



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 54th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)  
(Vice-Chairman)

later: Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas)

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Mr. Palma (Peru)  
Mr. Erdenchuluun (Mongolia)  
Mr. Wu Zhen (China)  
Mr. W. Rahman (Bangladesh)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 46 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

- (a) NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES;
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION

Mr. KUNDA (Zambia): Having discussed the items relating to disarmament, including the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations and, of course, the settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States, there is no better way of concluding our deliberations in this Committee than by the discussion of item 46 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

Zambia attaches great importance to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as a matter of priority in its foreign policy. Besides, the implementation of that Declaration is a régime of the utmost relevance to southern Africa. Committee members will be aware that southern Africa has in recent years witnessed the worst deterioration of the mechanisms of peace and security through the activities and policies of the minority racist régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, buttressed by powerful imperialist forces.

A number of elements account for the deterioration of peace and security in southern Africa. These are the domestic policies of the minority régimes based on apartheid, and the aggression of those régimes against peace-loving independent States that share common borders with them. In addition, there has been a sustained effort by South Africa in particular to export the outmoded policy of apartheid to other countries in the area, notably Namibia.

The ingredients of the policy of apartheid include white supremacy, institutionalization of racism, oppression and repression of the majority of the non-whites and the promotion of fascism. Those elements have led to internal upheaval in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Today southern Africa is in the throes of racial conflict because the black majority in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia cannot reconcile themselves to the inhuman suffering that the system of apartheid visits upon them. In the process, the war of

(Mr. Kunda, Zambia)

national liberation has ensued in Namibia, waged by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and in Zimbabwe, by the Patriotic Front, with a view to redressing the situation. A gallant struggle is also being waged by the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. At the same time, the non-whites in South Africa have come to realize that it is time to call upon the régime to effect changes in the apartheid body-politic by way of democratizing the country's system of government.

Zambia supports the struggle waged by the Patriotic Front to liberate Zimbabwe and that of SWAPO to liberate Namibia, as well as the struggle of the ANC to effect changes in its country.

In pursuance of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa, no country has suffered such immense indignities at the hands of the minority régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, as has Zambia. This situation is a function of the geopolitical setting in which Zambia finds itself, namely, on the border between free and independent Africa on the one hand and, on the other, that part of Africa with minority régimes which still live in the past. More than anything else, it is also Zambia's policy to make meaningful contributions to the struggle to extend the frontiers of African freedom and independence to Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Given these considerations, there is no single foreign policy priority that commands so much of the attention of Zambia's peace-loving people as the commitment to the struggle for the total liberation of southern Africa. Our commitment to the eradication of the anachronistic minority régimes in the area is therefore total.

(Mr. Kunda, Zambia)

Zambia's total commitment to the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa, and, hence, its positive contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on International Security has been a great thorn in the decomposing body or flesh of the apartheid régime. Consequently, the régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria have found it prudent to unleash wanton military attacks on Zambia and other front-line States - namely, Angola, Botswana and Mozambique. In these wanton attacks thousands and thousands of innocent human lives have been lost to the minority régimes' lost cause. In the process, the front-line States have also suffered immense destruction of property.

In recent weeks, the racists have been unleashing constant aggression against Zambia in order to intimidate us to influence events in London at the Lancaster House talks on the independence of Zimbabwe in a manner favourable to them. Zambia has withstood greater pressure since the rebels in Rhodesia were allowed to get away with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in November 1965. My delegation fails to see any reason why the racists can hope to force us to change our commitment at this late hour. If anything, wanton attacks upon our country spur the people of Zambia to redouble their efforts at fanning more and more winds for political change in southern Africa in order to put an end to such wanton attacks. The flurry of naked aggression by the racists is therefore as inhuman as it is counter-productive.

My delegation feels that some of the countries represented here could do a lot by way of assisting South Africa and Rhodesia to help themselves in extricating themselves from living in the past. In this regard, my delegation wishes to address those of us who have been singled out as collaborators with those régimes. If that collaboration is curtailed, then the minority régimes would fold into isolationism. The enforcement of mandatory sanctions against these régimes by those who currently collaborate with them would also go a long way towards weakening the fabric of the apartheid régimes.

I therefore wish to appeal to those who find it prudent to deal with minority régimes on a normal basis to contribute to the implementation of the Declaration on international security by contributing positively to the struggle for genuine majority rule in the remaining fortress of minority rule in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

(Mr. Kunda, Zambia)

Aside from the persistent conflict situation in southern Africa, there are other zones of conflict that need urgent redress as a way of contributing to the implementation of the Declaration on international peace and security. In this regard, my delegation wishes to voice its concern at the stalemate in the Middle East crisis. The Middle East continues to be moved away from any conceivable resolution, apparently by Israel's persistent appetite to uphold its illegal occupation of Arab territories.

The Middle East crisis is also sustained by Israel's denial of the fact that the Palestinians are entitled to a State of their own in order to achieve self-determination. The conflict in the area, if I may add, has not in any way been made any less acute by Israel's adventures into southern Lebanon. If anything, such military adventurism aggravates the situation.

My delegation calls upon Israel to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly which define the framework for bringing about a just and lasting peace in the area. In this regard, Israel should abandon its occupation of Arab lands. Furthermore, Israel should come to terms with the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be brought into the peace process as an integral part of whatever peace efforts are being made in the area.

Implementation of the Declaration on international security is also being hampered by the situation of conflict in Cyprus. As a non-aligned country, Zambia is constantly disturbed by the fact that the conflict in Cyprus compromises that island's policy of non-alignment. We are also fearful that the conflict could easily extend to other parts of the Mediterranean. Such a development would certainly be against the Declaration on security under discussion.

