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**SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS**

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

2108th

MEETING IN LIBRARY 1979

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NOTE

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2108th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 11 January 1979, at 3 p.m.

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

Adoption of the agenda

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2108)

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

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Opening statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Jamaica began its term of office as a member of the Security Council on 1 January 1979. At the same time it assumed the presidency of this important organ of the United Nations. Thus, both an honour and a responsibility have been placed on our shoulders, a responsibility which we accept with the promise to carry it out with dedication to the ideals of the Charter.

2. In presiding over this first meeting of the Council in 1979, I am happy to welcome the new members of the Council—Bangladesh, Norway, Portugal and Zambia. I am sure that I express the feelings of all members when I pay a tribute to the representatives of the five outgoing members of the Council—Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius and Venezuela—for the valuable contributions they made to the work of the Council during their term of membership.

3. On behalf of the members of the Council I should like to express the Council's deep appreciation to my predecessor in the office of President, Baron Rüdiger von Wechmar, Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany for having so admirably guided the work of the Council during the month of December 1978. As one who has had the opportunity of associating and working with him for a number of years, I have come to appreciate very highly his dedication to the cause of the United Nations and, in particular, to the issues which have been raised and the work done in the Council.

4. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda for this meeting is before the Council in document S/Agenda/2108. Does any member wish to speak on this subject?

5. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I would first of all most warmly welcome you, Mr. President, an eminent diplomat and politician of Jamaica, and wish you success in carrying out the responsible functions of President of the Security Council. I should like to express my conviction that your abilities and experience will help the Council to find correct solutions to the very complex issues which are facing the Council in this month of January during which you will occupy the office of President. We are firmly convinced that evidence of the friendly relations existing between our countries will be seen in the co-operation between our delegations here in the Council.

6. It is a great pleasure for me to welcome the representatives of Bangladesh and Zambia as new non-permanent members of the Security Council. There can be no doubt that Bangladesh and Zambia, which are active participants in the non-aligned movement, will make a valuable and useful contribution to the work of the Council and that the experience we have gained in co-operating with them on questions of the national liberation struggle will be an earnest of the success of further co-operation between us in solving other problems which are facing the Council.

7. I should also like to welcome the representatives of Norway and Portugal to the work of the Council. We are sure that the relations of fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and those countries will continue to develop in the interests of the peoples of our respective countries and of the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

8. On behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, I should also like to express our sincere gratitude to the outgoing non-permanent members, India, Venezuela, Mauritius, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany, for the contribution they have made to the Council's work. In particular, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to express its gratitude to the President of the Council for the month of December, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. von Wechmar, under whose guidance the Council discussed a number of important issues.

9. The Soviet delegation would like to explain the reasons why it is unable to agree with the inclusion on the agenda of the item which now appears in the provisional agenda as item 2.

10. On the basis of the documents that have reached us from certain persons who do not represent the people of Kampuchea at all, the Security Council is being prompted to intervene in the internal affairs of the country so as to protect the Pol Pot régime. For more than three years now, the Pol Pot clique has been pursuing a policy of cruel repression within the country and an adventuristic foreign policy which has been a threat to peace and security in South-East Asia. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the national patriotic forces of Kampuchea should have waged a decisive battle against that criminal clique. It is natural that the result of the struggle should have been the complete downfall of the anti-people clique of Pol Pot, which on 7 January was overthrown by the people.

11. The genuine representatives of the people of Kampuchea have now come into power in the form of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea which has united all patriotic forces, whatever their political or religious views. A new Government has been formed—the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is headed by Hun Sen. The People's Revolutionary Council controls the entire territory of Kampuchea. The Government of the United Front has already been recognized by a number of countries, including the Soviet Union.

12. Thus, only the People's Revolutionary Council is entitled to represent the interests of the people of Kampuchea outside that country, including its representation here at the United Nations. No one else is entitled to apply to the United Nations or make any request on behalf of the people of Kampuchea.

13. The United Front and the Government it has set up have not requested the Security Council to consider the question of the situation prevailing in Kampuchea, since it is a purely internal question of concern only to the people of that country. On the contrary, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, in an official communication of 8 January 1979 [S/13013, annex II], drew the Council's attention to the inadmissibility of its consideration of the situation prevailing in that country.

14. From the very outset of the consultations which have been held among members of the Security Council in connexion with the slanderous allegations made on 3 January by the Pol Pot régime, the Soviet delegation has firmly objected to the consideration of that communication since it was obviously intended to camouflage the crimes of Pol Pot's régime and to try to prevent its inevitable overthrow. Now that that régime has in fact been swept away by the people of Kampuchea and authority in that country, as we have already pointed out, is wielded solely by the genuine representatives of the people of that country, the Council has even less reason to consider that communication from persons who represent no one at all. What would be the position in which the Council would find itself if it were to consider a communication from those who had been overthrown by the people of Kampuchea, when the genuine and sole representative of the people is the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea?

15. In the light of what I have said, the Soviet delegation resolutely objects to the Security Council's considering the communication from the former Kampuchean régime contained in document S/13003. We appeal to members of the

Council to be extremely cautious in weighing the situation and not to take any hasty decisions whose consequences might prove to be undesirable for the United Nations as a whole.

16. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, please allow me to wait for another opportunity formally to express to you my warm congratulations. I would also ask the new members of the Council to allow me to find another opportunity later on to express my warm congratulations to them. So that we may concentrate our attention on the discussion of the question on the agenda, I should like to make my statement right now.

17. It is totally unjustified for the Soviet representative to describe the large-scale armed aggression currently being launched by Viet Nam against Democratic Kampuchea with the support of the Soviet Union as a "civil war" or "internal affair" and to use it as a pretext for opposing in his statement the convening of the formal meeting of the Security Council.

18. The iron-clad fact is that, with Soviet support, Viet Nam has carried out a large-scale naked armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, seriously violating the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and gravely violating and menacing peace and security in South-East Asia, the whole of Asia and the world at large. How can this be described as a "civil war" in Kampuchea?

19. Under these circumstances, it is entirely just for the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a State Member of the United Nations, to ask for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to adopt effective measures to condemn and halt the aggression by Viet Nam. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council any Member State has the right to ask for a Council meeting to consider major issues threatening international peace and security. And the current question of Kampuchea's being subjected to massive aggression from outside is precisely a question of this nature.

20. It is even more preposterous for the Soviet representative to oppose the convening of a meeting on the pretext of the seizure of Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese aggressors. The temporary setbacks on the battlefield and the temporary loss of the capital in no way affects the legal status of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. How can a country that has been recognized by the United Nations and whose credentials have been accepted at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly be denied its legal status and be declared non-existent just because of savage massive aggression by another country? How can any Member State which upholds justice agree to such aggressor's logic on the part of the Soviet representative? It would amount to our violating the United Nations Charter with our own hands.

21. As a matter of fact, during the two informal consultations of the Security Council, the Soviet representative already presented a number of totally untenable excuses, trying hard to oppose and obstruct the convening of the Council meeting at the request of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to consider the question of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. As the Chinese saying goes, "A thief has a guilty conscience". One may ask: if

the Soviet Union is not the direct accomplice and the chief behind-the-scenes boss of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, why is it so afraid of a meeting of the Council? The unreasonable haggling and opposition on the part of the Soviet Union has revealed its true features as the direct instigator of the current massive invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam.

22. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation maintains that the Security Council should immediately adopt the agenda by removing Soviet interference and sabotage.

23. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to welcome you personally on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Security Council immediately upon your country's election to membership in the Council. It is also a great pleasure for me to emphasize that the relations between our two countries—particularly since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975—have been developing in an extremely positive way. This was shown by the visit of Mr. Patterson, Vice-President of the Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Industry, Tourism and Commerce of Jamaica, to Prague last November and December; during that visit a trade agreement was concluded between our two countries. It is hoped that shortly this positive progress in the development of relations will assume a new character when both countries appoint ambassadors. It is also very pleasant for me to note that with regard to this last matter a certain part has been played by our two delegations at the United Nations.

24. I would also welcome to our midst the five new members of the Council for 1979-1980. I should like to express the hope that during their involvement in the Council's work a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding will prevail such as we witnessed last year.

25. I should also like to thank the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. von Wechmar, for the very competent and capable way in which he guided the Council's work during the month of December and to take leave of him and of Ambassadors Barton, Jaipal, Ramphul and Carpio Castillo, their countries having been replaced by new non-permanent members in the Council.

26. The events which have occurred in Kampuchea culminating in the coming to power of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea are a purely internal affair of that country. The new Government has been recognized by a number of States, including the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as the legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea. From the telegram of 8 January from the President of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to you, Mr. President, published in document S/13013, it is clear that the Government of Kampuchea will consider any meeting of the Security Council called at the instigation of the anti-people Pol Pot régime or its masters, now overthrown, as constituting intervention in the internal affairs of its country.

27. My delegation, therefore, cannot agree to the adoption of the agenda issued in document S/Agenda/2108, or even to the convening of the present meeting. Indeed, the Council has no reason to take up a question of internal affairs in order to please the representatives of the People's Republic of China, whose hegemonic plans have simply not turned out successfully in the case of Kampuchea.

28. The PRESIDENT: Does any other member of the Council wish to pursue the subject?

29. Representatives will be aware of the fact that in order for us to be able to come to a conclusion on this matter it is very important that the views of members should be known. I hope that, if the Council is to proceed in this matter, it will be possible to elicit the views of members so that we can deal with this first question which is before us.

30. The subject of the convening of this meeting has been raised in informal consultations, and in those consultations members have had an opportunity of examining the issue and the questions before the Council and the means of dealing with them. As a result of those consultations, I have been able, as President, to get some idea of the way in which members view the question of holding the meeting and the question of the agenda. I have held consultations on the agenda and, of course, the Secretary-General has responsibilities in that respect. In this meeting of the Council the views of some members have been expressed and note has been taken of their views. In the light of the consultations and of the views which have been expressed here, may I take it that the agenda is adopted?

The agenda was adopted.

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

31. The PRESIDENT: Members have received document S/13019, which contains the text of a letter dated 10 January 1979 from His Excellency Mr. Thiounn Prasith, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Democratic Kampuchea. They have also received document S/13020, which contains a letter dated 11 January 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Viet Nam to the United Nations, and its enclosure.

32. In dealing with the question of an invitation under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, I should like to know if any members of the Council wish to speak on this matter.

33. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

34. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): As we have already indicated, the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea is the only genuine representative of the people of Kampuchea, and the People's Revolutionary Council which it has established now exercises authority in that country. Any discussion in the Security Council of the problems relating to Kampuchea cannot be held without the participation of the representatives of that country.

