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NOTE

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2129th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 16 March 1979, at 7 p.m.

President: Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

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/2129)

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

The meeting was called to order at 7.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at its previous meetings on this item [2114th-2118th meetings], I invite the representatives of Angola, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Singapore, Thailand, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Kostov (Bulgaria), Mr. Barton (Canada), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Thiounn Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Abe (Japan), Mr. Sangsomsack (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Yango (Philippines), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand), Mr. Ha Van

Lau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/13162, which contains the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.
3. The first speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.
4. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to express my gratitude to the Council for allowing me to speak once again in the course of this debate.
5. During the meetings in February, my delegation clearly described the situation of the war of aggression unleashed by the Peking authorities against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, its deep-seated origins as well as its direct causes, and at the same time we proposed a correct solution to the problem, in accord with reality and in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which would respond to the people's aspirations.
6. However, as the representatives of the Soviet Union and of Czechoslovakia have strongly emphasized since the beginning of this session of the Council, the United States of America and some other countries have deliberately worded the problem in the form in which we know it, "The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security", so as to distract the attention of the Council from the true situation, which has meant that the debates have been fruitless.
7. Today the Council is meeting again to debate a draft resolution submitted by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) [S/13162] which, on the one hand, reflects their grave concern at the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam but which in essence is designed to link that aggression with the so-called problem of Kampuchea.
8. In the hope of being able to contribute positively to the taking of a just and soundly-based decision by the Council, I should like once again briefly to put forward the points of view of my Government on the present situation in Indo-China and in South-East Asia.
9. The events which have taken place these last few days have been quite conclusive: the war of aggression against

the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, initiated and waged by the Chinese authorities, has totally unmasked their great-Power expansionism and hegemonism as well as their reactionary policy, which constitute a very grave threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world.

10. Faced with the effective response which the people of Viet Nam resolutely inflicted on them, faced with the severe condemnation of the peoples of the world and confronted by strong protests from among their own people, and even among their soldiers, the Peking authorities are now forced to withdraw their troops. But they are still impudently threatening to make new military forays against Viet Nam. Although, for the time being, the Chinese war of aggression against Viet Nam has been checked, it can be said that the danger of a new outbreak of this war has not been completely removed.

11. During the entire time of the aggression against Viet Nam, Peking continued to supply the last remnants of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea with weapons, striving to resuscitate the corpse of a political régime already rejected by the people of Kampuchea and condemned by all mankind, and sought to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to prevent the people of Kampuchea from rebuilding their lives and their homeland.

12. At the same time, Peking is busily intervening in the internal affairs of Laos, concentrating its troops on the Sino-Laotian frontier with a view to another war of aggression against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, seeking to sow discord between Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and disturbing peace and stability in South-East Asia.

13. In Kampuchea the people resolutely rejected the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the henchmen of Peking, authors of the greatest crime of genocide of our times and the destroyers of peace and stability in South-East Asia. The people of Kampuchea installed the new régime on a sound basis with its external policy of peace, friendship and international co-operation. That is a positive factor for peace and stability in South-East Asia. That reality is irreversible.

14. It is clear that the only problem in South-East Asia is China's aggression against Viet Nam, China's intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and China's threat to use force against Laos. There is no such thing as the so-called problem of Kampuchea. Any attempt to link the problem of Chinese aggression against Viet Nam, to link the demand for total and immediate withdrawal of Chinese forces from Viet Nam with the so-called problem of Kampuchea, is in fact intended to justify and encourage Chinese aggression against Viet Nam. Thus the Chinese Vice-Premier, Teng Hsiao-ping, has, according to *The Washington Post* of 27 February last, seized on this proposal and defended it warmly.

15. The public opinion of the broad masses of the world's people has opposed and will continue to oppose Chinese aggression against Viet Nam, Chinese interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the escalation of Chinese military pressure against Laos.

16. With Washington's approval, Peking is manoeuvring so it can cling to the political corpse that has already been rejected by the people of Kampuchea, use what remains of the criminal Pol Pot clique as its spokesman, in order to mask its aggression against Viet Nam and its policy of expansion and hegemonism in South-East Asia, and oppose the right of self-determination of the people of Kampuchea, which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why, to this day, China has opposed the presence in the Security Council of the representative of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the people of Kampuchea.

17. Collusion between the Peking reactionaries and the United States of America is now on a global scale. In collusion with the United States and all the reactionary forces, Peking has ranged itself against the Arab peoples and the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia. They have become the accomplices of reactionary forces against the peoples of Chile and Iran and the peoples and national liberation movements of southern Africa. This collusion was consummated in Peking's recent criminal aggression against the people of Viet Nam. And it can be said that the concerted attitude of China, which committed aggression against Viet Nam, and the United States of America, which itself committed barbarous crimes in Viet Nam, in the Security Council against the people of Viet Nam, is striking proof of their collusion on a global scale against the just cause of the peoples of the entire world.

18. In the past 30 years the United States has made use of the Security Council to serve its imperialist interests against the peoples of the world. The Soviet Union has many times exercised its right of veto to counter United States designs and support the struggles of national liberation of peoples against imperialism and colonialism both old and new. At present the veto in the hands of the Soviet Union constitutes a major support for the just cause of the peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism and international reactionary forces.

19. In our opinion, the Security Council, with its lofty responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, cannot but severely condemn the aggressive policy of the Chinese authorities and demand that they should put a stop to their aggression against Viet Nam, totally and unconditionally withdraw their troops from the territory of Viet Nam, cease any criminal act against Viet Nam, strictly respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, cease any interference in the internal affairs of Laos and any military threat against that country and halt any intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

20. Those are the legitimate demands of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea as well as of the peoples of South-East Asia and all peoples that love peace and justice throughout the world.

21. In our delegation's opinion, should the Council not be in a position to make a positive contribution to the just cause of peoples, it should at least refrain from any act

which might encourage the reactionaries of Peking to harm the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and to disturb peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

22. The ASEAN countries have in the past lent their support to the American war of aggression against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. They have thus incurred a debt to those three peoples. Viet Nam, for its part, is prepared to forget the past. In our opinion, the ASEAN countries should, in the interests of peace and stability in South-East Asia, look to the future and not again fall into the error of acting in collusion with the reactionaries of Peking against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is always prepared to struggle, together with the ASEAN countries, to make of South-East Asia a zone of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity.

23. 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.

24. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): Permit me first of all to offer to you, Sir, my warm and sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of this august Council for the month of March. With your wisdom, diplomatic skill and long-proved ability and experience in United Nations affairs, I am convinced that the Council, under your able guidance, will succeed in completing its work with satisfactory results. I wish also to express my gratitude and appreciation to you and, through you, to the other Council members for kindly allowing me once again to take part in the present debate.

25. On behalf of the five delegations of the Association of South-East Asian Nations—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—I have the honour to submit the draft resolution contained in document S/13162 for the consideration of the Council under rule 38 of its provisional rules of procedure.

26. None of the ASEAN countries is at present a member of the Council; we have therefore hesitated to take this step of submitting a draft resolution to the Council. However, after more than two weeks of intensive consultations, we are encouraged by the general support among the Council members for our draft. In the light of this we finally decided to submit it, taking into account the following factors: first, the two armed conflicts pose a grave threat to the peace, stability and security of the region of South-East Asia and, if not checked, may still intensify and involve other parties, thereby posing a threat to international peace and security; secondly, since our countries are closest to the conflict areas, we are the most exposed to the danger caused by a spread of the conflagration; thirdly, our countries have good relations with all the parties to the conflicts. We hope that our honest efforts to help to bring about an end of the hostilities and to create conditions for the restoration of peace and stability will be understood and appreciated by all, including the parties to the conflicts.

27. In formulating the draft resolution, the five ASEAN delegations have been guided by the statement issued on

20 February at Bangkok by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia in his capacity as the current Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee [S/13106]. Our primary concern is the restoration of peace, stability and security in the region of South-East Asia. Our other concern is to maintain and reinforce certain fundamental principles of international law and of international conduct, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, which have been violated. The erosion of these principles poses a grave threat to international order and to all of us. What are those principles? First, that States shall refrain from the threat or use of force; secondly, that States shall settle their disputes by peaceful means; thirdly, that all States respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other States.

28. We have sought to apply these principles uniformly and even-handedly to the two conflicts. In both of those conflicts we urgently call for an immediate cessation of hostilities. We call upon all the parties to the conflicts to withdraw their forces to their own countries. We further call on all the parties to the conflicts, as well as on States outside the region, to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any acts which may lead to a further escalation and a widening of the conflicts. We reaffirm that all States shall scrupulously respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other States. We call upon all parties to the conflicts to settle their disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We welcome the offer of the good offices of the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution.

29. The draft resolution addresses itself to the two armed conflicts. It is the ASEAN view that foreign forces should be unconditionally withdrawn from both conflict areas and that the parties to those conflicts should settle their disputes by peaceful means, thus bringing about a durable peace and harmony to the region of South-East Asia.