The conflict-oriented situation in the Far East continues to command my delegation's grave concern as well. In order to arrest it, my delegation believes that Korea must be reunited. In doing so, the people of Korea must be given the prerogative to arrive at reunification. This will call for the absence of foreign troops from South Korea, as the presence of such troops would inevitably exert undue influence on the parties concerned,

(Mr. Kunda, Zambia)

In addition to withdrawal of foreign troops, there should also be unconditional withdrawal of nuclear weapons from South Korea. These actions would not only accelerate prospects for reunification but would also enhance peace and security in the Korean peninsula.

Indo-China has been a theatre of conflict for such a long time that one of its current generations does not know what a time of peace feels like. Only a few years ago, the gallant nationalist forces of Indo-China triumphed over the evil forces of foreign aggression. It was our hope that the peoples of that region could now address themselves fully to reconstructing their countries. However, we have been saddened by the outbreak of conflict in Indo-China. We sincerely wish to make an appeal to the parties to the conflict to make a positive contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on international security in regard to that region by resolving their differences without recourse to conflict.

In conclusion, it is my delegation's submission that the implementation of the Declaration on international security can be realized by eradicating all the hotbeds of conflict at the local and regional levels. On reflection, however, none of the conflict areas seems to be moving towards resolution. If anything, most of them are characterized by stalemates and deterioration. That makes the implementation of the Declaration on international security an impossible task.

Mr. TROYANOVKSY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The strengthening of international security and the elimination of war from the life of mankind is the unchanging basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet State, and has been throughout its history. The Soviet Union considers that in today's circumstances the establishment of genuinely lasting peace and security requires the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of genuine disarmament, as well as the adoption of parallel measures for the strengthening of political and legal guarantees of peace for the prevention and settlement of crisis situations in various parts of the world.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

The most important prerequisite for the strengthening of international peace and security and for the solution of other world problems is the strengthening and deepening of international détente.

In assessing the present international situation, one must say that no matter how complex and sometimes even contradictory it might be, the dominant trend in world politics today is nonetheless international détente. And we note this fact with satisfaction, because we are profoundly convinced that the most effective and broad implementation of measures designed to strengthen peace and prevent war, whether these be measures of a global or regional scale, is possible only in circumstances of international détente. Détente is an indispensable and major prerequisite for solving present-day problems in the field of ensuring international security. It is precisely for this reason that the Soviet Union intends to continue consistently and persistently to strive for its deepening and its extension to all parts of the world and for the merging of military detente with measures for curbing the arms race and making a start on practical steps for disarmament.

The interests of peace and security demand that the peace-loving forces of the world firmly defend détente from the onslaughts of its opponents and strongly resist any attempts to conjure up in current international political life the spectre of the cold war and, under the cover of various kinds of legends about the "the military threat from the East", to intensify material and propaganda preparations for war.

The Soviet Union believes it important not to permit the opponents of détente to exacerbate the international situation in any way, or to undermine the positive gains which have already been made in international relations.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

In assessing the development of the international situation, one must note the definite positive changes which have occurred in recent years, all of which have served to strengthen the conviction of peace-loving forces that peace can be made enduring, and this relates primarily to such a key problem of the contemporary international situation as the limitation and cessation of the arms race and making a start on genuine disarmament. There can be no doubt that the putting into effect of the SALT II treaty and the other Soviet-American documents adopted in the course of the summit meeting in Vienna has opened up new prospects for the cessation in the future of the build-up of nuclear missile arsenals, for their qualitative and quantitative limitation and, subsequently, for a substantial reduction of them.

Of great urgency and immediacy is the adoption of practical measures for implementing military détente in Europe, in the spirit of the Final Act of the European Conference. A concrete and well-developed programme of such actions in Europe is contained in the proposals put forward in November 1978 in Moscow at the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and at the Budapest Conference of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of that organization in April 1979.

At the present time the attention of the countries of Europe - and not only of Europe - is focused on the new extremely important proposals of the Soviet Union put forward by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, at the recent celebrations held in Berlin to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union has taken the decision unilaterally to reduce its armed forces in Central Europe by 20,000 men and to withdraw therefrom 1,000 tanks and a certain quantity of military technology. On 5 December - yesterday - a start was made on putting that decision into effect: the withdrawal from the German Democratic Republic to the territory of the USSR of the first Soviet military units amounting to 1,500 men, together with their weapons and military technology. In its western regions, the Soviet Union is ready to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear devices, if there is no further deployment of such devices in Western Europe.



(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

The path to practical realization of this important Soviet initiative lies through talks, which, the Soviet Union is deeply convinced, it is necessary to embark upon at once. Furthermore, in order to achieve positive results, it is of great importance that there should be no hasty actions of any kind which might lead to a deterioration of the international situation.

The significance of this Soviet initiative is all the greater if we take into account the fact that the Soviet Union is proposing to take concrete measures of military détente in the European continent, that is to say, in that part of the world which saw the beginning of two devastating world wars and where the danger of the outbreak of a third war - a nuclear war - is particularly great.

Underlying this initiative is the desire of the Soviet Union to achieve the consolidation of European security and, at the same time, international security as a whole. These proposals open up the way to halting the arms race and embarking upon a course of genuine disarmament, the deepening of détente and mutual trust among States, without which lasting peace is impossible. The proposals of the Soviet Union, which have become a programme for the consolidation of peace in Europe, create a favourable atmosphere for the putting into effect of the Final Act of the European Conference and promote the transforming of the European continent into one of peace, security, co-operation and social progress.

In this regard one cannot fail to feel concern at the plans being prepared by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for the deployment in Western Europe of new medium-range American nuclear missiles, which, undoubtedly, would be trained on the Soviet Union. In the communiqué of the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty held on 5 and 6 December 1979 in Berlin - and, hence, just concluded - the following statement is made:

"On the basis of the vital interests of the European peoples, the interests of peace on the European continent, the Ministers, on behalf of their States, appealed to the Governments of the States members of the North Atlantic Alliance once again, in the light of constructive and peace-loving steps undertaken

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

by the States of the Warsaw Treaty, to consider the situation which has arisen in Europe and not to undertake any action which might complicate the situation on this continent. If that were the case, we could without delay embark upon businesslike talks on questions relating to medium-range nuclear devices, in accordance with the proposals set forth in the statement of Leonid I. Brezhnev in Berlin on 6 October this year." The participants in the Conference stated in this regard that

"The adoption of a decision on the manufacture and deployment in Western Europe of new types of medium-range American nuclear missiles and putting such a decision into effect would destroy the basis for talks. That would mean that an attempt was being made by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to conduct negotiations from a position of strength, which is unacceptable in principle to the States of the Warsaw Treaty. The Governments of the NATO countries cannot fail to be aware of this."

