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2112th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 15 January 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

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

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2112)

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

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

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

At the invitation of the President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea took a place at the Council table; Mr. Anderson (Australia), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Halász (Hungary), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Abe (Japan), Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim (Malaysia), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Francis (New Zealand), Mr. Yango (Philippines), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Koh (Singapore), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. Guna-Kasem (Thailand), 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: In accordance with the decision taken at this morning's meeting, the Security Council will proceed to vote immediately in connexion with the draft resolutions before it.

3. I wish to advise the Council that I have been informed by the representative of China that, in view of the efforts made by the sponsors of the draft resolution put forward on behalf of the non-aligned countries, China does not press at this stage for a vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/13022.

4. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia, that is contained in document S/13027.

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.

5. The PRESIDENT: A number of delegations have asked to be allowed to speak following the vote. I shall now call on them.

6. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has carefully studied the draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia [S/13027]. In our view, the draft resolution is not strong enough. But in order to show respect for the efforts made by the non-aligned States members of the Council and the draft resolution tabled by them, we consider that, basically speaking, it in effect condemns the Vietnamese authorities for trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations and for their crimes of armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and calls upon Viet Nam to withdraw immediately all its invading military forces from Democratic Kampuchea. Since the draft resolution contains the basic and minimum elements, we have decided to support it, and consider that the Security Council and the Secretary-General should immediately take effective measures to ensure the speedy implementation of the aforementioned resolution.

7. The following can be seen clearly through the debate over the past few days:

—First, all Council members and many non-members, except for those of the Soviet bloc, have unanimously con-

demned the Vietnamese authorities for the most barbarous undeclared war on the military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, a weak and small non-aligned country, a war which Viet Nam has launched with the full support of the Soviet Union for their respective goals of greater and lesser hegemonism, thus verifying the basic truth as to who is the aggressor and who the victim of aggression. It should be stressed that even the Soviet Union and Viet Nam dare not say that there is no presence of Vietnamese troops on the territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

—Secondly, the overwhelming majority of the Council members and the great majority of United Nations membership recognize the Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the sole legal government and true representative of the Kampuchean people. They all strongly demand that Viet Nam must put an immediate end to its crimes of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and withdraw forthwith all its aggressor forces from Kampuchea in order to guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and ensure peace and security in South-East Asia, the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

—Thirdly, the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and a few other Soviet-directed satellites have been playing all sorts of tricks, using the most abusive language and seeking all kinds of pretexts to reverse right and wrong and legalize Viet Nam's criminal acts of armed aggression against Kampuchea. The more they do so, the more it reveals their ugly features, and the more isolated they become. As the Chinese saying goes, they are "watched by all and denounced by everyone". By using another veto, the Soviet Union is revealing its predatory ambition to push forward its global hegemonism in all parts of the world, in reckless violation of the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations. Such conduct will undoubtedly further arouse the consciousness of the people of the world.

8. Over the past few days, the Soviet Union and its followers, big and small, have in their statements shamelessly slandered and vilified China a number of times. In order not to be taken in by the Soviet dilatory and haggling tactics, we refrained from exercising our right of reply right away. Now I deem it necessary to reply briefly to some of their attacks, to set the record straight.

9. In the past few days, the Vietnamese representative has on more than one occasion put forward a number of absurd arguments to justify Viet Nam's massive armed invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and wantonly heaped venomous slanders and calumnies on China. However, no lies can cover up the hard truth. It suffices for me to point out the following.

10. First, the Vietnamese representative has kept on saying that what has happened is not Viet Nam's massive armed invasion of Democratic Kampuchea but a so-called "insurgence" of the Kampuchean people and a "civil war" in Kampuchea. These rotten lies have long been exploded by fair world opinion. These lies concocted by Viet Nam are so clumsy that they could not even deceive pupils of the lowest grade, as rightly pointed out by some representatives in their statements. And so I will not bother to elaborate on them.

11. As a matter of fact, it is the habitual trick used by all aggressors in history to produce a puppet in order to put a

legal cloak on their aggression and annexation of a sovereign State. The only thing is that this time the Vietnamese authorities are even more barefaced and clumsy in their behaviour. It is reported that an organization consisting of a handful of puppets who have been brought to Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese aggressor forces has now changed its name, calling itself a "republic". However, a puppet is a puppet by any other name. Its purpose is simply to pave the way for the establishment of a so-called "Indo-Chinese federation" under the sole control of Viet Nam and for further Soviet expansion in Asia and the Far East. Directed by the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese authorities can invade Kampuchea today, and the next day do the same to other neighbouring States. As Foreign Minister Rajaratnam of Singapore incisively pointed out, "the Vietnamese have established a United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea. We wonder whether two years from now, it will be necessary for them to set up other salvation fronts for the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations". In our view, this kind of worry is not unwarranted.