30. By analogy, if we consider the five ASEAN countries as five neighbouring houses, the fact of the matter is that two other neighbouring houses are on fire, and there is a real danger that those fires will spread and affect our five houses. Our draft resolution is intended to put out those fires in our neighbourhood.

31. The ASEAN initiative in submitting this draft resolution has been motivated solely by our deep concern to end the hostilities and to restore peace and stability to the region of South-East Asia. We hope that it will be possible for the members of the Council to give their support to this draft.

32. Mr. ALGARD (Norway): On behalf of the delegations of Portugal and Norway, I should like, in conformity with rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure, to request you, Mr. President, to put to the vote the draft resolution that has just been introduced and which is contained in document S/13162.

33. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Vietnamese people, which once again have had to defend their freedom and the independence

and territorial integrity of their country—this time against the Chinese aggressors—to this very day have been forced to fight with arms in hand.

34. The hypocritical act of aggression by Peking against Viet Nam has aroused a tidal wave of resistance throughout the world and encountered the indignation of peace-loving people of all continents. Solidarity with the heroic, fighting patriots of Viet Nam is growing and becoming ever stronger. By its piratical act against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Peking has revealed to the whole world the treacherous nature of its policy. At the present time, Maoism in actual fact represents the most serious threat to international peace.

35. The military adventure of the Chinese reactionary clique in Viet Nam has met with total failure. The aggressors have had to pay a very high price. They are feeling and will continue to feel for a long time to come all the consequences of this act. Viet Nam is filled with determination to crush the aggressors, if China's aggressive war against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam continues. The Peking reactionary clique cannot afford to ignore the strength and will of a people that is struggling for freedom; nor can it disregard world public opinion. The countries of the socialist community are on the side of the just cause of Viet Nam.

36. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the utmost seriousness and with great insistence, issued a warning to the Chinese aggressor to halt its attack while there was still time and to withdraw its armed forces from the territory of Viet Nam. Peking must have understood that those were not mere empty words. The whole course of events has confirmed the validity of the Soviet appeal, with which the other socialist States and peace-loving people throughout the world have unanimously associated themselves.

37. The Chinese aggressor, through its official telegraphic news agency, has now reported that it is withdrawing its troops from Vietnamese territory. That statement on the part of Peking must be taken with a great deal of caution. The aggressor has given no particular time schedule for the withdrawal of its military units from Viet Nam. Furthermore, it reserves its "right"—if you please—to commit further aggression. Moreover, as our experience here in the Security Council shows, the present Chinese representatives are in the habit of stating one thing and acting in quite a different way.

38. However that may be, the irrefutable fact remains that the Maoists have lost face in the eyes of peace-loving and progressive world public opinion. They have not been able to compel the heroic people of Viet Nam to sink to their knees. The Chinese aggression has become bogged down in deadlock, and the offensive military units of the occupier have been defeated militarily by the heroic Vietnamese people and army and unable to achieve their aggressive goals. While at the beginning of their piratical invasion of the territory of Viet Nam the Peking ruling circles haughtily stated that they wanted to teach Viet Nam "a lesson", now it has at least become clear that it is precisely the Maoists who have been taught a good lesson, militarily and politically.

39. During meetings of the Council, representatives of a number of States Members of the United Nations have categorically repudiated the barbarous step taken by the Chinese militarists and have called for the immediate cessation of the aggression and the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Members of the Council have witnessed the pitiful attempts by the Chinese delegation to represent the aggression by China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a "self-defensive counter-attack" and to represent China as the victim of aggression. The Chinese delegation has done everything in its power to divert the Council's attention from the main task: to ensure the immediate cessation of the arbitrary actions of the Chinese authorities. All these statements about the matter being confined to a small frontier conflict and, now, this farce concerning proposals about talks, with which the Chinese are trying to lull the vigilance of public opinion, are just empty words.

40. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic entirely shares the position of the Vietnamese Government that it will not enter into negotiations with the aggressor until the last Chinese soldier has left the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Security Council is bound to respect this entirely justified determination of the people of Viet Nam, which is supported by the peoples of the world.

41. The Chinese delegation has attempted to justify China's aggression by the so-called question of Kampuchea. But is it really difficult to understand, in the light of these treacherous Chinese tactics, that any attempts to prompt the Council to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, using as a pretext even the vague formulation of the agenda item, are aimed only at serving to cover up the naked act of aggression by the Chinese against Viet Nam? In the concrete political context, this would even mean acquiescing in the tactics of Peking's "teachers-of-lessons" and connivance with the aggressor—and even encouragement of the aggressor.

42. Furthermore, the attempts to link discussion of the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam with the so-called question of Kampuchea mean making a mockery of the people of that country. The Kampuchean people, which have still not accounted for all their dead nor forgotten the bloody horror inflicted on them by the Maoist maniacs, can understand these attempts only as a further cynical effort to manipulate their fate. The people of Kampuchea need peace and tranquillity, not a return to the bloody régime whose leaders have hidden in Peking.

43. If anyone is concerned about the situation with regard to relations between Kampuchea and Viet Nam, he should familiarize himself with the text of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea [S/13101], dated 18 February 1979. That Treaty is the logical culmination of the traditional militant solidarity between those countries—going back many, many years—and the basis for the independent future of the two countries, including a bright future for the Kampuchean people, without Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and without the thousands of Chinese advisers.

44. The Security Council must rebuff China's criminal actions in the interests of all countries and peoples of the world. It must demand the immediate cessation of Chinese aggression and the unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from Viet Nam. The Council must not shirk its responsibility and permit a platform to cover up and give encouragement to the aggressor.

45. The representative of Viet Nam, Mr. Ha Van Lau, in his brilliant statements in the Council, has opened up for us a few pages of the history of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. He has clearly demonstrated that, not only now, but even many years ago, at the time the Vietnamese people were struggling against another aggressor, Peking was attempting to dictate to Viet Nam, whose independent policy did not mesh with its expansionist plans.

46. Incidentally, it is worth pointing out in this regard that this has been not only a history of pressure on the Vietnamese but also a history of betrayal by the Chinese leadership of the cause of socialism. These leaders have betrayed socialism in China, in Kampuchea, in Viet Nam and in Chile, and they have betrayed the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa. Finally, they have demonstrated that they have absolutely nothing in common with socialism; indeed, they have become its outright foe.

47. Certain circles in the West have therefore long been banking on the Chinese betrayal in their foreign-policy strategies and are attempting to find ever newer ways of using the so-called Chinese card. Certainly, they have made a great many promises to China, and it is trying as hard as it can to respond, to the point where it even ventured to commit naked aggression. But all who are banking on playing the "Chinese card" and attempting directly and indirectly to encourage the Peking leadership in its irresponsible policy have been shown by the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam that they are playing with fire and are being very short-sighted.

48. Unfortunately we have once again come up against the fact that even certain representatives of non-aligned countries are closing their eyes to the real policy of China. Certain individuals among them, in contacts with private persons who are trying to represent themselves as representatives of Kampuchea, are in practice diverting attention from the main issue: the cessation of Chinese aggression. I do not think that such individual representatives can call themselves non-aligned before the Vietnamese. On the contrary, whether they like it or not, they are practically associating themselves with those who are encouraging and justifying the aggressor and those who are obviously very much in tune with the reactionary policy of the Chinese leadership.

49. From the very beginning of these meetings it has been clear that, in spite of the attempts to divert the attention of the Council, what we are discussing here is Chinese aggression against Viet Nam. It is precisely for that reason that the draft resolution submitted by the USSR and Czechoslovakia [S/13117] clearly calls for the adoption of all urgent measures necessary to resolve the current situation.

50. The draft resolution submitted by China [S/13119], however, has just one thing in common with the actual state of affairs: the date of 17 February 1979, which it mentions. But it is precisely that date which is famous in the world as the beginning of the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam, as the day of the invasion by Chinese troops of Vietnamese territory, and not as the date of the issuing of the letter from the representative of the Pol Pot régime, which has been overthrown by the people of Kampuchea, as an official document of the United Nations. The very content of this draft is just one more manifestation of the cynicism of the Maoists and their unbridled chauvinistic patterns in South-East Asia.

