vehicles and other machinery belonging to the Ministry of Construction and Housing, and a co-operative store.

The South African military and racist forces are now intensifying their provocation with the concentration of a great number of troops on the border, increasing the number of violations of our air space and also destroying valuable equipment belonging to the people.

## DOCUMENT S/13404\*

**Letter dated 20 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General**

[Original: English]  
[20 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for information, a telegram dated 16 June 1979 sent by the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Pol Pot, to Mr. Kriangsak Chomanan, Prime Minister of Thailand.

I should be very grateful if you would arrange for this telegram to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

**Telegram dated 16 June 1979 from the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea to the Prime Minister of Thailand**

I have received your letter dated 12 June 1979. You explained the problem of refugees which has become a heavy

political, economic and social burden for Thailand, as well as a serious threat to its national security. I fully agree with you that immediate and efficient measures should be taken in solving this problem.

The problem of refugees from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea is a dreadful one and is becoming a great danger which threatens the security and economy as well as the whole society of many countries in South-East Asia, Asia and the world, at present and in the future, particularly of the neighbouring South-East Asian countries.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, like all Governments of South-East Asian countries and all other countries the world over, has paid great attention to this problem.

The root cause of this problem is the Hanoi authorities, who are carrying out a policy of looting, exploiting and oppressing the Vietnamese people and the traffic in refugees in Viet Nam while they are carrying out a policy of aggression, expansion, swallowing territories and exterminating nations in Kampuchea and Laos, aiming at pursuing their aggression and expansion in South-East Asia, Asia and in the Pacific. The Hanoi authorities are not only the cause of the exodus of the Vietnamese refugees, but they are also the incendiaries who have put Kampuchea to

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/326-S/13404.

fire and sword, sown death over the people of Kampuchea and caused them innumerable separations from their homeland. They are also the incendiaries who have burned villages and housing and uprooted a great mass of Lao people from their country. Everywhere they put their feet, they destroy existence, peace and tranquillity and uproot the people from their country. It is this baleful policy of the Hanoi authorities which is the root cause of the phenomenon of the exodus of refugees from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, a historical one never known before, and is dreadfully shaking South-East Asia, Asia and the whole world.

As for the problem of the Vietnamese refugees, the entire world has demanded for years that the Hanoi authorities solve this problem, but the latter have totally despised world public opinion. On the contrary, they have further increased the number of refugees in accordance with their policy of expelling more people and carrying out the traffic of refugees.

Moreover, they have swallowed Laos, committed aggression against Kampuchea and unscrupulously carried out the policy of exterminating nations in Kampuchea, creating then this phenomenon of the exodus of refugees from Kampuchea and Laos.

Concerning the problem of refugees whose number has been unceasingly increasing due to the criminal policy of the Hanoi authorities and which is becoming a serious danger, at present and in the future, threatening many countries in the world, especially in South-East Asia, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea thinks that it is necessary to convene an international conference within the framework of the United Nations or any other kind of international conference to clearly determine the root cause of this problem and to take efficient measures in solving it.

As for the problem of Kampuchea's people who have fled the war, its root cause is the war of aggression perpetrated by the Hanoi authorities against Kampuchea and their policy of exterminating the nation of Kampuchea. The only way to solve this problem is to force the Hanoi authorities to totally withdraw their troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea. Otherwise, they will continue their repression and massacres and pursue their policy of barbarously exterminating the nation of Kampuchea, sowing death and causing separations and exodus. Therefore, all the peace-loving and justice-loving Governments and countries the world over should intensify their activities in forcing the Hanoi authorities to totally withdraw their troops and forces of aggression from Kampuchea, continue further to strongly condemn them, to take political, diplomatic and economical measures and cut off all aid to Viet Nam, depriving it of any possibility of pursuing its policy of aggression and annexation against Kampuchea.

The same holds true in respect of the problem of refugees from Laos. The only way to solve it is to force the Hanoi authorities to withdraw its troops from Laos and let the Lao

people have the right to live in peace and tranquillity in their own territory.

As for the problem of the Vietnamese refugees, it can be solved only when the Hanoi authorities have been prevented from carrying out their regional expansionism, their policy of aggression, annexation and swallowing territories against Kampuchea and other neighbouring countries and their policy of looting, exploiting and oppressing the Vietnamese people and when they have been forced to turn back to use their efforts in solving the living conditions of the Vietnamese people. Otherwise, all statements made by the Hanoi authorities alleging that they strive to solve the refugee problem are nothing but lies. And more hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people will be compelled to flee their country because of starvation and to escape from being forcibly enlisted in the army by the Hanoi authorities and from dying at their place in the war of aggression against Kampuchea. However the world may try to organize receiving the Vietnamese refugees, it would not be able to solve this problem.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea avails itself of this opportunity to state that it totally approves the measures taken by the Government of Thailand in returning the Kampuchean people who have temporarily taken shelter on Thai territory to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It fully understands the motives of the measures taken by the Government of Thailand in this matter and so far has successively received the returned Kampuchean people. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea would like then to express its sincere thanks to the Government and people of Thailand for kindly providing food, according to their possibilities, to the people of Kampuchea who fled the war. These Kampuchean people have been compelled to escape from the Vietnamese troops of aggression. Therefore, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has the duty to welcome them back. Despite the difficulties caused by the barbarous war of aggression perpetrated by the Hanoi authorities, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will fully take in charge all these returned Kampuchean people and will co-operate with the Government of Thailand in this matter.

As for the other refugees including the Vietnamese refugees, the Government of Thailand has fully the independent and sovereign right to refuse to accept them no more. It has the full right to take appropriate measures in conformity with the interests of the defence of Thailand's security. The burden of these refugees affects the defence, economy and social situation of Thailand. If these refugees continue to be accepted, the Thai people will shoulder a more and more heavy burden and will face more and more difficulties. Therefore, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea agrees with the measures decided by the Government of Thailand.

(Signed) POL POT  
Prime Minister of the  
Government of Democratic Kampuchea

## DOCUMENT S/13405

### Letter dated 20 June 1979 from the representative of Cuba to the President of the Security Council

[Original: Spanish]  
[20 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request, pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations and the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, that the text of the attached statement of the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cuba should be circulated as a Council document.

(Signed) Ernesto LÓPEZ PAZ  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of Cuba  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX

### Statement dated 19 June 1979 of the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cuba

The threat of direct intervention by the United States, which has left its baleful imprint on the history of the peoples of the Caribbean, is once again hanging over the peoples of our American continent.

The Government of the United States is engaged in manoeuvres aimed at establishing its military presence in Nicaragua by using the Organization of American States (OAS) as a screen for such intervention.



According to information from absolutely reliable sources received by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United States has, since the end of last week, been exerting pressure on a number of Latin American foreign ministries, under the pretext of a false and belated humanitarianism, to secure the adoption of decisions by the OAS that will facilitate its military intervention in Nicaragua for the purpose of snatching from the people the victory they have won at the cost of indescribable sacrifice and through the incomparable heroism of its fighting forces under the leadership of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional. The United States Government has even indicated those intentions openly to a number of Latin American Governments.

The moves being made to convene the OAS and the recent interventionist statements by Under-Secretary of State Viron Vacky leave no doubt concerning the aggressive intentions of the Yankee imperialists.

Cuba denounces this manoeuvre by the United States and calls upon the peoples and Governments of Latin America not to lend themselves to those plans.

Unable to save Somoza, the United States is seeking through its intervention to save Somozaism and the genocidal killers of the National Guard, and thus to preserve the essence and the foundation of a blood-thirsty, corrupt neo-colonial régime dominated by the United States, which has brought shame to the peoples of Latin America and was imposed nearly half a century ago through intervention by Yankee marines—an intervention opposed with exemplary valour and dignity by Augusto César Sandino, who was murdered in the course of this vile undertaking.

After setting up one of the most atrocious régimes on the American continent and keeping it in power during nearly five decades of cruel oppression of the Nicaraguan people and at a time when that people are preparing to gain their freedom once and for all, the United States is again attempting to thwart the Nicaraguan people's aspirations towards independence and to rescue a clique which has survived only by means of the most brutal terror and repression.

Somoza has lost the battle and has already been defeated by the Nicaraguan people. The tyrant knows this, but he is trying to gain the minimum amount of time essential to permit armed intervention by the United States. For this purpose, he is bombarding defenceless towns and villages, murdering women, children and old people, and devastating with indescribable fury the soil of Nicaragua, totally incapable as he is of defeating the general strike of the entire people and the invincible offensive of the fighters. He is employing for that purpose the services of professionals in genocide, trained and taught in the United States military academies and equipped with the plentiful war *matériel* which for many years has been directly supplied to them by the United States Government and which in recent months he has been reinforcing with powerful equipment, including rocket artillery, with the aid of the Zionist State of Israel. The United States is chiefly responsible for the genocide to which the fraternal people of Nicaragua have been subjected.

President Carter, the self-proclaimed champion of human rights, is now trying to rescue the most blood-thirsty, corrupt criminals in Latin America, is lending them support at a time when they are torturing and murdering Nicaraguans with impunity and is trying to defeat the Nicaraguan people's selfless

struggle for freedom. That policy represents a concession to the most reactionary and aggressive circles in the United States and stems from President Carter's own domestic difficulties.