35. In the telegram of 11 January from the President of the People's Revolutionary Council [*see S/13020*] it is stated that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, is prepared to come to New York in order to participate in the work of the Security Council. The Soviet delegation considers it essential that the Council should provide an opportunity for the representatives of the Government of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary

Council, to come here and participate in the work of the Council. To that end, the Soviet delegation proposes, in accordance with paragraph 3 of rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, to adjourn the meeting and to decide on a further meeting to be held at 3.00 p.m. next Monday, 15 January. This would provide an opportunity for the members of the Council to become familiar with the actual state of affairs in Kampuchea and, on that basis, to draw the necessary conclusions.

36. The PRESIDENT: Does any representative wish to speak on the motion?

37. I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia on a point of order.

38. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): As I understand rule 33, any proposal regarding the adjournment of the meeting has to be put to the vote immediately without any discussion.

39. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Czechoslovakia has pointed out that, when a motion of this nature is made, it should be put to the vote immediately. I shall therefore put it to the vote. I ask representatives to vote on the question of whether the Council should now adjourn.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

There were 2 votes in favour and 13 against. The proposal was not adopted.

40. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): We regret the fact that a majority of the members of the Council have refused the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea an opportunity to participate in the work of the Council. They have in this way assumed entire responsibility for the results of any further work done in the Council

41. The Soviet delegation is definitely against the proposal that the so-called delegation of Democratic Kampuchea should participate in the work of the Council. That delegation was appointed by the authorities of the criminal régime of Pol Pot, a régime that has already been overthrown by the people of Kampuchea, and therefore has no right whatsoever to take part in the discussion and even less to speak on behalf of Kampuchea in the Council. The Council would put itself in a very false position were it to agree to admit the presence at its meetings of individuals who call themselves the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. It would be incorrect to close one's eyes to the real situation prevailing in Kampuchea, which is, essentially, that the people of that country have overthrown and expelled the Pol Pot régime because of its massive repression and aggressive adventurism.

42. The Kampuchean patriots, led by the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, took up arms

and overthrew that criminal régime in order to preserve the lives of their people and restore their national heritage and the unity of their State. The future of that country is now in the hands of the Kampuchean people and only the genuine representatives of the people of Kampuchea can represent the country in the Security Council and any other bodies of the United Nations. It is therefore the new government of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council headed by Heng Samrin, which has now assumed full authority in the country and is entitled to address the United Nations. The question of the participation of Kampuchea in United Nations bodies and that of who should represent that country in those bodies is up to the Government of Kampuchea and no one else. As the Soviet delegation has already stated, the events which have occurred in Kampuchea are the internal affair of the people of that country and should not be a subject for consideration in the Security Council.

43. Since, however, the majority of the members of this body have insisted that the Council should concern itself with the question of Kampuchea, the delegation of the Soviet Union considers it necessary for the Council to invite the true representatives of the country, namely, the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, to participate in the discussion. The United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea unites the broad national, political and social circles in Kampuchea, it headed the struggle to free Kampuchea from the anti-people and reactionary Pol Pot régime and led it to victory. The overthrow of the criminal Pol Pot clique and the liberation of Kampuchea from that clique is convincing evidence of the broad support enjoyed by the United Front and its policies among the Kampuchean people.

44. As can be seen from the documents before the Council, the internal political programme of the United Front provides for the restitution of the national economy and for the organization of the country's economy in such a way as to bring it into harmony with the requirements of the progress of the society, thus serving the social and cultural needs of the people. The United Front's foreign policy provides for the building of an independent, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea, the establishment of trade with neighbouring countries and the strengthening of peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world. The United Front has stated its readiness to comply with the precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant international obligations.

45. The Soviet delegation would like once again to emphasize that any discussion in the Security Council of the situation in Kampuchea can have no meaning unless it takes place in the presence of the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people.

46. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): As was expected, having failed in his despicable attempt to oppose a formal meeting of the Security Council, the Soviet representative again comes back to his preposterous idea of the so-called representation of Kampuchea. Democratic Kampuchea is an independent sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations and of the non-alignment movement. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal government of Kampuchea, and this has been confirmed at the thirty-third and earlier sessions of the General Assembly.

47. The senior Government delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk, has submitted credentials signed by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs and the credentials have been accepted as being valid and in good form. Hence, there is not the slightest doubt that it is the sole legal delegation representing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for participation in Security Council meetings.

48. Now, since the Security Council is to consider the question of Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, it is only natural that it should hear the complaint by Prince Sihanouk, the representative of the sole legal government of Democratic Kampuchea. This is in full accord with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, and it is unimpeachable from any legal point of view.

49. The Soviet representative again grossly tramples upon the Charter in trying to prevent Prince Sihanouk from participating in the meeting of the Security Council under article 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. We absolutely cannot agree. We hold that a decision should be taken immediately to invite the delegation led by Prince Sihanouk to participate in the Council meeting in accordance with rule 37.

50. Furthermore, the Soviet representative once again mentioned the puppet organization of the so-called "Salvation Front", "the People's Revolutionary Council" or "People's Republic" and pressed for the acceptance of its presence at the Council meeting. This is a political manoeuvre by which the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are trying to use the Security Council to foster a puppet organization, and we categorically oppose it. As is known to the whole world, this is a sheer hired tool manufactured by Viet Nam singlehandedly for the purpose of legalizing Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea. It can in no way represent any Kampuchean, but only represents the lackeys of Viet Nam.

51. As was pointed out in an editorial of *The New York Times* of 9 January, "the Vietnamese Army by any other name remains the Vietnamese Army". The Security Council should have no dealings whatsoever with this puppet organ of Viet Nam, and it is of course absolutely impermissible for the so-called representative of this puppet organ to appear before the Council under whatever name. We believe that no Member State that upholds justice will ever permit it.

52. The Soviet representative has asked the Security Council immediately to take a decision on whether or not the so-called representative from the Vietnamese puppets should be allowed to address the Council. We are firmly opposed to it, because, first, apart from their masters, the Vietnamese aggressors, these puppets can represent no one; secondly, the original copy of the puppets' telegram requesting participation bears no time of delivery or receipt or code number, and so on, which are normal features of such telegrams. This telegram is full of loopholes. The cable paper is that of RCA, as if this cable were transmitted through RCA. But an inquiry we made of RCA and other institutions concerned shows that, as there is no direct communication with Phnom Penh, no telegram can possi-

bly be sent from Phnom Penh directly to New York. It can thus be seen that the telegram did not originate at Phnom Penh at all, but is most probably a forgery by the Soviet or Vietnamese representatives in New York. It is surprising indeed that Viet Nam or the Soviet Union should have resorted to such despicable means to fool the Security Council. Thirdly, to our knowledge these puppets are not in New York at all.

53. In view of the foregoing, and in order to prevent the Soviet Union from using this question to delay the proceedings of the Council, we propose that this question should be left aside. At the same time, since the agenda has already been adopted and a decision taken to invite Prince Sihanouk to participate in the Council meeting under rule 37, we propose that the President should immediately invite Prince Sihanouk to address the meeting.

54. Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): My delegation agrees that the representative of Kampuchea should participate in the discussions in the Council. However, the only legal representative of Kampuchea and its people is the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea which, as is indicated in the telegram from its President, Mr. Heng Samrin, to the President of the Security Council [S/13013, annex III], assumed effective power, authority and the functions of government throughout the territory on 7 January at 12:30 p.m. local time. The representation of the people and Government of Kampuchea in the Security Council and elsewhere at the United Nations is therefore the sole responsibility of those representatives who have been appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council.

55. In the telegram he addressed to the President of the Security Council [see S/13020], the President of the People's Revolutionary Council said that, if the Security Council were to take up consideration of questions concerning his country, the new government of Kampuchea would send its own representative to participate in the meetings. We therefore support its request to participate in the discussion under Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. However, my delegation is in principle opposed to the participation on the basis of that Article and rule, of any individual with a mandate from the overthrown clique of Pol Pot.

56. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): I would dare say this is as interesting a meeting as we have had in the Council for some time.

57. I should like to take this opportunity not only to welcome you, Mr. President, to the Council, but also to thank you for your diligent efforts in private consultations with the Council and for getting us to the point where we have in fact adopted an agenda that would allow the Council to discuss the question proposed by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which has requested a meeting of the Council to hear its grievance, the grievance of a Government that has been recognized by the General Assembly and is represented here by Prince Sihanouk.

58. I think the questions that have been raised by my Soviet colleague and the representative of Czechoslovakia are questions the Council ought to be concerned with. But I do not think that that should deprive us of the right to proceed to consider an agenda that has already been

adopted. We shall have many opportunities—in fact, the several days that would be required for anybody who wanted to be heard by the Council to arrive would give us ample time, in preliminary consultations or in other meetings of the Council—to debate the issues that are now being discussed.

59. Regardless of what we think about the situation in Democratic Kampuchea and I doubt whether the Council is prepared now to make any judgements about what is going on we do have a request from a recognized Member of the Organization, from a representative of the Government that has been recognized by the Assembly and that has participated in our work. We make no judgements one way or the other. We just think that that Government has a right to be heard. And if they have been driven from their capital, or whatever the situation may be, and however it occurred, that should not prevent us from giving a hearing to the aggrieved parties. I hope that we can proceed with the agenda as it has been adopted.

60. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President, I shall have another opportunity to express my sentiments and my congratulations to you later.

61. I really disagree with my friend Ambassador Young of the United States that this is a very interesting meeting. I think it is both tragic and comic. Rome is burning, as they say, and we are fiddling. People are mutilated; children are orphaned; women are widowed; properties are destroyed. And here we haggle over what I would call non-essential issues.

62. Now, without judging the merits or demerits of the substance of the issue, I wish to say that my delegation supports the participation under rule 37 of the delegation led by Prince Sihanouk. From 1970, when Prince Sihanouk was overthrown, until 1975, my Government consistently, assiduously and persistently supported him as the embodiment of the aspirations of the people of Cambodia to preserve their political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Even under the present circumstances we still believe that Prince Sihanouk is the embodiment of the aspirations of the people of Cambodia and, therefore, my delegation sees no difficulty whatsoever about his participation under rule 37 or about hearing him as the leader of the delegation sent from the capital.

63. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): I would also crave your indulgence, Mr. President, and that of the other members who were kind enough to pay a tribute to my country, if I take a later opportunity to offer our congratulations to you because of this arduous task before you.

