

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

2111th
NEW YORK

MEETING: 15 JANUARY 1979

UN LIBRARY

MAY 4 1982

UN/SA COLLECTION

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2111)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Telegram dated 3 January 1979 from the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea to the President of the Security Council (S/13003)	1

S/PV.2111

NOTE

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

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

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

2111th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 15 January 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

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

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2111)

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 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

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

At the invitation of the President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea took a place at the Council table: Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Halász (Hungary), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Abe (Japan), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Yango (Philippines), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand) and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia 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 procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/13027, which contains the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia.

4. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): At this juncture it is an honour for me, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/13027, to introduce that draft. The original sponsors are Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia, joined now by Jamaica, your own country, Mr. President. This makes it a non-aligned draft resolution. It is a draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned members of the Council, which constitute 45 per cent of the membership. They come from three continents, and seven regions. In fact they represent the three largest continents in the world - Asia, Africa and Latin America. The sponsors have different cultures, languages and political systems, but they are united in their unshakable adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and to the policy of non-alignment. The draft resolution, therefore, reflects the conviction of the sponsors in the principles set out therein. These principles are the basis of international law; they are, in fact, the essence of the Charter. The foreign policies of the sponsors are guided and governed by these principles. None of the sponsors is a member of a military bloc. All depend in their foreign relations on the established norms of international relations. This fact gives the draft a sense of purpose and force.

5. In the draft there is no condemnation of any party. There is no accusation against anybody. It is, in my view, non-polemical. It is restrained, it is responsible and it is direct. It addresses itself to the fundamental principles of the Charter.

6. The situation in Kampuchea is not normal. Confusion and hostilities continue unabated. It is therefore logical to have a reference in the draft resolution to the abnormal situation in Kampuchea which gives rise to serious concern about its consequences to international peace and security.

7. The third preambular paragraph refers to the obligation of Member States to resolve disputes by peaceful

means. This is the language of the Charter, which every Member State has pledged to respect.

8. Operative paragraph 1 underscores the sponsors' support for the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State. The absence of respect for the sovereignty of States generates chaos and creates instability. This is a cardinal principle of the Charter. In fact, it is the heartbeat of international law.

9. Paragraph 2 calls upon foreign forces to stop hostilities and to withdraw from Kampuchea. There is a call for a cease-fire and withdrawal. The paragraph addressed itself specifically to the situation inside Kampuchea. Without a cease-fire, the war will continue with the unavoidable threat to the independence of neighbouring States and the inescapable emergence of power politics. Armed hostilities will undoubtedly tempt many to fish in troubled waters in order to obtain political gains. Without a cease-fire and withdrawal, there is no guarantee that the war will not spill over the borders to engulf the whole area. To forestall this dreadful possibility there must be a cease-fire and there must be withdrawal of foreign forces.

10. The goal and aim is stability in the region. We cannot bring about that long-awaited stability so long as there is violation of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. That is why the reference to this cherished principle of the Charter is reaffirmed in a separate paragraph. The sponsors are of the opinion that if the parties concerned adhere strictly to this principle they will contribute significantly to the stability of the region.

11. Finally, there is a request to the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the resolution within two weeks. The sponsors believe that the complexity and the grave nature of the situation in Kampuchea warrant a time frame for the submission of the report. It underscores the sense of urgency that is essential in order to make it possible to contain the problem and prevent a sharp deterioration in the situation inside Kampuchea. It is up to the Secretary-General to determine the manner in which he sees fit to submit the report. He could send a special envoy. It should be left to his discretion.

12. It is the hope of the sponsors that the draft resolution of the non-aligned will obtain the strongest support of as many members as possible. The draft resolution has been criticized as being mild; it does not satisfy even some of its sponsors, but what is important is that it retains fundamental principles, and therefore commends itself to the positive consideration of the members of the Council.

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

14. Mr. ABE (Japan): Mr. President, I should like to express my thanks to you and to the other members of the Council for allowing me to speak on this vital issue which the Council is now deliberating. I should like also to extend my congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. With your competence and experience, and the skill and wit which all of us

know well in the United Nations, I am sure that you will perform the duties of the presidency in an exemplary manner.

15. We welcome the fact that the Council has swiftly decided to take up the issue for consideration. That the issue is of vital significance to the maintenance of international peace and security has been amply demonstrated by the deliberations so far conducted in this chamber. It has become clear that the positions held by the parties directly involved are sharply conflicting ones and that views among member countries on how the Council should treat the problem are markedly divided. With the sincerest hope that our participation in the debate can make some contribution to the work of the Council, my delegation is prompted to state the following.

16. Japan is intensely concerned with the situation that prevails in Kampuchea since the end of last year. The escalation of the military conflicts between the two Indo-Chinese countries deep within Kampuchean territory has caused immeasurable loss of human life and brought extensive devastation to the land of Kampuchea. That situation is still going on. As one of the Asian countries which have long cherished close relations with the countries of Indo-China, we cannot but view the situation with great pain. Our bitter disappointment is all the greater because it had so often been stated that the countries in Indo-China, having been relieved of the lengthy wars, would devote themselves to the task of reconstruction and development, maintaining peaceful relations with all the neighbouring countries in South-East Asia.

17. A large number of Asian countries consider that the current situation constitutes a threat to peace, stability and security not only in South-East Asia but in Asia as a whole. Japan shares their profound misgivings over the situation.

18. Given the circumstances in which the situation in Kampuchea has developed, one has to conclude that it is clearly one in which foreign forces are deeply involved. Japan strongly deplores such foreign involvement and takes the position that all foreign forces should be immediately and totally withdrawn from Kampuchean territory.

19. The Foreign Ministers of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) issued a joint statement at Bangkok on 13 January [S/13025]. According to the statement, the ASEAN foreign ministers "strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea," "affirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future by themselves, free from interference or influence from outside Powers, in the exercise of their right of self-determination" and "called for the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign forces from Kampuchean territory". Japan fully supports that statement.

20. We wish to appeal to all the countries concerned to exercise the utmost restraint so that the situation shall not further deteriorate. We wish to draw their particular attention to the Charter of the United Nations, to which we have all solemnly subscribed and which makes it incumbent upon all Members to resolve international disputes by

peaceful means, to forgo resort to military force and to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of another State. These are principles that all Members should strictly observe, and whose violation by anyone, in whatever circumstances, should not be tolerated.

21. My delegation earnestly hopes that the Security Council will be able to take effective action so as to enable the countries in the region concerned to restore peace, stability and security as soon as possible. My delegation would like to urge all Members of the United Nations to extend their co-operation to the efforts of the Council to such purpose. My delegation pledges Japan's fullest support and co-operation towards that end.

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

23. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Before proceeding, Mr. President, I should like to express my appreciation to you and to the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council today. I would also take this opportunity of congratulating you on your assumption, this month, of the presidency of the Council, an office for which you are eminently fitted by your wisdom, diplomatic skills and experience.

24. As my Prime Minister stated on 8 January, the Australian Government is deeply concerned by the resort to armed force against Democratic Kampuchea by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and by the grave dangers which this action poses of widening and escalating conflict in the region. Australia had earlier stressed to the Vietnamese Government our hope that it would resolve its differences with its neighbours through peaceful negotiations rather than a resort to arms.

25. As to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Australia extended recognition to it shortly after its establishment in 1975, but deferred entering into diplomatic relations with that Government because of our disquiet over its actions and policies in flagrant violation of human rights. We have, nevertheless, given our full support to Democratic Kampuchea's right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Like other Governments, we cannot accept that the internal policies of any Government, no matter how reprehensible, can justify a military attack upon it by another Government.

26. We listened with particular interest to the statement made on 11 January by Prince Norodom Sihanouk [2108th meeting]. He spoke as the accredited representative of the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea. He spoke also, I believe, as the voice of the long-suffering people of Kampuchea. Whatever differences our Governments have had in the past, Australians have never questioned the sincerity, the ardour, of Prince Sihanouk's patriotism, or the depth of his devotion to the independence of Kampuchea and to the well-being of its people. His words must carry great weight with us all. The Australian Government and people have been deeply moved by the suffering which the ordinary people of Kampuchea have had to endure. We are seriously concerned over further threats to their well-

being, both from the current fighting and from the future uncertainty.