Several days ago, 125 members of the House of Representatives and five Senators presented the President of the United States with a reactionary plea for intervention and support for Somoza, acting in the same spirit that prevailed at the time when the United States stripped Mexico of more than half of its territory.

United States intervention in Nicaragua would create a Viet Nam in the very heart of Latin America. The Nicaraguan people and the peoples of Central America would unquestionably rise up against such foreign intervention, and their brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean would not be indifferent to that act of genocide.

The United States Government and those who are preparing to assist it in its shameful, reprehensible manoeuvre cannot be unaware of that prospect and of the responsibility they would be assuming before history.

The countries of Latin America must see to it that any decisions taken by the OAS cannot serve as camouflage for the interventionist designs of the United States Government.

It is essential to prevent the OAS from being used once again as a vile instrument of Yankee interventionism, as was the case in Guatemala in 1954 and in Santo Domingo in 1965, when the intervention was decided upon beforehand by the United States.

Today, more than ever, the Governments and peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean must steadfastly uphold the principle of non-intervention and demand that the right of Nicaragua and of all Latin American peoples to full self-determination, freedom and independence be preserved at all costs.

Let peace with justice, freedom and independence be sought for the heroic, suffering people of Nicaragua, but any formula that facilitates intervention by foreign military forces must be categorically rejected.

Such intervention must be prevented and must be resolutely and courageously denounced before world public opinion and in international organizations.

Cuba is certain that the new United States manoeuvre will meet with firm resistance from those Latin American Governments that are faithful to the anti-interventionist tradition and that, through their presence during the deliberations, they will prevent this ominous design from being brought to fruition.

Today it would be Nicaragua; tomorrow it could be any other State in Latin America or the Caribbean.

Thus filled with confidence, Cuba also urges all non-aligned countries, all progressive Governments and all the peoples of the world to support the Nicaraguan Provisional Government of National Reconstruction, to mobilize without delay to prevent a new, criminal armed intervention by the imperialists in Nicaragua and to show the broadest, most steadfast solidarity with the Nicaraguan fighters headed by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional in order to help them to speed their complete, certain and final victory. The days when the United States was the lord and master of our countries and when Yankee marines decided what Governments our peoples were to have must be left behind forever.

#### DOCUMENT S/13406

**Letter dated 20 June 1979 from the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Benin, Burundi, the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guyana, Madagascar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and the United Republic of Tanzania to the President of the Security Council**

*[Original: French]*  
*[20 June 1979]*

We have the honour to inform you that we support the letter addressed to you by Mr. Madjid Abdallah, a member of the Polisario Front, in which he requests permission to make a statement in the Security Council, pursuant to rule 39 of the

provisional rules of procedure, at the meeting which is to be held at the request of the Permanent Representative of Morocco.

We should be grateful if you would have the present letter and that of Mr. Abdallah circulated as a Council document.

*Signed by the representatives of the following Member States:*

Afghanistan  
Algeria  
Benin  
Burundi  
Congo  
Equatorial Guinea

Ethiopia  
Guyana  
Madagascar  
Rwanda  
Sao Tome and Principe  
United Republic of Tanzania

#### ANNEX

**Text of the letter dated 20 June 1979 from Mr. Madjid Abdallah to the President of the Security Council**

Referring to rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, I have the honour to request you to permit me to make a statement in the Council at the meeting which is to be held at the request of the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations.

#### DOCUMENT S/13407\*

**Letter dated 20 June 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General**

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[20 June 1979]

Upon instructions of the Chinese Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a statement dated 16 June 1979 issued by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the need to stop the Vietnamese authorities from creating and exporting refugees.

I wish to take this opportunity to inform you that the Chinese Government supports the proposal made by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in her letter of 31 May to you on convening a special conference of States Members of the United Nations to discuss the problem of Indo-Chinese refugees. The Chinese Government hopes that that conference, to be held under the authority of your high office, will condemn and apply sanctions to the Vietnamese authorities for pursuing their policies of war and expansion, ethnic discrimination and export of refugees in violation of the Charter of the United Nations so as to prevent the aggravation of the problem, and then proceed to search for a complete solution to the problem of Indo-Chinese refugees.

I request that this letter and the attached statement be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/327-S/13407.

#### ANNEX

**Statement dated 16 June 1979 by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the need to stop the Vietnamese authorities from creating and exporting refugees**

Of late, the Vietnamese authorities have redoubled their efforts to expel refugees from Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos. Hundreds of thousands of people have been made destitute, forced to leave their homes and drifted into neighbouring countries, thus creating a grave economic, social and political problem for countries in South-East Asia and a number of other countries. This has turned into an international disaster. The plight of masses of innocent displaced people leading a precarious existence, and the thousands of aged and infirm, women and children who died in the wilderness or were drowned at sea are indeed tragic. These anti-popular and anti-humane atrocities committed by the Vietnamese Government and its policy of bringing disaster upon its neighbours have aroused world-wide indignation and have been strongly condemned by public opinion in other countries.

In the final analysis, the problem of the Indo-Chinese refugees has arisen solely as a result of the fact that the Vietnamese Government is pursuing a policy of aggression and war. After the end of their war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities showed no regard for the welfare of their people and failed to turn their attention to healing the wounds of war and embarking on economic reconstruction. Instead, they pursued a policy of militarism to achieve their goal of setting up an "Indo-Chinese Federation" and dominating South-East Asia. To support their war of aggression in Kampuchea and maintain control in Laos, they conscripted their young people into serving as cannon fodder and bled the people white. This has ruined the economy and made the people destitute. Consequently, large numbers of Vietnamese inhabitants have had to flee the country. Furthermore, the Vietnamese

authorities have been deliberately inciting ethnic animosities and expelling what they consider to be alien elements. They have brutally persecuted Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent, Chinese nationals and other ethnic minorities who have lived in Viet Nam for many generations, depriving them of their means of livelihood and forcibly expelling them from the country. Moreover, all those who show dissatisfaction at their cruel rule or are considered by them as security risks have also been expelled. Everywhere in Kampuchea, Vietnamese aggressor troops committed arson, murder, pillage and all sorts of other crimes, driving large numbers of Kampuchean civilians from their own country by tanks or at bayonet point. What makes people particularly indignant is the fact that, apart from confiscating the real estate and other properties of these involuntary refugees, the Vietnamese authorities even practised extortion by stipulating that each refugee must give as much as some twenty ounces of gold for permission to leave the country. They have thus extorted from the refugees a fabulous sum of gold and foreign exchange. They have become the biggest and most despicable present day human traffickers. Their policies of aggression, ethnic discrimination and human trafficking have served to shed the cloak under which they have been masquerading—the cloak of peace, democracy, good-neighbourliness and socialism.

The Soviet social-imperialists, who support and abet the Vietnamese authorities in their aggression and expansion in Indo-China, are thus their accomplices in this policy of exporting refugees.

China heads the list of Asian countries that have suffered greatly from this massive exportation of refugees by the Vietnamese authorities. More than 230,000 refugees have already been driven into China from Viet Nam over the past year and more groups of refugees are still crossing over into China. The Chinese Government has given succour to all refugees who

have entered China irrespective of ethnic origin or nationality and has resettled some 200,000 of them. The relief and resettlement of these refugees has been a big drain on the Chinese Government's financial and material resources. Deeply sympathetic to the tragic plight of Indo-Chinese refugees, the Chinese Government and people have done their best to give them aid and succour in a humanitarian spirit.

The problem of Indo-Chinese refugees, created by the Vietnamese authorities, has become a serious international problem. But, turning a deaf ear to fair-minded international opinion, the Vietnamese authorities have continued unscrupulously to turn people into refugees and expel them *en masse*, taking advantage of the humanitarian goodwill of their neighbouring countries and peoples. At an international meeting on the Vietnamese refugee problem held recently at Djakarta, the representative of the Vietnamese Government unabashedly announced that they intend to export refugees at a rate of 10,000 a month. In the interest of protecting the right to life of all peoples in Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, irrespective of ethnic origin, and in the interest of easing the tremendous difficulties brought upon the people of all countries, particularly of South-East Asian countries, by the flood of Indo-Chinese refugees, the Chinese Government deems it necessary for international organizations and all justice-upholding countries to take action to urge the Vietnamese authorities to desist immediately from their barbaric policy of creating and exporting refugees. The Chinese Government calls on the United Nations and all Governments and peoples to voice strong condemnation and take firm measures to stop the Vietnamese authorities from pursuing their policies of aggression and ethnic discrimination in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and humanitarian principles and in denial of man's basic right to life, and to sternly deplore their criminal action of creating and exporting refugees and resolutely demand an immediate end to it.

#### DOCUMENT S/13408\*

Letter dated 21 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[21 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a commentary from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Lao people has arisen to free itself from the Vietnamese-Soviet yoke".

I should be very grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

Commentary from "La voix du Kampuchea démocratique" entitled "The Lao people has arisen to free itself from the Vietnamese-Soviet yoke"

The Lao people, like all the other peoples of the world, cherish the independence and sovereignty of their homeland. However, after freeing themselves from colonialism and imperialism, the Lao people have not been able to enjoy the fruits of their victory. They are again being subjected to the domination of the Vietnamese regional expansionists and the Soviet international expansionists, who are exploiting and oppressing them even more savagely than their former masters did in earlier times.