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty went on to express the hope that

"the NATO countries will give a positive reply to the appeal of the socialist States not to deploy any more nuclear weapons in Europe and to their proposal to begin talks. They once again confirmed the conviction of their countries that the balance of forces in the European continent can and must be maintained not by means of a build-up of armed forces or armaments nor by means of the further intensification of the arms race, but by halting it, reducing the level of military confrontation and making a decisive beginning on concrete disarmament measures, particularly nuclear disarmament."

Along with the struggle against the arms race, the Soviet Union believes it to be very important to strengthen political and legal peace guarantees, as I have already mentioned. In the United Nations the Soviet Union has constantly been drawing attention to the most urgent problems of ensuring international security. Suffice it to recall that the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, initiated such documents of fundamental importance adopted by the United Nations as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and, finally, the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

All these decisions have become milestones in the history of the United Nations in its work of carrying out its primary task, that of ensuring international peace and security. At this very session, the Soviet Union has once again put forward an important initiative aimed at strengthening peace, improving the international climate and deepening the process of détente. I refer to the decision, adopted in the First Committee on the initiative of the Soviet Union, condemning the policy of hegemonism in international relations. In this regard, I should like once again to stress that this decision is a very important link in the chain of political measures aimed at strengthening and deepening détente. In actual fact, it opens a new area in the whole struggle for easing international tension. These are the most noteworthy peaceful initiatives of our day which strengthen the hopes of mankind that in the final analysis it will succeed in avoiding a devastating nuclear war and in strengthening the peace and security of peoples. Their profound positive effect on the international situation is quite obvious.

The interests of détente and disarmament would also be met by the decisions recently taken in the First Committee on the initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Nevertheless, the existence of certain positive changes in the area of preventing the arms race and the further development of the process of détente should not be allowed to lull our sense of vigilance with regard to the actions of the opponents of détente, who are attempting to exacerbate the international situation, to create new trouble spots and to intensify existing hotbeds of tension. The elimination of these flashpoints and the prevention of the outbreak of explosive situations remain high priority questions on the agenda of the struggle for international peace and security.

The profound concern and indignation of all who seriously and genuinely cherish peace is aroused by the great-Power policy of the Chinese leaders, a policy which constitutes a real threat to the security of the peoples of South-East Asia, and not only to the peoples of that part of the world.

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

Peking's aggression against socialist Viet Nam, its pretensions to the right to teach lessons to other countries and the military and political pressure exerted on the neighbouring countries of Laos and Kampuchea should meet with decisive collective resistance. Any other attitude towards the aggressor and attempts to place him on the same footing as the victim of aggression - something which, unfortunately, we have witnessed on the part of certain States in the United Nations - amounts, if viewed objectively to nothing other than connivance with the aggressor and encouragement for him to commit new crimes.

In the Middle East, the conclusion of a separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty has led to serious complications. The treaty constitutes a barrier to the attainment of a comprehensive, just settlement in that region. No matter what clever devices and tricks and the separate deals to which the advocates of separate deals might have recourse, the fact remains that the attainment of lasting peace in the Middle East is possible only by the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories which they occupied in 1967 and the guaranteeing of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the establishment of their own State, and the guaranteeing of the right of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, to an independent existence in conditions of peace.

So far no solution has been found to the Cyprus problem, which is a serious source of tension in the Mediterranean area. We are firmly convinced that a fundamental prerequisite for the settlement of the Cyprus problem is the immediate and full implementation of the United Nations decisions on Cyprus.

The situation in southern Africa also remains tense, a region where colonialist régimes and imperialist Powers jointly are attempting at any price to preserve the colonial racist régimes in the southern part of that continent and to implant and legalize puppet neocolonial régimes in southern Rhodesia and Namibia. It is impossible to think seriously about the establishment of a lasting peace in that part of the world until the remnants and vestiges of colonialism in all their forms and manifestations have been eliminated.

Guided by the interests of strengthening peace and security in the Far East, the Soviet Union supports the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful unification of Korea, without foreign

(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

intervention. The Soviet Union supports the demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. Maintaining those troops in South Korea is a violation of the resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question.

The establishment of foreign military bases on the territories of independent States or on dependent territories in Asia, Africa and Latin America leads to an intensification of international tension. The elimination of those bases, including the military base in Guantanamo, situated on the territory of southern Cuba, would promote the improvement of the international climate.

The positive changes which have occurred on the world scene have created favourable circumstances and conditions for enhancing the role of the United Nations in the struggle to ensure lasting peace. In the circumstances, it is particularly important that United Nations efforts should be focused on the performance of its principal task, namely, that of maintaining international peace and security. The peoples of the world expect that the United Nations will unfailingly devote its fundamental attention to the key problems of the day and use its high authority to create an atmosphere which will promote the strengthening and deepening of the process of détente and the cessation of the arms race. The extent of the contribution which the United Nations will make in solving these high priority tasks will be the measure of the effectiveness of its activities. We are convinced that the constructive and businesslike discussions of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security will contribute to a solution of the problem of the strengthening and deepening of détente and the consolidation of international security.

Mr. PALMA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): As we are approaching the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, I believe it appropriate to try to assess the way in which that Declaration has been implemented, as well as to carry out a preliminary analysis of its prospects for the future.