64. I agree wholeheartedly with what has been said by the representative of Kuwait. He used a very apt phrase, that we were fiddling while Rome was burning. His description was quite correct. I recall that there have been many similar situations where the Security Council has had to work at week-ends and to work in haste in order to prevent bloodshed and a threat to peace.

65. I agree also with the conclusions of the representative of Kuwait. Like his, my country has developed relations with the Government of Cambodia and we recognize Prince Sihanouk as the duly accredited representative of Cambodia. We have not the least hesitation in supporting his

appearance before the Council so that we can be enlightened about conditions in Cambodia.

66. The PRESIDENT: As there are no other speakers at this stage on the question of the invitation, let me say again that there has been opportunity during the informal consultations to develop some measure of agreement or understanding on an issue on which clearly there are strong differences of view. But, in view of the spirit of the consultations which have been held and the remarks which have been made by the representatives at this meeting, I would say to the Council that the time has come to make a decision on this question of invitation. Therefore, taking note of the comments that have been made in this discussion, I propose that the Council should extend the invitation to the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea which is requested in document S/13019, to participate in the work of the Council on the item. May I take it that the Council agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided.

67. At this stage in the proceedings, I shall suspend the meeting for a short while so that, in accordance with rule 15 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Secretary-General can examine the credentials of the representatives appointed in accordance with rule 14 and submit a report to the Council for approval.

The meeting was suspended at 5.25 p.m. and resumed at 6.50 p.m.

68. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/13021, which contains the report submitted by the Secretary-General in connexion with this matter in accordance with rule 15 of the provisional rules of procedure. May I take it that the Council approves the report?

It was so decided.

69. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like once again to stress that only the representative of the legitimate government of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council, can speak on behalf of the Kampuchean people, and those who are claiming that they represent the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in actual fact represent no one, particularly since, as we know, that Government has ceased to exist.

70. The PRESIDENT: Note has been taken of the comment which has been made on this matter.

At the invitation of the President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea took a place at the Council table.

71. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

72. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of item 2 of its agenda. With the concurrence of the Council, I call on the representative of Democratic Kampuchea.

73. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First, I wish to thank the members of the Council most sincerely for the genuine sympathy they have extended to the people of Democratic Kampuchea. As a result of that sympathy, today I have been granted the honour of coming here to give them an objective account of the Kampuchean problem, or, rather, the current Kampuchean-Vietnamese problem. As indeed the whole world knows, my country is the victim of a large-scale act of flagrant aggression by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a country which had described itself as our "brother", our "faithful companion in arms in the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle", a country which had asserted that it was a "socialist comrade", "belonging, as does Cambodia, to the camp of the non-aligned States".

74. In the not too distant past or, more precisely, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the principal leaders of the party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and those of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, in particular Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Viet Nam, Vo Nguyen Giap, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat, respectively head of State and head of Government of the revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, have never ceased to state, to affirm, to reaffirm and even to write to Norodom Sihanouk, then head of State of Cambodia or Kampuchea, that, "now as in the future and to the very end of time" their socialist Viet Nam, their revolutionary Viet Nam, their anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, anti-war Viet Nam held it to be and would continue to hold it to be their sacred duty scrupulously and unswervingly to respect the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of "fraternal" Kampuchea.

75. But, on the very morrow of the final victory, in April 1975—a victory over imperialism—and in the wake of the reunification of the two Viet Nams, North and South, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam decided, cold-bloodedly, to embark upon a very special operation whose ultimate goal was nothing less than to swallow up little Kampuchea just as a starving boa constrictor would fling itself upon an innocent animal.

76. Starving—that certainly is and has been an apt description of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. All the newspapers, all television and radio networks in all the countries of the world, with the exception of course of the countries closely linked to the USSR and the USSR itself, have stressed and continue to stress repeatedly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, ever since its victory at the end of April 1975, has been sinking ever deeper—and with what desperation—into the abyss of economic and financial

failure without any possibility of recovery, its agriculture, which had been very prosperous in the south of the country during the period of French colonialism, on the verge of collapse, its industrialization marked by disorderly planning and a surprising confusion and its administration, to say the least, becoming ever more corrupt.

77. In the circumstances, a Democratic Kampuchea in full economic upswing, possessing vast rice paddies ever more admirably and fully irrigated and innumerable fields where fruit trees, maize, sugar-cane, all kinds of vegetables and other crops grow in great profusion, not to mention the wealth that lies in its subsoil and the harmonious expansion of its industrialization, could not but arouse envy in our great neighbour where an age-old tradition—a tradition held in "high esteem" by all the successive Vietnamese régimes so far—was prompting it to undertake the highly profitable colonization of Kampuchea.

78. My saying what I have just said about Viet Nam does not constitute interference in the internal affairs of that country; there is a necessity which makes it my duty to create a better understanding of the reasons why my country has always had to put up with acts of aggression and other armed attacks from Viet Nam, which have been going on since the fifteenth century. From the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, Viet Nam, in spite of the bitter and indomitable resistance of the army and people of Kampuchea, succeeded in swallowing up a good half of Kampuchea. That half became what is known today as "South Viet Nam"; it used to be the south of Kampuchea.

79. Although this is inconceivable in the 1970s, when all the talk is of respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the just principles of non-alignment, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a Member moreover of the United Nations and a full-fledged member of the family of the non-aligned countries, is not embarrassed by any scruples. Greatly encouraged by its multiform alliance, in particular a *de facto* military alliance with the USSR, one of the two world super-Powers, drawing comfort from the total and unconditional support accorded it by the Powers of the Warsaw Pact, with the exception of Romania, respecting the "good" old traditions of shamelessly swallowing up small neighbours whenever the opportunity presents itself, and motivated also, we must point out, by the keen appetite that it had nurtured for many years, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam came to the point of launching an all-out attack with all the power of its Hitlerite armed forces for the conquest of Kampuchea. The irresistible advance of a host of armoured tanks and cars, accompanied by a dozen infantry divisions supported by the most modern heavy artillery, preceded and protected by innumerable aircraft of all types, including MIG-21s and some MIG-23s, that advance, a veritable German-style blitzkrieg in nature, strangely reminds us of the blitzkrieg of the Hitlerite armed forces to which so many European countries—France and Poland in particular—fell victim at the beginning of the Second World War.

80. All this shows how monstrous and dastardly is the current conquest of my poor little country by the big neighbour whose numerical superiority is compounded by a formidable military outfit, equipped to the teeth as it is by one of the two most formidable military Powers in the world today.

81. I wish now to say something about the so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and its so-called government.

82. The Government, press and radio of Hanoi themselves have very spontaneously been declaring to the world at large that this Front existed only since 2 December 1978. I repeat, 2 December 1978. Now the formidable Guderian or Rommel-style blitzkrieg which was launched by the so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea was unleashed against us on 25 December 1978. I repeat, 25 December 1978. Even school children at the primary level would be unable to believe that in the extremely short space of only 22 days, this tiny and insignificant so-called Kampuchean Front could recruit, equip, teach, train and lick into shape such an Olympian armed force of so many components and furthermore equipped with machines and weapons requiring a perfect mastery of electronics and ballistics, not to mention the special skills that can be possessed only by units which have already taken part in large-scale operations.

83. In the face of the insolent claim on the part of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the effect that the war that is raging in Kampuchea or Cambodia is only a civil war without any Vietnamese involvement, the Kampuchean people, through me, has the honour of asserting vigorously that this war is purely a war of aggression, annexation, colonization and regional hegemonism unilaterally, arbitrarily and unjustly unleashed by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam against little Kampuchea.

84. The so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and its government are, in fact, only a pitiful smoke-screen designed to hide from the outside world the criminal and repugnant anti-Kampuchean undertaking of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which shows its contempt of other sovereign countries and peoples of the world by feeding them such obvious lies that even a child cannot give them any credence.

85. Those countries which have hastened to accord *de jure* recognition to the government of Heng Samrin, the pitiful puppet of the Vietnamese, expose themselves as the intimate accomplices that they are of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in its current attempt to annihilate independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

86. The States and the mass media which prize justice, freedom and moral and political probity have in recent days made a point of clearly denouncing the deep-dyed deceit of Viet Nam and of inviting the whole world to exercise pressure on it to make it give up its criminal enterprise right away, thus making it possible for Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations, to recover their national independence and territorial integrity.

87. If by chance there is any problem dividing the Kampuchians, this problem must and should be resolved by Kampuchians alone without any interference from outside countries.

88. I should like to present to the Council certain governmental statements from countries that love justice, independence and peace which show, first, that the so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and

its government are only puppets of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; secondly, that Democratic Kampuchea is clearly the victim of a flagrant act of aggression and invasion, the work of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; thirdly, that the criminal Vietnamese enterprise must be categorically condemned and everything possible done to induce Viet Nam to evacuate all its armed and other forces from Kampuchea.

—The Permanent Representative of the United States, Mr. Andrew Young, said:

“It would be most cynical for us to allow Governments to be stricken from the rolls simply because another Power moves in and says it no longer exists. I would be reluctant, if I were the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, to admit that the Government no longer exists, because it would seem as though they knew too much about it to be innocent of it.”¹

—Mr. Hodding Carter, a United States State Department spokesman, stated:

“Yes, Viet Nam, through its invasion of Kampuchea, is guilty of invasion. They [the Vietnamese] have violated the territorial integrity of Kampuchea. What we clearly want is the withdrawal of foreign intervention.”¹

—Mr. Sonoda, Foreign Minister of Japan, said:

“The Japanese Government will call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.”¹

—The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, declared:

“We informed the Soviet Ambassador that we were opposed to any aggression against the sovereignty and freedom of a small nation. We hold that every Member of the United Nations has the right to call for a Security Council session as it thinks necessary. We support Kampuchea's demand. She has been subjected to an aggression which needs to be discussed in the Council. Such an aggression implies a threat to the security and territorial integrity of a sovereign State.”¹

—Mr. Hans Blix, Foreign Minister of Sweden, said:

“Foreign intervention in Kampuchea is a threat to the interests of all small countries. The Swedish Government is opposed to foreign military intervention in Kampuchea, considering it a violation of the Charter of the United Nations.”¹

—Mr. Diego Uribe Vargas, Minister for External Relations of Colombia, stated:

“Any menace to peace, no matter what it is, is an event which causes preoccupation among peoples. I believe that the United Nations should act immediately.”¹

—Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, declared:

“The Vietnamese invasion has created risk of serious intensification of the war into a regional conflict which

¹Quoted in English by the speaker.

would have serious consequences for all who live in the region. The very fact that Viet Nam has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union that contains security elements tends to introduce the Eastern-bloc approach to politics in South-East Asia."¹

—According to the official daily newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party, *Scintela*, Romania condemns:

"the support given [by Viet Nam] to elements which have risen against the authorities of their own country. There can be no arguments to justify intervention and interference in the affairs of another State, whatever form they may take."