12. Secondly, like a thief crying "catch the thief", the Vietnamese representative tried to make it appear that it was Kampuchea that had "launched" an "aggression" and a "border war" against Viet Nam and not Viet Nam that had launched an armed invasion of Kampuchea. This is even more incredible. As is known to all, it has been Viet Nam's long premeditated plan to annex Kampuchea. This is an important step in its pursuance of regional hegemonism and in its service to Soviet global expansionism. As its plan met with firm resistance from Democratic Kampuchea, it did not hesitate to resort openly to military aggression for the realization of its ambitions. Not long ago, the Vietnamese Foreign Minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh, brazenly claimed that Viet Nam could capture Phnom Penh in 24 hours if it so desired. This one sentence has revealed the real intention of the Vietnamese authorities, not to mention the conclusive fact that at present over 100,000 Vietnamese regular troops occupy large tracts of Kampuchean territory, including Phnom Penh, whereas Democratic Kampuchea has not a single soldier on Vietnamese soil. This simple fact alone suffices to show indisputably who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression.

13. Thirdly, the Vietnamese representative also tried to make it appear that Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea had been "provoked" by China and had emanated from China's intention to practise the so-called "expansionist policy" in South-East Asia. This is a most despicable trick of sheer mud-slinging, which of course can deceive no one.

14. The Chinese Government and people have always deemed it their bounden internationalist duty to support all just struggles against aggression. In this spirit, since the founding of new China, and when Viet Nam was in difficulty, the Chinese people made the greatest national sacrifices without any hesitation and spared no effort to give support and aid to Viet Nam. This is a fact well known to the people of the whole world, including the Vietnamese people. But when the Vietnamese authorities thought they had become so powerful that they could push forward regional hegemonism with the backing of Soviet social-imperialism in a deliberate attempt to annex Democratic Kampuchea, China repeatedly advised the Vietnamese authorities to bear in mind the over-all interests and exercise restraint. Feeling reassured and emboldened, however, the

Vietnamese authorities have clung to their reckless course. Under such circumstances, it was natural that China's sympathy and support could only go to the side of Democratic Kampuchea which is the victim of Viet Nam's aggression. That was why the Vietnamese authorities, doing an about-face all of a sudden, returned evil for good and vented their anger on China. As a result, they have resorted to all sorts of contemptible means in pursuance of a series of anti-China policies. The Vietnamese authorities have brutally persecuted and expelled on a large scale Chinese nationals and people of Chinese descent residing in Viet Nam. At the same time, they have been making ceaseless military provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border and creating tension there by provoking incidents, encroaching upon Chinese territory, killing and wounding Chinese border inhabitants. This situation has developed to intolerable proportions.

15. It must also be pointed out that Viet Nam joined the non-aligned movement only two years before it concluded a treaty of military alliance with the USSR. Following that, the Vietnamese authorities have openly declared that they share the same fate with Soviet social-imperialism and that they are ready to be the "solid outpost" for the Soviet-controlled Warsaw Pact in South-East Asia. On the other hand, with the full support of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam subsequently launched a massive war of aggression against the truly non-aligned Democratic Kampuchea. Is this not conclusive evidence to show that Viet Nam, under the cloak of non-alignment, has entered into a *de facto* alliance with the Soviet Union and is serving as a shock force for social-imperialism in pursuing its global hegemonism in South-East Asia?

16. With regard to the Cuban representative's abusive statements against China, I only wish to say a few words.

17. To begin with, Cuba has sold itself out to Soviet social-imperialism and forced innocent Cuban youths to serve as mercenaries and cannon-fodder of the Soviet Union in pushing world hegemonism. This most inglorious role being played by Cuba is known to everyone in the world, and it is sad and deplorable indeed.

18. Then, Cuba and Viet Nam have in fact entered into full alliance with the Soviet Union and have become two Trojan horses sent by the Soviet Union into the non-aligned movement. They are willingly serving as hatchetmen and tools for Soviet aggression and expansion, one in the east and the other in the west, worthy of being called Tweedledum and Tweedledee. And they are unique indeed. Now they are also working hard to undermine the non-aligned movement by flaunting the signboard of non-alignment. For instance, the ugly deeds of the two of them at the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade have been seen through by an increasing number of non-aligned countries. Therefore, there is hardly anyone who will buy them.