The present circumstances make well worth-while any possible effort to strengthen international security. We have to conclude - not because we are pessimistic but, on the contrary, because we are imbued with the hope that they will become a reality - that the provisions of the Declaration have not been observed to the minimum extent that would have been necessary to indicate that we were experiencing a situation of great security than that which prevailed at the time the international community approved the Declaration with which we are concerned.

We cannot deny that the politics of power are still in existence and have even been intensified; that either overtly or covertly, the sovereignty of States and their independence are violated; that acts of intervention are multiplied in the domestic affairs of States; that colonialist and neo-colonialist practices continue; or that racism and apartheid are rife in open opposition to the aspirations of the international community, which quite justifiably claims that States should conduct their international relations at least without violating the freely contracted commitments expressed in such solemn instruments as the Charter of our Organization and other agreements, accords and conventions of a general or specific nature.

It is also clear that critical areas of tension persist in different parts of the world and that new conflicts are arising among States. The territories of a number of countries are still occupied by foreign troops and, despite all the protests made against it constantly, the arms race continues and becomes more intense day by day.

At the same time, we seem to sense an ominous reduction in the confidence of peoples in the ability of this international Organization to solve the pressing problems of the moment. We do not, therefore, consider as inappropriate the concern that is expressed in different areas about the effectiveness of the Security Council. Naturally, we could not overstress the importance of the fact

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

that the organ that possesses the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and particularly the permanent members of that organ, should do everything in their power to ensure respect for the provisions of the Charter and the effective implementation of their own resolutions.

Together with all these matters, economic and financial difficulties appear with renewed severity in the world. The establishment of a New International Economic Order is still encountering serious obstacles owing primarily to the lack of political will on the part of the developed nations to fulfil the commitments that they have assumed towards the developing world. It is almost needless to stress that the encouragement of economic and social development is one of the basic components not only of the process of democratization of international relations, but also of the maintenance of international peace and security and their foundation on more solid bases.

At a time when no one questions the universal integration of the economic process, the retention of the unjust system of distribution of benefits can be nothing but the seed-bed of instability, frustration and resentments. The development of all peoples until they achieve decent levels of life, is not only a task of basic human solidarity but a contribution to the building of a more secure future for all peoples.

Therefore, the continuation and the acceleration of the arms race is a matter of deep concern. A little more than a year after the holding of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was considered an event of historic importance by the international community, we would be justified in asking whether the way in which arms and military expenditures have increased all over the world, and especially in the nuclear-weapon States and in other States possessing significant arsenals, is in keeping with the Final Document of that session.

It is most disquieting to note that, although it has been demonstrated that the increase in arms does not carry with it an increase in security, States continue to squander hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars in quantitative increases and, as they are termed, qualitative improvements in instruments of destruction.

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

And yet, the result is clear. No State considers itself safer today than it might have done 10 years ago. Apart from the fact that the very possibilities of development are jeopardized, the amount of weaponry, and in particular of nuclear weaponry, that has been stockpiled, projects a dangerous shadow over the future of us all.

In such circumstances, the voices that constantly urge the need to change the present situation must not go unheard. The Non-Aligned Countries, at their last summit conference in Havana, reaffirmed their commitment to their basic principles, objectives and identity. They stressed the need fully to comply with the terms of the United Nations Charter, to urge the establishment of a New International Economic Order, to democratize international relations and to put an end, once and for all, to the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and racist policies and moves to divide the world into spheres of influence domination or hegemony. The high moral and political content of the policy of non-alignment is fully in force today and is still a basic element in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security.

To be more specific, my own country, a peace-loving nation that is convinced that international co-operation is indispensable, is trying to encourage precisely that co-operation. At the regional level we are participating with the other sister republics of the Andean Group in a joint effort to achieve an economic integration that will balance the development of our economies and this process recently has been given a new dimension of a political nature. The institutionalization of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Andean Group and the preparations for the organization of a subregional parliament attest to our determination through concerted effort and will to strengthen any measure that may improve the ties and links between our countries.

There are other elements in the international panorama of today that are particularly disquieting. Without wishing to dwell on them, we would repeat our hope that these problems can be solved peacefully through the strict implementation of existing international agreements.



(Mr. Palma, Peru)

My delegation has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.55 because we believe that, as on past occasions, this draft resolution too reflects and emphasizes the aspirations for peace of the widest sectors of the international community.

Anything that may be done to promote peace and security will not benefit any one country exclusively because the indivisibility of peace and security will allow us all to benefit from its strengthening, or become the victims of its being breached.

Mr. ERDENCHULUUN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Almost 10 years have gone by since the adoption at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations of the historical Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. At subsequent sessions the General Assembly has constantly kept at the centre of the attention the process of the implementation of the provisions of this important document. It has undertaken efforts to lend further momentum to the efforts of States to deepen the process of international détente and to take effective practical measures for the cessation of the arms race and disarmament.

A systematic consideration of this important question, in our view, provides a good opportunity to concentrate our attention in general on the key problems of international life today and to draw the necessary conclusions with regard to the efforts of the peoples of the world to eliminate a new world war and to support all positive elements, which require universal support, and also to highlight the negative elements, so as to indicate the ways and means of eliminating them. The lasting significance and immediacy of the question stands out particularly against the background of events which have been occurring in the world over the last few years. The period embracing the years since the adoption of the Declaration has been marked, in our view, above all by the fact that - on the basis of the inexorable changes going on in the balance of forces in the world to the advantage of the cause of peace, national independence and social progress - a process has begun which now has a firm place in the political lexicon and is known as the process of international détente.

New victories have been achieved by the national liberation and revolutionary movement of the peoples, as shown by the historic victory of the Vietnamese people over the forces of aggression and war, the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan, the establishment of people's revolutionary power in Kampuchea, the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua and the monarchical régime in Iran, and many other similar occurrences.