51. The Czechoslovak delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand in document S/13162, which will be put to the vote on the initiative of the representatives of Norway and Portugal. This draft is unacceptable to us for a number of considerations of principle. First, although it undoubtedly has in mind the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam, it does not contain a clear-cut unambiguous condemnation of it. Secondly, it does not call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Chinese troops from the whole territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Thirdly, because it mentions the situation in South-East Asia without directly naming Chinese aggression, the draft resolution makes it possible to interpret its provisions in an expanded way and even ambiguously and inaccurately. The ambiguity and inaccuracy of the appeals addressed to "all parties to the conflicts" is something we decisively reject and view as an attempt to defend the Chinese aggressor. General appeals for the withdrawal of foreign troops "to their own countries" in actual fact may only serve as justification for the Chinese aggressor to continue his intervention in Viet Nam. Fourthly, in spite of our trust of the Secretary-General, we do not see, in conjunction with other elements of the provisions of this draft resolution, a real possibility for the use of his good offices. We believe that to commit the Secretary-General, in this situation, to carrying out such a task could only be detrimental to his authority, and, incidentally, it might have a bad effect also on the possibilities of exercising his mediation if necessary after the total elimination of Chinese aggression against Viet Nam.

52. Supporting draft resolution S/13162 instead of coming out unambiguously in support of the victim of aggression, Viet Nam, and compelling China in time to put an end totally to its criminal expansionist invasions in Asia, the first victim of which has been Viet Nam, is tantamount to making concessions to the aggressor, accommodating it and attempting to appease it.

53. These days, which bear the imprint of Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, when the sky of international life is clouded over, are for us also a source of optimism because it has been confirmed that the strength, will and solidarity of the peace-loving peoples of the world, combined with the peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist community, can prevent conflicts, even dangerous ones such as the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam, from growing into world-wide conflagrations.

54. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is on the side of the just cause of Viet Nam and is as a matter of principle in favour of peace, international security and the deepening of détente, is firmly convinced that the Security Council, too, can and indeed must act to prevent Chinese expansion. Therefore, from the very beginning of these Council meetings, the Czechoslovak delegation has been stressing that it is only by determined action on the part of the Council in condemning Chinese aggression against Viet Nam and forcing the aggressor unconditionally to withdraw all its forces from Viet Nam that we can ensure the restoration of peace in that part of the world and ward off the threat of the exacerbation of the international situation.

55. Viet Nam has true friends that will not give way to the aspirations of Peking to world domination. The Czechoslovak delegation will declare by its vote its solidarity and that of the Czechoslovak people with struggling Viet Nam.

56. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Chinese aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which began four weeks ago has been properly rebuffed and opposed. The heroic Vietnamese people have thwarted the designs of the Chinese strategists to carry out a Peking-style blitzkrieg. The boastful assertions of the Chinese representatives that their punitive operation would be concluded in a few days burst like a bubble. Having come up against the invincible firmness and resistance of the Vietnamese people and their armed forces, and having become aware of the solidarity between the Vietnamese people and their friends and all peace-loving forces, the Chinese interventionists have been forced to declare their intention to withdraw their troops from Vietnamese soil. Now, as was pointed out a few days ago by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the Chinese leaders have been forced to sound the retreat. This is the result of the determination and valour of the Vietnamese people, the militant solidarity with Viet Nam of the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community, and the support of world public opinion. He added:

“The situation in South-East Asia remains tense and alarming. Our course is clear. We shall do everything necessary to assist the just cause of Viet Nam and prevent new acts of provocation which threaten universal peace.”

57. The danger of these new acts of provocation is becoming very real. The same Huang Hua who made the statement that the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Viet Nam, as he put it, had been concluded, without pausing to take a breath, uttered the threat that Chinese troops might once again make incursions into Viet Nam in the future on one or another trumped up pretext.

58. The facts also demonstrate that the Chinese aggressors, while stating that they do not need a single inch of Vietnamese soil, at the same time are planning the annexation of Vietnamese territory. For this purpose they are using a not very clever stratagem employed by all aggressors, declaring Vietnamese land Chinese. How strikingly reminiscent are these statements of words which were uttered in this chamber quite recently by the

Israeli representative when he asserted that Arab lands on the West Bank of the Jordan, as he put it, were part of the territory of “Greater Israel”.

59. The Chinese assertions of their intention to cease aggression are clearly meant to mollify the condemnation of this aggression by world public opinion and are an attempt once again to mislead it with regard to China's true plans. However, the arrogant statements by the rulers in Peking about their intention to “teach a lesson” to those who have determined to impede their expansionist policy should not be forgotten: they should genuinely serve as a lesson to those who have ever harboured any illusions, or who still harbour any illusions, about the foreign policy of the present Chinese leaders.

60. Nor should we forget the crimes which are being committed by the Chinese aggressors on Vietnamese soil. In the temporary occupied frontier regions, the Chinese occupationists have employed the Fascist scorched-earth tactic: many villages and populated areas have been wiped off the face of the earth; factories and mines have been blown up and pillaged; many peaceful inhabitants—old people, women and children—have been slain. Among the numerous civilian targets which the Chinese aggressors have reduced to ruins there was a school that had been built with United Nations funds, and also a recently constructed kindergarten-crèche complex built with the assistance of the United Nations Children's Fund, the opening of which at the beginning of this year was part of the celebration of the International Year of the Child.

61. China's aggression against Viet Nam has made it abundantly clear to the whole world what in practice is the great-Power hegemonistic policy of the Chinese Government. Cloaking themselves in hypocritical utterances about a community of interests with the developing countries, the Peking leaders in actual fact have been trying to subjugate these countries to their own diktat, and have not even shrunk from the direct use of armed force.

62. In accordance with the intention proclaimed by Mao Tsetung as far back as 1965 to take over South-East Asia, as he put it, the Chinese expansionists have turned Kampuchea into a base for acts of military provocation against neighbouring States. For two years, on orders from China, the Pol Pot clique waged open war against Viet Nam. At the same time, the Chinese rulers proceeded to the realization of their broader expansionist plans: at the instigation of the secret services of China, hotbeds of so-called small wars have been maintained for many years in Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and other States in the area for the purpose of creating destabilization. Thousands upon thousands of people have been dying there at the hands of Peking's agents, while the Chinese hegemonists are preparing and training new Pol Pots and Ieng Saris so that at the hands of these henchmen in the future they may carry out their annexationist plans and designs. One more “fifth column” in the countries of South-East Asia is seen by Maoist Chinese strategy in the persons of the 20 million ethnic Chinese who live there.

63. The overthrow of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea and the expulsion of the Chinese advisers who were running things there undermined Chinese plans to surround Viet Nam. However, it is clear that the Peking authorities have not renounced these plans. They are concentrating their forces on the border of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. They have been stepping up the intelligence and diversionary and subversive activities of Chinese agents in the frontier regions with Laos. In the circumstances, the danger of military provocations against Laos, and of their growing into direct aggression by China, is constantly increasing. The threat to Laos is a threat to the independence and sovereignty of all States of South-East Asia.

64. The heroic Vietnamese people, beating off the armed aggression of Peking in their struggle for the independence of their homeland, at the same time are defending the peace and security of all the countries of South-East Asia, over which has hung a genuine threat from the Peking hegemonists. The sooner the Chinese threat is properly understood by all the countries of that region, the easier it will be for them to avert it.

65. It should be pointed out that in their adventures the Chinese rulers have been aiming at obtaining the support of militaristic and imperialistic circles, as well as of those unprincipled politicians who are against détente and the strengthening of international security. These manoeuvres on the part of the Chinese rulers should attract the concentrated attention of all those who cherish peace. Nor should we forget that any connivance, and still more any active assistance to the aggressive course of Peking, is a dangerous course fraught with most serious peril to the fate of peace not only in Asia but also throughout the world.

66. The statements of many delegations in the Security Council have reflected the fact that the Chinese aggression has met with categorical condemnation throughout the world accompanied by demands for its immediate cessation and the total withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam. In a joint Soviet-Indian communiqué published yesterday on the results of the visit to India of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, we find the following:

“Having considered the situation which has arisen in South-East Asia in connexion with the massive armed invasion by China of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and India call for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam.”

67. It would appear that the Security Council, in accordance with its duties prescribed in the Charter, should be taking the clear-cut and unambiguous stand of condemning Chinese aggression and demanding the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces of China from the territory of Viet Nam and strict observance by China of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Council should demand that China should make full retribution for the material damage done to Viet Nam as

a result of the armed invasion by Chinese troops of Vietnamese territory. The Council should also call upon all countries to halt any assistance to China of a military nature.

68. However, we see that the Council is not in a position to do its duty with regard to the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam. The reason for this lies, in particular, in the fact that the delegation of the United States and certain other delegations from the very beginning have deliberately tried to divert the attention of the Council from the question of Chinese aggression against Viet Nam and have tried to link the discussion of this matter with the so-called problem of Kampuchea in an attempt to impede the adoption of the necessary measures to halt Chinese aggression and eliminate the threat which it poses to peace in that area and throughout the world.