—Mr. Cedomir Vuchovic, commentator of the State Radio of Yugoslavia, has said:

"Every people, including the people of Cambodia, has the right to decide on its own what system it will build. It is quite another question whether this system pleases or does not please someone outside."¹

89. I wish now to describe to members very briefly the situation now prevailing in my country, Democratic Kampuchea. First, the Vietnamese enemy has occupied Phnom Penh, our capital, most of our cities, and part of our countryside. Secondly, the Government and army of Democratic Kampuchea, the only legal State of Kampuchea, are respectively administering and defending our country in the unoccupied zone, which contains a small number of towns near the Kampuchean-Thai border, as well as part of the national territory. The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea are still in our country; the seat of our Government is in one of our mountains. Our Government, our army, our people, are fighting and will fight to the death against the Vietnamese expansionist and colonialist invader. We shall never surrender. We may lose everything, but we will never lose our national honour.

90. Before concluding my statement, I wish to point out to the head of the Soviet delegation, which is so hostile to mine, that the fact that the legal government of a given country has lost a battle to an enemy Power having overwhelming superiority in arms and that it has had to yield temporary control over the capital of that country does not mean that the legal Government in question becomes, *ipso facto*, illegal and that it has to be replaced in the United Nations by a puppet régime put together by the foreign occupier. In 1940, General de Gaulle, the true symbol of France, had to retreat to London following the temporary loss of the French capital, Paris, to the Hitlerite invaders.

91. In his statement just now in favour of the Kampuchean traitors in the pay of the Vietnamese conquerors, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics seemed to care more about Kampuchea than the Kampucheans themselves—which cannot fail to be surprising. In response to this surprising pretension, permit me to recall that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the bad habit of remaining in Phnom Penh with Kampuchean traitors. Between 1970 and 1975, instead of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Kampuchean patriots who were fighting against imperialism and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol, the Soviet Embassy made a particular point of collaborating and co-operating with the reactionary Lon Nol group, Fascists and war criminals though they were. The

same applied to Czechoslovakia, whose present régime gladly allowed Russian tanks in 1968 to crush Czechoslovak patriots. I shall say nothing more about that right now.

92. In conclusion, we should like to express to the Council our deep gratitude and our confidence, and we sincerely hope that in its forthcoming resolution it will, for the sake of justice and peace in the world, first, condemn the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has without any justification committed aggression and invaded and colonized Democratic Kampuchea; secondly, ensure that there will be no *de jure* or even *de facto* recognition of the so-called new State of Kampuchea; thirdly, demand that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should put an immediate end to its aggression and withdraw totally, unconditionally and immediately all its armed forces and all its military and civilian components from the territory of Kampuchea; fourthly, call on all the specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations connected with the United Nations and all Governments throughout the world to cease and refuse any financial, economic, military, material or other aid to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its puppets, in order to prevail upon Viet Nam to give up its brutal treatment of Kampuchea and its threatening of other countries of South-East Asia and stability and peace in Asia and throughout the world; fifthly, in the event of Viet Nam's continuing its totally unjustified aggression and maltreatment of Kampuchea, reconvene in order to take further appropriate measures to prevail upon Viet Nam to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace of Kampuchea, in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

93. I thank the members of the Council for their concern for me.

94. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all allow me to extend warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month.

95. At the same time, I wish to express a warm welcome to the representatives of Bangladesh, Norway, Portugal and Zambia, who are participating in the work of the Security Council. We are convinced that they will make important contributions to defending the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter and to safeguarding international peace and security. It is the sincere hope of the Chinese delegation that the President and the other representatives will join in a common effort and active co-operation for the realization of this noble goal.

96. On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I also wish to extend our warmest welcome to the high-ranking Government delegation of Democratic Kampuchea led personally by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk for participation in the deliberations of the Council. As a world-renowned outstanding statesman and a great patriot, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has made most important contributions to the cause of national liberation of Kampuchea and to the non-aligned movement. We highly appreciate the noble patriotism displayed by him and his dedication to the just cause.

97. In his statement just now, Samdech Sihanouk presented an abundance of irrefutable facts, with moving lan-

guage and admirable clarity, showing how Democratic Kampuchea, a small and weak nation loyal to non-alignment, has been subjected to barbarous aggression by Viet Nam with the powerful support of the Soviet Union. He also made an urgent appeal to the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, through the Council, to the people of the world, putting forward a number of just demands and proposals to put an immediate end to Viet Nam's attempt to annex Kampuchea. We fully support Samdech Sihanouk's statement and his righteous voice and demands.

98. As the whole world is now aware, the truth is that since 25 December of last year the Vietnamese authorities have dispatched a dozen or so divisions of regular troops numbering over 100,000 to launch large-scale attacks on Democratic Kampuchea from various directions under the cover of a large number of aircraft, tanks and artillery. At present, Vietnamese troops have penetrated deep into Kampuchea and occupied a large part of its territory and the capital, Phnom Penh, creating as a result a very grave situation. Wherever the Vietnamese troops go they engage in burning, killing and pillage. Soviet aircraft have carried out indiscriminate bombings. As a result, large tracts of Kampuchean territory are being brutally devastated, and innumerable innocent inhabitants slaughtered by the aggressors.

99. The Vietnamese authorities have flagrantly committed an unmasked military aggression against a weak and small neighbour, thus trampling upon the elementary principles guiding international relations and violating the Charter of the United Nations. The people of the whole world and all justice-upholding countries are most indignant at this. The Chinese Government strongly condemns the Vietnamese authorities for their crimes of aggression and supports the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in its legitimate demand for the convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council. We wish to reaffirm here that the Chinese Government firmly supports the Government and people of Kampuchea in their just struggle to defend State sovereignty and territorial integrity and resist the Vietnamese aggressors.

100. The Vietnamese authorities arbitrarily describe their naked aggression against Kampuchea as a "civil war" in Kampuchea and a so-called people's "insurgence". Who, after all, can be fooled by all this? As is known to all, the so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea is none other than a hired institution and rubber stamp made by Hanoi with Vietnamese citizens of Kampuchean origin. Hanoi's purpose is to create a "legitimate" pretext for its aggression against Kampuchea and prepare public opinion for the invention of a puppet regime. Hence the appearance of the so-called People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. This was the habitual practice of Adolf Hitler. The only difference is that it is even more flagrant and ignominious than Hitler. The tactics of the Vietnamese authorities are indeed surprisingly foolish. One may ask: how can a puppet organization that was brought into being only a few weeks ago possess a dozen or so divisions of regular troops and launch attacks on all parts of Kampuchea? And it even has plunged into the war a huge number of cannon, tanks and aircraft. The Vietnamese authorities have the effrontery to peddle such foolish lies here. This is a great mockery of and an insult to the United Nations and its Member States.

101. It has been the long premeditated plan of the Vietnamese authorities to launch a war of aggression against Kampuchea. The annexation of Kampuchea constitutes an important step in Viet Nam's strategy of establishing a colonial empire called the "Indo-Chinese federation" under its armed control for further expansion of its sphere of influence in South-East Asia.

102. Immediately upon the ending of the anti-United States war, the Vietnamese authorities embarked on the road of external expansion. They used 50,000 troops and thousands upon thousands of advisers to gain over-all control of Laos. Then they intensified their subversion and unleashed an open war of aggression against Kampuchea by most arbitrary and despicable means. The Kampuchean army and people won the victory of defending their national independence after many years of heroic fighting and bloodshed. But, having enjoyed hardly more than a year's peaceful life, they have been thrown by the Vietnamese aggressors into another bloody war for national self-defence. Despite the repeated setbacks in its aggressive attempt on Kampuchea, Viet Nam has never given up its ambition of seeking hegemony in South-East Asia. Following the conclusion of a military alliance with Soviet social-imperialism, it has gained full support from the Soviet Union politically, economically and militarily and, after joint planning with the Soviet Union, it has finally launched an unprecedented war of aggression against Kampuchea, in an attempt to swallow it at one gulp, thus menacing South-East Asia and realizing its fond dream of regional hegemony. Viet Nam has long ago become the Cuba of Asia, an agent of Soviet social-imperialism in Asia. It has become the source of intervention, subversion, power politics, turmoil and even war against the South-East Asian States.

103. Vietnamese-Soviet collusion for wanton aggression against Kampuchea is undoubtedly a signal of danger for the peoples of South-East Asia, the whole of Asia and the world. If Viet Nam and the Soviet Union were allowed to succeed in their plan of annexing Kampuchea and setting up the "Indo-Chinese federation", the strategic deployment of Soviet hegemonism in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean would be linked up and there would be no more peace and security in that region. The Chinese Government and people and the people of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region certainly cannot tolerate the gangsterism of the Vietnamese authorities and the grave situation arising therefrom. Therefore, it is the incumbent duty of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries to stop Viet Nam's aggression, support the Kampuchean people's struggle and save peace in South-East Asia.

104. It must also be pointed out here that the Soviet Union is the plotter and supporter of Viet Nam's war of aggression against Kampuchea. As I just stated, Viet Nam has already become the agent of Soviet hegemonism and the Cuba of Asia. But it is performing a more dangerous role than Cuba. In recent years, the Soviet Union has taken advantage of the Vietnamese authorities' ambitions for expansion to step up its infiltration in Viet Nam and already controls Viet Nam in the political, economic, military, diplomatic and other fields. Particularly since the latter part of 1977, large quantities of Soviet war *matériel*, aircraft, tanks, guns and warships have been shipped to Viet Nam. Soviet military personnel in Viet Nam have increased drastically. Soviet naval vessels have frequented Viet Nam's ports. Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang have already become

Soviet naval bases. In order to consolidate the military collusion between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in treaty form and in order to threaten the Asian-Pacific countries, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam signed the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation in November 1978 [S/12920, annex]. By so doing, they in fact have entered into a military alliance. Viet Nam has dared to carry out aggression against Kampuchea so brazenly, wantonly and unscrupulously because of the abetment and backing of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Viet Nam is provoking ceaseless bloody conflicts along border provinces of China, instigating war hysteria and threatening the security of the southern border of China.