But as a nation with a long tradition of heroic struggle against the foreign aggressor, the Lao people are not remaining idle

and are not allowing the Vietnamese and Soviet aggressors to occupy as they please the territory of their beloved country. Thus there has appeared since 1975 a movement of struggle against Vietnamese-Soviet domination, exploitation and oppression. That movement has developed everywhere, from the forest and mountain regions to the valleys of the Mekong. On 7 May 1979 the Lao patriots attacked a Vietnamese arms and fuel depot at Pak Sane, an important strategic position of the Vietnamese enemy, situated north-east of Vientiane, at the intersection of routes N13 and N14 leading to north Viet Nam. Explosions resounded for a long time. These activities of a patriotic struggle clearly show that the Lao people are resolved to free themselves forever from Vietnamese-Soviet enslavement by a determined struggle.

The struggle of the Lao people against Vietnamese-Soviet domination, exploitation and oppression is a just struggle. It enjoys the support and sympathy of the peoples of the world that love independence, peace and justice. The people of Kampuchea, resolutely struggling to eject the fascistic Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchea, express their sympathy for and solidarity with the Lao people. Side by side with that people, they are resolved to raise the flag of combat in order to eliminate the aggressor Vietnamese enemy totally and to ensure that the cause of the independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment of their respective countries will triumph.

We are certain that when they raise high the flag of the great national union and are determined to wage the people's war with tenacity, taking guerrilla operations as their basis, the patriotic Lao people will surely win the final victory over the aggressor and annexationist Vietnamese enemy, which is trying to swallow territories and exterminate the Lao nation.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/328-S/13408.



## Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a telegraphic message dated 23 June 1979 addressed to you by the Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, in which he draws your attention to:

First, the problem of the Kampuchean nationals fleeing Vietnamese massacres who seek temporary refuge in Thailand;

Secondly, the problem of the Vietnamese nationals whom the Hanoi authorities are bringing from their own country in order to settle them in Kampuchean territory in place of the indigenous populations previously wiped out under their policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race.

On instructions from my Government, I should be greatly obliged if you would circulate this important message as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE DATED 23 JUNE 1979 FROM THE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE PRESIDUM OF DEMOCRATIC  
KAMPUCHEA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GEN-  
ERAL

I have the honour to forward this message to you in order to draw your attention to two problems on which world opinion is still uninformed, because they are kept hidden by the Hanoi authorities. Yet these cases are quite as distressing and tragic as that of refugees, if not more so, since they concern the fate of hundreds of thousands and millions of inhabitants of Kampuchea, now undergoing immeasurable suffering and misfortunes under the demoniacal yoke of the Vietnamese aggressors.

1. The problem of the Kampuchean nationals fleeing Vietnamese massacres who seek temporary refuge in Thailand.

This problem has arisen from the war of aggression being waged by the Hanoi authorities, who are sowing devastation and ruin in Kampuchea and subjecting the Kampuchean people to veritable genocide. This war is causing the Thai Government many difficulties and constitutes a serious threat to the defence, security, economy and entire society of Thailand.

Despite the tremendous difficulties resulting from the barbarous war of aggression of the Hanoi authorities, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has joined its efforts with those of the Thai Government in seeking *ad hoc* solutions to the problem. It has accordingly taken back all the Kampuchean refugees, allowing them to re-enter the country by tens of thousands and applying *ad*

*hoc* solutions with regard to their living and working conditions. However, all our successive efforts to arrive at a final solution of the problem of Kampuchean refugees have proved incapable of succeeding because they have been thwarted every time by the attacks and the sweep operations which the Vietnamese forces of aggression are constantly launching against the civilian population. In order to escape a massacre, the latter are forced once again to seek temporary refuge in Thailand.

The lot of all these refugees is particularly tragic. It is even more so than that of other refugees, since all those innocent people are direct victims of the war of devastation and of the genocide perpetrated by the Vietnamese aggressors. Wherever they go, the latter engage in massacres and acts of banditry, destroying and looting everything—crops, rice, livestock and homes. Those refugees who were able to escape a massacre the first time have to flee from the Vietnamese troops again, in fact repeatedly, never seeing an end to it. And each time all the families, without exception, suffer severely either through separation or loss or from the machine-gunning, heavy bombing and artillery barrages laid down by the Vietnamese forces of aggression against villages, roads or forests. Even old people, children and pregnant women do not escape these massacres. This is something which should stagger the conscience of mankind.

2. The problem of the Vietnamese nationals whom the Hanoi authorities are bringing from their own country in order to settle them in Kampuchean territory in place of the indigenous populations previously wiped out under their policy of exterminating the Kampuchean race.

The purpose of the Hanoi authorities in behaving in this way is to complete their policy of settling none but Vietnamese throughout the territory of Kampuchea.

The Kampuchean people are thus in mortal danger from the Hanoi authorities, who are now carrying out a policy of systematic extermination against the Kampuchean race and endeavouring to erase Kampuchea from the map of the world.

The Hanoi authorities have been bold enough to deport hundreds of thousands of their fellow-countrymen onto the high seas, before the eyes of the whole world. Why then should they hesitate to subject the Kampuchean people to genocide or to wipe out the Kampuchean race without any awareness on the part of world opinion?

Accordingly, towards the end of May 1979, the Hanoi authorities settled nearly 200,000 Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory, distributing them throughout the coastal and eastern provinces. And now, while continuing the genocide against the Kampuchean people, forcing them to leave their country, the Hanoi authorities are bringing in Vietnamese nationals and systematically settling them in Kampuchean territory.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/331-S/13409.

Here, then, is another aspect of the Hanoi authorities' policy of exporting refugees of which world opinion is still unaware. But that policy is even more barbarous and even more staggering to the conscience of mankind than that practised towards other refugees, because it is a most cruel and most savage act of aggression for which the Vietnamese forces of aggression constitute the spearhead, burning everything, destroying everything, subjecting the people of Kampuchea to veritable genocide and settling Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory. It is an act without precedent in human history. The Hanoi authorities are swallowing up Kampuchea and wiping out the Kampuchean race by subjecting the Kampuchean people to veritable genocide, unknown to the entire world. That is something that is not only tragic but also shocking to the conscience of all mankind.

We should be grateful if you would submit the two problems described above for discussion at the next international conference on refugees, with a view to finding a timely and appropriate solution, in the name of the

Charter of the United Nations, of international law, of humanity, of justice and of all mankind.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is sure that you will give your full attention to the two problems mentioned above and will make suitable approaches in accordance with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people. We also hope that you will use all your authority to induce the conference on refugees to demand that the Hanoi authorities end their policy of exporting Vietnamese nationals to Kampuchean territory, desist from all acts of genocide against the Kampuchean people, withdraw all their forces of aggression from Kampuchea and leave the Kampuchean people to settle their own problems for themselves without outside interference, so as to put an end to the suffering and devastation which the Kampuchean people are now undergoing.

(Signed) KHIEU SAMPHAN  
Chairman of the State Presidium  
of Democratic Kampuchea

#### DOCUMENT S/13410

##### Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of Morocco to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[25 June 1979]

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you that His Excellency Marshall Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current President of the Organization of African Unity has interceded with His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco.

Since His Majesty King Hassan II has responded favourably to the appeal made by His Excellency Marshall Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, I would accordingly request that you ask the Security Council to suspend action on the complaint submitted to it by the Kingdom of Morocco in letters dated respectively 13 and 15 June 1979 [S/13394 and S/13397].

I should be grateful if you would kindly distribute the present letter as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI  
Permanent Representative of Morocco  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13411\*

##### Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[25 June 1979]

In a statement of 16 June 1979 transmitted to the Secretary-General and circulated to all Members of the United Nations [S/13407], the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China deliberately referred in a highly tendentious manner to persons who have left Laos since 1975, the time at which the Lao People's Democratic Republic was founded.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/332-S/13411.

On instructions from my Government, I am authorized to provide the following clarification, which should make it possible to view the problem in its proper context and, in particular, to unmask the malevolent intentions of the reactionary ruling circles of Peking with regard to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which is applying with respect to all countries and particularly the neighbouring countries a policy of friendship, peace, independence and strict equality.

Like all the Governments of the region, the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is not indifferent to the problems posed by the flow of refugees in South-East Asia, among whom there are some tens of thousands from Laos. With regard to the latter, the Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic considers that international opinion should be well informed as to their identity in order to determine in all fairness responsibility for their exodus.

#### *Identification of Lao refugees*

The Lao refugees who are to be found exclusively in Thailand can be defined according to the following seven categories.

1. The first category is composed of persons who held power under the former régime and have been sentenced *in absentia* by the people's tribunals, persons found guilty by those same tribunals but released under an amnesty, bullies and agents of imperialism who, having accomplished their evil missions of undermining and sabotage against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, are seeking refuge abroad in order to escape their just punishment.