19. Finally, as regards the most shameful abusive language used by the Cuban representative for personal attacks on the Chinese people's respected leaders and Prince Sihanouk, who commands world respect, it can only reveal the depth to which Cuba has sunk. This cannot be refuted. To do so would be to downgrade ourselves.

20. It is by no means accidental for the representatives of Viet Nam, Cuba and the Soviet Union to sing the same tune

and use the same language in their unwarranted attacks on China. In view of the fact that the Soviet Union has tried hard to obstruct the Security Council from considering the serious aggression committed by Viet Nam against Democratic Kampuchea, and that the current massive invasion of Kampuchea has been carried out by Viet Nam with the direct support and abetment of the Soviet Union, the following basic conclusion can be drawn, that is, Soviet social-imperialism is the arch-criminal responsible for the current massive aggression against Kampuchea by the reactionary authorities of Viet Nam.

21. This new massive war of aggression against Kampuchea by the Vietnamese authorities has thoroughly unmasked the regional hegemonism of the Vietnamese authorities as well as Soviet global hegemonism. It is a product of collaboration between great and small hegemonism. To put it bluntly, the Vietnamese authorities want to use Soviet backing for accomplishing their "grand cause" of establishing an "Indo-Chinese federation" and seeking hegemony over South-East Asia, while the Soviet Union wants to take advantage of the ambition of the Vietnamese authorities to complete its strategic deployment for seeking hegemony in South-East Asia and the Pacific region. Such is the basis for the two of them to come into speedy alliance and collusion. For this purpose, the Soviet Union has not only concluded with Viet Nam a so-called treaty of friendship, which is in essence a military alliance, and supplied Viet Nam with large quantities of weapons and ammunition for its aggression against Kampuchea but also tried to compel the Warsaw Pact members to join in assisting Viet Nam and to extend the obligation of the Pact members from Europe to Asia. It is a universally recognized fact that Soviet social-imperialism is the chief behind-the-scenes boss and commander of the war of aggression against Kampuchea launched by the reactionary authorities of Viet Nam. It can be seen that the current Soviet-Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea is similar to the 1968 Czechoslovak incident in some basic respects.

22. The current large-scale aggression against Kampuchea by Viet Nam is by no means accidental, but is an important component of the Soviet global strategy of big-Power hegemonism. If its ambition to annex Kampuchea is realized, not only would the peoples of Indo-China be subjected to enslavement and a direct Soviet threat posed to all South-East Asian countries, but the Soviet Union would be able to link up its drive for hegemony in the Pacific with that in the Indian Ocean, thus seriously endangering the peace, security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole. The current incident further shows that Soviet social-imperialism is not only a vicious enemy of the Kampuchean people but an arch-enemy of the people of South-East Asia, the non-aligned movement, the people of the whole world and international peace and security. All the countries and people in the world that cherish international peace and security as well as their own national independence and territorial integrity will certainly get a broader vision and further unite to form the broadest united front for a resolute struggle against Soviet world hegemonism and Viet Nam regional hegemonism under its support.

23. At present all Kampuchean soldiers and people, rallying closely round the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are waging a heroic and tenacious fight to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against their common enemy, the Vietnamese aggressors.

The Kampuchean people's just struggle is an important part of the just struggle of the non-aligned and other third-world countries as well as all the countries and peoples of the world that cherish their own independence and security in opposing external domination and hegemony, outside aggression for the acquisition of territory and in defending national independence and international peace and security. Therefore, it commands the sympathy and support of all the countries and people in Asia and the world that uphold justice. No matter how difficult the present conditions are for the Kampuchean people, we have firm confidence in them and support them in their effort to carry to the end their sacred war of national self-defence. The Vietnamese invaders, supported by Soviet social-imperialism, may think that by seizing Phnom Penh they have accomplished the grand cause of annexing Kampuchea. But it is too early for them to rejoice. Many historical facts have proved that an aggressor's day of ascendancy is the beginning of his defeat. As the French saying goes, "He laughs best who laughs last". What they are treading is precisely the old path of Hitler and Lon Nol. What awaits them is undoubtedly a most shameful defeat.

24. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation voted against draft resolution S/13027 and would like to explain some further points in addition to what we said before.