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

The process of détente is most tangible in Europe, where a whole series of bilateral treaties and agreements has been concluded and crowned, in 1975, by the adoption of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

A number of treaties and agreements have been concluded in the fields of limiting the arms race and of disarmament. The peoples of the world warmly welcomed the signing in June of this year in Vienna of a new Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. It is important to note that this treaty provides not only for the limitation but also for the reduction of strategic offensive arms and also establishes concrete qualitative limitations for these weapons. We believe that it is very important to make effective use within the framework of the United Nations of the Disarmament Committee in the propitious atmosphere which is being created as a result of the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty. If the SALT-II treaty is really to have such a positive influence, it is important to have it confirmed through the earliest possible ratification by both sides. And that precisely was the sense of the timely appeal which was issued recently by the First Committee when it adopted the draft resolution on this question by consensus.

All these positive changes, in our view, have become possible thanks primarily to the persistent and active efforts of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community designed to bring about a cessation of the arms race, disarmament and the deepening of international détente. An ever-growing role is being played by the non-aligned countries, which actively oppose the policy of war, expansion, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and support just and fair co-operation among all States. In this regard, the results of the Sixth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana are of great importance.

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

Despite the fact that the years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration have been marked by a substantial turn for the better in international relations, we cannot fail to see the fact that the opponents of détente recently have been stepping up their activities and doing everything that they can to impede the further deepening of the process of détente, the normalization of relations among States and positive solutions to the key problems of the day and are fostering the intensification of the arms race. There is particular danger in the fact that such an intensification is going on in circumstances of a conspiracy on the part of reactionary forces of imperialism and great-Power chauvinism and expansionism.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the situation in the world, particularly in Asia, has become more complicated recently. That exacerbation of the situation in Asia was primarily the result of the intensification of the criminal actions of the forces of imperialism and other reactionary forces in South-East Asia, the Near and Middle East, the region of the Indian Ocean, the region of the Korean Peninsula, and so on.

The aggression of Peking against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the subversive activities against the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the encroachment on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has revealed to the peoples of the world the aggressive ambitions and hegemonistic designs of the Chinese leadership.

In this regard, the Mongolian delegation would once again wish to point out that the consideration of the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea, which was foisted on the General Assembly in spite of the wishes of the Kampuchean people and its lawful Government, can only be viewed as a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and as an attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

State. Furthermore, it is deeply regrettable and totally reprehensible that representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are not taking part in the work of this session.

The situation in the Middle East after the conclusion, under the aegis of the United States, of a separate Israeli-Egyptian deal has clearly deteriorated. This deal betrays the vital interests of the Arab peoples, particularly those of the Arab people of Palestine, and does serious damage to the cause of a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. This is demonstrated particularly by the expansion of the aggression of Israel against Lebanon and by the encouragement of separatist forces in that country.

The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic unification of their country and favours the earliest possible implementation of the resolution of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly providing for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command.

The course of events in Asia demands that the countries of this region multiply their efforts and strengthen their struggle for the spread of détente to their vast continent and to endeavour, through their collective efforts, to see to it that peace is preserved and aggression averted.

A dangerous hot-bed of tension persists in southern Africa, where the Western Powers have recently stepped up their manoeuvres of all kinds with the aim of imposing on the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe puppet régimes and oppressing there the existing domination of the racist régimes. The Mongolian People's Republic will continue to support the just cause of the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid and for genuine national and social liberation, and for the strengthening of the unity of action of all those forces which favour the settlement of the problems of southern Africa in the interests of the peoples of the countries concerned and of the continent as a whole.

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

The general debates, both in the General Assembly and in this First Committee, have once again made it amply clear that there is no more important or urgent task than the cessation of the arms race and the taking of genuine disarmament measures. The Mongolian delegation would like to place particular stress on the importance of the fact that the consideration in the First Committee of the broad complex of questions involved in the limitation of the arms race and disarmament has led to the adoption of a number of concrete recommendations aimed both at accelerating talks which are now going on and promoting the beginning of concrete talks on certain important aspects of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

In this regard, we believe the First Committee's draft resolution on all forms of nuclear weapons to be of the highest priority. In it, the General Assembly is to recommend that the Committee on Disarmament, as a matter of high priority, begin talks with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States on the question of ending the nuclear arms race and bringing about nuclear disarmament.

With regard to the need for entering upon practical discussions, reference is made to this in the draft resolution on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present. In that draft resolution, the General Assembly expresses its belief in the need to examine the possibilities for an international agreement on that subject. Certain Western Powers must demonstrate their political will in order that there may be an early conclusion of talks on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing and on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

Within the context of the problem of halting the spread of nuclear weapons, we attach great importance to our Committee's draft resolution on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. The Mongolian delegation hopes that the Committee on Disarmament, in accordance with the First Committee's decision, will continue talks with a view to coming to an agreement on the text of an international convention on the prohibition of radiological weapons and that it will be able to present an agreed text for adoption at the next session of the General Assembly.

A decision to hold a world disarmament conference will, in our view, promote the implementation of paragraph 122 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. There must be consistent and constructive efforts on the part of States to secure the practical implementation of the provisions of the Final Document, so as to prepare the necessary basis for the successful functioning of the next special session on disarmament, to be held in 1982.

(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

In this important matter, a primary role must be played by the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament which was adopted by the First Committee on the timely initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. This question we link directly with the military bases of the imperialist Powers which create the major obstacle to converting that part of the world into a zone of peace. We are also in favour of the elimination of the military base of the United States in Guantanamo.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that the efforts of States in the realm of disarmament should be accompanied and supported by political and legal guarantees of peace aimed at the prevention and elimination of hotbeds of international tension. This would be facilitated by the early preparation and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

As is apparent, underlying the majority of the important decisions of the General Assembly are the constructive initiatives of the socialist countries. In this connexion, we would particularly like to emphasize the importance of the concrete programme to create favourable conditions for international action to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament set forth in the documents of the 1978 Moscow Conference of the Political Consultative Committee and the Budapest Conference of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of States Parties to the Warsaw Pact held in 1979, as well as in the new and constructive proposals put forward in the statement of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid I. Brezhnev, on 6 October of this year in Berlin.