2. The second category is composed of profiteers and parasites belonging to the bourgeois "comprador" milieu, big and small local bureaucrats, war lords, unscrupulous foreign businessmen, and people who ran brothels, opium dens and import-export companies.

3. The third category is composed of foreigners of Sino-Vietnamese origin or from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Thailand; these people, who came in large numbers (more than 100,000) to settle in Laos under the former régime in order to take advantage of the manna of "American aid" by cornering the retail, wholesale and import-export trade and dominating industrial activities, are leaving the country because they realize that they can no longer make these scandalous profits.

4. The fourth category is composed of former "clients" of the feudal, colonial and neo-colonial régimes, Meo mercenaries of the Vangpao soldiery.

5. The fifth category is composed of persons having either a superficial or a real French or Anglo-Saxon culture who feel that they cannot give up the French or American "way of life" imported under the former régime by colonialism and later by neo-colonialism, and who have always felt themselves to be foreigners in their own country, under both the former and the new régimes.

6. The sixth category is composed of people who live from day to day, taking the line of least resistance; these retrograde elements, some of them without any education, who have not wanted and do not want to adapt to the new conditions of a hard-working socialist society and who have been frightened by the post-war economic difficulties (30 years of devastating war, 3 million tons of bombs dropped all over the country, some of which are continuing to explode and to cause many casualties, 700,000 people to be reclassified, natural disasters during two consecutive years, 1977 and

1978, an economic blockade from November 1975 to March 1976, backward agriculture and cottage industries ruined by colonial and neo-colonial practices, factories sabotaged during the change of régime etc.) are leaving the country, lured by lying propaganda about the possibilities of settlement abroad, particularly in France and the United States.

7. Finally, the seventh category is composed of young people from the towns and from the Meo ethnic minorities; they are fleeing abroad for fear of being enlisted in the army following an intensive campaign of deception concerning the Chinese invasion which agents of the reactionary leading circles in Peking have been waging throughout the country for some time.

#### *Responsibility for the exodus*

From the foregoing it is clear that the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which has done everything it could to retain citizens who could be so useful in the reconstruction of the country, Laos being one of the countries which have a severe problem of underpopulation (3 million for an area of 236,000 km<sup>2</sup>), cannot in any way whatever be declared responsible for the difficulties now being encountered by persons who of their own volition have left Laos, or for the manifold problems which they have caused for others.

The socio-geological and demographic conditions in the Lao People's Democratic Republic offer ample opportunities for all its citizens to live a decent life. The sense of humanitarianism of the Lao leaders, together with their policy of clemency which they have adopted with regard to all their citizens, including those who have served in the ranks of colonialism and neo-colonialism, are well known to all, including our detractors. As proof, we need only recall that Laos underwent the change of régime in 1975 without one drop of blood being shed, in other words, in the most peaceful way, which should be an example for our world so shaken by violence to follow.

Nevertheless, despite all that we have just stated, certain elements of the population which have been seduced for 30 years by the colonialist and neo-colonialist ways of life and by the lying propaganda of the agents of imperialism and of the reactionary Chinese ruling circles have fled and are still fleeing ignominiously from their country. Responsibility for this exodus unquestionably lies with the colonialists and neo-colonialists and the reactionary leading circles of Peking, of whom the former are engaged in repeated and brazen attempts to destabilize our new régime and the latter in incitement and deception compounded by military threats and pressures along the Lao-Chinese frontier.

I should be grateful if you would have this clarification circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Vithaya SOURINHO  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic  
to the United Nations



DOCUMENT S/13412\*

Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[25 June 1979]

I wish to draw your attention to yet another attempt made yesterday, 24 June 1979, by the terrorist PLO at mass murder of civilians in Israel.

At about 10 a.m. (local time), a van containing explosives blew up in a narrow street close to the central bus station at Tel Aviv. The driver of the van and his companion were killed by the explosion. Three passers-by were lightly injured. Nearby shops were damaged and many windows were shattered by the blast. The terrorist PLO immediately boasted on its radio in Lebanon of its responsibility for this incident.

The fact that this attempted outrage failed to achieve its apparent objective in no way diminishes its gravity. In common with the many other incidents, which I have drawn to your attention in recent months, particularly since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty on 26 March 1979, this attempt was designed to take place in a teeming public facility at a time when it would be most

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/333-S/13412.

crowded. Had it been successful, it would undoubtedly have wrought a heavy toll in human life.

The mindless killing of civilians has been the barbaric aim of the terrorist PLO throughout its existence. Its designs, whether successful or not, are characteristic of a group of international criminals of the worst kind which masquerades, in the particular case of the PLO, under the banner of a national liberation movement.

Given the true character of the PLO and its violent aims, the Government of Israel is duty-bound, as I have indicated in previous letters, to take all measures necessary to protect the lives and safety of its citizens.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13413\*

Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[25 June 1979]

Further to my letter of 5 June 1979 [S/13376], I wish to draw your attention to the ongoing acts of indiscriminate terror against the civilian population of Israel by PLO terrorists based in Southern Lebanon. Civilian centres in the "panhandle" of northern Galilee were shelled across the border with Lebanon on 8, 9, 10 and 19 June, with considerable damage being done to property.

These repeated bombardments demonstrate the worthlessness of the so-called "renewed commitment" of the PLO not to "shell IDF [Israel Defence Forces] or *de facto* forces targets from Lebanese territory unless they are attacked first", which was highlighted in paragraph 38 of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon of 8 June 1979 [S/13384]. As I pointed out in my statement in the Security Council on 12 June [2147th meeting], this so-called commitment is carefully phrased so as not to apply to civilians, the traditional and almost exclusive target of PLO barbarity.

In this connexion, I should also like to draw attention to Associated Press reports from Beirut of last week. Those reports vividly give the lie to the much-heralded joint communiqué (also cited in the same paragraph of the Secretary-General's report mentioned above), whereby the terrorist PLO and its allies in Southern

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/334-S/13413.

Lebanon announced that "all armed forces will be evacuated from villages and towns" and "the PLO will remove all its offices from the city of Tyre".

According to the Associated Press reports,

"Life is returning to Tyre, the southern Lebanese city, a week after Palestinian terrorists withdrew from there.

"Terrorist officers say their units were moved to neighbouring refugee camps and the countryside in line with the PLO plan to deprive Israel of its excuse for attacking southern Lebanese villages.

"The PLO maintains its presence north of the strategic Litani River, which zigzags 18-30 kilometres north of the Israeli border.

"All PLO factions have closed down their offices in Tyre and villages of the county and set up bases in the countryside", said Sami Daher, commander of the Lebanese police in the area. Daher's policemen were directing traffic in downtown Tyre for the first time in two years. Up to now, police functions had been performed by terrorists and their allies, the Lebanese leftist militia.

"I have police stations at all villages of the county and they reported the withdrawals to me", he said. Daher refused to name the villages that housed terrorist bases . . .

"Terrorists maintained control over three Palestinian refugee camps of Tyre's southern and eastern outskirts.

"Running the camps and handling their defences is a PLO responsibility under existing agreements with the Lebanese Government", Major Saed [the PLO liaison officer in Tyre] explained.

"Field commanders refuse to disclose the location of new terrorist bases in the Tyre area after the pull-out from Lebanese-populated towns.

"North of the Litani, the terrorists maintained their usual presence in almost every town and village.

"Young gunmen in green fatigues drove their jeeps in the inland market town of Nabatiyeh, 20 kilometres north of Israel, and manned sand bags at the entrance to their offices.

"Nabatiyeh has been almost empty except for the terrorists and their Lebanese leftist militia allies."

As I warned in my statements in the Security Council on 12 and 14 June [2147th and 2149th meetings], when the Council was discussing the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL, the practical implications of that communiqué are virtually meaningless and it will only serve

as a smokescreen for continued PLO violence both within the area of operation of UNIFIL and across the border with Israel. Even if the communiqué were implemented, all that would happen is that some PLO operatives would be redeployed at a distance of a few kilometres from the villages in which they have taken cover thus far, apparently under pressure from the local inhabitants themselves, who are no longer prepared to put up with the devastation and agony inflicted on them by the terrorist PLO. Also, as the communiqué makes clear, there is no intention of removing the hundreds of PLO terrorists located inside the area controlled by UNIFIL or to withdraw the 1,500 or so PLO terrorists and their weaponry from the Tyre pocket, which reaches to within eight miles of Israel.

In short, the communiqué is nothing more than a transparent exercise in deception. The Associated Press reports prove these points.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Yehuda Z. BLUM  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13414\*

#### Letter dated 26 June 1979 from the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[26 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for information, a summary of developments in Democratic Kampuchea's war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression for the period from 8 May to 13 June 1979.

I should be greatly obliged if you would circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHAN YOURAN  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations

#### ANNEX

#### Summary of developments in Democratic Kampuchea's popular war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression for the period from 8 May to 13 June 1979

The Kampuchean revolutionary army and Kampuchean guerrillas continue to hold high the banner of resolute and tenacious combat against the Vietnamese forces of aggression. They have destroyed large numbers of the enemy and liberated many localities.

##### 1. Phnom Penh and vicinity front

At the end of May, our guerrilla units hit the Pochentong airport with 107-mm rockets, destroying a large quantity of enemy military equipment.

