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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Lord CARRINGTON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I first congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the General Assembly at this thirty-fifth session. You have taken on a task which demands many qualities, not least stamina, firmness and tact. It is a task for which your distinguished record at the United Nations has shown you to be well qualified. I offer you the best wishes of the British Government and of its representation at the United Nations in the weeks and months ahead.

2. In so doing, I wish also to join those who have expressed their appreciation of the efficient and statesmanlike way in which your predecessor, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, conducted the business of the presidency over the past year.

3. Since I last addressed this Assembly 12 months ago,¹ many terrible things have happened in the world. There has been much cruel and cynical defiance of the principles on which our Charter is based. It would be difficult to say that the world is a safer, more prosperous or happier place today than it was a year ago. Indeed, within the last few days the emergence of a fresh conflict in the Middle Eastern region has given us further cause for anxiety. The tasks confronting all of us remain formidable.

4. But what has happened during the last 12 months has not all been bad. The great majority of the States Members of this Organization have observed the Charter. And things have happened to inspire us and to persuade us, if persua-

sion were needed, that conflicts can be resolved; that peaceful negotiations can uncover compromises on which warring parties can settle their differences; that perseverance, goodwill and realism, here at the United Nations and elsewhere, can end wars and save human lives.

5. When I last addressed the Assembly, war was still raging in that country which is now called Zimbabwe and which, last 25 August, was welcomed as the one hundred and fifty-third Member State of this Organization [*resolution S-11/1*]. That conflict had been going on for 14 years—some, I suppose, would say longer. But long, complex and, at times, painful negotiations succeeded in finding a basis on which it could be ended and on which the people of Zimbabwe could be given the opportunity to decide for themselves how and by whom they should be governed. I should like to suggest that, as we enter this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the example of Zimbabwe should inspire us to search all the harder for peaceful, practical and realistic—and I cannot emphasize the last adjective too much—solutions to the major problems that confront the world today.

6. Before briefly surveying those problems, I should like to say a word about the eleventh special session, devoted to development and to international economic co-operation, that has just ended. The United Kingdom supported that collective attempt to set a framework for development over the next decade. It was a positive act that accorded well with the ideals of our Charter. Britain accepts, as we all do, that many developing countries face immense social and economic problems. A common effort is essential to ensure that the world economic system evolves to meet the needs of all. But, in making that effort, we must not weaken the foundation of the world's trading, monetary and financial system which has been built up gradually over the years and which has seen an increase in world prosperity unprecedented in human history.

7. I am glad that the special session was able to agree on an International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade² and on a resolution concerning the least developed countries [*resolution S-11/4*]. I am disappointed that it proved impossible to reach agreement on procedures for global negotiations. But discussions will continue during this General Assembly. We shall work for a successful launch of the global negotiations on a generally acceptable basis.

8. Meanwhile, I should point out that, despite our own domestic economic problems, the aid programme of my own country is substantial. It is the fifth largest among the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 218-248.

² A/S-11/AC.1/L.2 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3. Subsequently issued as document A/35/464.

aid programmes of the industrialized countries and the seventh highest as a percentage of gross national product. But aid is only one factor in the development process. Private investment and private flows are also essential. In 1978, for example, net private flows from the United Kingdom to developing countries amounted to \$8.7 billion, or 2.8 per cent of our gross national product. Trade too is vital. In 1979, 18 per cent of Britain's total imports came from developing countries. They were worth \$19 billion, or 4.6 per cent of our gross national product. In addition, we continue to work with our partners in Europe to increase aid, trade and investment for the benefit of developing countries. For example, through the Second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979,³ the European Community has given to 59 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific guaranteed access to our markets for an assured quota of their products. That Convention has also provided and does provide aid and technical co-operation on a very large scale.

9. I should now like to refer to some of the major conflicts which are on the agenda of this session and to offer some ideas, which I promise will be brief, about how, in the view of the United Kingdom Government, progress can be made towards peaceful solutions.

10. The Middle East conflict is, above all, one which, in our view, cries out for negotiations leading to a peaceful solution. The violence has gone on far too long. Negotiations are bound to be a lengthy and complex process, and they can hardly succeed unless a calmer atmosphere can be created than that which prevails today. Britain appeals again to all concerned to refrain from inflammatory acts and statements. Such restraint would be a major contribution to the attainment of the goal of peace.

11. The British Government welcomes the news that the leaders of Egypt, Israel and the United States are to meet again before long. In the meantime Europe has not been inactive. Britain and its partners in the European Community committed themselves to search for common ground and to gain acceptance of the principles set out by their Heads of Government in the declaration which they issued at Venice on 13 June this year [A/35/299-S/14009]. We believe that these principles, and only these principles, can form the basis for a just and lasting settlement.