27. As previous speakers have noted, the present situation in Kampuchea is complex and presents many obscurities. It is, nevertheless, clear beyond all doubt that external forces have entered Kampuchean territory on a massive scale and that the country lies at present under foreign occupation. Any such use of external force must be a matter of deep concern to the United Nations, the more so when a small and weak country is attacked by a powerful neighbour. The use of force in the South-East Asian region, in which Australia enjoys close and co-operative relations with its neighbours, is of particular concern to my Government. Our apprehensions are deepened still further by the danger that the present crisis will serve the importation into this region—which should be a haven of peace, freedom and neutrality—of external rivalries and conflicts which are alien to it.

28. Australia has warmly welcomed the joint statement issued at the special meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers at Bangkok on 13 January as a clear and unambiguous indication of the depth of concern of their Governments over developments in Kampuchea. My Government strongly supports the sentiments expressed in that joint statement, as well as the action it calls for. Countries of the South-East Asian region are confronted with a human problem of enormous dimensions and complexity through the exodus from Viet Nam of thousands of refugees. The sheer weight of numbers involved places severe strain on the countries concerned and precludes any easy solution. Developments in Kampuchea can only increase the uncertainties already facing the region and generate yet more problems.

29. My Government therefore considers it urgent that the Security Council should reaffirm the right of Democratic Kampuchea to independence, sovereignty and the integrity of its territory, and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future themselves, free from outside influence or interference. The Council should further seek a peaceful solution of the present conflict, based, in the first instance, on the establishment of a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces. Only on that basis will it be possible to envisage an end to the ordeal of the Kampuchean people and to restore peace, security, stability and confidence to South-East Asia at large.

30. Mr. BLANKSON (Nigeria): Sir, while congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January, I would also welcome your delegation and those of Bangladesh, Portugal, Norway and Zambia. The fraternal relations which exist between Nigeria and Jamaica, even though we were separated by, in the words of your Prime Minister, "the Middle Passage", date back into history. These relations have been strengthened anew by the visit of your Prime Minister to Lagos at the close of last year and by the visit of my head of State to Kingston a couple of days ago.

31. Recent developments in South-East Asia have been a source of grave concern to my delegation. Although we are far from the scene of conflict, the manifold implications of

those developments for peaceful and cordial international relations compel us to add a voice to those of the many who have spoken in this forum and outside. There is no gain-saying the fact that the implications for peace and stability in that region of the world are grave and that the extent to which unfolding events may jeopardize the maintenance of international peace and security cannot be over emphasized.

32. Even though the details of the fast-evolving developments in Kampuchea are sketchy and difficult to come by, my delegation, as a member of the non-aligned movement, wishes to state the following.

33. First, our support for the convening of these meetings of the Council stems from our conviction that any Member of the Organization has the right, if and when it feels aggrieved, to bring the matter to the Council. And it is our duty as Council to listen and to look for solutions.

34. Secondly, we believe in the equality of States, no matter what their size, population, might and political or economic clout. As a peace-loving people, we uphold the principles of national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity—principles so clearly enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. These principles must, we believe, be adhered to by all States, no matter what may be the pressures or temptations to do otherwise in certain situations, as they have taken on the obligation to respect them upon accession to membership in the United Nations.

35. Thirdly, it bears repeating that the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States is one of the most important tenets of international relations. The international community must, in my delegation's view, never allow this principle to be compromised.

36. Fourthly, we firmly believe that it is the sovereign right of a State to choose whatever internal, political or economic system it wishes to pursue. Therefore, domestic developments in a country should not be used as justification for foreign intervention in whatever form.

37. Having restated these principles, it is our expectation that they will be brought to bear on the resolution of the situation in Kampuchea. We ardently hope that this will happen very soon so that an end can be put to the horrors and the sufferings of the people of the area and peace and stability can reign in South-East Asia. For too long conflicts have made the existence of millions in that region a nightmare. My delegation is committed to lending its full support to whatever equitable measure the Council will evolve to ensure that peace shall cease to be a mirage for the inhabitants of Kampuchea and South-East Asia.

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

39. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): Mr. President, I wish first of all to extend to you my warm and sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and on your great diplomatic skills in ably guiding the Council's work. Permit me also to express to you and, through you, to all the other

members of this august Council our appreciation of the opportunity given to the Thai delegation to participate in the current deliberations of the Council.

40. The Council has before it today an important question which is one of particular interest and concern to us, as Thailand is geographically nearest to the scene of conflict and shares a long common border with Kampuchea. Thailand views with growing distress and concern the escalation and enlargement of the armed conflict between our two close neighbours, a conflict which my country feels has become a threat to the peace, security and stability of Asia and, in particular, of South-East Asia.

41. This grave concern of ours is fully shared by our partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations. ASEAN solidarity and unity in this matter have been amply demonstrated in a statement issued at Jakarta by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia on behalf of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers on 9 January and in a subsequent joint statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the ASEAN countries after their special meeting held at Bangkok on 12 and 13 January. Those two statements have been circulated as documents S/13014 and S/13025.

42. The cardinal policy of Thailand is to cultivate friendly relations with neighbouring countries and, indeed, with all countries which desire to be friendly with us, regardless of their political ideology or economic system, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the 10 principles of the Bandung Conference. Thailand strictly adheres to the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-subversion and non-interference in the internal affairs of another State. In accordance with the above policy and principles, my Government has throughout remained neutral in this unfortunate conflict between our two close neighbours, Kampuchea and Viet Nam. We have moreover made it clear that we should like to see the two parties settle their differences by peaceful means through negotiations and refrain from the use of force.

43. In this connexion I wish to recall the pledges exchanged with each of the ASEAN countries by the Vietnamese leader in mid-1978 scrupulously to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to adhere strictly to non-subversion and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and to co-operate in the maintenance and the strengthening of peace and stability in the region. In the light of what has recently happened in our region, we in Thailand are today more than ever convinced that, for the sake of peace, stability and development in South-East Asia, the countries in the region must respect more fully the principles and pledges enunciated above.

44. Thailand has consistently adhered to the principle of peaceful settlement of international disputes in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. That is why my delegation fully supports the convening of the Council to discuss the present item. My delegation joins with others which spoke before me in welcoming the Council's decision to inscribe this item on its agenda and to convene without delay in order to consider the present conflict prevailing in southern Indo-China—a conflict which has seriously escal-

ated during the past few weeks with grave consequences to all.

45. It is our earnest hope that the Council will find it possible to adopt a resolution affirming respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, calling for the total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea's territory and reaffirming the people of Kampuchea's right to self-determination and to decide their own future by themselves, free from outside influence and interference.

46. The eyes of the world are now focused on the Security Council. The peoples in South-East Asia look to the Council, hoping that some constructive actions will emerge from the present series of meetings. Thailand will support any action which the Council may deem appropriate, so as to enable the countries and the peoples of the region, which for too long have been deprived of peace, to live in tranquillity and in harmony and to direct their full energies towards the pursuit of constructive goals for the benefit of all.

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

48. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to express its gratitude to you and to the other members of the Security Council for the opportunity I have been given to speak here and to set forth the position of our Government on the question before the Security Council.

49. I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Council for the current month and to wish you every success in the discharge of your mission.

50. First of all I should like to make it clear that the question now being discussed by the Council is one that relates purely to the internal affairs of an independent sovereign State, a full-fledged Member of the Organization, whose people have risen up and overthrown an odious régime and established their own genuinely democratic authority in the country: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. Despite the fact that that is the actual situation in Kampuchea, and despite the decisive protest that was voiced by the new government of the country, the Security Council has had imposed upon it an artificial discussion whose purpose is to mislead world public opinion.

51. As is well known, in the last three years there has prevailed in Kampuchea an atmosphere of terror and arbitrariness imposed upon the Kampuchean people by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the service of the expansionist and great-Power aspirations of the Peking leaders. In order to maintain itself in power, the treacherous former clique of Kampuchea resorted to the most cruel ways and means of repression against the population of the country, and in particular to mass annihilations of completely innocent people, blatant violation and negation of the most elementary human rights, enforced evacuation of inhabitants, systematic destruction of a national minority, and so on.