69. The Soviet Union expresses its regret that this is the course which has also been taken by the sponsors of the draft resolution tabled in the Council by the five ASEAN members [S/13162]. It should be pointed out that in the text of this draft resolution there is a certain reflection of the concern with Chinese aggression which we have heard in statements from representatives of many States and their demand for the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from the territory of Viet Nam. However, this draft resolution does not contain a clear-cut condemnation of Chinese aggression or a demand that China should eliminate all the consequences of the aggression it has committed, nor does it call upon China to make restitution for the damage done. That alone makes this draft resolution unsatisfactory. However, that is not the only point. In the draft the question of Chinese aggression against Viet Nam is virtually linked to the situation in Kampuchea and there is total disregard of the actual state of affairs in that country, the people of which overthrew a hateful régime and embarked upon the construction of a new one. The draft resolution in essence amounts to putting the Chinese aggressor on the same footing as its victim, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

70. The adoption of this kind of resolution could be used by the Chinese aggressor to justify his criminal actions and could only prompt him to undertake further adventurist and expansionist actions in South-East Asia and whet the appetite of the Peking leaders for “teaching lessons” to all those who try to prevent their expansion. It is obvious that the Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

71. The Soviet delegation expresses its regret that the Security Council has not been able to measure up to the tasks that properly belong to it and was unable to adopt effective measures to halt Chinese aggression. However, this will not prevent Chinese aggression from coming to an ignominious end. The war against the Vietnamese people is an international crime and those who committed that crime will not be able to evade responsibility for it. The guarantee of the total and final victory of Viet Nam in its just struggle is the determination and valour of the Vietnamese people and the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries and the support of the whole of peace-loving mankind.

72. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand which the representative of Norway has requested be put to the vote. That draft resolution is contained in document S/13162.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

Against: Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 2 against.

The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.

73. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have asked to speak after the vote, and I shall now call on them.

74. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, the Chinese delegation has carefully studied the draft resolution sponsored by the five ASEAN countries contained in document S/13162. In our view, the draft is not satisfactory in that it has failed to devote closer attention to and to focus on the extremely important issue of Viet Nam's armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, which constitute a gross trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations and norms of international law and pose a grave threat to peace and security in South-East Asia and the whole world, and that it has failed to condemn sternly the Vietnamese authorities for their crimes of aggression as they deserve.

75. In particular, the draft has failed to point out that it was the Vietnamese authorities which had provoked the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict. And it is entirely unnecessary and unfair, after the complete withdrawal of the Chinese troops once their goals were attained, for the draft to regret the just action on the part of China in being compelled to fight back in self-defence. Therefore, the Chinese delegation wishes to state its serious reservation with regard to the third preambular paragraph, which concerns China. Nevertheless, we have noted that the wording of operative paragraph 1, which "*Urgently calls upon* all parties to cease all hostilities forthwith", and that of operative paragraph 2, which "*Further calls upon* all parties to the conflicts to withdraw their forces to their own countries", undoubtedly and naturally imply a demand first of all for Viet Nam to put an immediate end to its armed aggression against and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea and withdraw all its invading forces in Democratic Kampuchea back to Viet Nam unconditionally and without any delay. In this sense, we consider the basic content of the draft resolution to be positive, and we have voted in favour of the draft. Forcing Viet Nam to withdraw all its invading forces from Democratic Kampuchea is the issue at the core of the current situation on South-East Asia. The Security

Council bears an unshirkable responsibility in this regard. All countries and people that love peace and uphold justice are duty-bound to take measures to urge the Vietnamese authorities to stop immediately their acts of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and withdraw all their invading forces back to their own country so as to serve the interests of the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia and the whole Asia-Pacific region.

76. As for the Chinese side, on 17 February, when we were driven beyond forbearance to fight back in self-defence against the Vietnamese authorities' armed provocations, we solemnly declared to the whole world that we did not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory, but neither should we tolerate incursions into Chinese territory [S/13094]. All we wanted was a peaceful and stable border. On 5 March we declared [S/13137] once again in all seriousness that the Chinese frontier troops had attained the goals set for them since they were compelled to launch a counter-attack in self-defence, and that starting from that date, all Chinese frontier troops were withdrawing to Chinese territory. Today, 16 March, the Chinese frontier forces have completed their withdrawal and returned entirely to Chinese territory, and they will strictly keep to the defence of the border of our country. We have kept our word by withdrawing all our frontier forces. The facts have exploded the lies spread by the Soviet and Vietnamese authorities about the so-called Chinese "aggression" and "expansion". Of course, we have to warn the Vietnamese authorities that they must make no more armed provocations and incursions along the Chinese border. The Chinese side will firmly strike back in case of a recurrence of such Vietnamese activities.

77. We have always held that disputes between nations should be settled peacefully through negotiations. The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed that the Chinese and Vietnamese sides should enter into negotiations to discuss ways of ensuring peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries and then proceed to settle the boundary and territorial disputes. Recently, the Vietnamese Government has expressed its readiness to accept China's proposal for negotiations. This is welcome. So long as the Vietnamese side is really sincere, negotiations between the two sides can start very soon and the issues can be settled without much difficulty.

78. There is a traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The Chinese people highly value their friendship with the Vietnamese people. Although this friendship has in recent years been damaged, to our distress, we eagerly hope that it may be restored. We hope that the Vietnamese authorities will have the fundamental interests of the two peoples at heart and stop pursuing their hostile anti-China policy so that the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples may live together in friendship from generation to generation.

79. Following the flagrant Soviet veto last January on the draft resolution sponsored by all the non-aligned members of the Council [S/13027], calling for a halt to Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and for the maintenance of international peace and secu-

rity, which won the overwhelming majority of 13 affirmative votes, the Soviet Union has once again blatantly vetoed the draft resolution to the same effect sponsored by the five ASEAN countries, which has also won the support of 13 members.

80. What does this arbitrary Soviet action show? It shows that it is the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, and not anyone else, who are the real aggressors. Soviet-Vietnamese collusion for intensified expansion is the root cause of the current tension in South-East Asia. The Soviet Union is the behind-the-scenes boss for both Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and its provocation of the border conflicts between China and Viet Nam. Soviet social-imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of South-East Asia and the whole world.

81. Such arbitrary Soviet action also shows that, in pursuit of its global hegemonism, the Soviet Union has time and again prevented the Security Council from taking action on the grave situation of Viet Nam's undisguised armed invasion and occupation of a sovereign State. Such a sinister act which brazenly goes against the will of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations and members of the Security Council and grossly tramples upon the Charter and norms of international law once again demonstrates the duplicity of the fine-sounding words, such as "détente", "disarmament", "respect for others' sovereignty", "non-use of force" and so on, repeatedly uttered by the Soviet Union in United Nations forums with the purpose of covering up its own aggression and expansion.

82. The flagrant Soviet veto of the ASEAN draft is also a dangerous signal showing that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, as major and minor hegemonism, will persistently carry on and intensify their acts of aggression and expansion in South-East Asia. This will inevitably further endanger the peace and security of the countries in the whole region and the world over. We cannot remain indifferent to it. All the countries and peoples that uphold justice, cherish independence and love peace must get further united and take all the necessary measures and actions to halt and frustrate those acts of aggression and expansion.

83. Despite its veto of this draft resolution, the Soviet Union cannot veto the iron-clad fact that the Vietnamese authorities are stepping up their armed aggression against and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, nor can it veto the Kampuchean people's strong will to carry to the end the war of resistance in defence of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, or the determination and faith of all justice-upholding countries and peoples to defend the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The renewed veto shamelessly applied by the Soviet Union can only arouse the peoples of the whole world to intensified just struggle against hegemonism, big or small. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, unswervingly take all measures to fight resolutely against hegemonism and national expansionism and in defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. To this end, we are ready to join forces with

all Governments and peoples that have the same purpose in mind. At the same time, in view of the fact that the Vietnamese authorities are continuing their armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, refusing to withdraw their invading forces from Kampuchea or even to commit themselves to do so, the Security Council, in our view, has the responsibility, in defending the purposes and principles of the Charter, to remain seized of this question and to force the Vietnamese authorities to withdraw all their aggressor forces promptly.

84. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Almost three weeks ago, my delegation here stated France's deep concern about the evolution of the situation in South-East Asia. Observing the increasingly grave confrontations which were taking place in that region, we warned against the perils which resulted not only for the countries concerned but also to an increasing degree for the peace of the world.

85. My delegation therefore found it natural that the Security Council should be seized of a problem which, quite obviously, was within its competence. As France sees it, the Council should seek to obtain as rapidly as possible, with respect for the rights of each and, in the first place, by the withdrawal of foreign forces from the territories they occupy, the restoration of peace and stability in that part of the world which has been most severely tried in the still recent past.

86. This concern of my country was certainly shared by the vast majority of the speakers who have taken part in the debate. In these circumstances, it may appear surprising that the Council has not pronounced itself earlier on a text reflecting its feeling. The reason is that we were dealing with a most complex situation that called for serious reflection.

87. The large number of draft resolutions that were successively and discreetly submitted bears witness to the readiness of the members of the Council and their will to arrive at a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Ultimately and quite logically, it was left to the countries of the region which were most immediately exposed to a spread of the conflict to propose a text likely to win the broadest approval.