105. The current reality is that Soviet great hegemonism and Vietnamese minor hegemonism are colluding with each other in doing evil. Viet Nam relies on Soviet support for realizing its ambitions of seeking hegemony in South-East Asia. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, regards Viet Nam as its "strategic base" in South-East Asia and the Pacific region in an attempt to control the sea lane from the west Pacific to the Indian Ocean and link up its strategic deployments in the two oceans so as to prepare for the seizure of oil resources and important strategic positions in west Asia and the Middle East. Therefore, Viet Nam's expansion and aggression are by no means an isolated, local or accidental event but an important step in pursuance of the Soviet strategy of global hegemonism.

106. In view of the urgency of the situation in Kampuchea, the Chinese Government holds that the Security Council should take emergency measures at once to condemn Viet Nam for its acts of aggression against Kampuchea, call on the Vietnamese authorities to stop their acts of aggression against Kampuchea immediately and withdraw from Kampuchea all their aggressive troops and military installations, condemn and stop Soviet criminal acts of supporting and abetting Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, and request the United Nations specialized agencies to render strong political and material support to the victim of aggression. At the same time, the Council must take speedy and effective concrete measures to ensure the realization of the above goals.

107. According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In the face of Soviet-supported Vietnamese acts of naked and barbarous aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, a State Member of the United Nations, it will be a grave challenge and test for the Council to see whether or not effective measures can be taken by it to fulfil its responsibility. This is also a serious test for the future of the United Nations. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the membership will not disappoint the expectations of the world's people and will wage a firm struggle to defend the purposes and principles of the Charter, oppose aggression and safeguard international peace and security.

108. In the spirit of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation has prepared a draft resolution [S/13022] and requests the Secretariat first to distribute the English text to the members of the Council as an official document.

109. The preambular part of the draft is self-explanatory. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft stresses that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Demo-

cratic Kampuchea must be strictly respected in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that this should not be controversial. Paragraph 2 strongly condemns Viet Nam for its acts of armed invasion and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. In our view, since Viet Nam's large-scale naked armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea is a hard fact known to the whole world, such acts of aggression against a sovereign State in gross violation of the Charter should be strongly condemned. Otherwise, it would mean condoning the outright aggressors. Paragraph 3 commends the just struggle being waged by Democratic Kampuchea against the invaders. Paragraph 4 calls upon Viet Nam immediately to halt its armed aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw immediately from Kampuchean territory all its aggressor forces and military installations. We consider these to be the elementary concrete measures which the Security Council should take to stop aggression. It is absolutely impermissible for Viet Nam to continue its aggression against Kampuchea; still less should the Council allow Viet Nam and the Soviet Union to consolidate and expand their occupation of Kampuchean territory by delaying tactics. Paragraph 5 asks the United Nations and all Governments to stop all assistance to Viet Nam so as to prevent it from being used to finance Vietnamese aggression. Paragraph 6 declares that, in the event of the Vietnamese authorities' refusal to implement the above-mentioned decisions, the Security Council will meet again to consider the adoption of further effective measures. Paragraph 7 requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council as early as possible on the implementation of this resolution and paragraph 8 decides that the Council should remain seized of this question.

110. We hold that the contents of the above draft are reasonable and entirely proper. It is hoped that the members of the Council will give serious consideration and active support to it.

111. The PRESIDENT: With the concurrence of the Council I now invite the representative of Viet Nam to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

112. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, with great respect for Jamaica, which you represent and which has relations of friendship with my country that are constantly being strengthened and developed, I wish to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I wish also to express my sincerest appreciation to the other members of the Council.

113. We regret very much that the Council, by its vote, has refused to adjourn the meeting, which would have permitted it to hear the voice of the new revolutionary Government which is at present in command of the entire territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and is recognized by many countries in the world. That privilege has been given to the alleged representative of a political régime which is already defunct, namely, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime. We wish to draw the attention of the Council and of the Secretary-General, who is present at this meeting, to the gravity of that act, which is in violation of the principles of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 7, since it constrains the exercise of the right to self-determination of peoples, and General Assembly resolution 396 (V) concerning United Nations recognition of the representation of a

Member State. Furthermore, one wonders how the Council can make a fair assessment of the situation prevailing in Kampuchea without hearing the legal, authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

114. On instructions from my Government, it is my honour to present today to the Security Council the views of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the matter at present before the Council.

115. In order to draw a clear picture of the problem of Kampuchea, it is appropriate to make a clear distinction between two wars: one, the border war started by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against Viet Nam, which the Vietnamese people have been forced to deal with; the other, the revolutionary war of the Kampuchean people against the dictatorial rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which is an instrument in the hands of the reactionary ruling circles of Peking.

116. First of all, as regards the border war between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique started it very early, immediately after the liberation of Phnom Penh early in 1975. Confronted by that war, which had been imposed upon it Viet Nam clearly showed military restraint, and the entire world witnessed its persistent efforts to put an end to the conflict by peaceful negotiations. On many occasions during the years 1976 and 1977 we proposed talks with the authorities in Kampuchea, who invariably categorically refused. And after waging that border war even more vigorously, the clique at the time in Phnom Penh unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations with Viet Nam on 31 December 1977. In spite of that, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, sincerely trying to avoid a breakdown in diplomatic relations, in its declaration of 5 February 1978 put forward a well-known proposal made up of three points to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict; that proposal was put forward again in the notes addressed to the Kampuchean side on 10 April 1978 and yet again on 6 June 1978. Regrettably, though, it always encountered the obstinate refusal of the Kampucheans.

117. Throughout that period, in various international bodies, the Vietnamese side showed the same restraint and continued to put forward proposals aimed at settling the conflict by peaceful negotiations. On 10 March 1978, Mr. Pham Duong, Chargé d'Affaires of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, spoke to the Secretary-General in an effort to determine what measures the Security Council could take to provide a positive response to the three-point proposal put forward by Viet Nam on 5 February 1978. In reply to our representation, the Secretary-General said that he was of the opinion that it would be difficult to achieve unanimity in the Council on a decision of that kind. We then interpreted the thinking of the Secretary-General as being concerned with the negative vote of China, which interpretation was borne out by events. Once again, in November 1978, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique objected to consideration of the problem of Kampuchea by the Council.

118. In July 1978, at the conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade, Viet Nam proposed that an appeal should be made for a settlement of the conflict between Kampuchea and Viet Nam by negotiations. Thereupon, on 28 July and then on 29 July, the Yugoslav President of the Conference and the Sri Lanka

President of the non-aligned movement asked Viet Nam to withdraw its proposal following opposition from the Kampuchean side.

119. A number of countries which have relations with both Viet Nam and Kampuchea have frequently demonstrated their desire to help both sides to settle the conflict by negotiations, but the Kampuchean side always put forward unreasonable conditions to justify its refusal.

120. Throughout that period, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique strove to intensify the war against Viet Nam. Of the 23 divisions which the Kampuchean Army had at the time, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique massed 19 on the border between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. Encouraging racial hatred against the Vietnamese people, it sought relentlessly to achieve its aim of invasion of many areas of South Viet Nam. So as to achieve that goal, it spread the fable, for domestic Kampuchean consumption, that Viet Nam had been weakened in its endeavour to cope with innumerable difficulties and was suffering from insurmountable domestic division and, consequently, Kampuchea, having conquered the Americans and with the support of 800 million Chinese, would surely conquer Viet Nam.

121. It is perfectly clear from the events of the past four years that while Viet Nam, militarily speaking, has shown restraint and persevered in its efforts to pursue peaceful negotiations, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has endeavoured to pursue its war against Viet Nam to the bitter end. One wonders: why has the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique acted in this way?

122. The truth is that the problem has its origin in the politics of the Peking authorities, who are endeavouring to realize their aims of expansionism and hegemony as a great Power in South-East Asia. That policy is aimed at controlling the entire eastern sea, at pitting the three countries of Indo-China against each other and at the same time at using Chinese nationals and other pro-Chinese forces to intervene in the internal affairs of the South-East Asian countries.

123. A Viet Nam that is independent and master of its destiny is the greatest obstacle to this policy of Peking. That is why the authorities in Peking have engaged in the military occupation of the Hoang Sa islands of Viet Nam and have used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to start a border war against Viet Nam. And in the same way that they have forced the Hoa in Viet Nam to promote turmoil within our country, the Peking authorities have endeavoured to create and to maintain a state of tension, which could explode at any moment, all along the border between Viet Nam and China, both on land and at sea. Just when Viet Nam was suffering the consequences of great and repeated natural disasters, the Peking authorities chose to cut off all economic assistance so as to bring Viet Nam to its knees.

124. It is perfectly obvious that all these actions on the part of the Peking authorities have been co-ordinated according to a concerted plan aimed at weakening Viet Nam and subjecting it to China's policies. More recently, during the final days of the collapse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, we saw further evidence of their intention of committing obvious acts of aggression against Viet Nam in the heavy concentration of Chinese troops along the Chinese-Vietnamese border. We warned the leaders in Peking that such acts would entail a grave responsibility.

125. Like any other self-respecting country, Viet Nam cannot accept such hostile manoeuvres against its independence, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, as well as against peace and stability in South-East Asia.

126. Like any other country in a similar situation, Viet Nam is determined to exercise its right of legitimate defence recognized by the Charter of the United Nations and by international law in order to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to safeguard the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Kampuchean people. Viet Nam is determined to repel aggression and to punish the aggressors, to put down the forces that have unleashed this war of aggression against it, so that its enemies will not be able to resume their aggressive activities.

127. That is the sacred right of self-defence of peoples in the face of aggression. The slanderous allegations of the Peking authorities relating to the so-called aggression of Viet Nam against Kampuchea and the alleged establishment of the Indo-Chinese federation were in reality made with the aim of camouflaging their crimes against the Vietnamese people, the Lao people and the Kampuchean people themselves.

128. I now turn to the revolutionary war of the Kampuchean people against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

129. The Kampuchean people are a heroic and indomitable people which fought for decades against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the aggression of imperialism and which won the historic victory of 17 April 1975.

130. After their complete liberation, the people of Kampuchea might have enjoyed peace and prosperity as they bound up the wounds of war and set about the task of national reconstruction. But the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique stripped the people of Kampuchea of all their rights, pursued inhumane policies and turned that happy people into slaves and the entire country into an immense concentration camp.

131. The towns were emptied of their inhabitants. The entire population of the country was treated like an enemy. They were registered under new names; they were categorized. All traditional links were disrupted: family ties, marital as well as filial, were all broken as new forced marriages were imposed *en masse*. All freedoms and elementary rights were suppressed. There were no more markets, no more currency. All young people of 14 and 15 years of age had to enlist and were turned into professional killers. Women and children were murdered. Forced labour became the rule. There was famine, distress, and a lack of medicine and medical care, all on a very wide scale. The society of Kampuchea became unique in the world and in history. It became a living hell.