52. Such brutal crimes on the part of the previous régime in Kampuchea resulted in deep concern and condemnation throughout the world. In this connexion, I should like to quote from an article published in the magazine of *The New York Times* on 19 November 1978. It reads:

"[The refugees'] accounts of the forced evacuation of all Cambodian towns, of the herding of perhaps three million of Cambodia's seven million people into the countryside, of mass slaying and starvation, of mindless hatred and destruction, of orgies of book-burning, fires fed by musical instruments, television sets, radios and Buddha images, seemed incredible."¹

Also, according to certain data published in the press, almost one third of the entire population of Kampuchea was destroyed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. According to *The New York Times*, this information was confirmed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who, as members are aware, has come here to represent that fallen régime.

53. At the same time, no one is in a position to deny the naked truth, namely, that the former Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique pursued their anti-people policies with the direct support and sanction of the Chinese leaders, who were attempting to make use of Kampuchea as an experimental proving-ground for the implementation of their so-called "cultural revolution." It is also known that in the repression against the people of Kampuchea a large part was played by thousands of military experts and advisers from China, that the repressive apparatus of the previous régime was acting under the direct control of Chinese specialists, that its army was fighting with Chinese weapons and that in its propaganda it spoke with the voice of Peking leaders.

54. In that way, with the direct participation of the Chinese authorities, the people and country of Kampuchea were brought to the very brink of catastrophe. Moreover, acting on the directives of Peking, the former Pol Pot régime provoked a number of conflicts and committed acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam, creating a serious threat to peace and security in that part of Asia and in Asia as a whole.

55. There can be no shadow of doubt that it was precisely the terrorist régime implanted by Peking and the inhuman policies it pursued which totally disrupted the life of the country, naturally provoking profound agitation and dissatisfaction among the Kampuchean people. The bloody repressions and the dictatorship were unable to put down the resistance of the Kampuchean people, which has such a heroic tradition of fighting for its rights and for freedom and independence. In order to save their lives and their homeland, millions of Kampucheans, including the overwhelming majority of the armed forces of the previous régime, united under the leadership of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and rose up and struggled for their freedom and to save their homeland. It is gratifying to note that the legitimate struggle waged by the Kampuchean people was crowned with complete victory and led to the overthrow of the anti-people régime and to the forming of a new, genuinely revolutionary government

¹ Quoted in English by the speaker.

which set as its aim the complete abolition of the Maoist distortions of socialism and the creation of a popular democratic structure so as to turn Kampuchea into a genuinely peaceful, democratic and non-aligned country striding along the road to socialism. All progressive mankind, including the Mongolian people and Government, were gladdened at the remarkable victory scored by the Kampuchean people. We regard it as an important event that opened a new stage in the history of Kampuchea, one of genuine freedom and development.

56. The fall of the terrorist régime of Pol Pot and the formation of a genuinely popular democratic authority that enjoys the full sympathies of the entire population of Kampuchea represent not only a realization of the aspirations and desires of the long-suffering Kampuchean people but also an important factor in the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and the strengthening of peace and security in that part of the world. As far as the programme of the new government is concerned, contained in document S/13006, it envisages the restoration of fundamental human rights and freedoms for the Kampuchean people and the development of the country along socialist and peaceful lines. In particular, it should be pointed out that the foreign policy of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is genuinely peace-loving. In its programme it favours the establishment of good-neighbourly and friendly relations with the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand and other countries in South-East Asia, and also the establishment and the development of normal relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

57. That cannot but be a source of satisfaction to all those who really cherish peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world. That is why an ever-growing number of countries, including a number of non-aligned countries, have recognized the new government of Kampuchea. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic recognized the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea as the sole legitimate government, as the genuine spokesman for the will and the aspirations of the Khmer people.

58. What I have just said makes it abundantly clear that the brilliant victory which was won by the revolutionary patriotic forces under the leadership of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, whose ranks included very broad and diverse sectors of the population of the country, represents the logical result of the just struggle of the Kampuchean people itself which found support from world public opinion. Consequently, the present development of events in Kampuchea is its own internal affair and is both a just and natural one.

59. For that reason the Mongolian delegation opposes any attempts to distort the truth and to try to depict this as aggression on the part of one country against another, which would in fact provide a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. In particular, my delegation would like to protest emphatically against and express its repugnance at the slander which has been directed towards socialist Viet Nam and its Government and people, which, by their freedom and independence, have made and continue to make a tremendous contribu-

tion to the cause of peace and security. The Mongolian delegation considers that this type of slander is simply an attempt on the part of international reaction and the imperialist forces, particularly the Peking authorities, to camouflage their own acts of aggression against Viet Nam and also in order to undermine the ever-growing authority of that valiant country.

60. As members know, the Chinese authorities are conducting an overtly hostile and expansionist policy towards the countries neighbouring China, especially towards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Particularly alarming is the mass concentration of Chinese troops and arms in the Viet Nam-Chinese border areas, which constitutes a serious threat to the territorial integrity and independence of Viet Nam and also to peace and security in Asia as a whole.

61. As far as the representation of the Kampuchean people is concerned, it is quite obvious that it is only the representative of the People's Revolutionary Council, namely the legal and genuine spokesman for the will of the Khmer people, who is entitled to represent Kampuchea in international forums. Mr. Sihanouk is someone we regard as a private person. It is quite well known that he came here at the behest of his Peking boss to represent a non-existent régime which has been overthrown; he not only has no status but was even under arrest. In this connexion *The New York Times* on 9 January stated: "he himself had been a helpless prisoner who had nothing to do with the Government".¹

62. We consider that international bodies, including the Security Council, have no right to take any decision on a matter which pertains to Kampuchea without the participation of its genuine representative in the person of the representative of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and that such attempts are a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country.

63. In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation would like to express once again, on behalf of our people, its support for and its solidarity with the freedom-loving Khmer people in their struggle to remove the consequences of the criminal acts of the previous régime and speedily re-establish normal life in their country.

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

65. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): My delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation to the Council for allowing it to participate in its deliberations. I should also like to associate myself with previous speakers in extending to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. My delegation is convinced that under your wise and experienced guidance the Council will be able to make a substantial contribution to the restoration of peaceful conditions to Kampuchea and the Indo-China region.

66. The Indonesian delegation has asked to be allowed to participate in the debate in order to express its grave con-

cern at the disturbing developments in Kampuchea. For more than a generation Indo-China has witnessed bloodshed and suffering caused by war. It was the fervent hope of everyone that once peace was achieved it would prove possible for the countries of the region to devote all their efforts to the task of reconstruction and development. It was also hoped that the countries of South-East Asia would be able to co-operate in establishing a peaceful and stable region so as to allow their peoples to progress together towards common prosperity. It is in this context that the establishment of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and its concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia should be seen. The need for such a zone has now been clearly demonstrated by the developments in Indo-China.

67. The outbreak of hostilities between Viet Nam and Kampuchea was a severe setback to those hopes. Indonesia deplores the fact that it has not been possible for the two close neighbours which have made the heaviest sacrifices to defend their sovereignty and independence to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations. Though much has been said about the involvement of outside Powers, it is difficult for my delegation to believe that countries like Kampuchea and Viet Nam, which have sacrificed so much defending their sovereignty, independence and national identity, with the loss of so many lives and the shedding of so much blood, would lend themselves to becoming a tool for the political designs and ambitions of other countries. They are too jealous of their independence and too proud of their sovereignty and national identity.

68. Indonesia has enjoyed friendly relations with both Kampuchea and Viet Nam. Immediately after the Geneva Conference in 1954 the Indonesian Government sent a delegation to the Indo-Chinese countries. I was part of that delegation when it was received by Prince Sihanouk, at that time King of Cambodia, at Phnom Penh and by Mr. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Viet Nam, at Hanoi. Missions were established at Phnom Penh and Hanoi and at Jakarta after the Bandung Conference in 1955. Our relations with independent Cambodia and independent Viet Nam are therefore not just of recent origin. These relations have again been emphasized by the recent visits to Jakarta of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and of Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary.

69. Indonesia has always been of the view that relations between States should be based upon the strict observance of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Bandung Declaration. Those principles include, among others, respect for each other's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national identity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Every State must have the right to lead its own national existence free from external interference.