12. I said earlier that the great majority of States Members of the Organization had been faithful to the Charter. I wish I could say "all". We are pledged to respect the sovereignty of others. We are pledged to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations. Nine months ago both of those principles were violated by a country which is a permanent member of the Security Council. I refer, of course, to the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. One hundred and four Member States voted in this Assembly to condemn it. Nine months later, no end to the conflict is in sight. One million Afghans have sought refuge outside their own country. Tens of thousands of Soviet troops remain there; but they have failed to subjugate the people of Afghanistan. Here, too, let there be a political solution—a solution which will remove Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

restore to the people of that country their sovereignty and their independence and enable them to choose for themselves how they shall be governed.

13. The occupation of Afghanistan is not the only violation of the United Nations Charter that we have seen in South-West Asia in the past 12 months. The detention of the American hostages in Iran is another. International law and common humanity require their immediate release. I take this occasion to remind the Iranian authorities of their obligation under international law to protect the rights of all foreigners residing in their country. I am, of course, especially concerned for those British subjects who are at present detained in Iran and to whom my country's representatives have been denied any access.

14. Speaking of violations of the Charter, the United Nations surely cannot ignore the grave situation that has developed in the past 48 hours between two Member States. Judging by what they themselves have announced, Iran and Iraq are now in a state of undeclared war. I share the view and the fear expressed yesterday by the Secretary-General that this conflict could have serious and unpredictable consequences and I echo his call for the utmost restraint, for an end to the fighting and for a negotiated settlement. This surely is no more than the United Nations has a right to expect from two of its Members. Therefore I welcome the fact that, on the Secretary-General's initiative,⁴ the Security Council will be meeting in informal consultations here this afternoon.

15. Acts of terrorism against diplomatic and consular premises and staff have increased alarmingly in recent years. They threaten the basic fabric of international relations. It is our common duty and our common interest to condemn such acts and to ensure that international terrorism, whatever form it may take, is never allowed to achieve its objective. The British Government is glad that this session's agenda includes proposals to enhance the safety of diplomatic and consular representatives.

16. An increasingly worrying phenomenon in recent years has been the mass exodus of refugees from their own countries. When the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was set up [resolution 319 (IV)] as a "temporary" organization nearly 30 years ago, there were 1.2 million refugees in the world, mainly in Europe; there are now nearly 16 million refugees and displaced persons, principally in Africa and Asia—three decades of achievement by the international community. We cannot undo the tragedies that have occurred, but it is not too late to remedy their consequences.

17. Let us take just one case, that of Cambodia. That country is a picture of the human misery that results if the Charter of the United Nations is not respected. The Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia have created tension and conflict in South-East Asia. The stand taken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] has my Government's full support. We believe that there must be a political solution but that there

³ See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14196.

cannot be such a solution without the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia. That must be the first aim of any negotiations.

18. Meanwhile, the United Nations is doing what it can to alleviate the plight of the people of Cambodia and of the refugees. I pay a tribute to the efforts of the United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] and the many non-governmental organizations which have mounted the relief programme in Cambodia, often in conditions of personal danger. By the end of this year, the joint UNICEF/ICRC operation alone will have spent some \$500 million, or \$100 for each Cambodian. But there are limits to what we can achieve by humanitarian means. So long as there is no political solution, so long will the suffering continue.

19. Another area of tragic armed conflict is Namibia. Here too a political solution must be found by negotiation. But, unlike the position in the other area, here there already exists a plan approved by the Security Council and negotiations are already well advanced. The British Government remains firm in the belief that the United Nations plan provides the only sure route to a peaceful and democratic settlement with general international recognition. We shall continue to work with the Secretary-General and the African States most closely involved to achieve the long overdue agreement on implementation of this plan.

20. I have already referred to Zimbabwe's advance to independence and to membership in the United Nations. That has given my Government great satisfaction, which I know is shared by every Member of this Organization. But this new Member of our Organization needs more from us than congratulations. It needs substantial aid to rebuild its economy from the ravages of civil war. My own Government has pledged \$180 million of aid to Zimbabwe over the next three years. We have cancelled \$53 million of official debt and rescheduled the remainder on favourable terms.