##### 2. South-western front, 8 May-9 June

More than 400 Vietnamese soldiers killed or wounded. Four military vehicles destroyed and 53 weapons captured.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/335-S/13414.

Some of the most important fighting occurred on 17 May between Ta Ken and Phum Pring, in the district of Chhuk, province of Kampot. The Vietnamese enemy suffered losses of 20 killed or wounded and one military truck destroyed. On 7 June, our fighters launched attacks on the Chakrey Ting cement works, near highway 3, and wounded many more.

##### 3. Western front, 9-30 May

Our armed forces killed or wounded more than 160 of the enemy, destroyed six military vehicles and captured 14 weapons.

##### 4. Kompong Som-Koh Kong front, 10-20 May

We killed or wounded 184 of the enemy, destroyed six military vehicles and a helicopter and captured 60 weapons.

On 10 May, our armed forces killed or wounded 20 Vietnamese soldiers at Oknha Heng. Twenty weapons captured and one military vehicle destroyed.

##### 5. Pursat front, 11-30 May

We killed or wounded more than 210 of the enemy, destroyed five military vehicles and a tank, captured two military vehicles and 18 weapons.

On 22 May, we liberated Kuoy Chik Dey, near highway 5, killing 22 of the enemy and wounding 12 more.

##### 6. Battambang front, 27 May-10 June

We killed or wounded more than 600 of the enemy, destroyed two military vehicles and captured 24 weapons.

During this period, the Kampuchean revolutionary army and the guerrillas liberated:

(a) On 4 June, Ampil Pram Doeum, Phum Seam and Kamphay;

(b) On 6 June, Phum Slar Khlang, district of Monkol Borey;

(c) On 11 June, Tassanh and Phum Anlong Puok.

On 4 June our guerrillas destroyed an enemy ammunition dump at Prey Khpuos.

7. *Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey, 22 May-8 June*

We killed or wounded 350 Vietnamese soldiers, took one prisoner and destroyed three military vehicles.

On 22 May, our fighters completely liberated the district of Anlong Veng.

8. *Preah Vihear front, 19-21 May*

We killed or wounded 14 of the enemy.

On 25 May, nine young men who had been pressed into military service by the Vietnamese aggressors escaped, taking with them three rifles, which they subsequently handed over to our authorities.

9. *Stung Treng-Rattanakiri front, 14-18 May*

We killed or wounded nearly 70 of the enemy, destroyed one military vehicle and captured 12 weapons.

10. *Monduliri front, 19 May-7 June*

Ninety of the enemy were killed or wounded. A military vehicle was destroyed and 14 weapons were captured, along with ammunition and a variety of military equipment.

11. *Kompong Thom front, 15 May-13 June*

On 20 May, we completely liberated Phum Thmei and Veal Veng.

From 10 to 13 June, we successively liberated Phum Angki, Taing Ren, Koh Bangkeo, Trapeang Prei, Trapeang Tim,

Tbeng, Totung, Thngai and Beng Lvea. We wiped out about 100 enemy soldiers. We completely liberated the district of Santuk Loeu.

In all, during the period from 19 May to 7 June, we killed or wounded more than 300 of the enemy and took two prisoners. We destroyed four military vehicles and captured six weapons.

12. *Kompong Cham front, 26 May-3 June*

During this period, we killed or wounded 90 of the enemy. Our fighters destroyed four bridges in the district of Stung Trang.

13. *Kratie front*

On 12 June, we killed or wounded 35 of the enemy.

\* \* \*

*Grand total for the period from 8 May to 13 June:*

- (a) More than 2,520 of the Vietnamese aggressors killed or wounded;
- (b) 33 military vehicles destroyed;
- (c) Two military vehicles captured;
- (d) One helicopter destroyed;
- (e) One tank destroyed;
- (f) 175 weapons captured;
- (g) Large quantities of military equipment and ammunition captured.

## DOCUMENT S/13415\*

Letter dated 25 June 1979 from the representative of Sri Lanka to the Secretary-General

[Original: English]  
[26 June 1979]

In my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued today by the Co-ordinating Bureau.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have the communiqué circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) B. J. FERNANDO  
Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka  
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

Communiqué issued on 25 June 1979 by the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting on 25 June 1979, examined the latest developments in Nicaragua, particularly the attempts to intervene in the internal

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/336-S/13415.

affairs of that country and to undermine the valiant struggle of the people of Nicaragua for their fundamental political and human rights, a struggle that has brought together all segments of the population of that country in opposition to the tyrannical régime of Somoza, as reflected by the Frente Amplio de Oposición, based on the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional and other nationalistic and democratic forces.

2. The Co-ordinating Bureau noted with satisfaction the joint action of the Andean and other Latin American and Caribbean countries, which firmly opposed any kind of foreign intervention in Nicaragua, particularly military action, as proposed by the Government of the United States of America.

3. The Bureau recalled the final communiqué adopted by the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held at Colombo, particularly its adherence to the principle of non-intervention, and reiterated its call upon the whole international community, especially the member countries of the non-aligned movement, to foster concrete measures that would lead to the immediate and definitive elimination of the Somoza régime and would effectively contribute to the cause of the Nicaraguan people, in order to enable the latter to decide freely upon their future, without any form of outside interference, and to enjoy liberty, peace and stability.

## DOCUMENT S/13416

Note verbale dated 27 June 1979 from the Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General

[Original: Russian]  
[27 June 1979]

The Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to his



note of 21 March 1979 requesting that any information concerning violations of the arms embargo against the South African racists should be communicated to him, has the honour to state the following.

In keeping with its position of principle on this question, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics complies strictly with the decisions of the Security Council concerning the arms embargo against South Africa. The USSR maintains no relations with South Africa in any field, economic, military or other, and has accordingly entered into no licensing arrangements and no agreements of any kind with the Pretoria régime, much less any agreement for the delivery of arms, ammunition and related *matériel*.

The Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deems it necessary to draw the attention of the relevant organs of the United Nations to the many reports emanating from the media to the effect that South Africa continues to receive arms of various kinds from certain Western countries, in direct violation of the decisions of the Security Council concerning the arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa. These misdeeds of the Western countries increase military tension in Africa and contribute in general to the threat to international peace and security.

The Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests that this note should be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

#### DOCUMENT S/13417

#### Letter dated 27 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[27 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization in connexion with the barbaric attacks by Israel on defenceless Lebanese and Palestinians. I request you to circulate the enclosed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

#### LETTER DATED 25 JUNE 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization I am requested to bring the following to your immediate attention.

On 24 June 1979, the Israeli Air Force carried out a series of devastating air attacks on civilian targets which resulted in 20 casualties, most of them women and children. These attacks came six days after the Israeli Air Force made similar raids on five villages in the coastal region and one in the Bekaa valley. The hardest hit was the village of Aqbiya in the hills, south-east of Sidon where four people were killed, 11 wounded and the village market and numerous houses destroyed.

The village which had no commando presence in or near it, was repeatedly bombarded and strafed by a formation of 8 Israeli planes. Also hit in the raid were

the villages of Toffahta, Abul Al Aswad and Al-Wasta near the coast between Sidon and Tyre, Al-Itaniya approximately 10 kilometres inland, and Suhmur in the southern Bekaa valley.

For almost one hour this morning, heavy Israeli artillery shelled the village of Aishiya and the neighbouring region causing extensive damage. Including the attacks of the past 48 hours, the Israeli armed forces have carried out 75 consecutive days of artillery, aerial and naval bombardments of Southern Lebanon. Those attacks, directed at civilian targets, have resulted not only in the loss of innocent lives, but in a mass exodus of the civilian population from the region.

It is evident that the racist Zionist gang at Tel Aviv feels no compunction about infringing on and violating the human rights of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, it even resorts to State organized murder to reach its ends. These brutal and mindless military attacks merely serve to aggravate the tensions in the area, and the threat to world peace and security arising from their offensive and arrogant attitude needs no emphasis.

In drawing your attention to this seriously volatile situation, I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to end this abominable and inhumane campaign against innocent civilians.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT S/13418

Letter dated 27 June 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the President of the Security Council

[Original: French]  
[27 June 1979]

I have the honour to refer to your letter dated 24 May 1979 [S/13349] informing me that you were holding consultations with the members of the Security Council concerning the meeting of the Council on the question of Palestine. You may recall that such a meeting had been called for by the General Assembly in paragraph 8 of its resolution 33/28 A, which I had brought to the attention of the President of the Security Council in my letter dated 13 March 1979 [S/13164].

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People this morning discussed the matter and concluded that the Security Council should resume consideration of the recommendations of the Committee as soon as possible. It would be relevant to draw your attention to the fact that considerable time has elapsed since those recommendations were last discussed by the Council at its 2041st meeting on 27 October 1977, the meeting being adjourned after it had been agreed that the next meeting of the Council on the item would be fixed after consultations among members of the Council.