70. Those principles were again stressed in the joint communiqué issued at Jakarta on 23 September 1978, at the end of the visit of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to Indonesia, when President Suharto and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong agreed that:

"All differences between countries in South-East Asia should be settled through peaceful means, in mutual understanding and free from outside interferences."

The two leaders further stated

"... that they fully realized that peace and stability were essential for the national development of the respective countries in the region of South-East Asia. To attain the above objectives they expressed their determination to strictly respect each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political systems, to refrain from using force or threatening to use force in their bilateral relations, from interfering in each other's internal affairs, and from carrying out subversive activities, directly or indirectly, against each other, and to settle all differences between the two countries by peaceful means through negotiations, in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect."

71. Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary of Kampuchea stated at Jakarta on 24 October 1978, that "no country should interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and each people has the right to determine its own destiny". He also declared "that differences should be solved by strictly respecting these principles".

72. The turn that the relations between Kampuchea and Viet Nam have taken is, therefore, particularly distressing to Indonesia, as it is incompatible with the solemn declarations made by the leaders of those countries. We may not like, we may even abhor, the political and social system in a country, but that fact cannot justify an armed intervention with the aim of changing that system.

73. I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the statement issued at Jakarta on 9 January 1979 by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia on behalf of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, contained in document S/13014, and to the joint statement issued by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers at the conclusion of their meeting held at Bangkok on 12 and 13 January, contained in document S/13025, in which the position of my Government is duly reflected. In the joint statement, the five ASEAN Foreign Ministers, *inter alia*, strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, affirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future free from the interference of influence of outsider Powers and called for the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchean territory.

74. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its sincere hope that the Council will be able to agree on a resolution along the lines of the joint statement of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers and that it will be possible for the Council to take the necessary action to restore peace and stability to Kampuchea, and peaceful relations between the States of Indo-China concerned.

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

76. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The Polish delegation had hoped that it would not have to ask to be invited to participate in the present discussion in the Council, but, since a situation has arisen which warrants our intervention, I wish

to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to present Poland's position on the matter before us. In the first place, however, allow me to extend to you our heartfelt felicitations on your assumption on the presidency of the Council, accompanied by the expression of our highest esteem for you personally, both as an eminent diplomat and as a prominent representative of friendly Jamaica.

77. Article 24 of the Charter stipulates that the Members of the United Nations agree that, in carrying out its duties, the Security Council acts on their behalf. Unfortunately, with all due respect, I must say that the decisions hastily adopted at the Council's 2108th meeting, last Thursday, were not in the spirit of nor in conformity with Article 24. As a matter of fact, the Council has no competence to deal with a question which is an internal problem of a State and, thus, does not pertain to the maintenance of international peace and security as provided for in the Charter. My Government cannot therefore accept that in the present case the Council is acting on its behalf.

78. Poland has for years been an active participant in the search for peace in Indo-China. At a time when events in the region did represent an international problem—as they do not today—as a long-time member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, we made a contribution of our own to the stabilization of the situation there.

79. Today, when the States of Indo-China have been able to rid themselves of the evils of the past, we view the question brought before the Council in a three-dimension manner.

80. First and foremost, the developments in Kampuchea, which resulted in the downfall of the compromised and reactionary Pol Pot clique, are the internal affair of the people of Kampuchea; that people alone is competent to deal with them, as it in fact has already done by getting rid of its oppressive rulers.

81. Indeed, it suffices to read carefully the declaration of 2 December 1978 of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea [*S/13006, annex I*] to see clearly why the Kampuchean people could not rise up in arms against the tyrants who were gradually bringing the country to the brink of the abyss of extinction. Few other régimes in the history of mankind have proved as genocidal vis-à-vis their own people as that of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Therefore, what happened in Kampuchea was an inevitable development, the result of its people's struggle to save itself from extermination and to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, non-aligned and socialist Kampuchea.

82. Secondly, the overthrow by the people of Kampuchea of the Pol Pot régime, which had drowned the country in blood and tears, cannot be considered as a threat to international peace and security—be it in the region of Indo-China or in South-East Asia. Here then is one more reason for the irrelevance of the consideration of the question by the Security Council.

83. What did constitute such a threat were the aggressive policies of the overthrown régime—anti-nationalist at

home and adventurous abroad—the policies that one big Power with which the régime was allied wanted to use as a tool for its hegemonic strivings. Now that its schemes have proved to be a complete failure, that Power has resorted to a boisterous campaign of slander against other countries—in particular, against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its friends.

84. As was rightly stressed by the representative of Viet Nam last Thursday [*2108th meeting*] and again on Saturday [*2110th meeting*], his country had manifested unusual moderation and patience in the face of repeated and flagrant provocation by the Pol Pot clique which since its inception had become the most destabilizing factor in Indo-China. Where were the present protectors of Pol Pot and their friends when he was murdering hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Kampuchea, when his troops were committing most monstrous horrors and continuing repeated acts of aggression against Viet Nam? Why did they not come at that time to the Council to condemn the perpetrators of such acts? No unbiased politician or diplomat would dare to answer those questions in such a way as to justify the need for the present debate in the Council.

85. The motives behind this debate are only too clear to us. It is an attempt on the part of Pol Pot's few supporters to take some kind of revenge against Viet Nam for its independent position in world affairs and for its resistance to foreign domination and regional hegemony. We cannot but most resolutely reject all the false and invented accusations against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We categorically reject any attempts at invoking comparison with Hitler's invasion of Poland. Let no one dare touch the graves of the more than 6 million Poles ruthlessly murdered by the Nazis in order to defend the killing by the corrupt clique of at least 2 million innocent Kampucheans for the sake of short-lived political schemes. Reasoning like this can be attributed only to a state of mind, to confusion and, indeed, to exhaustion produced by several years of solitary confinement in the oasis of Pol Pot's generosity.

86. Thirdly, the only genuine and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, this position of my Government has been fully reflected in the cable sent on 10 January 1979 by the President of the Council of State and the Prime Minister of Poland to the President of the People's Revolutionary Council, in which the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic welcomed the historic victory of the revolutionary and patriotic forces of Kampuchea and expressed their profound conviction that that victory would open a new chapter in the history of the construction of a democratic and progressive Kampuchea.

87. On grounds both of international law and of common sense, it is a sad irony that the Security Council should be trying to discuss matters vital to a Member State in the absence of representatives of its government, which is exercising effective authority and control over the country. An equal manifestation of the strongest proponent of a disregard of realities, a permanent member of the Security Council which is apparently reluctant to remember that for a number of years its seat in the United Nations, including its seat in the Council, was occupied by representatives of the

régime of an island situated not too far away from its mainland. In the case now before us, there is not even an island that could serve as a pretext for continuing the fiction of the recognition of the defunct régime.

88. Thus, any discussion in the Security Council—if necessary at all—will have no meaning whatsoever unless it takes place with the participation of a delegation of the new government of Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samrin. We share the view of all those delegations which termed any formula short of such participation as being to the detriment of the Council's very reputation, if not its credibility.

89. The people of Kampuchea have passed an irrevocable judgement on their oppressors. There is no going back on that verdict. We trust that collective wisdom and a sense of justice will finally prevail in the Council.

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

91. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): Mr. President, my delegation is deeply grateful to you and to all the other members of the Council for accord us the opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the Council concerning the situation in Kampuchea. Let me express also our gratification at the fact that you are presiding over these deliberations at a time when your leadership, background and experience in United Nations affairs will, indeed, be most appropriate and helpful.

92. The Philippines, like four other countries—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand—belongs to the region of South-East Asia where the present crisis is unfolding and where the situation is drastically deteriorating before our very eyes, so to speak. No doubt we have every cause to entertain the deepest concern over the past events and the ensuing consequences which immediately affect the peace, security and stability of our region, that of Asia and, in the long run, that of the world. The five countries I have already named, and also others in South-East Asia, are all developing countries whose primary goal and objective at the moment, aside from national security, is the development and expansion of their economic and social programmes in order to promote the welfare and the peaceful social uplifting of their peoples.

93. It is precisely in this context that the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations acted immediately and voiced their gravest concern over the development of the situation in Kampuchea. On behalf of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, issued a statement in advance of their special meeting [S/13014]. After the special meeting at Bangkok of 12 and 13 January, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers issued a joint statement [S/13025] which, together with their advance statement, embodied their views on how the crisis might be assessed and resolved, in the hope that there might be a speedy restoration of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia.