88. A few minutes ago, France voted in favour of the draft submitted by the five ASEAN States. The draft explicitly refers to such fundamental principles as respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States and its corollary, non-recourse to the use of force. Likewise, it is intended to prevent any escalation and widening of the conflict and thus meets our constant concern to preserve détente throughout the world.

89. By our vote we meant to express both our categorical opposition to the rule that might is right, our faithful adherence to the fundamental provisions of the Organization and our trust in negotiation to settle disputes by peaceful means.

90. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): It has now been over two months since Viet Nam invaded Kam-

puchea and several weeks since China invaded Viet Nam. Those of us who warned that the Vietnamese invasion contained in it the seeds of wider conflict can take no satisfaction in seeing our prediction come true. For the fact is that the Security Council has a clearly defined responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; yet the attitudes of key members have caused it to hesitate in meeting its obligations.

91. No one can deny that the situation in South-East Asia is more dangerous today than it was two months ago. China has announced its withdrawal from Vietnamese territory and Viet Nam has stated publicly that it would be willing to negotiate with China upon its withdrawal. But the withdrawal has proceeded slowly and the qualifications each country has attached to its statement raise the prospect that hostilities will not, in fact, end. The continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and the fighting in that country affect the security and stability of the region and cause needless loss of human life. Aside from the direct combat, there are well-substantiated reports that the Pol Pot forces have retaliated brutally against elements of the population they believe to have collaborated with the Vietnamese. An end to that fighting and bloodshed seems nowhere in sight.

92. The ASEAN States, near neighbours to the areas of conflict, have issued two significant statements related to the successive invasions of Kampuchea and Viet Nam [S/13014 and S/13106]. These statements express concern about possible escalation and widening of the conflict, reiterate support for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and urge an end to hostilities and a withdrawal of all forces from foreign territory. They reflect the unease that has spread throughout the region because of the resort to military force to resolve disputes.

93. As a result of the war in Kampuchea, serious incidents have occurred on Kampuchea's border with Thailand. Thailand's border has been crossed on several occasions by forces in conflict. Whether inadvertent or not, these are further demonstrations of the difficulty of limiting the present conflict to the parties directly involved.

94. In the meantime, Laos has expressed its concern about alleged Chinese intentions and actions on its border. Its charges have been supported by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. China has denied those charges in strong terms. We cannot merely dismiss these exchanges as meaningless rhetoric, for in the past few months we have had ample demonstration of how threatening words can be translated into military action.

95. The Council has had extensive deliberations. We have consulted closely among ourselves and with other concerned nations on ways to promote accommodation between the parties in conflicts. Clearly, there is broad agreement that the situation is perilous and that its solution lies in bringing about a cease-fire, a withdrawal of forces from foreign territory and a diplomatic process to allow the parties to compose their differences peacefully and in a manner which will lead to a mutual respect for

existing borders. But this broad agreement has not found expression in concrete steps by the parties to the conflicts or by the Council.

96. My Government deeply regrets that the Soviet Union has for the second time in just over a month vetoed a draft resolution supported by the overwhelming majority of the Council and, it is clear, by international opinion. These measures would have been instrumental in helping to restore peace and security to an area of the world which has suffered from armed conflict for so long. In any case, the fact that the draft resolution proposed by Indo-China's immediate neighbours and supported by so many Governments has been defeated does not bring an end to the matter. Active armed hostilities continue, and an end to the threat of a widened conflict is not in sight. We must therefore continue to seek ways to deal with the breach of international peace and security, as we are bound to do by the Charter.

97. My Government has stated on numerous occasions that it is prepared to give strong diplomatic support to effective measures to end the conflicts in South-East Asia and to bring stability and peace to the region. Along with others, we have welcomed the Secretary-General's offer to make his good offices available to the parties. China and Viet Nam having declared their willingness to negotiate their differences, we believe that such third-party assistance may well be an effective means of translating these stated intentions into reality. We also encourage those who have been considering the proposal for an international conference on Kampuchea to elaborate their views. How, for example, might a conference act to ensure the independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea and the security of its neighbours? How could such a conference assist in ensuring the human rights of Kampuchea's long-suffering people? How could it contribute to the stability of the region as a whole? What role should the Organization play in such a conference to promote a successful outcome?

98. We must break the impasse in our deliberations. The clear requirement that we make every effort to protect international peace and security has been obfuscated. We must exhibit more concern for the soldiers dying on the field of battle and for the thousands of innocent civilians who are being rendered homeless and who are being maimed or killed by a conflict they did not create. This alone should impel us toward action.

99. My Government urges that the Council keep under active consideration "the situation in South-East Asia", and continue consideration of measures which would help in the restoration of peace, the withdrawal of forces from foreign territory and the formation of a representative Government in Kampuchea which would respect the rights of its peoples.

100. In this regard we again welcome the Secretary-General's offer to use his good offices toward a resolution of the conflicts. We urge that the parties directly concerned respond positively and without delay to the Secretary-General.

101. Let us as a first step inject into the conflicts the mechanisms of the Organization that are readily availa-

ble to us. Alternatively, we can form a Security Council committee or dispatch a special mission to the area. We can set in motion practical measures toward convening an international conference. All such proposals offer the means to inject restraint into the present conflicts and to begin the long process of political accommodation and peaceful settlement. We therefore appeal to the members of this Council, to the parties in conflict and to the affected nations of the region to intensify their efforts to find a way to terminate the hostilities and to achieve peace and stability in South-East Asia.

102. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): This debate has served a useful purpose, even though it has not been possible to adopt a resolution at its conclusion. It has provided members of the Council and others with an opportunity to place on record their views on the situation in South-East Asia. They have done so in this debate with remarkable unanimity. Virtually every speaker, except the parties themselves and their backers, has emphasized the seriousness of the situation, the urgent need for a cease-fire and withdrawal of foreign troops from all the areas of conflict, and the need to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other States.

103. In the view of my Government, the draft resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries [S/13162] admirably reflects those concerns and principles. That is why 12 of the 15 members of the Council voted for it—though I appreciate, as does everybody else around this table, that, perhaps unexpectedly, 13 votes were cast in favour of the draft resolution. As I said at the beginning of the debate, however, a draft resolution of this kind should have commanded unanimous support. Those who voted against it must again bear the responsibility for frustrating the evident wish of the Council to take effective action.

104. But today's vote is not the end of the matter. The situation in South-East Asia remains a cause for grave concern. The Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea remain an affront to the international community and a threat to stability in the region. We welcome the declared intention of the Chinese Government to withdraw from Viet Nam, and hope that it will speedily complete its withdrawal behind internationally recognized borders. We welcome too the stated readiness of the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments to negotiate. But there is a need for action on a wider basis. For until the underlying problems of the area, including Kampuchea, are tackled and the underlying sources of instability have been eradicated, the risk of conflict will remain. Meanwhile, the subject remains on the agenda of the Council.

105. Mr. ROLÓN ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to emphasize the concern with which it, together with Latin America—the geographical region to which Bolivia belongs, as does Jamaica, which is also a member of the Security Council—has been following the events in South-East Asia.

106. Bolivia has stated and repeats now its constant concern at the endemic repetition of armed regional conflicts which appear intermittently, as though they were

the tragic tribute paid by the small countries for the maintenance of world peace.

107. I should like now to clarify this declaration of principle.

108. In the light of the interdependence of the world, at this stage in the development of the world we cannot view with indifference any conflict which affects regional peace and the development of which—slow or fast, but always dangerous—turns the conflict from its initial bilateral confines into a multinational, regional and, finally, global conflict.

109. There are no longer any isolated problems; there is no longer any absolute bilateralism. The fate of the world is the fate of each one of our countries, and all peoples—large or small—need each other; for, as in human society, in the international community everyone is related to everyone else.

110. For that reason and for many others Bolivia is keenly interested in the peace and security of all the regions of the world. It is our aspiration to interpret the universalist thinking of Latin America, whose sister nations, overcoming old misunderstandings and bitter rivalries—and Bolivia has firmly supported this peaceful pursuit—have a sincere pluralistic ideology and the deepest interest in securing peace in all the regions of the world. Latin America is a region of constructive balance, of acceptance of other peoples. Bolivia holds firmly to these objectives, and we therefore reiterate our keen interest in seeing peace restored to South-East Asia.

111. The draft resolution—that was regrettably not adopted—did have such a balance and welcomed the good offices of the Secretary-General. It was for the countries of Asia to take the initiative in becoming the regional sponsors of a draft resolution that we viewed as positive and balanced and that responded to the lofty mandate of the Security Council, so unjustly attacked latterly, when so much effort has been made through various draft resolutions to ensure respect for the territorial sovereignty of States, as was so well said by the representative of France and other representatives.