132. Historical experience shows that wherever there is oppression there is struggle; the more ferocious the oppression, the more bitter the struggle against it. That is why the mass uprising of the people of Kampuchea as it fought against the monstrous régime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary was indeed inevitable, especially since that people bears the age-old tradition of the Angkor civilization, strengthened by an ardent patriotism and an indomitable spirit in the face of oppression and violence. Thus, according to the declara-

tion of 2 December 1978 of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea:

“The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary traitors and tyrants have drowned Kampuchea in blood and tears. Boiling with anger against these barbarous acts and this policy of betrayal toward the country and people, the authentic revolutionary and patriotic forces have risen up alongside the people throughout the country to struggle resolutely against these traitors to save our country and people from slavery and extermination.” [S/13006, annex I.]

133. For the people of Kampuchea these past four years under the hellish Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime have also been four long years of continued and resolute struggle—indeed, heroic and even sublime struggle—against that detested and abhorred régime. It has been a struggle on every front, ranging from the economic measure of a widespread work slow-down to desertions from the army here and there, isolated and spontaneous fighting mainly of a defensive nature, as well as uprisings of regiments, districts and of entire regions of the country, leading to the eventual creation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea.

134. After its creation, the United Front proclaimed its domestic and foreign policies, to the delight of the people of Kampuchea and all progressive peoples throughout the world. Within Kampuchea, all the inhuman policies of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime will be abolished and replaced by a democratic régime which will continue and develop the traditions of the former Angkor civilization. Abroad, peace-loving, independent, democratic Kampuchea, on the path of socialism, will be non-aligned and will actively contribute to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace and stability in the world and in South-East Asia.

135. On 7 January 1979, the revolutionary and popular forces of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the United Front, overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and took full control over the territory of Kampuchea. *De facto* and *de jure*, the former Government of so-called Democratic Kampuchea no longer exists. On 8 January the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea was created as the sole legitimate and lawful Government of Kampuchea. And thus far the People's Revolutionary Council has officially been recognized by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia.

136. This brief historical account of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime over the past four years until the full liberation of Kampuchea brings out the following salient points: First, the creation of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea is the logical development of the mass uprising of the entire Kampuchean people. The programme of the Front meets the ardent aspirations of the people of Kampuchea; that is why it has received the warm support of the entire people of Kampuchea. Secondly, the fall of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime was inevitable, because that régime was abhorred and detested by the entire people of Kampuchea, including its own army and the civil servants of its own administrative apparatus, and, in addition, because

that régime was condemned by the entire world. It might be pointed out that the fall of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime represents at the same time the lamentable bankruptcy of the policies of hegemony of the ruling circles in China, who have used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as an instrument of that policy. Thirdly, the political programme of 2 December 1978 of the United Front is entirely in keeping with the movement of the non-aligned countries and with the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Front, in its foreign policy statement of 26 December 1978, clearly stated that one of the aims of that policy was the following:

“To respect the Charter of the United Nations and be willing to keep all Kampuchea’s international commitments except those violating Kampuchea’s fundamental national rights or contrary to the policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea.” [Ibid., annex II.]

137. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly supports the United Front on the basis of respect for the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and of non-interference in its internal affairs.

138. A new era is now dawning in Indo-China and in South-East Asia. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, a serious threat to the peace and stability of the area, has been abolished. The victorious United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea has formed its new government and has advocated building a truly independent and free Kampuchea, pursuing a foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, and of friendly co-operation with neighbouring countries. That is a new factor which should benefit peace and stability in South-East Asia.

139. As far as we are concerned, the Vietnamese people is keenly aware of the fact that, like the struggle that it waged in the past, the present struggle in defence of its national interests is an integral part of the common struggle of the peoples of the entire world for international peace and security and friendly co-operation among nations, in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

140. As is the past, our Government is continuing its foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship, solidarity and international co-operation.

141. In South-East Asia, which has for many long years been suffering from instability because of numerous imperialist and colonialist acts of aggression, Viet Nam is prepared to begin a new page of history in its relations with the countries of the area. As it has done in the past, it will continue to commit itself, by means of treaties and other official agreements, with the countries of the area to scrupulous mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, doing away with wars and confrontations, abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of other countries, settling differences by peaceful negotiation and developing both bilateral and multilateral co-operation among the countries.

142. We welcome relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation which are daily developing between our country and those of South-East Asia. Recent friendly visits made by Vietnamese leaders to other countries of the area are clear proof of this. All the joint state-

ments of our Prime Minister and heads of Government of countries of South-East Asia have, in a spirit of understanding and mutual confidence, expressed “the desire that South-East Asia should be a stable and prosperous zone of peace, independence, freedom and neutrality”, since this is in keeping with the interests of each country, of the region and of international peace and security.

143. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has recognized the People’s Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea as the sole authentic and legal representative of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea. Our Government refuses to grant any form of representativity whatsoever to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which has already been rejected with hatred and scorn by the people of Kampuchea. We categorically reject all the lies and slander of the representative of China and Mr. Norodom Sihanouk regarding the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people.

144. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will begin direct negotiations with the People’s Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, in order to resolve the consequences of the frontier war between Kampuchea and Viet Nam, which was fomented by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. It will strengthen the relations of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance in every area between the two peoples on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, with no interference in each other’s internal affairs, and on the basis of equality and mutual interest.

145. In conclusion, and on the basis of the statement of the President of the People’s Revolutionary Council of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin, in his telegram of 8 January addressed to the President of the Security Council, according to which

“any meeting of the Security Council for the purpose of hearing the representative of the Pol Pot clique or, in other words, of the non-existent government constitutes flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people and a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations” [S/13013, annex III],

we wish to express the hope that the Council will take a decision worthy of its role, as set forth in the Charter, in the defence of international peace and security and that it will not disappoint the confidence placed in it by the international community.

146. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First, the Soviet delegation would like to point out that the Security Council is in a strange situation which is in contradiction with its important and responsible role within the United Nations system. In essence, what we have here are attempts to prod the Council towards intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, a State Member of the United Nations. This is the only way one can view the decision to consider in the Council the communication from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people. It would appear that in this way certain persons are attempting to divert the attention of world public opinion from the monstrous crimes committed by this clique against the people of their own country and their acts of aggression against neighbouring States, which have led to the under-

mining of stability and international security in the area. However, these attempts cannot cover up or be allowed to distort the actual state of affairs.

147. We listened with great attention to the statement of the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Ambassador Ha Van Lau, which contained numerous cogent facts that shed light on what has actually been happening and is continuing to happen in Kampuchea and in that part of Asia as a whole. For our part, we should like to add the following.

148. Everyone knows that for many years the people of Kampuchea have been making great sacrifices in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country. The victory in that struggle won by the Khmer people in the spring of 1975 opened up the way for the rehabilitation of the country and the building of a peaceful life. However, those prospects were not realized, and the Khmer people was not able to enjoy the fruits of its victory. With support from outside, a narrow group of people usurped power in Kampuchea and deliberately placed the country in isolation so as to hide from the world the horrifying régime they had begun to implant in the country, converting Kampuchea into a bloody proving ground for barbarous experiments in accordance with the concepts of the notorious "cultural revolution".

149. For some time the anti-people ruling clique managed to mislead world public opinion, and it had the temerity to describe itself as democratic and even as a socialist State. But in the final analysis its secret crimes were exposed. The doings of the rulers of Kampuchea, which everyone knows about now, were really incredible. They stirred up the whole world and gave rise to entirely natural indignation in the minds of simple people and political leaders of the most varying persuasions. Indeed, how could one remain calm when the criminal clique of Pol Pot, for three years, pursued a policy of open genocide against the Kampuchean people? In a country with a population of 8 million, the rulers destroyed, according to statistics reported in, among others, the Western press, from 2 to 3 million people. The vocabulary used in normal international practice to describe mass violations of human rights is simply inadequate to describe these monstrous crimes. After all, what human rights can we possibly be talking about, when the Pol Pot clique has methodically and systematically been destroying the Kampuchean people individually, by whole families and by whole villages, not sparing the sick or the old, or the children, and when it had been the goal totally to eliminate the intelligentsia—that is, all those with higher education, including teachers and doctors—and when young people have been transformed into butchers of their own people?

150. The tragic situation in which Kampuchea found itself under the domination of the former régime was not limited to the mass murdering of the population. Just as grim a fate awaited the survivors. It should, for example, be pointed out that there was a massive resettlement of urban dwellers in rural regions; as *The Wall Street Journal* described it, they took the "road of death". The paper pointed out also that in Kampuchea population growth had been brought to a total halt; there were practically no children younger than three years old, since most of the newly born died in the very first days after birth from their half-starving mothers' lack of breast milk.

151. On the whole, as was reported by *Time* magazine, Kampuchea was reduced to the status of a primitive society. Everywhere there was manual labour; money was taken out of circulation; there was no postal service, no telephone service; there was a total absence of books; there was no system of education, and religion was prohibited. A night of terror and of the dark ages had descended upon Kampuchea: that was the conclusion reached by the authors of the article.

152. It is not surprising that, at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the atrocities of the Phnom Penh authorities became a subject for broad discussion. Permit me in this regard to recall the statement, during the general debate, of the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Mr. Jamieson, in which he described the situation in Kampuchea as a "tragic situation". He pointed out that its Government had "systematically violated the fundamental human rights of its citizens and that the repression and the killing are continuing".²

153. The President of the United States, Mr. Carter, in a statement circulated on 21 April 1978 by the White House, said:

"America cannot shirk its duty to condemn the Cambodian Government.... Thousands of refugees from Cambodia accuse their own Government of destroying hundreds of thousands of inhabitants as a result of the policy of genocide.... We support international protests against the policy of this inhuman régime."

We are also very familiar with the statements of other American politicians on this question, particularly that of Senator McGovern, who stated that what was happening in Cambodia was "flagrant genocide".

154. Whatever differences there may have been in character or possibly even in purpose among the various statements of this type, they all agreed on one thing: the criminal Pol Pot clique was in an organized way and systematically pursuing a policy of mass murder, arbitrary terror and lawlessness.

155. We have heard it said here that Rome was burning. But if ever Rome were really burning, it was happening when the Pol Pot régime was killing hundreds of thousands of people, emptying towns and trying to destroy the age-old culture of the Kampuchean people. Now that the people of Kampuchea have taken power into their own hands, the situation in the country is being normalized and prospects are being opened up for a peaceful life. So what are they aiming at, those persons who are now raising a hue and cry? Do they want once again to plunge the people of Kampuchea into the abyss of the policy of genocide pursued by the Pol Pot clique?