94. My delegation has followed very closely the statements that have already been made before the Council. The debate has been enlightening, and we are now privy to information on the background and the course of events which led to the present confrontations in Kampuchea. For this reason alone, my delegation is very appreciative of the Council for its wisdom in considering the Kampuchean situation formally and giving a chance to the parties involved and others concerned to express their opinions, their appraisals and their judgements.

95. With the debate that has taken place and the statements we have heard, we should be more competent to view the situation in Kampuchea with greater perspective and to weigh the evidence carefully and objectively. It is in this light that my delegation requests the members of the Council to comprehend and understand the position taken by ASEAN on the problem.

96. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers, after duly taking note of the escalation of the armed conflict between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. In other words, we of ASEAN are convinced that there was entry or introduction of foreign forces into Kampuchea which eventually led to the fall of Phnom Penh.

97. The entry or introduction of foreign forces into Kampuchea, in our view, is against the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which enjoin all Members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State.

98. In this sense, my delegation fully agrees with the representative of Kuwait, who said before the Council that his delegation was against interference by any State in the domestic affairs of any other State, for that was the quintessence of the Charter and the basis of international law, and it was important to reaffirm the obligation of Member States, in accordance with the Charter, to resolve disputes by peaceful means.

99. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers, recognizing the sovereignty of the people of Kampuchea, affirmed their right to determine their future by themselves, free from interference or influence from outside Powers.

100. In a separate statement which he issued at Manila on 10 January 1979 on the issue of non-interference in the domestic affairs of any State, my Foreign Minister, General Carlos P. Romulo, said the following:

“The Philippines adds its own fervent appeal for a return to rational discourse among nations, in particular a return to the first principles of peaceful coexistence. These are respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, the settlement of issues through peaceful means, and the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force in the solution of conflicts. And above all these, the most fundamental principle of all, mutual respect, equality and understanding.”

101. In this connexion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, in a statement issued at Kuala Lumpur on 8 January 1979, said:

"It is our fervent hope that no outside Power in any circumstances should justify itself to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea."

102. Hence, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, in their joint statement,

"call upon all countries in the region strictly to respect each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system; to refrain from using force or threatening to use force in their bilateral relations, from interfering in each other's internal affairs and from carrying out subversive activities, directly or indirectly, against each other; to settle all differences between the countries by peaceful means through negotiations, in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect" [S/13014, annex].

103. In view of all that has transpired and the continued great danger of more counter-action and reaction in Kampuchea, the only recourse appears obvious to my delegation. We believe that all hostilities must cease immediately, after which there should be immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchean territory. This withdrawal of foreign forces was specifically indicated in the joint statement by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers after they had strongly deplored the armed intervention in Kampuchea.

104. Needless to say, there may be other necessary and appropriate measures which the Council may consider and decide upon after the cessation of hostilities and the immediate and total withdrawal of forces have been accomplished. We firmly believe that these are the necessary elements in the restoration of peace, security and stability in our area.

105. In conclusion, let me just say that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, in their statement, recalled the Vietnamese pledge to the ASEAN member countries scrupulously to respect each one's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to co-operate in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and stability in the region.

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

107. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Sir, I would at the outset, before making my short statement on the matter under consideration, say how happy and privileged I feel to congratulate you, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your country, Jamaica, enjoys a well-deserved prestige among the non-aligned movement and its friends, the community of socialist countries. In your person, Jamaica has an eminent representative whose diplomatic skills and leadership abilities have always been appreciated by all of us.

108. Permit me also to express our gratitude to you and to the members of the Council for the opportunity accorded to

the Bulgarian delegation to take part in the discussions. May I also take this occasion to congratulate the newly elected members of the Council.

109. To begin with, I should like to say that my Government is deeply concerned at and dissatisfied with the fact that the Security Council has been called upon to consider a question relating to the internal situation of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. Moreover, the basis for the discussions is being supplied by a speculative demand by the clique of Kampuchea, which has been totally rejected by its people.

110. The communication of which the Council has been seized provides ample proof of the attempts undertaken by certain circles to conceal the true crimes committed by the Pol Pot clique. For, actually, the whole world had been witnessing the atrocities, massacres and repressions taking place inside the country, as well as the numerous acts of aggression against neighbouring countries carried out since 1975. Those acts had created a grave danger to peace and security in the region. So, quite naturally, they provoke the strong indignation of democratic and progressive forces all over the world.

111. History teaches and convincingly proves that an entire nation cannot be held under oppression and domination by sheer force of terror and in human violations of basic rights. So, the outcome in Kampuchea is a logical one. The odious puppet clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, having usurped power in Kampuchea, had reduced to naught the hard-won popular victory of 1975. That clique has now been overthrown. The popular forces, assembled in the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, which is the real and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, have retaken what is rightfully theirs. Having mobilized and closely united the efforts of the entire population and brought the struggle to a victorious end, the United Front is now in control of the whole territory of Kampuchea. A new government has been set up: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin, and Mr. Hun Sen has been appointed the new Minister for Foreign Affairs. The new government has already been recognized by several States, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

112. Hence, developments of late in Kampuchea truly deserve sincere consideration and approval, as they have brought about the removal of a seemingly endless nightmare and dangerous aggressive provocations. It is fully understandable that the popular revolution in Kampuchea should not be to the liking of the former régime's patrons, that is, the hegemonists at Peking. However, this definitely cannot be a case warranting the involvement of the world Organization in a matter pertaining to the internal situation of Kampuchea, nor should the United Nations be turned into the watch-dog of a repudiated régime which has been violating the basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. A totally discredited régime whose real actions have been laid bare before the world public opinion, a régime which has subjected an entire nation to massive terror and oppression, to organized and systematic annihilation cannot enjoy the sympathies of any country which has preserved its self-esteem. Those who serve the interests

of Powers hostile to the true aspirations of the Kampuchean people cannot hope to confuse the international community for long.

113. The events in South-East Asia have totally unmasked the external forces which have been inciting and assisting the puppet Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in its aggressive actions towards neighbouring countries, particularly against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. They are the same forces which pursue a policy of hegemony, great-Power chauvinism and expansionism in Indo-China and in the whole Asian continent. But the heroic and proud Vietnamese nation has already provided enough proof of its determination not to brook any further encroachments on the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its State.

114. A campaign of vicious calumnies has been launched against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We most emphatically reject these absolutely unfounded slanders against the Vietnamese people, whose dedication to the cause of national independence, freedom, and peace long ago gained the admiration of the world. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has given most convincing evidence of patience, goodwill and wisdom, including on the matter under consideration. The allegations against Viet Nam cannot cover up the responsibilities of the sponsors and instigators of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which betrayed the interests of the people of Kampuchea and carried out an aggressive policy of provocations against their neighbours.

115. It is perfectly clear that Kampuchea is at present undergoing a process which is both logical and legitimate and is in line with the principles of self-determination and independent political development. The victories of the valiant people of Kampuchea are both justified and irreversible, for they are the result of a people's revolutionary struggle to determine its own destiny.

116. As stated in the manifesto issued at Phnom Penh on 11 January by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea:

"This is a victory for the sacred right of nations to self-determination, a right which is inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations and which constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement.

"This great victory has opened a new era in the history of Kampuchea, an era of genuine independence and freedom in which this country is not dependent on any foreign country. It has put an end to an unjust war started by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique at foreign instigation and with foreign backing, a war which ran counter to national interests and undermined the traditional friendship between the Kampuchean and the Vietnamese peoples.

"This victory has opened up great prospects for peace, friendship and co-operation between Kampuchea and neighbouring countries and has contributed to peace, stability and prosperity in South-East Asia."

117. We are profoundly convinced that all the efforts of the Organization, as well as those of individual Member

States, should be aimed at the active assistance and consolidation of these democratic changes, so longed for by the much-tried people of Kampuchea, who have been subjected to unparalleled arbitrariness and barbaric repressions and who have made countless sacrifices in the struggle for independence and freedom.