It is a pleasure to be able to point out that these new proposals have won broad support in the statements of many delegations in this Committee when problems concerning disarmament were under discussion. The urgency of new acts of goodwill should be seen primarily in the light of the plans being prepared by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for deploying in Western Europe qualitatively new types of American nuclear missiles.



(Mr. Erdenchuluun, Mongolia)

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is convinced that the deployment in Western Europe of such new United States nuclear missiles would not only be in contradiction of the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, but also would disturb the existing military balance of power on the continent, which would inevitably lead to an exacerbation of the situation in Europe and to the poisoning of the international atmosphere as a whole.

An important area in the deepening and expanding of international détente at the present time is the elimination of the policy of hegemonism from the practice of international relations. The consideration at this session, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations and the adoption of a resolution on the subject would in our view be a very valuable result of the work of this session and would promote the consolidation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

In conclusion, I would like to bring to the Committee's attention the fact that the reply of the Mongolian Government on the question under discussion is contained in the Secretary-General's report, A/34/193.

Mr. WU Zhen (China)(interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation listened attentively to the statements made by many representatives. Now I wish to make a few observations on the question of the "strengthening of international security" now under discussion.

The numerous peace-loving countries and the people of the whole world are profoundly concerned about and express serious disquiet at the heightening of international tension. They strongly demand the adoption of effective measures for safeguarding international peace and security. We share their aspirations and demands. We are of the view that in order to safeguard international peace

(Mr. Wu Zhen, China)

and security, it is first necessary to identify the source of the threat to international peace and security and ascertain who is sabotaging the independence and security of States. Everyone knows that at present the two super Powers are engaged in acute rivalry in various parts of the world. In particular, the Soviet Union, that late-coming super Power, has shown even greater aggressiveness and recklessness. It relies on its rapidly expanding military might to carry out aggression and expansion throughout the world. On the one hand, it is strengthening its military pressure and intimidation towards Europe; and on the other hand, it is stepping up its interference, subversion and control towards countries in the African, Middle East, Gulf and South-East Asian regions, going even as far as instigating armed invasion, carrying out military occupation and using its military might to threaten the Asia-Pacific region. All this seriously endangers the independence and security of States, and is a threat to world peace. Everyone can see that with the support and connivance of this super Power, the Soviet Union, the ambition for aggression and expansion of Vietnamese regional hegemonism is constantly growing. It carried out a massive invasion of Kampuchea, occupied a neighbouring country, and is stepping up its expansion towards South-East Asia, in a vain attempt to realize its dream of regional hegemonism.

(Mr. Wu Zhen, China)

Clearly, the regional hegemons' aggression, control and threats towards their neighbours is not at all a local issue, but is an important component part of the strategy for world domination practised by world hegemonism. These harsh objective realities demonstrate that hegemonism is the main threat to international peace and security at present. The draft resolution on opposing hegemonism adopted by this Committee on 30 November correctly points out that hegemonism has led to a serious threat to international peace and security. Therefore, in order to safeguard international peace and security, it is necessary to curb hegemonism's interference, control, aggression and expansion, and to expose and oppose its arms expansion and war preparations.

It is worth noting that, in order to cover up their own acts of aggression and expansion, the hegemons always have to talk glibly about "the strengthening of international peace and security" and resort to slandering and attacking other countries to divert the attention of the people of the world. Recently, in order to extricate themselves from the predicament in which they have landed as a result of their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, control over Laos and their expansion towards South-East Asian countries, the Vietnamese regional hegemons have been evading the condemnation of world public opinion and vigorously carrying out anti-Chinese propaganda both within and outside the United Nations. In his statement made in this Committee the day before yesterday, the Vietnamese representative had the gall to turn a meeting devoted to the discussion of the question of "strengthening international security" into a forum for an anti-Chinese campaign, hurling malicious attacks and slanders at China, wantonly fabricating lies and playing the old tune of China's so-called "aggression and expansion" towards South-East Asia. It is not worth refuting one by one those attacks and vilifications which were made by the Vietnamese representatives with an ulterior motive. However, in order to distinguish clearly right from wrong, it is necessary to explain certain basic facts to set the record straight.

In the past, the Chinese Government and people had given all-out support to the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence and liberation; the Chinese and the Vietnamese peoples have forged a deep friendship in the prolonged struggles. This cannot be wilfully distorted or undermined by anyone. In recent years, *China has been regarded by the Vietnamese authorities as an enemy only because*

(Mr. Wu Zhen, China)

China is opposed to their hegemonist and expansionist policy in Indo-China and in the South-East Asian region. They have been engaged in a feverish campaign against China, created tension along the Sino-Vietnamese borders and repeatedly carried out armed provocations and incursions, thus compelling China to counter-attack in self-defence in order to dampen the arrogance of regional hegemonism and curb their acts of aggression and expansion. The Chinese Government has taken the initiative to propose, and has done its best to facilitate, negotiations between China and Viet Nam in order to find a peaceful solution to the dispute between our two countries. These facts have shown that the root cause of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is the persistent policy of aggression and expansion on the part of the Vietnamese authorities which are serving as a tool for global hegemonism.

Those countries and peoples who have been the direct victims of aggression, interference and control by regional hegemonism would be the best witnesses to tell us exactly who is engaged in aggression and expansion in South-East Asia. The large-scale aggression against Kampuchea by the Vietnamese authorities, the barbarous policy of genocide pursued by the more than 200,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea and the countless crimes of creating famine and persecuting the refugees have aroused the strongest indignation of the people of the world. Only recently, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority the draft resolution submitted by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and 25 other countries, calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. This has clearly shown that the Vietnamese authorities have become a notorious target of world condemnation as a result of their aggression and expansion in Indo-China and South-East Asia. World opinion vigorously demands that the Vietnamese authorities put an end to their aggression and expansion in South-East Asia, that they withdraw their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and that they allow the people of Kampuchea to decide their own destiny without any outside interference, subversion and intimidation. At present, in disregard of the demands of world opinion, the Vietnamese authorities are launching a dry-season offensive against Kampuchea, stepping up their suppression of the Kampuchean people and threatening the security of the border region of Thailand. An end must be put to such acts of aggression which have subjected a neighbouring country to occupation

(Mr. Wu Zhen, China)

by force, and which seriously undermine the independence and sovereignty of the South-East Asian countries and threaten international peace and security.