156. It is obvious that of itself, without outside help, the former régime could not have adopted a course of genocide against the people of its own country. The régime was obviously just a puppet in the hands of outside forces that were pursuing a policy of hegemony, great-Power chauvinism and expansionism in Indo-China and indeed in Asia as a whole. The Kampuchean people was the victim of that

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, para. 184.*

policy. An instrument of that policy was the anti-people régime of Kampuchea, which, together with crimes it committed within the country, adopted a course of reckless adventurism outside and began to exacerbate the situation in South-East Asia, creating a direct threat to international peace and security.

157. Essential components of the foreign policy followed by the Pol Pot clique were territorial claims against their neighbours, in particular claims for the whole Mekong Delta, instigation of anti-Government actions in those countries, the fomentation of border incidents and, finally, direct acts of aggression. The practical results of that policy are very well known, particularly to those countries which share borders with Kampuchea.

158. As is clear from documents circulated by the representative of Viet Nam in January 1978, the Pol Pot régime, incited to this from outside, from the very beginning of its existence embarked upon a hostile course vis-à-vis Viet Nam and an adventuristic and aggressive policy.

159. The following are just a few facts from those documents of which we should like to remind the Council. On 4 May 1975 Pol Pot's forces attacked the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc; on 8 May 1975 they invaded the territory of Viet Nam in various regions from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh; on 10 May 1975 they occupied the Vietnamese island of Thogu.

160. For some years the Pol Pot clique has steadily and constantly been carrying out systematic, ever more intense and larger scale violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Viet Nam along its frontiers. Its forces have carried out attacks on densely populated areas, villages, provincial capitals, new economic centres, schools, hospitals, pagodas and churches. Since the beginning of May 1975, as was stressed by the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Phom Van Dong, they have carried out thousands of attacks on Vietnamese territory killing and wounding thousands of Vietnamese citizens, kidnapping hundreds of others, destroying houses and the means of production and thus doing tremendous damage to the peaceful population.

161. All the proposals of Viet Nam with regard to the peaceful, just and equitable reordering of relations were rejected by the Phnom Penh clique which, from April 1977 onwards, broke off all contacts with Viet Nam that had been made through the liaison committee on questions of frontier settlement. Furthermore, beginning from that time the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique undertook the further stepping up of its military provocations and escalation of combat actions against the border provinces of Viet Nam. In particular, armed detachments of the former Phnom Penh régime carried out dozens of mass attacks and penetrated with artillery fire deep inside certain Vietnamese provinces. On 11 January 1978 the twelfth and fourteenth regiments of the Second Pol Pot Division crossed the frontier and moved south and north-east into the province of An Tsian. On 14 January large formations of Phnom Penh troops penetrated deep into Vietnamese territory in the area of the town of Lokha and clashed with local units of the Vietnamese people's army. On 17 January a major contingent of Pol Pot troops of several battalions in strength penetrated Vietnamese territory in the provinces of An Tsian, Kien Tsian and Long An. The Phnom Penh clique, incited to this from outside, in the course of 1978 stepped up the scale of its

military provocations on the Kampuchean-Vietnamese frontier and in the territory of Viet Nam and in practice carried out aggressive warfare along the whole south-west frontier of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

162. The territorial claims of the anti-people clique of Pol Pot against Thailand were also accompanied by the fomentation of incidents and attempts at flagrant intervention in the affairs of that sovereign State. The Pol Pot régime's troops repeatedly intruded into the territory of Thailand. In connexion with these incidents provoked by the former Kampuchean authorities, the United Nations, at the request of the Government of Thailand, circulated appropriate documents. A White Paper of the Foreign Ministry of Thailand dated February 1977 and also documents dated 25 July and 4 August 1977 were issued. Nevertheless, in September 1978, the Pol Pot régime once again organized armed provocation in the area of the frontier point Aranyaprathet, about 250 kilometres to the east of Bangkok. On the highway which runs along the frontier, units of the armed forces of the Pol Pot régime organized an ambush and destroyed a transport column, killing several Thai military personnel and peaceful civilians. In this regard, the *Bangkok Post* pointed out that in December 1977, in the same region, in the course of a similar operation, 16 peaceful citizens of a Thai frontier village had been brutally murdered.

163. This unprecedented arbitrary terror and barbarous repression carried out by the Pol Pot clique and its foreign policy adventures inevitably gave rise to resistance on the part of the Kampuchean people and all patriots of that country. Overcoming terror and repression, the patriotic forces of the country revolted; they united and, on 2 December 1978, set up the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea. The explosion of popular indignation was so strong that the Pol Pot clique was destroyed and overthrown within a month, and throughout the country the power of the United Front was established. That front is the genuine expression of the interests of the Kampuchean people and unites within itself all patriots of Kampuchea. On 8 January 1979, at Phnom Penh, the establishment was proclaimed of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which discharges the functions of government of that country.

164. The purposes of the policy of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea are clearly set forth in its declaration of 2 December 1978 [S/13006, annex I] and also in statements of the Central Committee of the Front dated 26 December 1978 [ibid., annex II] and 5 January 1979 [S/13010, annex]. Those documents state that the United Front has made it its task to struggle to save the Kampuchean people from destruction and to build a peace-loving, independent, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea which would strive to strengthen peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world. The United Front stresses that it intends to pursue an independent, peace-loving foreign policy and immediately to cease all acts of provocation, armed conflict and frontier war which are likely to incite national hostility against neighbouring countries. The declaration stresses that the United Front will restore friendly relations with Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia, that it will strengthen friendly relations with socialist countries, developing countries and national liberation movements, and that it is ready to establish normal relations with all countries, including the People's Republic of China.

165. All I have said goes to show that the Kampuchean people, having overcome tremendous inhuman sufferings and hardships, has finally put an end to the rule of the criminal clique of Pol Pot and by its own efforts has resolved the problems which had confronted its country. Such a turn of events in Kampuchea cannot fail to gratify all true champions of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples. It is also entirely understandable that it has given rise to a hostile reaction on the part of those who have attempted to exploit the criminal clique of Pol Pot for their own expansionist purposes and now cannot conceal their rage and indignation in the face of the collapse of their plans.

166. We do not consider it necessary to refer to the crude, slanderous attacks of the Chinese representative against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, because their absurdity and malice are entirely obvious. Peking's propaganda slanders the Kampuchean patriots. That slander cannot hide an obvious fact: the Khmer people has waged a struggle in its territory for its own freedom. If there is intervention from outside in the internal affairs of Kampuchea it has been and continues to be carried out by the Peking hegemonists. It was they who sent their tens of thousands of advisers and equipped their puppets with arms. At their behest, monstrous social experiments were carried out in the country and a regimented barrack-type life, on the Maoist lines, was introduced into the country for a whole people. And it is they who bear the primary responsibility for attempts to inflame a new hotbed of tension in Indo-China and bring about an armed conflict between Kampuchea and Viet Nam. All that can be attributed to the general hegemonic policy of the Chinese leadership, which is organizing frontier incidents and putting forward territorial claims against practically all its neighbours.

167. None but Peking has exercised and continues to exercise such crude pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in its attempts to subject that country to its rule and force it to follow its lead in its policy of hegemony. Initially, for those purposes, the question of persons of Chinese nationality—people who happened to live in Viet Nam—was exploited; then all kinds of economic assistance was cut off and the Government of the People's Republic of China demanded that three consulates-general of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on Chinese territory should be closed. Furthermore, as pointed out in the statement of the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam dated 6 January, there were "arrogant violations by the armed forces of China of the territorial integrity of Viet Nam, murders, kidnapping of frontier guards and peaceful citizens". The statement says that the ruling circles in China are stepping up the concentration of troops and large quantities of military *matériel*, including heavy artillery, tanks and armoured transport, on the frontier and inflaming the atmosphere of tension in the border regions.

168. It is entirely clear from what I have said that the Chinese side is attempting, by its slanderous charges against others, to cover up its own truly expansionist policy, of which, until recently, Kampuchea has been a victim.

169. The Soviet people is sincerely gratified at the victory of the Kampuchean people. In their greeting to the Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin, the

Soviet leaders, Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Kosygin, stressed the historic significance attached to the victory of the revolutionary patriotic forces and the creation of the People's Revolutionary Council, which is the only legitimate government of Kampuchea, the true expression of the will and interests of the Kampuchean people. The message continued:

"As a result of the remarkable victory of the Kampuchean people, new and favourable prospects are being opened up for the strengthening of peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula in accordance with the national aspirations of the peoples of that region, without outside intervention.

"Kampuchea, along with other peace-loving States, has been enabled to make its worthy contribution to the development of co-operation and good-neighbourliness in South-East Asia, in accordance with the principle of peaceful coexistence based on non-intervention in each other's internal affairs."

170. For some days now, the new government of Kampuchea has been receiving recognition from a considerable number of countries. Peace has been restored in the country and the people are returning to their homes from which they were driven by the old régime. Military activities in the country are ceasing and the people are pleased with the new government. The Security Council should not interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and impede the Kampuchean people in their building of a new life.

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

172. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would first of all express my warmest congratulations to the representative of friendly and fraternal Jamaica, Ambassador Donald O. Mills, on his assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. My delegation is convinced that with his customary mastery and firmness he will successfully guide the Council in its important work. I should also like to extend my congratulations to the five new members of the Council.

173. In Cuba's opinion there is an issue before the members of the Council which merits priority consideration. I refer, of course, to whether or not it was necessary to convene this meeting, and I refer also to the legal basis for this meeting. In this connexion, reference has been made to a communication [S/13003] addressed to the President of the Council by Mr. Ieng Sary, ex-Vice Prime Minister of the blood-thirsty Pol Pot régime, which was thrown on the rubbish heap of history by the Kampuchean people on 7 January of this year. It is clear that that letter was dictated by the masters of Pol Pot, the mandarins of the band which happens to be in power in Peking, in an effort to promote tension in South-East Asia and encircle the heroic people of Viet Nam, which today are once again victims of aggression precisely at the hands of the Chinese expansionists.

174. In our opinion, the point that needs to be considered is not the existence of a communication signed by Ieng Sary—even if the signature is authentic—but the fact that that person today represents no more than his protector, Teng Hsiao-ping. Indeed, the régime which for three long years slaughtered the Kampuchean people with a ferocity

passing all logic, ceased to exist four days ago. Therefore, the message from Ieng Sary is void of legal validity and deserves only to be cast into the wastepaper basket.