118. The sincere intentions of the new government and the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea are manifested in its declaration of 2 December 1978 [S/13006, annex I] as well as in the statements of the Central Committee of the United Front of 26 December 1978 [*ibid.*, annex II] and 5 January 1979 [S/13010, annex]. The foremost task given in those documents stands out clearly. It is the struggle for the salvation of the Kampuchean people from destruction and the building of a peace-loving, independent, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea. The new leaders have also made it clear that new Kampuchea will struggle for the strengthening of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

119. To quote again from the manifesto of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea:

"The People's Republic of Kampuchea ensures for the people democratic liberties, freedom of belief, the right to work, rest and study, and respect for the dignity and private life of all citizens; it ensures equality between the sexes and among different ethnic groups in the Kampuchean social community.

"The People's Republic of Kampuchea advocates a foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment in order to contribute to peace, stability and prosperity in South-East Asia, and to the cause of peace and progress in the world."

120. The Bulgarian people and its Government sincerely rejoice at and cordially welcome the victory of the Kampuchean people, which has a decisive importance for the establishment of peace, stability and fraternal co-operation in Indo-China and the whole of Asia. We are convinced that the recently created People's Revolutionary Council, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people and the true spokesman for its wishes and interests, will contribute to affirming and strengthening the achievements of the revolution as well as to strengthening peace and security in that region of the world.

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

122. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): At the outset I wish to thank the Security Council for having provided me with this opportunity to explain my Government's position with regard to a very serious question of international relations.

123. To you personally, Mr. President, I address my congratulations on your assumption of the functions of President of the Council for the month of January and I wish you much success in the accomplishment of your responsible duties. I am convinced that your well-known dedication, diplomatic skill and intellectual acumen will contribute

towards enabling the Council to fulfil its role with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security.

124. I wish also to address my greetings to His Excellency Mr. Norodom Sihanouk, a distinguished statesman, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, a patriot and consistent fighter for free and independent Kampuchea. Mr. Sihanouk has again found himself, as in the most difficult moments of the past, in the forefront of the struggle for independence, freedom and non-alignment of his country.

125. Like all other such conferences, the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade recently, laid particular stress on the principles guiding relations among sovereign States on which the movement of non-aligned countries is founded, namely: national independence; sovereignty; territorial integrity; equality; the free national and social development of all countries; self-determination; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; non-intervention; the inviolability of legally established international boundaries; the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by means of war of occupation; the withdrawal of foreign military armed forces; the dismantling of all foreign military bases; the peaceful settlement of disputes; the development of international co-operation on the basis of equality; struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all forms of expansionism, foreign domination and hegemony; and so on.

126. The fifth Summit Conference on non-aligned countries, held at Colombo, devoted special attention to the problem of interference in the internal affairs of States as one of the most acute dangers threatening the independence of countries, and it "resolutely rejected any attempts to justify foreign interference under any pretext whatsoever, from any source".²

127. At the Ministerial Conference at Belgrade, the non-aligned countries paid due attention to the disputes between some non-aligned countries giving rise to armed conflicts. In this connexion it was emphasized that it was

"of enduring importance that in their mutual relations all non-aligned countries should be consistently guided by the principles of non-alignment and the Charter of the United Nations".³

At the same time the Conference emphasized

"the necessity of resolving all disputes exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations, mediation, good offices and other measures embodied in the United Nations Charter, in accordance with the legitimate rights of peoples, bearing in view at the same time the interests of the unity and solidarity of the movement as a whole—without outside interference and without recourse to pressure, or the threat or use of force".³

128. The Yugoslav Government has always strictly adhered to these principles and exerted efforts in the United Nations,

in the non-aligned movement and in its bilateral relations with all countries for their consistent application.

129. The aforementioned principles and positions of the non-aligned movement are of universal significance for relations among all States regardless of their size and irrespective of similarities or differences in their respective social systems. What are actually involved are the fundamental principles of active and peaceful coexistence based on the Charter of the United Nations and international law, which must be applied universally among all countries. The principles of non-alignment have asserted themselves as an irreplaceable basis for stable international relations and as a progressive achievement in the struggle against all forms of subjugation or domination. Respect for these principles on the part of all in international relations constitutes the only possible road leading to the strengthening of international peace and security.

130. Yugoslavia has been following with grave concern the development of the conflict between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, two socialist and non-aligned countries with which my country maintains friendly relations. For this reason my country has endeavoured to contribute, in accordance with the objectives and principles of the policy of non-alignment, to the peaceful solution of this conflict, which, because of the proportions it has assumed and its nature, threatens peace and stability in South-East Asia, jeopardizes the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned movement and is fraught with far-reaching consequences for the over-all development of relations in the world.

131. Proceeding from such an appraisal, the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, sent messages to the Chief of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Pham Van Dong, and the Chief of State of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, appealing for a cessation of hostilities and for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means through negotiations and agreement. As late as 28 December 1978, in the aide-mémoire handed to the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expressed its deep concern over the conflict and appealed for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the start of negotiations. We acted in this manner because we were deeply convinced that it was the only correct course of action in the interest of the peoples of the two countries as well as other peoples of the region.

132. In this regard Yugoslavia has always proceeded—as stated by the official spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of 11 January 1979—from

"the necessity of strict respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the sovereign right of each country to decide by itself on its internal system, and from the inadmissibility of any form of foreign intervention or aggression under the pretext of disagreement with the internal socio-political system of a country or under any other pretext".

133. In the consistent defence of these principles, the non-aligned movement has, in our opinion, an irreplaceable role

² A/31/197, annex I, para. 145.

³ A/33/206, annex I, para. 41.

to play because the movement itself actually emerged from the struggle for the defence of those principles and has become an independent factor in efforts to establish a new system of international political and economic relations based on equality, which is the declared objective of all non-aligned countries.

134. In this connexion it is necessary to underline the difference between the character of an internal system, which is strictly the domestic concern of every country, on the one hand, and relations between sovereign countries on the other. In this respect, it is also necessary to emphasize the inadmissibility of all attempts aimed at changing internal social and political systems under any pretext or any form of use of force, recourse to pressure, imposing foreign models, or any other direct or indirect method of undermining the free development of a country or destabilizing its legal Government. By saying this it is not our intention to defend any Government or régime as responsibility for that is borne by the people of every individual country. It is also inadmissible to judge the régime of any country in the context of conflicts between great Powers and blocs.

135. Yugoslavia supports the decision of the Security Council to consider the demand of the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea and deems it indispensable for the Council to undertake, as soon as possible, appropriate measures with a view to restoring peace in the region of South-East Asia and protecting the independence, sovereignty and free development of Kampuchea. That can be achieved, first and foremost, through an immediate cessation of military operations, the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country, the discontinuance of any interference in its internal affairs and the settlement of controversial issues by means of negotiations within the framework of the United Nations or by means of the good offices provided for in the documents of non-aligned countries. In other words, this means the search for a solution that will effectively and resolutely affirm the principles of the Charter and the non-aligned movement which are embodied in all the documents of the non-aligned countries. It is indispensable to defend those principles in order to forestall unforeseeable negative consequences for stability and peace both in the region and more broadly.

136. All this is in our view fully expressed in draft resolution S/13027, sponsored by the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council and brilliantly introduced by the representative of Kuwait.

137. The Yugoslav Government is following the further development of the situation with the closest attention.

138. The PRESIDENT: I now wish to make a statement on behalf of the delegation of JAMAICA.

139. First of all, I should like to thank members of the Council for the warm and friendly expressions of welcome to Jamaica on its assumption of its term of membership of the Council. I can assure members that my delegation will co-operate fully with them in the work of the Council, in the same spirit which characterizes the friendly relations between Jamaica and all the members represented on the Council.

140. We recognize that the Security Council has a crucial role to play in the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security, based on the principles of the Charter—principles which should guarantee the security of all States, large and small, regardless of their military capacity. We will endeavour on a continuing basis to make our contribution to the work of the Council with the responsible attitude required by virtue of this vital role.

141. It is in this spirit that we supported the proposal that the Council should consider the grave issue now before us, for we believe that the Council, if it is to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter, must display its readiness to hear complaints such as that made in document S/13003. If the Council does not do so, it cannot make a determination on the merits of each case and it cannot fulfil its responsibilities or meet the expectations of the international community which has entrusted that function to it.