Resolution 34/22 adopted at the present session of the United Nations General Assembly must be implemented immediately.

The Chinese people fervently desire peace and have an urgent need for a lasting peaceful international environment to carry out socialist construction for modernization. The Chinese Government has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace in international affairs and adhered to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence in developing friendly relations with all countries. We actively support the struggles of various countries to safeguard national independence and security and firmly support the Korean people's sacred cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their country. China will, as always, join efforts with all the peace-loving countries of the world to oppose hegemonism and to safeguard world peace.

Mr. W. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): The Bangladesh delegation would like like to address itself to the questions in the debate under this item.

As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Bangladesh has participated in formulating the draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States. We believe that against the background of recent developments this document further elaborates and strengthens the basic principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. It is the firm conviction of my delegation that no State or political or economic agency or institution has any right to intervene or interfere, directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, for any reason whatsoever, in the internal and external affairs of other States. Consequently, armed aggression and all other forms of interference or threats against the personality of a State or against its political, economic, social or cultural systems are to be totally rejected as contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. W. Rahman, Bangladesh)

Every State has the sovereign and inalienable right freely to determine its own economic system and to develop its international economic relations in accordance with the will of its people without outside interference, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever. Thus we believe that the denial of economic assistance aimed at reorienting the path of economic development chosen by States of their own free will militates against the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The employment of protectionist practices and other cognate measures directed against the exports and imports of developing countries on a discriminatory basis constitutes interference in the internal affairs of States.

Most recently this Committee adopted a draft resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations. The adoption of the draft resolution has stressed that the constituents of hegemonism are the antithesis of the principles of the Charter and a threat not only to the principle of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence of States but to the very maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation strongly advocates the strengthening of the principles of good neighbourliness in the interest of the maintenance of international peace and security and to promote good-neighbourliness in their relations with other States. We also believe that good-neighbourliness is founded upon the strict observance of the principles and objectives contained in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, as well as the rejection of any acts, overt or covert, seeking to establish zones of influence and domination. It is in this context that Bangladesh has made persistent endeavours in past years to promote peace and stability in the South Asian region through the creation of a climate of mutual trust, understanding and co-operation, on the basis of respect for sovereign equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Guided by these principles, we have endeavoured to promote *and expand our friendly and co-operative relations with all peace-loving nations of the world.*

(Mr. W. Rahman, Bangladesh)

Bangladesh believes that peace and security would be promoted by the creation of zones of peace in areas such as the Indian Ocean, South Asia and South-East Asia, the Mediterranean and so on. Out of this conviction, we actively participated in the recently concluded Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. It is our fervant hope that with the expansion of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, that Committee can undertake further necessary preparatory work for reaching an international agreement to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Finally, my delegation firmly believes that relations among all nations should be based on strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of non-use of force or the threat of use of force which would ultimately guarantee the inviolability of legally-established international boundaries.

In conclusion, the Bangladesh delegation wishes to state that it will sponsor draft resolutions A/C.1/34/L.54, L.55, L.56 and L.57.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Chief of the Political Affairs Division of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs to reply to the query raised by the representative of Morocco at this morning's meeting.

Mr. SUTTERLIN (Chief, Political Affairs Division, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs): In answer to the question asked this morning by the representative of Morocco on behalf of the Arab Group, concerning paragraph 4 of document A/C.1/34/L.58, I should like to state that the paragraph in question is technically in error. A correction will be issued, so that it will read:

"Meetings of the Group of Experts would require the provision of interpretation in all official languages and translation of pre-session, in-session and post-session documentation of a total volume of 100 pages."

(Mr. Sutterlin, Department of Political  
and Security Council Affairs)

The remarks I have just made also apply to paragraph 4 of document A/C.1/34/L.51 concerning the study of the institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to announce that Lesotho has become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.1/34/L.54 and L.57.

I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

Mr. PHAM NGAC (Viet Nam): The delegation of China has just mounted a vicious attack against Viet Nam. This has prompted my delegation to exercise its right of reply to put the record straight.

The Chinese representative today has once again attempted to sell his lies and deceptions and has tried in vain to cover up the Chinese policy of hegemonism.

However, throughout this session of the General Assembly in the plenary meetings as well as in the meetings of the Main Committees, many delegations have brought out undeniable facts and have most severely condemned the Chinese leaders for their armed aggression against Viet Nam, their threat against Laos, their responsibility for the genocide in Kampuchea and their vicious policies of hegemonism and expansion in South Asia and the world.

Last week my delegation quoted some statements of the Chinese leaders on Chinese regional and global hegemonism which the Chinese delegation could not deny. Today my delegation wishes to quote statements from the Western press to show that the Chinese policy of hegemonism is not only a cause of concern for countries in South Asia and for delegations within this Organization, but is also a concern of people elsewhere.

Congressman Lester L. Wolff, Chairman of the United States House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, wrote in the Christian Science Monitor on 3 December this year:

"Should China seek to extend its influence militarily in Asia, how far are we [the United States] prepared to go to challenge China? A State Department official working on China has said that our position with respect to China's use of force against Viet Nam was simply



(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

" 'accepting reality'. How far are we prepared to go forward  
'accepting reality'? Is not that 'reality' tantamount to recognition  
of Chinese 'hegemony' in Asia?"

And he added:

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

"I have indicated that my position on the most-favoured-nation issue is directly linked to the issue of China's peaceful behaviour in the world, including any future 'lessons' to Viet Nam".