25. From the very beginning the Soviet delegation has stressed the artificiality and unfounded nature of the design for the discussion of Kampuchea in the Security Council. The true reason for raising this matter was to cover up the crimes of the Pol Pot régime and to attempt to rescue it from its imminent doom. Therefore the real intention was in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations to prod the Council towards interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea in spite of the true interests of the Kampuchean people. There was a particular lack of justification for consideration of this matter because, as a result of a popular uprising, the criminal Pol Pot clique, which was maintained in power by means of terror and on the basis of outside support, collapsed under the weight of the crimes it had committed. A legitimate government was set up, the People's Revolutionary Council, which enjoys full support from the Kampuchean people and has received broad international recognition. Thus the Kampuchean people took its fate into its own hands, and any attempts to prevent it from doing so would be in contradiction of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

26. But inasmuch as, upon the insistence of a majority of members of the Council, the question relating to Kampuchea was nevertheless included in the agenda, it was the duty of the Council to invite for participation in the discussion the true representatives of that country—that is, the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—particularly since many delegations have pointed out that they do not have reliable information with regard to the true state of affairs in Kampuchea. Having refused to listen to the true representatives of Kampuchea, the Council was, naturally, not in a position to produce a decision that would objectively reflect the current state of affairs in Kampuchea and not distort it. Therefore the Soviet Union was constrained to vote against the draft resolution submitted for consideration by the Council.

27. At the same time, the delegation of the Soviet Union believes it necessary to point out that the discussion in the Council has been exploited for various slanderous attacks and provocative fabrications. The absurdity of those fabrications and attacks was so obvious that the delegation of China even decided not to have the draft resolution it had concocted put to a vote, since it quite clearly understood that it could not hope to win the support of the members of the Council. The submission of such a draft resolution simply showed the intention to divert the Council's attention from the true reasons for the tension in South-East Asia and Asia as a whole, which is the great-Power hegemonistic expansionist policy of the Chinese Government. The Pol Pot clique that has been overthrown by the people was just an instrument for the pursuit of that policy.

28. The statements of many representatives throughout the last few days in the Council have contained convincing descriptions of the dangerous essence—dangerous, that is, for the peace of the world—of the policy of Peking. There are certain advantages to be derived from the discussion that has taken place here.

29. In addition, I should like to make the following point. The most recent statement of the representative of China, as is customary, contained a number of slanderous fabrications, and we have no intention of entering into polemics with him. But at the same time that statement is further proof of the expansionist and subversive character of China's policy in South-East Asia and we feel it necessary to draw attention to that fact. It is understandable why the Chinese representative speaks in defence of the Pol Pot régime overthrown by the Kampuchean people. The régime had nothing original, nothing that arose on the soil of that country. It was, rather, the Chinese model which was exported to the country. The massive destruction of people in Kampuchea was the Chinese "cultural revolution" in its Kampuchean version. The Kampuchean people has now put an end to that experiment and has opened up the way to democracy, peace and true independence for the country.

30. Obviously, Peking has done everything in its power to prevent the fall of the puppet régime of Pol Pot. However, none of its efforts nor the tens of thousands of military and other personnel, nor the delivery of arms, nor other assistance, were able to keep the criminal clique in power. The more the representative of China attempts to defend the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, the more his delegation associates itself with the barbarities and atrocities committed by that régime.

31. It has been asserted here that the current events in Kampuchea represent a danger to the neighbours of Kampuchea. Well, with regard to danger, it flows from the hegemonistic great-Power ambitions of the Chinese leadership, which, as is very well known, is, through its agents in the States of that region, carrying out an active campaign against existing Governments in order to replace them by régimes to the liking of Peking and to put into practice the ideas of Maoism.

32. What is the meaning of the implementation of those goals in practice? It has been clearly shown by the tragic experience of the people of Kampuchea under the Pol Pot régime. This danger definitely does exist, and it is precisely this danger which should be borne in mind so that the

peoples of other countries do not have to pay such a high price for their freedom and independence.

33. It is well known that China is making territorial claims against practically all neighbouring States. An important obstacle to the implementation of its hegemonistic plans in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole has been the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. A free and independent Viet Nam is, in the eyes of Peking, an obstacle to Chinese expansionism. It is precisely for that reason that China's present policy has a clearly expressed anti-Vietnamese character. And that is why over the last few years Viet Nam has been the target of constant provocations.