142. With respect to the particular issue before us, we for our part feel very deeply for the people of Cambodia who have been subjected in recent times to severe suffering and hardship. They have been the victims of every kind of oppression including colonialism, imperialist aggression and foreign interference. That experience has left its mark on the country, as it has indeed on the entire area of South-East Asia, and is a major factor in the instability and the tragedy of human suffering which seem to have become commonplace in that part of the world.

143. We approach the present issue with that background in mind. Jamaica, as a member of the world community of nations, as a member of the non-aligned group of countries, and now as a member of the Security Council itself, is concerned for the maintenance of international peace and stability, which is the first purpose of the United Nations. We believe that in the circumstances of South-East Asia in particular this demands a state of affairs which can be created only by a strict and respectful observance by all States, large and small, weak and powerful, of the principles of the Charter.

144. The issue now before us has complex elements. It involves a complaint of aggression against Cambodia: there are possibly complicating elements of a civil conflict; there has been a border dispute between Cambodia and Viet Nam which must be seen as a factor in the development of the present situation; finally there are wider dimensions of great-Power competition for influence.

145. Varying degrees of emphasis have been placed on internal conflict inside Cambodia on the one hand and external aggression on the other. There can be no doubt that both have contributed to the recent events. It is evident that a civil conflict inside Cambodia could have arisen from the brutal policies pursued by the Pol Pot Government—policies of which there was widespread criticism and of which the international community could have taken note long before this.

146. There can equally be no doubt, however, that no interference by a third party in the internal affairs of Kampuchea can be justified and that any such interference is inconsistent with the principles of the Charter.

147. We cannot compromise on the basic principles of the Charter; rather, they must be reaffirmed and reinforced. We must emphasize the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States; we must insist on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States; and we must require that all States should abstain from the threat or use of force and seek peaceful means for the settlement of disputes.

148. Using these principles as its reference point, the Council should, in the view of my delegation, make a sober judgement in the present issue and adopt a position which is constructive and conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia. This requires, in the first instance, the immediate cessation of hostilities and, secondly, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia in order to allow its people to make their own determination on matters which are exclusively their domestic affairs. These two conditions should provide the framework for peace and security in an area which has already experienced so much suffering. These countries must be given the opportunity to develop relations which will allow for co-operation in the task of economic and social reconstruction. This is one of the major challenges facing them at the present time, and my delegation sees it as the duty of the Council to assist in this process and seek to establish conditions under which these challenges can be met for the sake of the welfare of the peoples of the area.

149. We hope that the people of Cambodia, and indeed the people of all the countries in the region, will overcome the grave problems and differences which history and other circumstances have imposed upon them, and will find the road to peace and development. I speak in this respect against the background of the strong feelings of friendship which Jamaica has had for the countries concerned and in anticipation of the maintenance of those ties in the future.

150. My delegation will join with others in the effort to ensure that the Council will carry out its important function in this matter. The draft resolution [S/13027] which has been introduced by the representative of Kuwait in behalf of a number of members of the Council therefore has the full support of my delegation and our co-sponsorship.

151. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connexion with the fact that a number of delegations have submitted the draft resolution in document S/13027, the Soviet delegation would like clearly to express its opposition to the consideration of that draft resolution, and even more to its adoption by the Security Council.

152. The Soviet Union from the very outset has been opposed to consideration by the Council of the matter relating to the situation in Kampuchea, particularly in the absence of the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people. In fact, how can any objective draft resolution be formulated if the members of the Council have not given a hearing to the only legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people, namely, the delegation of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea? At the same time, this forum has been made available to the henchmen of the anti-popular puppet régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who

cannot represent even that régime, since it has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people itself and no longer exists. By thus showing contempt for the authority of the Council, those representatives, to serve their masters abroad, have combined slander with distortion of the facts.

153. It is not surprising that many of those who participated in the discussions were obliged to recognize the absence of any clear picture of the real situation in Kampuchea, which further bears out the correctness of those who proposed that an invitation to participate in the discussion should be extended to the representatives of the only legitimate government of Kampuchea, namely, the People's Revolutionary Council, which exercises complete sovereignty over the whole territory. However, some people have obviously tried to prevent the truth about Kampuchea from being heard in the Council from the lips of the actual representatives of the Kampuchean people. As a result of this, the majority of the members of the Council deprived the representatives of the legitimate government of Kampuchea of any opportunity to be present in New York in order to participate in the work of the Council, which precluded any possibility of formulating an objective draft resolution.

154. It is obvious that in the absence of the representatives of the legal government of Kampuchea, which exercises sovereignty over the entire territory of the country, the discussion of the situation in Kampuchea and the adoption of any resolution on it can only be regarded as intervention in the internal affairs of that State. The truth of this is borne out by what is contained in the present draft resolution, since it contains a provision which is clearly based on distorted information on the actual situation in Kampuchea. The Soviet delegation cannot agree that the Council should adopt such a one-sided document, since to do so would run counter to the genuine interests of the Kampuchean people.

155. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Viet Nam has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table.

156. Before calling on the representative of Viet Nam, I call on the representative of China.

157. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since the delegations that have inscribed their names on the list of speakers have already spoken and since, as we understand it, the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Council has already been fully discussed by all members at consultations held outside the Council meetings, perhaps the President could immediately put that draft resolution to the vote. Members wishing to make explanatory statements on the draft or to exercise their right of reply could do so this afternoon. In view of the urgency of the situation, we propose that the President should immediately put the draft resolution to the vote.

158. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

159. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, you

did not state that the Council was going to proceed to a vote. As I understand it, in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure, any Member State invited to participate in the discussion is entitled to speak in its turn.

160. The PRESIDENT: I would put it to the Council that in the circumstances and in view of the fact that I had called on the representative of Viet Nam to speak in exercise of the right of reply the Council should hear the representative of Viet Nam and then proceed to take a decision with respect to the question of voting.

161. As there is no objection, I call on the representative of Viet Nam to make his statement in exercise of the right of reply.

162. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I would first of all express my gratitude to the Council for allowing me to speak in exercise of my right of reply.

163. On 11 and 13 January [2108th and 2110th meetings], I had an opportunity to present facts, with sufficient proof in support of them, regarding the true nature of the events which had lately taken place in Kampuchea, events that the Peking authorities had instigated directly in order to achieve their anti-Vietnamese policy and their expansionist and hegemonic aims in South-East Asia. I also affirmed that a new era of peace and stability was opening up in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the whole of South-East Asia, following the collapse of the anti-people's Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and the emergence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

164. However, since some delegations have continued to express their concerns or their doubts—some in good faith, but certain others perhaps in bad faith—I believe it to be useful to bring additional clarification before the Council today.

165. First of all, some have anachronistically concerned themselves about tension and even an escalation of violence in the present situation in Kampuchea. They are simply not up to date on what has been happening during the last few days in Kampuchea. The fact is that the recent definitive victory of the revolutionary forces of the Kampuchean people had as its effect the overthrow of a régime founded on nepotism and genocide and put an end to the war of aggression unleashed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against Viet Nam. As was correctly stated by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea in its manifesto of 11 January last:

“This victory has opened up great prospects for peace, friendship and co-operation between Kampuchea and neighbouring countries and has contributed to peace, stability and prosperity in South-East Asia.”

That is the voice of the genuine representative of the victorious Kampuchean people, which is at present the true master of the entire country. It is that voice that must be heeded and relied on, since it alone reflects the objective reality in the present situation in Kampuchea.

166. Only the representative of China and Radio Peking have bent over backwards in these past days to make the world believe that the present situation in Kampuchea is one of the utmost tension and subject to military escalation that is gravely threatening peace, security and stability in the region of South-East Asia and the entire world.

167. But what is the purpose of this propaganda orchestrated so noisily at present by international reactionaries? Quite simply to slander Viet Nam and to find a pretext to push the Security Council unjustly to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and to take measures against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I would therefore invite members of the Council and all the Members of the United Nations who are studying the present situation in Kampuchea with goodwill to use information objectively and prudently and, in particular, to distrust the propaganda from Peking.

168. I should like now to reply to one of the speakers in this forum who expressed doubts about the foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam—a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries and with all other countries in South-East Asia.