112. In conclusion, I should like to praise the excellent work done last month by Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait, when he spared no effort, and to pay a tribute to you, Mr. President, for you, like Ambassador Bishara, have been a friend to the non-aligned countries. You have been a most intelligent and selfless spokesman for your uncompromising positions, which are ours too.

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

114. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Mr. President, I should like through you to thank the members of the Council for affording me this opportunity of addressing the Council for a second time during this debate. I would also offer my warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency and upon the ability, dedication and patience with which you, like your predeces-

sor Ambassador Bishara, are guiding the Council's deliberations.

115. My delegation welcomed the initiative of the representative of Thailand, acting on behalf of the ASEAN group, in proposing the draft resolution in document S/13162. We deeply regret that the draft has been vetoed. We nevertheless believe that this ASEAN initiative has made a most significant contribution to the Council's consideration of this question. The principles embodied in the text, principles that are firmly founded in the Charter of the United Nations, are identical with those which have been enunciated in recent statements by the Australian Government directed towards the restoration of peace, security and stability in Indo-China. The affirmation of these principles during the debate and their reaffirmation this evening with the clear support of the great majority of members of the Council cannot fail to have a profound effect on the international community. We hope that they will also be heeded by the Governments concerned and that those Governments will be responsive to the weight of international opinion.

116. The situation in Indo-China must continue to preoccupy us all until peace and stability are finally restored to that troubled area. The Australian Government hopes and expects that the Council will continue to keep the situation under close consideration and review. My Government also considers that, in the present circumstances, the Secretary-General is well placed, in virtue of his high office and responsibilities, to contribute towards continuing efforts towards a resolution of the conflicts and of the underlying disputes. Australia has warmly welcomed his offer of good offices and stands ready to support and assist him in any way possible.

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

118. Mr. ABE (Japan): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to express my appreciation to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council for allowing me to make a statement on the draft resolution which the Council has just failed to adopt.

119. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

120. When I spoke in the Council on 25 February in order to voice the view of my Government on this issue, which is vitally important to the maintenance of international peace and security, I expressed the fervent hope of my Government that the following points would be incorporated in whatever form of action the Council might eventually decide to take:

"First, all parties to the conflicts should immediately cease all hostilities, all foreign forces should be withdrawn from all the areas of conflict in Indo-China, and all parties concerned should immediately initiate talks to settle their conflicts peacefully, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those of non-interference in the

internal affairs of another country and non-use of force. Secondly, all countries outside Indo-China, especially big Powers, should exercise the utmost caution and restraint so that the conflicts will not be escalated to become a threat to the peace of the entire world." [2116th meeting, para. 30.]

I further stated that:

"... my Government whole-heartedly welcomes the timely offer of good offices for a peaceful solution made by the Secretary-General on 22 February. We hope that the parties involved will seriously consider the possibility of making use of his offer." [Ibid., para. 31.]

121. On the basis of this fundamental approach, my Government has repeatedly called upon the parties concerned immediately to cease all hostilities, to withdraw all foreign forces and to initiate, as early as possible, talks for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts.

122. Particularly with regard to the conflict between China and Viet Nam, my Government has expressed its strong wish that any action leading to an exacerbation of the hostilities should be avoided now that China has pledged the speedy withdrawal of its forces from Viet Nam, and that the Soviet Union should exercise the utmost restraint so as to prevent the conflict from undergoing a further escalation and widening.

123. If one compares the points I have just quoted from my previous statement with the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Thailand on behalf of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand [S/13162], all of them were in essence included in it. I may add, moreover, that many of the statements made during the debate also underscore the importance of the same points as those contained in the draft of the five countries. I would argue, therefore, that the draft resolution embodies the fundamental and commonly accepted rules and norms which ought to be applied in cases of the sort of which the Council is currently seized. The enormous efforts that the five countries have made to prepare this draft must be particularly commended, and I should like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to the five Governments for their initiative.

124. It is most regrettable, therefore, that, despite the efforts of the five countries, the Council was unable to adopt the draft resolution. It is hardly necessary to point out that its failure was not the result of a lack of majority support: on the contrary, more than two thirds of the members of the Council cast affirmative votes on this draft resolution. Surely I express the feeling shared by the great majority of the international community when I say that it is most regrettable that the Council was not able to apply such fundamental and commonly accepted rules for the settlement of international conflict.

125. Allow me to conclude by expressing the strong wish of my country that, even though this draft resolution was not adopted, all the parties concerned will pay maximum regard to the tenets of the draft so that peace and stability will be restored to Indo-China as soon as possible.

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

127. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): Mr. President, thank you for giving my delegation the floor for the second time in the Council's consideration of this item. The last time we spoke, your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara, was guiding the work of the Council, and he did so, if I might say so, with great sensitivity and tact. Now it is my pleasure to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency and to express my delegation's confidence that your great diplomatic skill and your experience and judgement will stand the Council and us all in good stead during this critical period.

128. Although New Zealand is not a member of the Security Council, the New Zealand delegation wishes to express its support for the initiative of the ASEAN countries in putting forward the draft resolution contained in document S/13162 on which a vote has just been taken.

129. The draft is a balanced one. It addresses itself—and we believe rightly—to both instances of armed intervention which have taken place recently in South-East Asia, in violation of internationally accepted principles and the Charter of the United Nations. The draft resolution avoids polemics. It makes a simple, urgent call on the parties involved to cease hostilities and to withdraw their forces to their own countries. Its urgency and importance is not diminished by the inability of the Council to adopt the draft because of the negative vote of a permanent member. We earnestly hope that the parties involved will heed the call contained in the draft, supported as it was by the overwhelming majority of the Council and of the non-members who took part in the debate. Such a clear expression of opinion should not go unheeded, for it is based on firm principles of international law, the violation of which endangers all States without exception.

130. If the tensions, instability and conflicts in the South-East Asian region are to be replaced by mutual respect for the territorial integrity, sovereign inviolability and independence of all States in the area—in a word, by peace—then the ending of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces is only the first step. Beyond that, the underlying causes of tension must be tackled and, if possible, eliminated. If this does not happen, we may see only a temporary respite before the peace and stability of the region is again jeopardized.

131. In this connexion, operative paragraphs 5 and 6 of the draft resolution should be given the most serious attention. In paragraph 5, the Council calls upon all parties to the conflict to settle their disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In paragraph 6 it welcomes the Secretary-General's offer of his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution. The need to find peaceful means of settling the conflict in South-East Asia is in no way diminished by the inability of the Council, through no fault of the majority of its members, to adopt the draft resolution. If anything, it is made the more urgent by that failure.

132. My Government has been encouraged by indications that the Governments of China and Viet Nam are prepared to negotiate, once forces have been withdrawn in that area of conflict. We hope that conditions will quickly be established which will permit those negotiations to begin.

133. The problem created by the armed intervention in Kampuchea remains; fighting is still going on. In our view, peace cannot be achieved in that area of conflict unless foreign forces are withdrawn, the independence of Kampuchea is assured and Kampuchea displays willingness to co-operate with its neighbours. Some method of bringing about a peaceful solution containing these elements needs to be found.

134. In our earlier statement in this debate, on 24 February [2115th meeting], we noted that one among a number of possible methods might be through a conference of the parties involved. We continue to believe that this possibility has merit; we hope it will be given serious consideration. Whatever method or mechanism for promoting a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question eventuates, we also believe that the Council should avail itself of the Secretary-General's offer of his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems. My Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed the New Zealand view clearly in a public statement he made on 7 March, when he said: "We have no doubt that the Secretary-General has an important part to play in the process of restoring peace to Indo-China". We have been encouraged in that view by the knowledge that it is shared by a great many other nations, as this debate has shown.

135. The Council will shortly conclude its present consideration of this item. That consideration has stretched over a period of nearly a month. During that time the fighting and killing have continued. It is a sad commentary that the Council has not been able to adopt a draft resolution which reflects the concern of the majority of both members and non-members who have spoken in the debate. In our view that is unfortunate, to say the least, for the Charter confers on the Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security on behalf of the Members of the United Nations as a whole. It will be important to reflect, in the aftermath of this debate, on the consequences for the Organization, and for public confidence in it, of the outcome of the present debate. What is at stake here is not only the peace of South-East Asia but also the ability of the Organization to play the role ascribed to it of sustaining peace wherever it is endangered.

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

137. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I should first like to thank you and the members of the Council for their courtesy in allowing me to appear before you this evening and to make a second statement on this most important question concerning the situation in South-East Asia.

138. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the

month of March. The Council has many difficult issues to consider this month and I am sure that its deliberations will benefit from your experienced guidance and leadership. At the same time I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's meetings in the month of February.

139. Canada would like to commend the representative of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand for tabling the balanced and comprehensive draft resolution which has just been considered by the Council. The draft emphasized that the problems of the South-East Asian region required a broad approach to ensure the long-term stability and regional security essential for each nation to grow and develop in peace.