34. The Peking leadership is stepping up its pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese frontiers are the scene of the massing of Chinese troops. Large amounts of military ammunition and supplies are being brought to the border. At the same time the Chinese are constantly provoking new frontier incidents, sending subversionists into the territory of Viet Nam and warships into its territorial waters. The provocations of China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are assuming an ever more dangerous character. In violating Vietnamese sovereignty, the Chinese are giving rise to bloody incidents. The provocative actions of Peking against Viet Nam are being accompanied by a vindictive and slanderous anti-Vietnamese campaign the purpose of which is to prepare the ground for new acts of hostility against Viet Nam. By its actions, the Peking leadership is exposing its own true features. It is not difficult to understand the situation that would arise in that area for other Asian countries were it not for the obstacle posed by Viet Nam, which is firmly supporting peace and international security and is opposed to hegemonism and expansionism.

35. I should like to make one more comment. The representative of China made all kinds of empty charges against the policy of the Soviet Union. He pointed to Moscow all the time. Listening to what he said, it was difficult at first to understand who was speaking in the Council: the representative of China or another gentleman who addressed the Council a few months ago. At that time the Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr. Botha, spoke with similar hatred of the assistance which was being given by the Soviet Union to African countries and national liberation movements which were waging a just struggle for their liberation from the yoke of colonialism, racism and social injustice, for their freedom and for the right independently to determine their own fate in entire accordance with the appeals and decisions of the General Assembly. At that time we said that we were proud of the fact that our assistance to the patriots who were waging a national liberation struggle had aroused the hatred of the racists. That could only mean that it had been effective and was doing its job. But the fact that the Chinese representative is speaking here from the same standpoint, the same position assumed by the South African racists, will not have escaped the attention, I am sure, of the representatives of other developing countries which should give some thought to the policy pursued by Peking, a policy very dangerous to their peoples that it clearly intends to pursue also in other parts of the world.

36. The victory of the Kampuchean people in its struggle against the bloody dictatorship opens up a new era in the history of Kampuchea, an era of genuine, independent and

free development. The Kampuchean people have already begun to implement the programme proclaimed by the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, a programme for the construction of a peaceful, independent, non-aligned State. The victory of the national patriotic forces of Kampuchea has opened up new favourable prospects for the strengthening of peace in Indo-China in accordance with the national aspirations of the peoples of that part of the world without outside interference. There can be no doubt that the People's Republic of Kampuchea will soon occupy its proper place in the international community and make a valuable contribution to the cause of the strengthening of international peace and security.

37. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation from the very outset of this debate opposed attempts to internationalize the internal conflict in Kampuchea, which the Council is not competent to consider. But since, none the less, the Council did embark upon a discussion, which has gone on for several days now, it should, as we have repeatedly pointed out, have responded to the appeal of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to hear its representative. For only the properly accredited representatives of the new government, the People's Revolutionary Council, which, with the support of its own people, effectively exercises power in its own country, can represent the people of Kampuchea in the Council.

38. We very much regret that the Council should so hastily and unjustly have responded to that request and thus deprived itself of an opportunity to acquaint itself with the true state of affairs. The information which has come in from Kampuchea cogently demonstrates that the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and its local organs are operating with the full support of the people in that country. In Kampuchea now there is a government in power which comprises the patriotic forces of the country. The very first documents, the very first actions taken by the United Front demonstrate its democratic, progressive and popular character.

39. The United Front has done away totally with the dictatorship of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and, as a result, the administrative organs of the overthrown reactionary régime have been replaced by the self-governing organs of the people which from the very beginning have been paying close attention to the genuine interests and demands of the people of Kampuchea, namely, for the renewal of the economic life of the country, for improved health, higher standards of living for the people, better education and, in the political field, above all, for the restoration of the political and civil rights of the people. The new government is preserving the historical, religious and national traditions of Kampuchea.

40. The political orientation of the United Front is undoubtedly positive. Kampuchea belongs to the number of independent, democratic non-aligned States which have adopted a course of socialism. The programme of the victorious United Front and also its first actions on assuming control make it absolutely clear who holds the real power in the country, whose side the people of Kampuchea are on and whom they whole-heartedly support. The only legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people are the representatives of the United Front.

41. The statement of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 14 January relating to this meeting of the Council is published in document S/13029. It says:

"The People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people.

"The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang have been overthrown by the Kampuchean people and therefore represent nobody and have no right to say anything in any forum on behalf of Kampuchea.

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

In supporting the position of the Government of Kampuchea, my delegation was unable to support the draft resolution contained in document S/13027 and voted against it.