It is also relevant to keep in mind that the General Assembly would expect to be informed of the action taken by the Security Council in pursuance of the Committee's recommendations, which were endorsed by the Assembly in its resolutions 31/20, 32/40 and 33/28.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee  
on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

DOCUMENT S/13420\*

Letter dated 28 June 1979 from the representative of China to the Secretary-General

[Original: Chinese/English]  
[28 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the sixth plenary session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 28 June 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Ya-li  
Acting Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the sixth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 28 June 1979

Today, the Chinese and Vietnamese Government delegations start the second round of negotiations at Beijing. On behalf of

the Chinese Government delegation, I wish to express our welcome to the Vietnamese Government delegation led by Vice-Minister Dinh Nho Liem.

Not long ago, the Chinese Government delegation was at Hanoi and held with the Vietnamese Government delegation the first round of negotiations, during which the two sides set forth their respective views and positions and put forward their respective proposals. Despite the positive efforts made by the Chinese side at the five meetings there, the negotiations failed to make any progress. The Chinese Government has always believed that a negotiated settlement of the disputes between the two countries and an early elimination of the root cause for the abnormal state of relations between the two countries would not only be in the fundamental interests of our two peoples but also eagerly desired by the people of the world, and those of the South-East Asian countries in particular. Although the two sides remain far apart in their positions and the negotiations are faced with many difficulties, the Chinese Government delegation will, as always, act with great sincerity and patience and with a determination to overcome the difficulties and interferences and work for the smooth progress of the negotiations.

The Chinese Government delegation put forward, at the second meeting of the first round of negotiations, its proposal

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/341-S/13420.

of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam [S/13278, annex]. Epitomizing the Chinese side's sincere desire and determination to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries, the proposal represented an important step taken by the Chinese Government to facilitate the smooth progress of the negotiations. It begins with the principle that both sides should abide by five principles of peaceful coexistence and refrain from seeking hegemony. It also spells out basic principles for the settlement of the major disputes between the two countries, including the boundary and territorial disputes, the demarcation of their economic zones and continental shelves in the Beibu Gulf and other sea areas, the question of the Xisha and Nansha Islands, the question of the nationals of one country residing in the other country, the question of the return to their homes of the Vietnamese citizens who have been driven into Chinese territory, and that of the restoration of railway traffic, trade, civil aviation, postal and telecommunication services and other bilateral relations. Our proposal was made in the light of the realities in the relations between China and Viet Nam; it is in keeping with the norms of international relations and is reasonable and practicable.

Top priority is given in the Chinese proposal to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony as general principles for handling the relations between our two countries because the ever-sharpening contradictions, the recurrence of disputes and the general deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations in recent years, culminating in the outbreak of serious armed conflicts along the border, have all resulted from the Vietnamese authorities' pursuance of regional hegemony, militarism, aggression and expansion in gross violation of the basic principles of peaceful coexistence between States. They have also stemmed from the fact that the Vietnamese authorities regard China as a major obstacle to their bid for regional hegemony and vigorously pursue a policy of opposition and hostility to China. In order to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam and preserve peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia, it is essential to go to the crux of the matter, namely, to uphold and insist on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and oppose hegemonism. Otherwise, in the absence of this common basis from which to proceed, the two sides will not be able to find ways to solve the existing problems and new problems will keep cropping up. Even if temporary measures are taken on individual issues, they will be of no avail, much less lead to a fundamental settlement of the disputes between the two countries. Obviously, the eight principles proposed by the Chinese side, and notably its first and second principles, provide a good basis and a correct orientation for our negotiations.

Regrettably, however, the Vietnamese side has failed to give serious consideration and a positive response to our reasonable proposal. In the first round of negotiations the Vietnamese side substituted curses, slanders and senseless quibbling for serious discussion and did its utmost to evade the substantive issues,

particularly that of anti-hegemonism. Recently, at a session of their national assembly, a Vietnamese leader again viciously attacked China and the Chinese Government's position on the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and its eight-point proposal. We consider this approach of the Vietnamese authorities to be detrimental to the negotiations and to a settlement of the disputes. Other than serving to reveal their weak and unreasonable position, can it help to improve their international image and credibility? We hope that the Vietnamese side will change this line of action and carefully study and consider the eight-point proposal of the Chinese side.

Special attention should be given to the fact that, of late, the Vietnamese side has taken a series of new steps to escalate its opposition and hostility to China and further aggravate the tension between the two countries. The Vietnamese authorities have engaged in large-scale arms expansion throughout the country for a war against China, made incessant armed provocations and incursions along the Sino-Vietnamese border, strafed and bombarded Chinese territory and wounded and killed Chinese border inhabitants. In Laos, they have imposed a tighter military control in an attempt to involve Laos in a war against China. In Kampuchea, they have stepped up their mopping-up operations and massacred patriotic Kampuchean army men and civilians. They have even spread the flames of their war of aggression to the Thai border, posing a greater danger to all South-East Asian countries. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have become more unscrupulous in pushing their barbaric policy of creating and exporting refugees. They not only have continued to drive Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens across the Sino-Vietnamese border in a deliberate attempt to create difficulties for China, but also have exported refugees *en masse* from Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, thus imposing grave economic burdens and social problems on South-East Asian countries and other countries. All this has aroused world-wide indignation and has met with universal condemnation. In order to disguise their own inhumanities, the Vietnamese authorities have gone so far as to blame China for their own export of refugees and creation of an international disaster. The means to which they resort are despicable and shocking. Under the circumstances, how can the Vietnamese side gain any credibility by repeatedly avowing a "sincere desire" for normalizing Sino-Vietnamese relations through negotiations?

At the beginning of the second round of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, the Chinese side expresses its earnest hope that the Vietnamese side will take some practical action, discontinue the attempt to worsen Sino-Vietnamese relations and aggravate tensions between the two countries and create a favourable atmosphere for the negotiations. If the Vietnamese side could likewise adopt a serious attitude and work together with the Chinese side, I believe there is reason to expect that the negotiations will proceed smoothly and Sino-Vietnamese relations will be normalized.

## DOCUMENT S/13421

### Letter dated 28 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[28 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization in which he comments on the genocidal campaign by Israel against the Palestinians.

I would request you to circulate the letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

LETTER DATED 27 JUNE 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Upon instructions of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization I am requested to bring the following to your attention.

Within the framework of the tripartite, Begin-Sadat-Carter conspiracy against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and in keeping with terrorist Begin's recent threats to strike without respite against the Palestinians



and Lebanese, enunciated again yesterday, as reported in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency No. 123 of 27 June 1979,

"The initiative in South Lebanon is in our hands now. We have the strength to hit the terrorists until they stop the blood-shed. And now they are fleeing. We do not retaliate any more. We hit them once or even twice a day according to our decision and any time. We look for them in their hiding places. We try to locate their command posts, those responsible for murder. You have a good chance to get rid of the terrorists but give us time to fulfill this chance. It is our intention to dissuade them from wanting to hurt us. But this is not done overnight."

In line with that statement, and as has been the case for the past 74 days, Israeli planes again today raided several Lebanese towns and villages and Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon.

At 11.30 a.m. a squadron of Israeli planes raided the city of Sidon and the nearby camp of Ain Al-Hilweh. Palestinian anti-aircraft defences fired at the planes, preventing them from carrying out their mission of murder and destruction, and succeeded in shooting down two Israeli planes which fell into the sea.

At 12 noon, another squadron of Israeli planes heavily bombarded the regions of Ansariya, Al-Baqquq and

Jal Al-Bahr in the Tyre region. Again, Palestinian ground defences responded to the brutal raid forcing the Israeli planes to fly at high altitudes. At 1 p.m. Israeli planes were still overflying the area and Palestinian anti-aircraft defences were responding to them.

Once again the murderous neo-fascist gang at Tel Aviv has clearly demonstrated that it is devoid of conscience and humanity where the lives of Palestinians and Lebanese are concerned, and in keeping with the depraved racist ideology of Zionism, resorts to State organized terrorism to achieve its immoral objective—the total annihilation of the Palestinian people. These savage and inhuman military attacks merely serve to aggravate and intensify the tensions in the area, and the threat to world peace and security arising from the racist Zionists' perverse and despotic attitude needs no emphasis.

In drawing your attention to this gravely worsening situation I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to end this campaign to annihilate the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13422

Letter dated 29 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[29 June 1979]

I have the honour to request that the Security Council should extend an invitation to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the consideration of the item entitled "The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights", in accordance with the Council's past practice.

(Signed) Abdalla Yaccoub BISHARA  
Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations

#### DOCUMENT S/13423\*

Letter dated 28 June 1979 from the representative of France to the Secretary-General

[Original: French]  
[29 June 1979]

I have the honour to inform you that on 18 June 1979 the nine member countries of the European Community issued in Paris the following declaration on the situation in the Middle East:

"The Nine have examined the situation in the Middle East.

\* Circulated under the double symbol A/34/344-S/13423.

"1. They recall, in accordance with their prior declarations, in particular those of 29 June 1977 and 26 March 1979, that a just and lasting peace can be established only on the basis of an over-all settlement which should be founded on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on:

"—the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force.

“—the need for Israel to end the occupation of territory it has held since the 1967 conflict.

“—respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

“—recognition of the fact that, in the establishment of a just and lasting peace, the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to a homeland, will have to be taken into consideration.