140. In my statement on 24 February [2115th meeting] I expressed the view of the Canadian Government that restraint should be exercised by all those involved and that there should be an immediate cessation of hostilities in the entire region, that all foreign forces should be withdrawn from the territory of Kampuchea and from the territory of Viet Nam and that that difference should be treated on the political rather than the military level. The draft resolution which has just failed of adoption by the Council addressed these issues and we deeply regret the inability of the Council to accept it.

141. I also noted in my recent statement that Canada hoped that the Council would invite the Secretary-General to explore possibilities with the parties concerned which could aim at translating into mutually acceptable political realities the issues in contention which have been the basis of the unacceptable military actions. Notwithstanding the result of the vote just taken, we continue to believe that the use of the Secretary-General's good offices should be viewed as the starting point from which an alternative can be developed leading towards the hoped for objective of a peaceful settlement of the present hostilities and we expect and trust that he will continue in his efforts to that end.

142. It is no mere coincidence that the Member States whose representatives tabled this draft resolution compose the membership of ASEAN. The draft resolution indicated their concern for the conflicts which are taking place in their part of the world, and the implementation of the provisions contained in the draft would have led to their long-term stability and that of their neighbours. I wish to express once again my country's appreciation for their courage and fortitude in tabling the draft resolution in the Council.

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

144. Mr. THOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I would first of all address to you my warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, friendly relations have been established between our countries and peoples on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the prin-

ciples of non-alignment which our two Governments have always firmly defended. Furthermore, you yourself, with your talent, your experience and expertise have made an active contribution to the struggle against all forms of colonialism, expansionism, imperialism, racism and *apartheid*. This means that we highly appreciate the fact that the debates of the Council on the situation in South-East Asia are being held under your presidency.

145. I would also express once again our great appreciation for the arduous work done by your predecessor, Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait. He spared no physical or intellectual effort to try to find an acceptable solution to the tension which prevails in South-East Asia, a tension born of aggression, invasion and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea by the colonialist aggressors from Viet Nam who have invaded our territory.

146. For the second time in 60 days, the Security Council, by an overwhelming majority of 13 votes to 2, has denounced the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam and called upon Viet Nam to desist from further aggression against Kampuchea, to withdraw all its armed invasion forces from Kampuchea and scrupulously to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea. For that act of justice, allow me to say once again on behalf of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea how grateful we are to the non-aligned members of the Council—Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia—which have unstintingly reaffirmed their determination to prevent the principles of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations from being violated, to the United States, France, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom, which have been so good as to reiterate their support for independent and sovereign Democratic Kampuchea, its territorial integrity and their opposition to the acts of expansion and annexation of Viet Nam, and, finally, to the People's Republic of China, which has once again demonstrated to the world that it has no territorial expansionist or hegemonistic intentions, that it in no way interferes in the internal affairs of another country and that, in international relations, it always adheres to the principles of good-neighbourliness, mutual respect, equality and non-aggression. Its actions against the regional ambitions of Viet Nam have constituted and continue to constitute an important contribution to safeguarding peace, security and independence in South-East Asia, the Pacific, Asia and the world.

147. By making use for the second consecutive time of its right of veto, the Soviet Union has confirmed that, along with Viet Nam, it is the instigator of the war now afflicting South-East Asia and that it is in the grip of its ambition of global expansionism, which fits in with the regional expansionist ambition of its Vietnamese satellite, thereby not hesitating to trample under foot the most elementary principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Furthermore, this second veto demonstrates that the Soviet Union is responsible for the continued aggravation of tension now prevailing in South-East Asia and that its propaganda about *détente* is but a smokescreen to conceal and serve its policy of world expansion.

148. I do not intend to reply to the base calumnies, lies and provocations of the representative of the Vietnamese invaders and colonialists. The debates of the Council, the statements made before the Council by the representatives of countries that love peace, justice and independence and the vote taken a moment ago, which confirmed and reinforced the vote taken on 15 January last, have clearly demonstrated that, whatever their manoeuvres, slanders and sophistries, Viet Nam, its master and confederates cannot in any way conceal the reality. The reality is that all the countries and the peoples, all the people's political organizations, all the persons that love peace, justice and independence know perfectly well that the state of war prevailing in South-East Asia, which is spreading further and further, came about as a result of the aggression against and the invasion and occupation of Democratic Kampuchea by Viet Nam, prompted by its insatiable expansionist ambition.

149. Scorning the unanimous condemnation of all the peoples and the countries that love peace, justice and independence throughout the world, Viet Nam persists in barbarously intensifying its aggression and crimes against Democratic Kampuchea and its people, with the sinister purpose of proceeding to the annihilation of the people and the nation of Kampuchea, of transforming this country into a Vietnamese province by means of the Indo-Chinese federation, placed under the iron rule of Viet Nam, to be used later as a spring-board for its expansion in South-East Asia.

150. At the beginning of February, Viet Nam—in order to meet the failures of its policy of Khmerization of its war of aggression and reduce the heavy losses in men and *matériel* inflicted upon it by the people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea—sent three additional divisions to Kampuchea. At the same time, it redoubled its provocations on the Chinese border and was very active there with the main purpose of camouflaging the escalation of its war of aggression against Kampuchea.

151. On 5 March last, when the People's Republic of China declared that the Chinese counter-attacks against the Vietnamese provocations had already attained their goal, that the Chinese troops had started to withdraw and that disputes between countries must be resolved peacefully through negotiation, the Hanoi administration decreed general mobilization, turning every Vietnamese into a soldier. The purpose of this manoeuvre is clear: Viet Nam used the conflict at the Chinese border, which it had deliberately provoked, to divert the attention of world public opinion from its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and the presence of 150,000 Vietnamese soldiers in that country. However, the Vietnamese colonialists and invaders can deceive no one, especially not the people of Kampuchea, who are fully aware of their perfidious and criminal nature, and have been so for several centuries. In fact, the thundering statements of Viet Nam on the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict and the provocations of Laos now being aimed, on Vietnamese instructions, against the People's Republic of China are in essence designed to conceal the Vietnamese crimes against Democratic Kampuchea and its people.

152. Viet Nam clamours for the withdrawal of Chinese troops, which has already been completed, whereas it not

only refuses to withdraw its own armed forces from Kampuchea but takes every necessary measure to strengthen them. The putting of 50 million Vietnamese on a war footing and the mobilization of all the resources of the country, as well as the foreign assistance at the service of its war effort, are intended mainly to make up for the increasingly heavy losses being suffered every day by Viet Nam in Kampuchea, to intensify still further the war of aggression against that country and to achieve at all cost its ambition to swallow up Kampuchea. It is certain that nothing can prevent the people of Kampuchea and its revolutionary army from continuing to inflict increasingly heavy losses on the Vietnamese invaders. The general mobilization decreed by the Hanoi administration will only result in more death and family separations among Vietnamese youth and further aggravate the famine and poverty from which the Vietnamese people have been suffering for many decades. It is true that, for the Hanoi administration, the fate and the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people to a better life are the least of its concerns, as long as it can realize its ambition to swallow up Kampuchea and extend Vietnamese expansionism in South-East Asia.

153. The more Viet Nam intensifies and extends its war of aggression against Kampuchea, the more the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of South-East Asia are threatened and the more the danger of regional war in South-East Asia grows, with all the risks of expanding into a more general war. Viet Nam bears full responsibility for the ever-growing tension in South-East Asia. As long as it continues to commit aggression against and invade and occupy Kampuchea, as long as Vietnamese armed forces remain in Kampuchea, it is senseless to speak of peace, security or stability in South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and the world.

154. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is the fundamental factor which fans the flames of war not only in Kampuchea itself but also in all of South-East Asia. The immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is the *sine qua non* for the restoration of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and the safeguarding of independence of the countries of South-East Asia. The latter are perfectly aware of this and resolutely oppose Vietnamese expansionism. The draft resolution submitted by the five ASEAN countries, on which the Security Council has just taken a decision, is proof of this. We wish here to congratulate and thank them for this just and resolute position.

155. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and an independent and sovereign Democratic Kampuchea with its territorial integrity are in keeping with the direct and vital interests of all the countries and the peoples of South-East Asia and the world, for, in the face of the acts of Fascist aggression, invasion and expansion of Viet Nam and its masters, all the peoples and the countries that love peace, justice and independence, particularly those of South-East Asia, find that their destinies are linked and that they must face a common enemy: the regional expansionists of Viet Nam and its masters.

156. As long as the armed forces of Viet Nam remain on the national soil of Democratic Kampuchea, nothing can break the determination of the people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea to fulfil their noble national duty to wage, under the guidance of the Government of Kampuchea, the people's war of resistance to defend and safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and the inalienable right of the people of Kampuchea to decide their own destiny and that of their country. Not only is that a just war against the colonialist Vietnamese occupiers, but it will continue and intensify increasingly. In fact, we have all the necessary conditions to be able to fight until all Vietnamese invaders are chased out of Kampuchea.