21. Although a number of other offers of assistance have been made, I do not believe that the international community as a whole has yet done enough to put Zimbabwe back on its feet. The damage resulting from years of isolation and of war is enormous. The expectations raised by the peace settlement are high. An international effort to underpin the political and economic stability of Zimbabwe during its first few years as an independent State could secure its future prosperity and enable it to play an influential part in Africa. I believe it to be of the highest importance that such an effort should be forthcoming in the months ahead.

22. As regards South Africa, the British Government's view is clear. We consider *apartheid* to be morally indefensible and politically unworkable. But if change is to come peacefully in South Africa, it will have to be a step-by-step process. We shall not achieve change, peaceful change, by increasing South Africa's isolation, or by ostracism, or by threats. We cannot know how fast changes will come to South Africa, but there are voices inside the country calling for change and we should not ignore them. What the United Nations can and must do is to continue to remind South Africa that *apartheid* is a system repugnant to all Members of the Organization and incompatible with its ideals and those of the international community as a whole.

23. I should like to turn now to the efforts which are being made to deal with the larger and more general threats to international security.

24. Mr. President, a few days ago you made an eloquent appeal for new efforts to halt the arms race. As you reminded us, the hopes attached to the Disarmament Decade of the 1970s were cruelly disappointed: global military expenditure continued to grow and arsenals of weapons multiplied. This is a field in which there are no short cuts. In arms control, above all, realism is called for. A comprehensive and step-by-step programme of attainable measures covering both nuclear and conventional weapons is the only realistic approach. Declaratory measures are of very little value; what matters is concrete results. The British Government will continue to work for agreements based on balanced and verifiable agreements. As we do so, we shall remind those with whom we negotiate that in military matters the key to building confidence between nations often lies in a readiness to publish information on such matters as budgets and force levels. The more is known, the less is feared; the more is concealed, the more is suspect.

25. Arms control agreements depend on the existence of a climate of trust; they cannot create it. That too is a matter of realism. Arms control must go hand in hand with security. This hard fact is reflected in the outcome of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.⁵ I know that progress in negotiations on nuclear disarmament has been slow, and that is frustrating. But I see no reason why our common interest in preventing nuclear proliferation should be diminished in any way. The British Government remains fully committed to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and is playing a full part in the search for solutions to the outstanding problems and for a renewed consensus.

26. We remain committed too to the undertakings we gave in 1975 under the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.⁶ We believe that the Conference process can and should play a valuable role in the management of international relations in Europe. But popular faith in this process has been shaken by the actions of the Soviet Union, not least its invasion of Afghanistan, which violated at a stroke all the principles of the Final Act. We approach the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, due to begin at Madrid in November, determined, first, to conduct a thoroughgoing review of the way in which the Final Act has been implemented and, secondly, to examine proposals for its future development.

27. It should be clear from what I have said that the British Government continues to believe that the United Nations has an important role to play in the search for political solutions to the many problems that we all face. But if the Organization is to play that role, we must pay due regard to its structure and its management. We must be careful not to tamper with its institutions in such a way as to impair their ability to perform the functions assigned to them by the Charter.

⁵ Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

⁶ Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

28. The Organization must set itself the highest standards of good management and economy. Here, obviously much depends on individuals. The United Nations is fortunate to have in its Secretary-General someone who justly enjoys the respect of all Members and who in his tenure of office has set the highest standards. We must ensure that efficiency, competence and integrity remain the prime considerations in every appointment to the Secretariat. We must exercise restraint over the proliferation of meetings, which often only consume money and effort with no hope of practical results. We must make the best use of the institutions we have. And, at a time of world-wide economic difficulty, we must eliminate wasteful expenditure and curb the constant expansion of the Organization's budget. If new programmes are to be set up, we must find room for them by first identifying and then bringing to an end other programmes which are now obsolete or of little value.

29. It is easy to expect too much of the United Nations and it is too easy to decry its achievements. The United Nations provides the forum where ideals and realities come face to face. Our Charter embodies the ideals to which we should continue to aspire. The world supplies the yardstick by which to measure our progress. Our task is simple but gigantic: to seek year by year to bring the reality closer to the ideal.

30. Mr. ITO (Japan):⁷ Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan I should like to extend our congratulations to you on your being elected President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I earnestly hope that under your able leadership this session of the General Assembly will prove to be a most fruitful one.

31. I should like also to express my deepest respect to the former President, Mr. Salim, for his leadership of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the sixth and the seventh emergency special sessions, devoted respectively to Afghanistan and Palestine, and the eleventh special session on economic matters that was recently concluded. The success of all those sessions was greatly enhanced by Mr. Salim's guidance, which was truly admirable in its strict impartiality and efficiency.