42. Finally, I wish to make a few more comments on the statement of Ambassador Chen Chu. Even in the course of our preliminary consultations I answered the representative of China on the attacks he permitted himself to indulge in against Czechoslovakia. My Government should be allowed to resolve questions affecting my own country. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always considered the problems connected with the long-past crisis in Czechoslovakia in all its aspects as being exclusively within the province of the internal affairs of my own country. I should like to add to this that attempts on the part of the Chinese representatives to intervene in our internal affairs with the idea of provoking my country and setting it against its allies are vain and futile. If they think they will have any success whatsoever in this area, their attempts in regard to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic certainly will not be successful, even though they may have been successful elsewhere.

43. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): At the end of this debate I should like to make the following statement.

44. First, I should like to congratulate you sincerely, Mr. President, and to express our admiration for the manner in which you have presided over this very difficult and thorny issue.

45. Secondly, I should like to say that this is a day on which the non-aligned members of the Security Council should express pride and regret. Without commenting on the conclusion of the debate, I wish to say that the non-aligned members of the Council have already vindicated themselves by their sense of solidarity, by their stand on principles and by their devotion and dedication to the principles embodied in the Charter and in the philosophy of the non-aligned movement. They have every reason to rejoice on this day with pride, in jubilation and with a sense of purpose. I greet them and I salute them. I salute the spirit in which they worked with me during these last four or five days that we spent together negotiating a draft resolution. I greet all the members of the non-aligned movement. I salute their spirit, their dedication and their enhancement of the

philosophy of the non-aligned movement for which they so expressly stood. I thank them.

46. The PRESIDENT: I am most grateful to the representative of Kuwait for the kind remarks that he addressed to me. Speaking for a moment as the representative of JAMAICA, I should also like to thank him—and I know I speak for others—for the tremendous amount of work which he has done in contributing to the Council's efforts in this matter and for his work as a member of the non-aligned movement towards trying to get the Council to arrive at an adequate decision in relation to this very difficult issue.

47. The representative of Democratic Kampuchea wishes to make a statement, and I now call on him.

48. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First, at the conclusion of this debate in the Security Council on Viet Nam's invasion of and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would like to pay a sincere tribute to you, Mr. President, for having conducted the proceedings of the Council with remarkable wisdom and outstanding experience. Those qualities are based on the noble ideal of justice, on the principles of non-alignment and on those of the Charter of the United Nations, to which your great country Jamaica, our friend, is firmly attached. It is that attachment which has served to thwart all the delaying manoeuvres, the sophism, the lies, the calumnies and the insults of the Soviet Union, the accomplice in and instigator of the aggression against my country and of the massacres of my people perpetrated by Viet Nam.

49. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would also like to pay a heartfelt tribute to all the non-aligned countries which are members of the Security Council. The unity of action shown by all their delegations throughout this debate has demonstrated the vitality which characterizes the non-aligned movement as an independent force outside the various blocs. It is also a demonstration of the solidarity of the non-aligned countries in the face of the deliberate violation and flagrant betrayal of the fundamental policies and principles of non-alignment by Viet Nam, which has usurped the label of "non-aligned" in order to undermine the movement from within and serve its regional expansionist and annexationist ambition.

50. The high sense of responsibility towards the defence and preservation of the noble principles of non-alignment displayed by the representatives of Kuwait, Bangladesh, Jamaica, Gabon, Nigeria, Zambia and Bolivia, as well as other representatives of genuinely non-aligned countries who have spoken here in defence of our just cause, is proof of the determination of the non-aligned countries to defend at all costs peace, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of every people to decide its own destiny and to speak out against any act of aggression, expansion or annexation perpetrated by Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and their accomplices.

51. My delegation would also like to pay a sincere tribute to the United States of America, France, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom, which have shown their deep sympathy for the struggle of the people of Kampuchea, their condemnation of the Vietnamese aggression against and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and their support for a democratic, independent and sovereign Kampuchea with its territorial integrity.

52. Finally, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute and express its deep and sincere thanks to the friendly People's Republic of China, which, in the debate in the Security Council as everywhere else, has always shown its active solidarity with the just cause of Democratic Kampuchea and its people, on the basis of strict mutual respect, equality and reciprocal non-interference in internal affairs.

53. Furthermore, both during this debate and outside the chamber, our neighbours in South-East Asia—including the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations—and in Asia, the non-aligned countries and all countries devoted to peace and justice in Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Oceania have denounced and strongly condemned Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and have expressed their support for the cause of the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea. They have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese occupation troops from Democratic Kampuchea and called on Viet Nam to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and the right of the people of Kampuchea to decide their destiny for themselves.