175. On the other hand, after a heroic general uprising, the Kampuchean people have chosen for themselves a new revolutionary government, headed by Comrade Heng Samrin and recognized by various States Members of the United Nations, including Cuba. The days to come will doubtless see wider international recognition of that government, which has already sent a message to the President of the movement of non-aligned countries reaffirming its unequivocal respect for the principles underlying our movement and declaring that it will pursue the path of democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist development as it endeavours to construct socialism.

176. The sons of Kampuchea, driven out of the cities by Pol Pot and his Maoist advisers, required to engage in forced labour in the fields and criminally decimated, are now returning joyfully to Phnom Penh and to their homes, speedily restoring civilized life in that country which had long enjoyed great culture but which the infamous Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique wished to turn into a grazing land for meek lambs.

177. Why then has it been necessary to convene this meeting of the Security Council? Can it be that there will here be condemnation of the crimes committed by the tyrant Pol Pot and inspired by the monstrous and ill-named "great cultural proletarian revolution" with its senile leader and his gang? Has the Council met to condemn the interference of the new mandarins of Peking in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and their constant encouragement of the Pol Pot régime against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as well as their military support of that régime as they orchestrate provocations along the border of that country? In that case the letter of Ieng Sary, the intellectual and material accomplice of the infamous régime, would hardly be of any use.

178. Cuba feels that this request is null and void and that the decision to hold a meeting of the Security Council is not justified. In Kampuchea, there exists a new government which exercises sovereignty over the entire national territory; Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have fled, together with their Maoist advisers, and have sought refuge in Teng's lap. The People's Revolutionary Council has assumed the legitimate representation of the Kampuchean State after defeating the Pol Pot army and, with the widespread support of the people, has beaten down the various small pro-Peking groups. Tension along the border with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been eliminated and provocations against that country have ceased. Peace has been restored, and security for the citizenry is returning—in their lives, in their homes and on their property.

179. As President Fidel Castro said in commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution:

"We are living in a world of much opportunism, including great betrayals. But we are also living in a world that, despite betrayals and treachery, has seen new bastions of revolution rising with each day that passes: Viet Nam, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan are all examples. . . . Notwithstanding the

present policies of China and its great betrayal, the world, which has undergone great changes during the past decades, will continue to change. With each reversal, with each setback, with each desertion, the revolutionary victories proliferate, and all in the name of progress and socialism. Imperialism cannot stay the inexorable hand of history nor the course which was begun with the glorious October Revolution."

180. Was it really conceivable that the blood-thirsty régime of Pol Pot could maintain itself on heaps of dead bodies? Was it really possible to imagine that the Kampuchean people would continue permanently to bow meekly to barbaric acts, to crimes, to arbitrariness and to despotism? Did the new mandarins truly believe that a courageous and worthy nation, which had fought with unparalleled valour against North American aggression and the régime of Lon Nol, would bow before the henchmen of Teng Hsiao-ping? A grave error, committed only by those who engage in political duplicity and deliriously promote capitalism, abandoning the revolutionary principles of their working classes and shamelessly joining hands with imperialism against the peoples of the world. Just as yesterday they ran to the support of the hateful régime of Pinochet and joined with the South African racists, the CIA of the Yankees and the counter-revolutionary bands of Savimbi in Angola, today they are hastening to support the defeated representatives of their policies in Kampuchea and vainly try to confound the Council and world public opinion with a ridiculous act of prestidigitation. I refer to the rather strange journey and resurrection of that doubtful individual known as Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

181. Almost nine years ago, the CIA of the United States defeated the Government led by this comic-opera prince as King and Prime Minister and in its place installed a myrmidon: General Lon Nol. The defeated leader departed for a comfortable exile in Peking—with French luxuries and Peking duck—and assumed a pretended anti-imperialist position, joining the National United Front of Kampuchea and presiding over the Royal Government of National Union. He wandered throughout the world, invoking the sacred cause of the liberation of his homeland and endeavouring in that way to win the support of peoples, including the people and Government of Cuba, which, in spite of his well-known weaknesses, believed in the sincerity of that gesture.

182. But this gentleman, who in 1975 was interned by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and kept at Phnom Penh in a princely tomb from which filtered the strains of the guitar and the voice of the "crooner" during nights pierced by the shrieks of those assassinated by that barbaric régime, meekly submitted to the tyranny of his Maoist friends. He never once spoke up: a sorry role for the self-appointed representative of the entire Kampuchean people, or for someone who, at the fourth Summit Conference of the movement of non-aligned nations, with the support of all progressive peoples of the world, took the seat belonging to those who were waging a courageous and heroic struggle against Yankee imperialism and its puppets.

183. Now, hired by his friend Teng Hsiao-ping, he comes to the Security Council with his credentials authenticated by none other than his gaoler, Ieng Sary. And to cap it all, he shamelessly declares, according to news agency reports, that Pol Pot "was not so bad, because he even took him walking through the rice paddies". Parodying the famous

phrase flung at Robespierre, one might say to him: "The blood of 2 million Kampuchean will drown you".

184. Indeed, what can the Prince tell us about what he did during these three years of captivity? What heroic action did he take to prevent the slaughter of his compatriots? When did he raise his voice to condemn the dispersal of Kampuchean families, the separation of husband and wife, of mother and son, of brother and sister? When did he rise up against the desertion of the cities, the forced march to the countryside from Phnom Penh and other cities? Perhaps during his strolls with Pol Pot? And why did he not take advantage of the occasion to slap him, out of the righteous indignation of a Priam or the just vengeance of a Hamlet?

185. This twice-dethroned monarch, who did nothing against his cruel captors—who did not even immolate himself as did the simple Buddhist monks as a form of protest—comes to the United Nations today as the representative of Ieng Sary and the Government of Pol Pot. That, to put it bluntly, is apostasy. And to quote José Martí, the entire world knows how apostasy was punished in ancient times.

186. I am speaking here in the name of the Cuban Revolution, which for 20 years has had to deal unhesitatingly and unswervingly with the most powerful force of our time. A hundred years of struggle against foreign oppression, occupation and intervention, against Yankee aggression, economic blockade and political and diplomatic harassment have not yet made us surrender our banners or bow to threats—even the threat of thermonuclear destruction. I am speaking on behalf of a people which abominates quislings and the pusillanimous—a people which today continues, and which will always continue, to prefer patriotic dignity to compromise for the sake of some illusory well-being which might mean the surrender of even a thousandth part of our principles. I speak in the name of Fidel's people, who in 1956 swore to be free or to be martyrs, and who, as guerrillas, proclaimed from the Sierra Maestra their anti-imperialist cause and responded to Yankee aggression by raising the banners of scientific socialism for the first time in this part of the world, proclaiming the irrevocable motto of our people: "Fatherland or death".

187. While at one time the Cuban people might have felt admiration and respect for the position of Prince Sihanouk, today they can feel nothing but profound scorn. His presence here is a discredit to the Kampuchean people who shed their blood in the fight against Yankee imperialism and against the representatives of the Maoist clique, who are allies of world imperialism. General de Gaulle must have turned over in his grave at the captive Prince's odious comparison of him with the murderer of 2 million Kampuchean, the executioner Pol Pot.

188. Today the spokesmen of imperialism are voicing concern over the fate of Kampuchea. Prince Sihanouk proclaims that everything is the handiwork of Viet Nam. To give them a taste of their own medicine, one need only paraphrase the old Chinese proverb that "You don't need a sledgehammer to crack a nut." The Pol Pot régime fell to popular pressure because it was rotten to the core, and because not a single Kampuchean family raised a finger in its defence. Only the new mandarins, the imperialists and their resurrected representative, Norodom Sihanouk, are left to defend it.

189. If there can be any doubts about the role which the Prince might be able to play in the future of Kampuchea, the credentials issued by Ieng Sary are enough to clarify the situation: they are eloquent proof of his political demise. The Prince would do well to consider retiring to his "cottage" on the French Riviera. A good *bouillabaisse* and chablis wine are very soothing, and in the distance can be heard the voice of the foolish siren who weeps for those who did not come back to Sorrento.

190. For the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a new stage is beginning, characterized by genuine national independence, respect for the principles of non-alignment and the victorious path of socialism. It is the representative of the Government of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea who should be heard by the Council, not the anachronistic spokesman of a defunct régime which has been buried by history. Since we have been patient enough to hear his words, it is certainly only fair to hear the words of those who represent the victorious people. Not to do so would make us accomplices in the bull-fighter tricks of the mandarins of Peking.

191. The delegation of Cuba hopes that the Security Council will act in consonance with reality, truth and justice. One single government controls the destiny of the people of Kampuchea, and the fighting people of Kampuchea which brought that Government to power on 7 January deserves the respect and recognition of the Organization.

192. As Fidel said:

"Chauvinism, opportunism and imperialism have joined hands against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and internationalism. . . . The paper tiger has in the end come to devour the petit-bourgeois ideas of the Great Helmsman. Now it is not the United States which is committing direct aggression against Viet Nam, it is China."

Thus, in collusion with the imperialists, they are trying to pull the wool over our eyes with regard to the victory of Kampuchea. They claim that the international community does not recognize that victory and defends their expansionist interests, committing itself to the non-existent Pol Pot régime.

193. The West is today trying to repeat with China the sinister adventure of Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union and socialism. Hence they are encouraging the mandarins in Peking in all their manoeuvres against Viet Nam and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. But, like Cuba—which for the past 20 years has been occupying a trench in the front line against imperialism, defending it with dignity and honour and shedding its blood on distant continents in order to help other peoples defeat imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism—the peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea will not yield, will not sell out, will not surrender. And in this forum, just as in the irreversible reality of their liberated land, the voice of the genuine Kampuchean revolutionaries will be raised to condemn imperialism and its allies in Peking, the reactionaries of all hues who hypocritically come forward as defenders of the rights of peoples.

194. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of China, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

195. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): With regard to the shameless slanders and calumnies reversing right and wrong which the representatives of Viet Nam,

the Soviet Union and Cuba have heaped on China in their statements with one and the same tune, in view of the lateness of the hour, we reserve our right of replying at an appropriate later occasion.

The meeting rose at 9.35 p.m.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures and protocols that must be followed when recording transactions. It details the steps from initial entry to final review and approval.

3. The third part of the document addresses the role of management in overseeing the recording process. It highlights the need for regular audits and reviews to ensure compliance with established standards.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of training and education for all staff involved in the recording process. It stresses that ongoing education is necessary to keep skills up-to-date and to address any changes in regulations or procedures.

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