“2. The Nine deplore any action or declaration that might constitute an obstacle to the quest for peace. In particular, they consider that certain positions adopted by the Israeli Government and certain declarations it has made are of such a nature as to represent an obstacle to the search for such an overall settlement. This is particularly the case for:

“—Israel’s claim of ultimate sovereignty over the occupied territories, a claim incompatible with resolution 242 (1967) which lays down the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible.

“—the policy pursued by the Israeli Government of establishing settlements in the occupied territories, a policy that is illegal under international law.

“3. With regard to Lebanon, they support its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They deplore any act which endangers the safety of the population and obstructs the restoration of the Lebanese Government’s authority over its territory as a whole and the southern part of the country in particular. The Nine are gravely concerned over the difficulties encountered by UNIFIL [*United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon*], to which some of the member countries of the Nine belong, in the execution of its mandate, and they appeal to all parties to respect the decisions of the Security Council.

“Such are the observations which the Nine consider it necessary to make at this time. They reserve the right to revert to all these questions at a later date.”

I should be grateful if you would issue this letter as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Philippe HUSSON  
*Chargé d’Affaires a.i. of  
the Permanent Mission of France  
to the United Nations*

#### DOCUMENT S/13425

#### Letter dated 28 June 1979 from the representative of Kuwait to the President of the Security Council

[Original: English]  
[29 June 1979]

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization in which he denounces the violent and barbaric campaigns against the Palestinian people by Israel.

I request you to circulate the enclosed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Y. BISHARA  
*Permanent Representative of Kuwait  
to the United Nations*

#### LETTER DATED 28 JUNE 1979 FROM THE OBSERVER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

With reference to Security Council resolution 446 (1979) I would like to draw your attention to an article in *The New York Times* of 28 June 1979, in which it was reported that the neo-fascist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine has decided to set up six paramilitary settlements in occupied Arab territories, three in the occupied West Bank near Jericho, two in the Gaza Strip, which will become part of a cluster of Zionist settlements known as Katif, and one in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

In a separate development the so-called nahal settlement of Rahan in the occupied West Bank was formally turned over yesterday to a “civilian co-operative group”.

The establishment of six new neo-fascist settlements is but a manifestation of Zionism’s insatiable appetite for land to expand and consolidate its illegal and barbaric occupation of Palestine. No doubt with the influx of even more racist settlers, the perverted ideology of Zionism will, as in the past, express itself in campaigns of violence and vigilantism which is ever increasingly plaguing the lives of the Palestinians under occupation. The settlers justify the use of violent and terrorist confrontations against the Palestinians to maximize their expulsion from Palestine.

In drawing your attention to these serious violations of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, which is applicable to Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, I express the hope that you will take immediate and effective measures to protect the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

(Signed) Zehdi Labib TERZI  
*Permanent Observer of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization  
to the United Nations*

**DOCUMENT S/13426**

**Note by the President of the Security Council**

[Original: English]  
[29 June 1979]

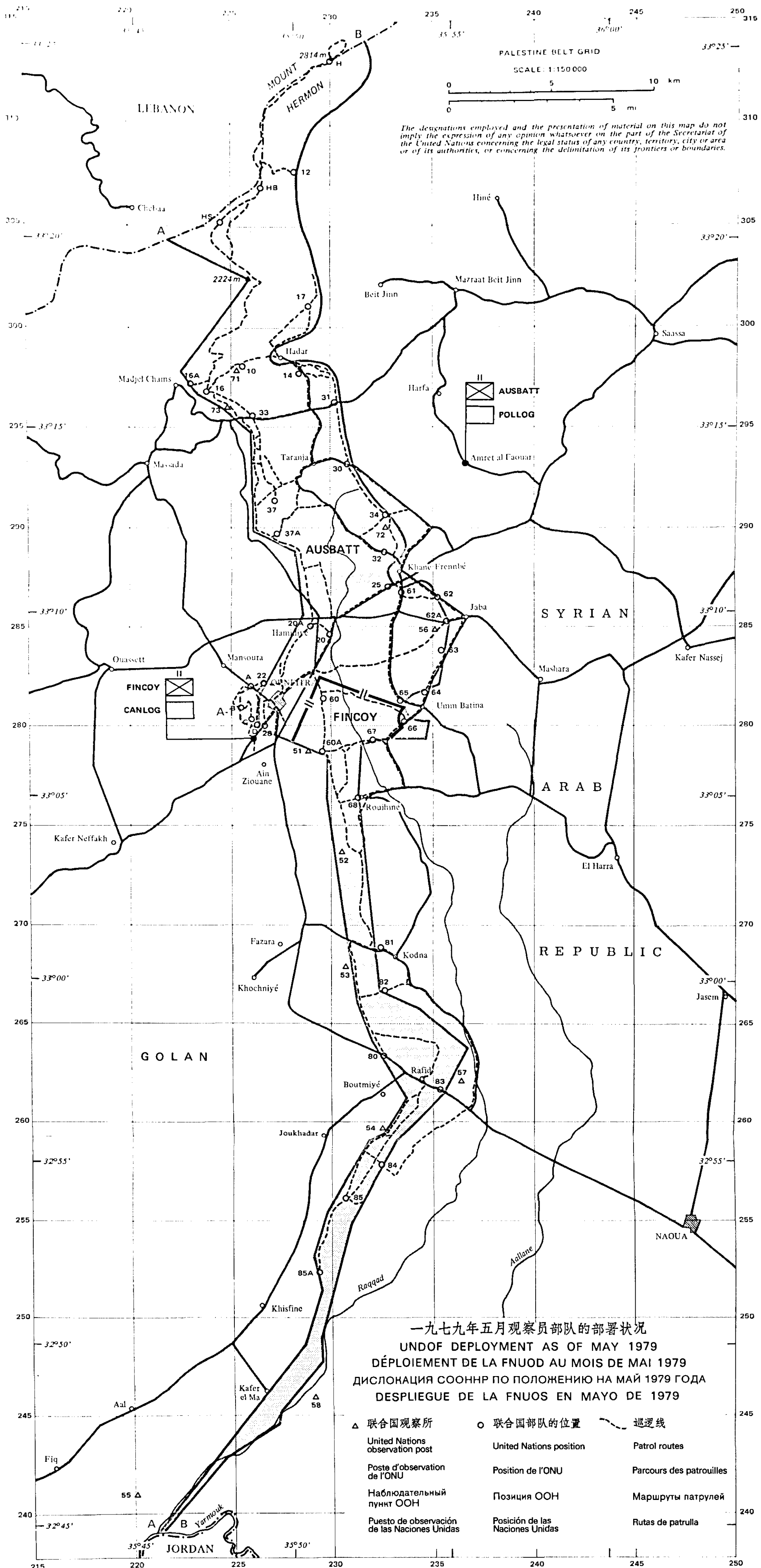
The Chairman of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, has, on behalf of the Commission, informed the President that, in view of the present heavy schedule of the Council and also the extensive volume of testimony and other documentary information received by the Commission during its visit to the area, it would be difficult for the Commission to report to the Council by 1 July 1979, as called for in paragraph 5 of the above-mentioned resolution. Accordingly, the Chairman of the Commission has requested that the time-limit for the report be postponed until 15 July.

Following informal consultation on the matter, it has been found that no member of the Security Council has any objection to the Commission's request and the Chairman of the Commission has been so informed.