54. The debate in the Council as well as the vote that has just taken place have clearly shown that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which it is my honour to represent, is the sole legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea. They have also shown that Viet Nam is the aggressor against and the invader of Kampuchea and that it is sowing devastation in my country and death among my people, scorning the most elementary principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, scorning the unanimous condemnation of the peoples of countries devoted to peace, justice and independence throughout the world, and in monstrous violation of the most elementary sacred rights of States.

55. The predictable veto of the large Soviet expansionist Power has not prevented condemnation of the aggression of Viet Nam against Democratic Kampuchea. On the contrary, that veto only serves to confirm once again the aggressive, expansionist, warlike, treacherous and ferocious nature of the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and the Soviet veto, above and beyond the question of the existence of Democratic Kampuchea as an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country, reveal the real threat posed by the regional expansionist policy of Viet Nam and the global aggressive and expansionist policy of the Soviet Union for all the peoples and countries of the world—and in particular for the peoples of the small countries of South-East Asia, Asia and the entire world.

56. The Soviet veto is but the flagrant expression of the isolation of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and their accomplices, in the face of the unanimous condemnation of all the countries devoted to peace and independence Members of the United Nations. The debate in the Security Council is an encouragement for the resolute struggle that our people and our revolutionary army is waging under the direction of its legal Government, presided over by Prime Minister Pol Pot. This debate constitutes for us valuable moral, political and diplomatic support. To all the countries members of the Council which have been good enough to cast their votes in support of the just cause of the people of

Kampuchea and of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and to all the countries whose representatives have spoken out here in defence of our just struggle and condemned the Fascist Vietnamese aggression, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea addresses its deep and sincere gratitude. The people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will never forget this act of justice which they have performed at this the most difficult time in the history of Kampuchea.

57. The fight of the people of Kampuchea and their army, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, against Vietnamese invasion and aggression goes on and is ever more intensified. On 11 January the Government of Democratic Kampuchea made the following important statement which I have the honour of reading to members of the Council:

[*The speaker read out the annex to document S/13032.*]

58. It is with that determination and conviction that the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea will continue to harbour hopes that all the friendly countries of the five continents, the Security Council and the United Nations will continue their support for the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea as they endeavour to defend and preserve an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea with respect for its territorial integrity. It is with those sentiments that I wish to thank representatives for their kind concern and attention.

59. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cuba has asked to be allowed 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.

60. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to exercise my right of reply.

61. The representative of the group in power—I do not know whether it is Hua Kuo-feng or Teng Hsiao-ping at the moment, because I do not know the latest *dazibao*—has attacked the Cuban revolution. A few days ago, he said that the statements of Cuba, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in the Council had been of the same tone; and he repeated that point today. I am delighted at his perspicacity. Our peoples, parties and Governments do, indeed, speak the same revolutionary language, espouse the same Marxist-Leninist ideology and defend the same internationalist principles. We have not sailed the beautiful ship of revolution into the port of the imperialists, into the miserable harbours of betrayal of the workers' movement and world communism, as did the Great Helmsman.

62. It is unnecessary to defend the Cuban revolution against this barrage of foolishness unleashed in the Security Council by the representative of the new mandarins. As a New Year's gift, it is not worthy of the sumptuous banquets that take place in the "People's Palace" in Tien An Men Square and as an example of ideology it shows a lack of ideas that would make Confucius, his mentor, turn in his grave.

63. Not having any argument to support his diatribe against Cuba, the representative of the new mandarins

suggests that we are acting on behalf of the Soviet Union. Accustomed to the hegemonistic relations which that country maintains with its friends, they are incapable of understanding the fraternal bond between equals that binds Cuba and the homeland of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In that too they are imitating their imperialist allies. They both feel troubled because a small country like mine, together with the peoples and revolutionary armed forces of fraternal nations, has made them bite the dust in Angola and Ethiopia.

64. The new mandarins have cheerfully become the Trojan horse of the imperialists and reactionaries. What they do not use in their anti-socialist and anti-Soviet propaganda they promulgate in their Hsinhua and *Renmin Ribao*. They demand, with unusual ardour—since they lay no claim to the foreign colonial enclaves in their own country, not even in Taiwan—an increased United States presence in the Pacific Ocean; greater military power for NATO and its infiltration of the socialist countries in Europe; indefinite continuation of the economic blockade of Cuba and the maintenance—against the will of our people and Government—of the American base at Guantánamo; the supporting of the criminal Government of Pinochet, which has become their “intimate comrade-in-arms”, and of their *apartheid* allies in their aggression against the People’s Republic of Angola. In a word, they wish to be recognized as the arch-policemen of the world, as the best allies of imperialism, as persons of the greatest reliability in everything that has to do with maintaining exploitation, colonialism, hegemonism, racism and *apartheid*. We have no reason to challenge their merits in these areas. It is the petit bourgeois ways of the “great sun which lights up their hearts” that has led them to this moral ruin. To each his own.