169. Viet Nam was the victim of aggression, even of an invasion, on the part of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary armed forces that has been recognized by the international press. After much moderation and restraint, Viet Nam finally decided to repel the aggression and annihilate the aggressive forces, thus exercising the right to legitimate self-defence, recognized by the Charter of the United Nations. But at present, as in the past, the Vietnamese people harbour the warmest feelings of friendship and respect for the brotherly Kampuchean people. Today the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the enemy of the Kampuchean people and at the same time an enemy of the Vietnamese people, has been overthrown. Thus, favourable conditions have been created for official meetings and talks to take place as early as possible between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to settle matters pending between the two countries, and in particular the consequences of the border war, so as to restore and develop the relations of traditional friendship and co-operation in all fields between the two peoples. This evolution in the relations between Socialist Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea will certainly be beneficial for peace, stability and prosperity in Indo-China and in the whole of South-East Asia.

170. Addressing the other countries of South-East Asia and in particular those which belong to the Association of South-East Asian Nations, I should like to reaffirm solemnly and in all sincerity the unswerving devotion of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to relations of solidarity, friendship and co-operation which today unite the people of Viet Nam with the peoples of all those countries in our common endeavour for peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity for the entire region, despite the fact that in the past there were a number of misunderstandings, indeed even conflicts, between our peoples, the victims of the nefarious policy of colonialists and imperialists. A new page has been turned in the history of the relations of my country and the countries

of South-East Asia. The time when colonialism and imperialism pursued at whim their policy of "divide and rule" with respect to the peoples of South-East Asia, using Indo-Chinese to fight other Indo-Chinese and Asians to fight Asians, is gone for ever.

171. The world is witness to the fact that, throughout 30 years of a bitter and difficult struggle against colonialism old and new imperialism, the Vietnamese people have followed always and strictly one guiding principle. Just as they are determined to defend their independence and freedom, so they show respect for the independence and freedom of other peoples. The battle cry of our late President Ho Chi Minh—"nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"—serves at all times to guide us in our thinking and in our feelings as well as in the internal and foreign policies of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. That sacred battle cry is being carried out by the Vietnamese people for itself, but it observes it equally in respect of other peoples.

172. The Vietnamese people have self-respect and strictly observe their commitments to other peoples. They honour their promises to friends. This is why I should like to reaffirm once again to all our friends in South-East Asia that Viet Nam is determined to implement strictly the principles governing its relations with other countries in South-East Asia, as recorded in the recent joint declarations of our Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and the heads of Government of the countries of that region, namely: respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country; respect for the right of each country to decide on its own political, economic and social régime; reciprocal non-interference in internal affairs; refraining from engaging in direct or indirect subversion; non-use of force or the threat of force; the settlement of disputes between countries by peaceful means by way of negotiations in a spirit of equality, understanding and mutual respect, in the interest of consolidating and developing relations of friendship, co-operation and good neighbourliness among countries.

173. It is on the basis of these principles that the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have not spared nor will spare any effort to implement these agreements that have been or will be signed, in order to strengthen our bilateral relations with various countries of the region and to contribute to make of South-East Asia a zone of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity.

174. It is therefore a matter of great pain for us, the Vietnamese people, to note that at present it is the reactionary circles of Peking which, in South-East Asia, have taken it upon themselves to exercise the policy of "divide and rule" so as to achieve their hegemonic and expansionist aims in South-East Asia. Indeed, how much harmful and subversive material is poured forth daily by the Peking radio and press into the countries of that region of Asia, slandering Viet Nam and other peoples, inciting hatred and division among our countries, setting our peoples against one another! Only a few days after the heroic Kampuchean people had become masters of their own country, the Peking authorities again started their endeavour to undermine the new authorities by seeking to arm counter-revolution-

ary elements so as to push them into so-called guerrilla operations inside Kampuchea. If there is anyone in that region whose acts are not in accord with their words, thus sowing suspicion among peoples, it is precisely the Peking authorities. It is they who should be condemned and not the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is the victim of their policy of aggression and intervention.

175. The dark designs of the Peking authorities are well known; they have been put into practice. But will they be able to achieve their designs? Certainly not, since it is up to us, the peoples of South-East Asia, to decide our own affairs and to thwart their aims at hegemony and expansion. We have victoriously fought colonialism and imperialism, and from that experience we learnt the lesson of militant solidarity among peoples. It is from this point of view that I have the firm conviction that the countries and peoples of South-East Asia will vigilantly view with mistrust any manoeuvres by Peking aimed at division and sabotage and will triumphantly meet the challenge.

176. One might wonder, at the end of these three meetings of the Security Council, whether there are now sufficient objective facts to serve as a valid basis for a relevant pronouncement and conclusion by the Council on the problem of Kampuchea. Some claim that the situation is already clear. Others, on the contrary, maintain that it is still confused. But since the Council has not yet heard the voice of the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people, namely, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, I believe that it still lacks some of the fundamental facts to enable it to obtain an exact idea of the situation in Kampuchea. In these circumstances, any hasty conclusion could not fail to be mistaken and would be fraught with serious consequences.

177. In my opinion, therefore, the essential condition for the Security Council to be able to arrive at an informed judgement and a valid conclusion on the problem of Kampuchea is that the authorized, authentic and representative voice of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea—the only legal and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people at present—should be invited to make itself heard in this lofty body.

178. In concluding, I would take the liberty of drawing the Council's attention to the statement of 14 January of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which I have the honour to transmit today to the President of the Council with a request to him to have it distributed to members of the Council as an official Council document. It reads as follows:

"The Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea resolutely and completely refutes all contentions made in the Security Council aimed at distorting the truth and slandering the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples, and regards all conclusions by this meeting as wrong and invalid." [S/13029, annex.]

179. The PRESIDENT: The Council must now take a decision. There are two draft resolutions before us. I am aware of the desire on the part of many members to proceed quickly to a vote on this matter, and the representative of

China expressed himself formally on this a short while ago. On the other hand, I have been advised of the desire of some members to have the voting take place this afternoon.

180. Let me say that, as President, I am very much aware of the urgency of this matter and of moving to a quick conclusion expressing the view of the Council, and I intend to continue to respect this wish on the part of Council members.

181. We have, I believe, after the vote, to call those members who wish to explain their votes at that stage. The question, therefore, is whether we should proceed to a vote now or vote in the afternoon meeting and proceed to complete the business of the Council. As far as I am concerned, in view of the wishes which have been expressed to me, I would suggest to the Council that it might wish to consider postponing the vote until after lunch. However, this is a matter on which the views of members would assist me. As I said before, I am aware of and respect the proposal made by the representative of China, but I would wish to hear whether the Council would agree to having the voting after lunch.

182. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): From the very outset of the consultations on this matter, and in the Council itself, my delegation has consistently held the view that the Council should be extremely cautious regarding matters connected with the internal affairs of a Member State. We understand the haste with which the representative of the People's Republic of China, for propagandistic purposes, called for the convening of this meeting, because, as soon as the world learns the facts, it will change its position. I should like once again to warn the Council against any hastiness in proposing a solution of this question without even having given the legal representatives of the new State of Cambodia an opportunity to make themselves heard.

183. My delegation cannot agree to our taking a hasty decision on this draft resolution, which has been put before us only this morning. On the basis of rule 33, subparagraph 3, of the provisional rules of procedure I propose that the meeting should now be adjourned and that a new meeting should be called for this afternoon.

184. Mr. ROLÓN ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to echo your views and strongly support your proposal to adjourn the meeting now and vote this afternoon.

185. The PRESIDENT: To repeat what I said before, I am very much aware of the strong desire on the part of many members to have a vote taken now, but I ask Council members whether, in view of other wishes which have been expressed to me, they would be prepared, in the circumstances, to postpone the voting until immediately after lunch. By this I mean that the wishes of the members who would like to have the voting taken quickly would be met in that, immediately on resumption of the meeting, the vote would be taken. It is in those circumstances alone that I could ask the Council to act in this manner.

186. Mr. EL-JEAAN (Kuwait): Mr. President, we should like to support your views as presented. We think that there is no difference, actually, in time—or only about a one-hour difference—and I think your suggestion would accommodate all the points of view which have been expressed.

187. The PRESIDENT: If that is agreeable, members who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote will then do so after lunch; we shall then vote and proceed.

The meeting rose at 2.05 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o dirijase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