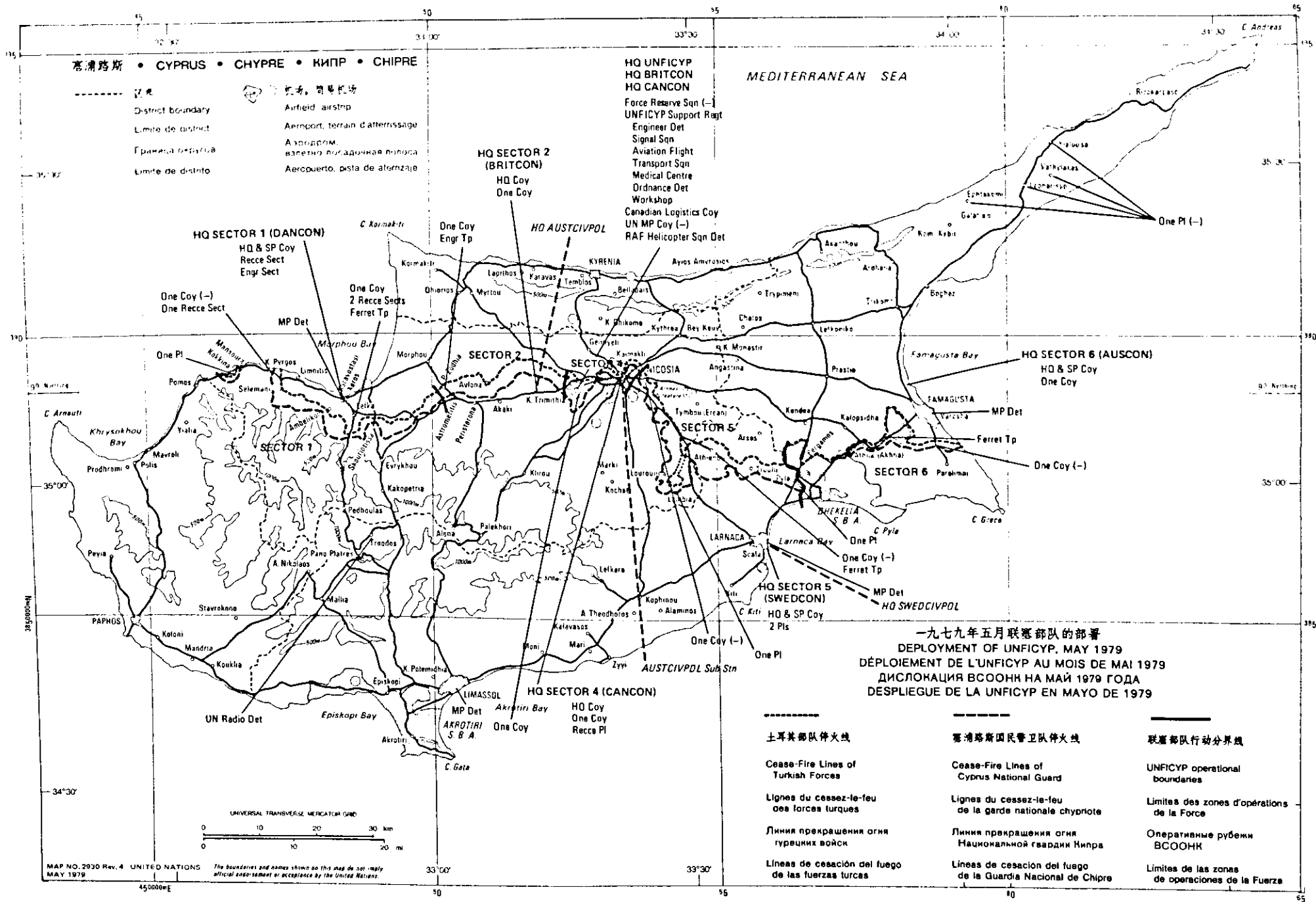












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- - - - - 区界  
 District boundary  
 Limite de district  
 Граница района  
 Limite de distrito  
 机场, 简易机场  
 Airfield, airstop  
 Аэродром, terrain d'atterrissage  
 Аэродром, взлетно-посадочная полоса  
 Aerocuerto, pista de aterrizaje

HQ UNFICYP  
 HQ BRITCON  
 HQ CANCON  
 Force Reserve Sqn (-)  
 UNFICYP Support Regt  
 Engineer Det  
 Signal Sqn  
 Aviation Flight  
 Transport Sqn  
 Medical Centre  
 Ordnance Det  
 Workshop  
 Canadian Logistics Coy  
 UN MP Coy (-)  
 RAF Helicopter Sqn Det

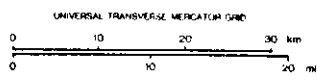
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

一九七九年五月联塞部队的部署  
 DEPLOYMENT OF UNFICYP, MAY 1979  
 DÉPLOIEMENT DE L'UNFICYP AU MOIS DE MAI 1979  
 ДИСЛОКАЦИЯ ВСООНК НА МАЙ 1979 ГОДА  
 DESPLIEGUE DE LA UNFICYP EN MAYO DE 1979

<p>----- 土耳其部队停火线 Cease-Fire Lines of Turkish Forces Lignes du cessez-le-feu des forces turques Линия прекращения огня турецких войск Líneas de cesación del fuego de las fuerzas turcas</p>	<p>----- 塞浦路斯国民警卫队停火线 Cease-Fire Lines of Cyprus National Guard Lignes du cessez-le-feu de la garde nationale chypriote Линия прекращения огня Национальной гвардии Кипра Líneas de cesación del fuego de la Guardia Nacional de Chipre</p>	<p>----- 联塞部队行动分界线 UNFICYP operational boundaries Limites des zones d'opérations de la Force Оперативные рубежи ВСООНК Limites de las zonas de operaciones de la Fuerza</p>
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MAP NO. 2930 Rev. 4 UNITED NATIONS  
MAY 1979

The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.



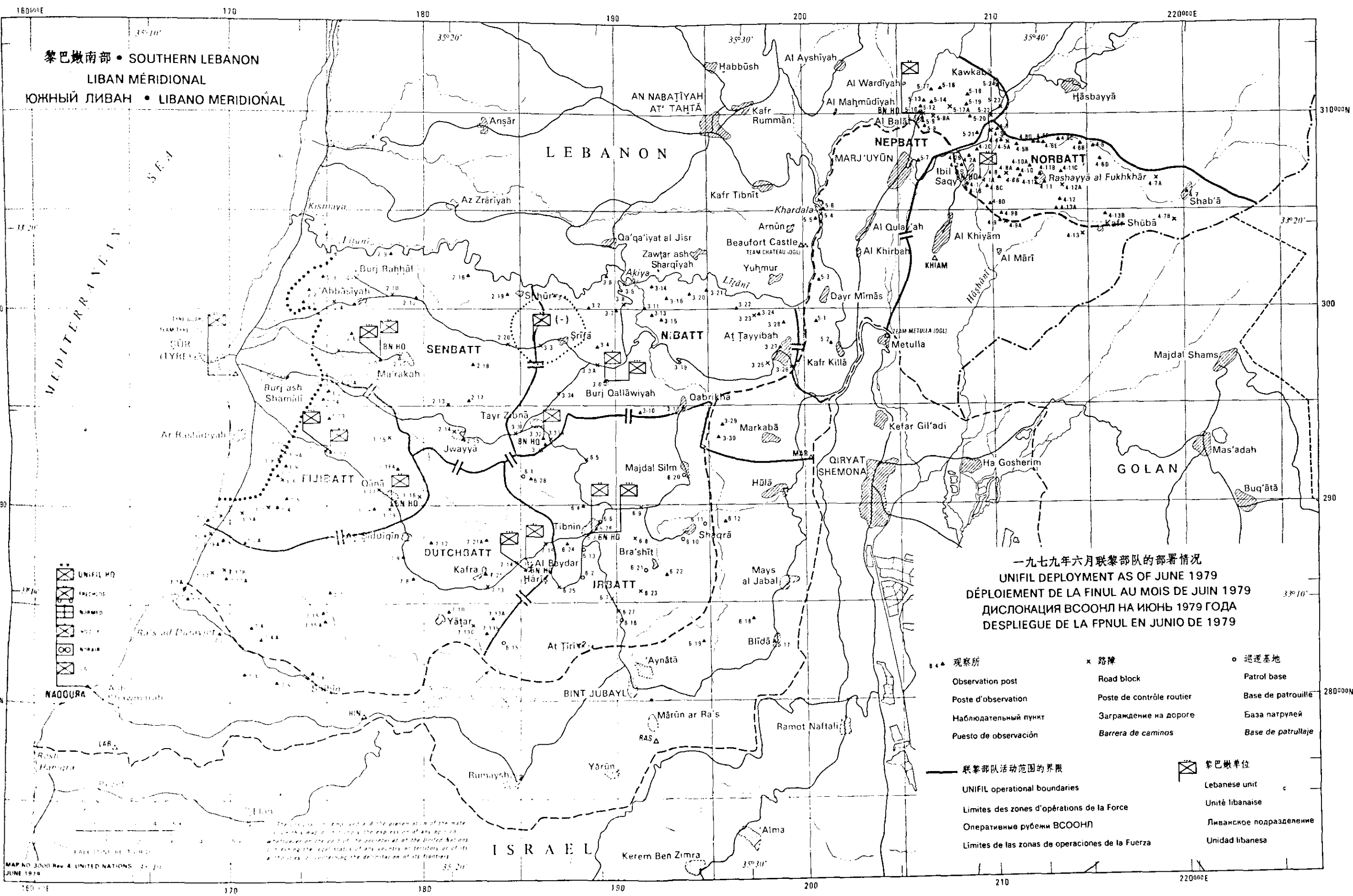
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黎巴嫩南部 • SOUTHERN LEBANON  
 LIBAN MÉRIDIONAL  
 ЮЖНЫЙ ЛИВАН • LIBANO MERIDIONAL

一九七九年六月联黎部队的部署情况  
 UNIFIL DEPLOYMENT AS OF JUNE 1979  
 DÉPLOIEMENT DE LA FINUL AU MOIS DE JUIN 1979  
 ДИСЛОКАЦИЯ ВСООНЛ НА ИЮНЬ 1979 ГОДА  
 DESPLIEGUE DE LA FPNUL EN JUNIO DE 1979

- UNIFIL HQ
- ENGINEER
- ARMED
- UNARMED
- TRAIN

- 观察所  
Observation post  
Poste d'observation  
Наблюдательный пункт  
Puesto de observación
- 路障  
Road block  
Poste de contrôle routier  
Заграждение на дороге  
Barrera de caminos
- 巡逻基地  
Patrol base  
Base de patrouille  
База патрулей  
Base de patrullaje

- 黎巴嫩单位  
Lebanese unit  
Unité libanaise  
Ливанское подразделение  
Unidad libanesa
- 联黎部队活动范围的界限  
UNIFIL operational boundaries  
Limites des zones d'opérations de la Force  
Оперативные рубежи ВСООНЛ  
Limites de las zonas de operaciones de la Fuerza







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