157. First, our Government, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the only legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea, remains as it was with all its members, each leading in his own field the popular war of resistance. The apparatus of administration and government continues to function. The State of Democratic Kampuchea, which the Vietnamese invaders thought they had destroyed, continues unchanged, with all its leaders closely linked to their people.

158. Secondly, our Government is firmly supported by the entire Kampuchean people. Inspired with an implacable hatred of the Vietnamese invaders, the people of Kampuchea has closed its ranks and united with the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in a broad national, democratic and patriotic front combining people from all social levels, within and outside the country. It is firmly determined to wage the patriotic fight for national liberation until total victory, that is to say, until all the Vietnamese invaders have been driven out of Kampuchea. Such a people, inspired by an unshakeable determination and an heroic patriotism, constitutes the inexhaustible fountain from which flow all the economic, political and military resources that enable our people to fight to the bitter end until final victory.

159. Thirdly, the revolutionary army of Kampuchea has in no way been destroyed; quite to the contrary, it has been strengthened in numbers and force with the enthusiastic support of the population and the support of numerous guerrilla forces with the enormous fund of experience acquired during many and difficult battles. A wealth of experience has been acquired on how to supply ourselves with weapons and munitions from the Vietnamese themselves. Furthermore, the question of numbers does not arise, because it is our entire people which is fighting with vigour and enthusiasm for a just and noble cause.

160. Fourthly, the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea enjoys the increasingly firm support of all countries throughout the world which love peace, justice and independence. The vote in the Security Council today constitutes both resounding proof of that support and important encouragement to this just struggle.

161. The Vietnamese invaders exulted after they had occupied Phnom Penh, the capital of Kampuchea. They thought they could easily annex Kampuchea, subjugate its nation and people and satisfy their ancestral ambition

for an Indo-Chinese federation and expansion throughout South-East Asia. Viet Nam thought it had already realized its mad dream of becoming a regional expansionist force. But, after a month of invasion of Democratic Kampuchea, despite every Fascist measure taken to intensify in a barbaric fashion their aggression and crimes against the people of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea find themselves in an increasingly difficult position and are embroiled in the popular war waged by the people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea. Indeed, they now have to hide in villages and blockhouses along a few sections of the main highways, surrounded by the people and the revolutionary army, which are daily inflicting heavy losses on them in men and *matériel*. Their numbers are diminishing daily by 200 to 300 men on the average and their morale is steadily weakening.

162. It is certain that the more obstinate the Vietnamese colonialist invaders are in remaining in Kampuchea the heavier will be their losses. Indeed, whatever the difficulties that will have to be faced and whatever the sacrifices that will have to be made, the people of Kampuchea and its revolutionary army under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea are firmly determined to inflict total defeat on the colonialist Vietnamese forces of occupation and aggression. This is the only way to defend and safeguard the people and nation of Kampuchea and ensure their survival. It is also the only thing that will help to eliminate tension in South-East Asia and the threats of aggression from Viet Nam and its master against the countries of South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and the world.

163. The Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea are well aware that the battle they are now waging is one to safeguard and defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, for the honour and dignity of their country. But it is also the battle of all the countries of South-East Asia, the Pacific, Asia and of the world to defend and uphold independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for the cause of world peace and security.

164. Confronted with the insatiable ambitions of global and regional expansionists Powers, faced with Viet Nam's crazy obstinacy and its barbaric crimes against Kampuchea and its people, the solidarity and cohesion of all countries which love peace, justice and independence have led them to demand urgently that Viet Nam should cease its aggression and withdraw all its forces from Democratic Kampuchea. Without the total cessation of that aggression and without the total and unconditional prior withdrawal of Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea no problem can be solved in South-East Asia. Worse still, the situation in that region will only deteriorate.

165. Independence, peace, security and stability in South-East Asia cannot be preserved and the danger of a regional war in South-East Asia, with all the risks of its developing into a world conflict, cannot be eliminated unless there is resolute action so that the Vietnamese invaders put an end to their acts of aggression against Kampuchea, withdraw altogether and respect the inde-

pendence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea. It is in this spirit and in the common interest of all countries which love peace, justice and independence that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in its statement of 8 March [S/13160], launched an appeal to the noble conscience of all the peoples and Governments of the world, particularly those of South-East Asia, that in close unity they should exert all their influence and take all possible action to condemn and halt the demented acts of Viet Nam to intensify its war of aggression against Kampuchea and demand that Viet Nam should withdraw all its armed forces from Kampuchean territory.

166. Before concluding, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express once again, on behalf of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea, our profound and sincere gratitude to all countries, Governments, peoples, mass organizations, political parties, international organizations and eminent personalities who have supported and continue to support the just struggle of the people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea to drive out all Vietnamese colonialist invaders and aggressors, so that the people of Kampuchea may be their own masters and themselves decide the destiny of their country, without any foreign interference.

167. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cuba has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

168. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I thank you and the other members of the Council for giving me the floor once again during this debate. I am compelled to do so because of the gross reference to Cuba made by the representative of the new mandarins at one of the last meetings of the Council at which China's cowardly aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was considered.

169. It is an old subterfuge of those who resort endlessly to duplicity, hypocrisy, cynicism and banditry in international relations to attribute to others their own moral turpitude. Thus, the spokesman of the Teng Hsiao-ping aggressor depicted my country as "playing the jackal to the tiger", because of its resolute and firm position in defence of proletarian internationalism, socialism and communism, so vilely betrayed by the new Peking band.

170. The late "Great Helmsman" reserved the description of "tiger" for North American imperialism, which he then considered to be the "worst enemy of mankind"—surely because he had not been initiated into the so-called ping-pong politics and the travels of high United States officials, nor could he discern in the near future the possibility of receiving money, technology and diplomatic recognition. No sooner had all this become possible than they rolled up the paper tiger into a ball, white-washed it with the entrails of the Peking duck and played with it happily, like a cat purring over a ball of wool. That is the steadfastness of the "principles" of the new mandarins and of their late soothsayer, the lord of the great leap backward and the stentorian herald who trumpeted the thermonuclear holocaust.

171. But I shall not reply to the scurrilous diatribe of that person. It reveals, in the last analysis, the moral bankruptcy of those who have transformed a glorious people's revolution into a pitiful remnant of Nazi-Fascist imperialism.

172. What has happened is that the new mandarins cannot conceal the repulsive nature of their aggression against Viet Nam, in violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The peoples of the world have unanimously condemned it, just as they have repudiated the new mandarins' grotesque presumption and their so-called right to "punish" and to "teach a lesson" to a tremendously heroic people, a people with more dignity, courage and principles than all the combined bands—purged or to be purged—of the new mandarins, whom the Chinese people will purge once and for all.

173. What they cannot hide is that they prepared that aggression with perfidy and treachery, that they obtained the assent of their imperialist friends, and that they perpetrated that aggression, like the worst nocturnal delinquents, hiding from their own people the chauvinist and rapacious character of this adventure which could lead the world to a catastrophe with incalculable consequences.

174. Has anyone forgotten the following shocking statement by Marshal Chen-yi, former Foreign Minister of China: "Thermonuclear war may put an end to the world, but there will always be some Chinese to rebuild it". Is it not that same monstrous philosophy that is being bandied about today by the new mandarins, imprinting on their policy the kind of insanity that we have been witnessing in the last few years, and especially during the recent aggression against Viet Nam?

175. Anyone who is able to impose on a people the ferocious tyranny of the Pol Pots and their clique would stop at nothing. Anyone who is capable of committing aggression against a neighbouring independent and sovereign country such as Viet Nam, who is capable of taking the lives of children, women and old persons indiscriminately, of bombing factories, mines, hospitals, schools and houses, like a pirate come to seize a part of a neighbouring country's territory—as happened in India in 1962—does not deserve a seat in the Security Council, much less a seat as a permanent member.

176. The Teng Hsiao-ping hordes invaded Viet Nam, announcing that they would withdraw immediately, that they did not want a single inch of Viet Nam's territory. But the truth is quite the opposite. Faced with the sound thrashing administered by the Vietnamese people, they have had to withdraw from the more advanced positions within the territory of that country. But they have entrenched themselves in zones neighbouring on the border, on the Vietnamese side, of course, in order to consummate their objective of conquest and plunder.

177. Those are the truths which the representative of the new mandarins cannot refute, either with sayings by Confucius or with the little book of the Great Helms-

man—a kind of sinister “Mao Kampf” for students of hegemonism—or with the shrill outbursts of the vulture of imperialism, the Teng clique.

178. The people of Viet Nam, with the support of all progressive mankind, of the socialist camp, of all the

peace-loving countries, has taught a hard lesson to the neo-Fascist Peking adventurers. The people of Viet Nam will, without any doubt, expel these adventurers from each and every corner of its territory.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.