Mr. McGovern declared - and I quote from the United States Congressional Record of 8 November 1979:

"China has viewed Viet Nam as a threat both to its regional influence in Asia and to its anti-Soviet policy. It supported the Pol Pot régime's aggressive border policy to increase tensions between Viet Nam and Cambodia while, at the same time, it attempted to destabilize the Vietnamese régime by recalling Chinese technicians, cutting off aid and encouraging ethnic Chinese in northern Viet Nam to leave.

"... China apparently still seeks a military solution in Cambodia by its support for the Pol Pot guerrilla warfare in Cambodia. And it is reserving the right to invade Viet Nam again.

"As a result of trying to 'play the China card' against the Soviet Union globally, the United States indirectly has contributed to the geopolitical tensions in South-East Asia which are the backdrop of the human tragedies we see today."

And he continued:

"The pro-China tilt to American policy has encouraged China to feel it has a free hand to use its diplomatic and military power recklessly in the region, whatever the political or human consequences. As a result, the Chinese may have become more aggressive toward Viet Nam".

Now, regarding the situation in Kampuchea, Mr. Robert S. Browne, Director of the Black Economic Research Center, wrote in The New York Times of 3 December 1979:

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

"There was a convenient omission from the publicity of any recognition of the fact that the Vietnamese Government has been harbouring and feeding tens of thousands of refugees from Cambodia since as long ago as 1976, despite the fact that the Vietnamese are themselves still suffering from an enormous food shortage as a result of the U. S. destruction of their food-growing capabilities".

Mr. Malcolm Harper, Director of Oxfam, a relief organization which is sending food to Kampuchea, declared at a press conference in Bangkok on 1 December, upon his return from Phnom Penh, as reported by Reuters:

"Mr. Malcolm Harper said that his team had visited about one-third of Kampuchea and there were no obstacles left in the way of his team in monitoring the distribution of food."

And he concluded:

"The world has got to realize, whether the politicians like or not, that the years under Pol Pot were a crime against humanity as horrible as the years of Hitler in Germany. The world owes it to Kampuchea to help it get over the ghastliness of what happened. It is one of the biggest challenges to humanity in the last 40 years."

The Christian Science Monitor on 31 October this year wrote that Mr. Howard, a Quaker and a veteran of Oxfam, who visited Phnom Penh last August, stressed that:

"Pol Pot, the former Cambodian ruler, cannot be allowed to survive and go on battling away, because this country will never come to peace. Cambodia needs peace above everything now. ... The great fear of the Cambodian people is a Vietnamese withdrawal that would bring Pol Pot back into power. We see no survival under Pol Pot".

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

And here is an AFP dispatch from Bangkok, dated 4 December 1979. I shall read out the full text:

(spoke in French)

"The Vietnamese are distributing large quantities of food, medicine and other aid in the interior of Cambodia', Mr. Jacques Danois, an official of UNICEF said on Tuesday.

"In a telegram sent from Phnom Penh and received by UNICEF in Bangkok, Mr. Danois said that he had seen and photographed on the road between Ho Chi Minhville and Phnom Penh, and in more than a dozen other areas of Cambodia, in the countryside and in towns, Vietnamese distributing medicines and food to Cambodian civilians.

"I also filmed Vietnamese medical teams tending the sick in improvised hospitals', he added. He further indicated that all these positive aspects had been confirmed on Tuesday in a radio and television interview with the UNICEF representative in Phnom Penh, Mr. John Saunders."

(continued in English)

Obviously, the Chinese representative cannot cover up the sun with his hands. And those who in one way or the other support China in -

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to advise the representative of Viet Nam that his time has expired. I will allow him a few more seconds if he wishes, but I must ask him to conclude.

Mr. PHAM NGAC (Viet Nam): - illegally keeping a seat in the United Nations for the genocidal Pol Pot régime and try to bring it back to murder the Kampuchean people must ponder carefully the consequences with all responsibilities towards history.

Finally, as the Chinese representative has just mentioned Chinese resistance to Viet Nam, I wish to quote the following from document A/34/75 -

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to advise the representative of Viet Nam that he has just used up the time allotted for his statement.

Mr. CHAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): This morning, my delegation set forth in detail before the Committee the underlying reasons for the war of aggression and genocide waged for nearly a year now by the Vietnamese expansionists and hegemonists in Kampuchea. It is not my intention to revert to them now.

I would, however, draw to the attention of the Committee with emphasis the cynical, treacherous nature of those expansionists and hegemonists, who stop at nothing, - including armed genocide against my people, starvation and the use of toxic chemical substances, - in order to achieve their ambition of swallowing up and annexing Kampuchea.

Cynical and treacherous indeed, those hegemonists have shown by their lies and slanders retailed here and elsewhere, about our people and Government, their defiance of the good sense and far-sightedness of the members of this Committee and of the General Assembly. It will be recalled that the Members of the General Assembly, in their wisdom, overwhelmingly and clearly pronounced themselves in favour of peace and justice in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia.

The irrefutable facts themselves belie the Vietnamese slanders. First, for nearly a year, there has been in Kampuchea a Vietnamese army of aggression currently numbering more than 220,000 men.

(Mr. Chan, Democratic Kampuchea)

Secondly, that army has massacred more than 500,000 persons and caused the deaths by starvation of more than 500,000 others.

Thirdly, that army has driven out hundreds of thousands of inhabitants from Kampuchea, who have now taken refuge in Thailand in order to avoid being massacred or dying of hunger.

Fourthly, the Hanoi expansionists have brought into Kampuchea more than 300,000 Vietnamese settlers to occupy the territory of Kampuchea.

That Vietnamese army has diverted for its war purposes the humanitarian aid intended for the population of Kampuchea.

Lastly, the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. Consequently, the so-called Chinese threat against Viet Nam about which the Vietnamese expansionists are raising a great hue and cry here is intended only to camouflage their heinous and monstrous crimes of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, as well as to avoid implementing General Assembly resolution 34/22, which called upon Viet Nam immediately to cease its aggression in Kampuchea and to withdraw all its aggressive armed forces.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.