65. As far as Cuba is concerned, I hope the heirs of the Great Helmsman will understand that we continue to support our main principles, that we shall not betray the sacred cause of international proletarianism, that we are not dismayed by the technology and financial resources of capitalism, and that, although we, unlike them, do not want to become a major world Power by the turn of the century, we do possess an invincible moral strength which is not for sale to the highest bidder.

66. Our revolution will go forward, regardless of the obstacles and threats of imperialism and its new allies. We are proud to have built the first socialist society in the western hemisphere, 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist country of our time. We are profoundly and legitimately satisfied with the modest contribution of our internationalist fighters, of our doctors, our educators, and our technicians to the development of various fraternal countries. We shall continue to work tirelessly for the strengthening of peace and socialism against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, chauvinism and opportunism, and for the victory of the ideas of scientific socialism throughout the entire world.

67. I should now like to refer to the humorous thoughts that were offered by the representative of the United Kingdom. I suppose that, as a fellow countryman of Bernard Shaw, he feels obliged to cultivate humour. I do not doubt that at the end of the meeting his colleagues shook his hand, congratulated him and in a very British manner whispered in his ear, “Good show, good show”.

68. Now speaking seriously, I never for a moment believed that Ambassador Richard thought that Cuba could sponsor a draft resolution submitted by his country, in the field of human rights, no less. In the last 80 years, the record of the United Kingdom in this area has been hardly edifying. One might ask the opinion of the Chinese people themselves, on whom the British imposed the “Opium War” and who were humiliated on more than one occasion by the then powerful Royal Navy, or that of countries formerly colonized by the United Kingdom. One need not go much further than to note that very few days pass without the press having something to report about the discrimination being suffered by non-white citizens of the British Commonwealth, even in London itself.

69. The representative of the United Kingdom says that he suspects my country’s motives—which certainly is not responsible for the fact that today the Ian Smith régime still exists in Rhodesia—in condemning the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. *Honi soit qui mal y pense!* The truth is that his suspicions are without foundation. We are not given, as are some, to engaging in political demagoguery. Neither do we have any investments in Pretoria nor do we support *apartheid* in any way. On the contrary, on various occasions we have proposed that the sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter should be applied to Vorster’s and Botha’s South Africa, the illegal occupier of Namibia. Ironically, so far the United Kingdom delegation has not joined in that demand.

70. And so, when Ambassador Richard, not without a certain malice, offered us a place in Heaven, I recalled the question of the native chief Hatuey—the first martyr for Cuban independence—to the Spanish friar who offered him the same thing moments before he was burned at the stake: “Do the conquistadores go to Heaven?” And when the reply was affirmative, Hatuey said, “Then I do not want to go there.”

71. Finally, I am obliged to make a small friendly correction to the statement of my colleague, Ambassador Bishara, of Kuwait. When submitting the draft resolution this morning, I understood him to say that it was a non-aligned draft. In reality, it is the draft of a number of countries members of the movement, and of an observer, Bolivia. Neither the Co-ordinating Bureau nor any other organ of the movement approved the text or extended any mandate to those countries to present it on its behalf. Although, of course, I am not questioning the good intentions of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I wish to make this point clear because, as a non-aligned country, Cuba does not feel that its views are reflected in the draft resolution. In our opinion, the Council cannot adopt any substantive decision on the subject without first having heard the legitimate representatives of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea—that is, the People’s Revolutionary Council presided over by Heng Samrin.

72. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I should like to correct a misunderstanding which became apparent in the statement of my friend Ambassador Roa Kouri of Cuba. The draft resolution which I submitted on behalf of the sponsors was in the name of the non-aligned members of the Security Council; it was not in the name of the 86 members of the whole group of non-aligned. It was not in the name of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned: only those non-aligned countries which are members of the Council have their names on that draft resolution. It is always the practice in the Council that its non-aligned members should make

an effort, either jointly, individually, or on a regional basis, as the case may be, to submit draft resolutions in the name of the non-aligned members of the Council.

74. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

73. That is just for the record.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

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