32. At the same time, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has been undertaking extremely difficult tasks at a time of great international turmoil. I earnestly hope that he will continue with renewed vigour to fulfil the profoundly important duties that the Charter of the United Nations has entrusted to him.

33. Now I should like to take this opportunity to extend a most hearty welcome to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as it becomes the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the United Nations. My country looks forward to promoting relations of friendship and co-operation with that new Member State, both within the framework of the United Nations and outside it.

34. Exactly 35 years have passed since the establishment of the United Nations. It is no exaggeration to say that the

⁷ Mr. Ito spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

international community, having taken a first dynamic step into the new decade, is approaching a crucial juncture. Just as the decade of the 1980s was dawning, the Soviet Union launched a military intervention in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the conflict in Indo-China is far from a political solution. Those regional confrontations and hostilities continue and in some areas are being intensified. Indeed, this situation contains grave elements that could reverse the entire trend of history towards the relaxation of tensions and closer relations among nations.

35. Moreover, since last year the second oil crisis has spurred an incipient inflation and has resulted in a worsening of the problems of recession and unemployment, which today pose a serious threat to the economy of every nation. Thus, in spite of the self-help efforts of developing countries and the increased assistance efforts of developed countries, the economic development to which all developing countries aspire is being subjected to numerous ordeals.

36. Although prospects for the international community in the 1980s do not warrant optimism, there is no need for us to react with undue pessimism, because by no means does the international environment harbour only such discouraging elements. Having recovered from the devastation of the Second World War, mankind has over the past 35 years been painstakingly building foundations of world peace and prosperity which, in my view, are not so fragile.

37. In the contemporary world, the trend towards multipolarization continues to grow, and interdependence and complementary relations among nations are deepening. In such a community of nations, the basis for the solution of all kinds of problems lies in international co-operation. Indeed, no nation can expect to enjoy peace and prosperity within its own borders unless there is world peace and prosperity.

38. Japan's fundamental diplomatic posture remains unchanged. It consists of the pursuit of peace, refusal to become a military power, and positive efforts to contribute to world peace and prosperity. Today, 35 years after the end of the Second World War, Japan's national determination not to become a military Power is deeply rooted among the Japanese people.

39. I hereby declare that in the 1980s Japan is determined to assume international responsibilities commensurate with its capabilities and its status in the international community by contributing more actively to the maintenance of international peace and to the development of the international economy.

40. On the basis of these fundamental perceptions of diplomacy, Japan will continue to make every effort to strengthen its relations with countries throughout the world and thus to work for the advancement of understanding and trust among nations.

41. For example, it is one of the fundamental tasks of Japan's diplomacy to establish a stable relationship, based on true mutual understanding, with the Soviet Union, one of its important neighbours with a different social system. Unfortunately, however, because the question regarding the Northern Territories still remains unresolved, we have not

yet concluded a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, we have been confronted with an extremely regrettable situation in which the Soviet Union has recently deployed and strengthened its military forces in our Northern Territories. The Government of Japan does not believe that those actions are conducive to building confidence among nations. From that point of view, the Government of Japan continues to demand of the Soviet Union that this situation be promptly rectified and to endeavour to conclude a peace treaty so that genuinely friendly relations with the Soviet Union can be maintained and promoted. At the same time, Japan strongly hopes that the Soviet Union itself will demonstrate, with concrete deeds as well as with words, good neighbourliness and friendship.

42. Next, among the problems confronting the international community, I should like to bring up those which I feel are particularly important with regard to world peace and stability, as well as international justice, and briefly to present the Government of Japan's views on them.

43. The problem which demands our most immediate attention is the situation in Kampuchea. There are two aspects to the problem. The first has to do with restoring peace in Kampuchea and helping to build a country according to the true self-determination of the people. The second has to do with providing relief to the refugees and the people of Thailand who have been afflicted by the flow of those refugees into their country. Itself an Asian nation, Japan is deeply concerned at the fact that the fighting in Kampuchea still continues, that hundreds of thousands of its people are still struggling for their survival and, above all, that the fighting has recently spilled over into Thailand.

44. One year has already passed since the General Assembly, in an effort to restore peace and fundamentally to resolve the problem, adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for, *inter alia*, the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all foreign forces and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Kampuchean people [resolution 34/22].

45. Although the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, visited Viet Nam and Thailand last August in the hope of finding a solution to the Kampuchean problem, it is highly regrettable that not even a hint of a peaceful solution has yet been found. Japan takes this opportunity to make a strong appeal once again to the international community and particularly to all the parties to the conflict for the complete implementation of the resolution. Only in this way can peace be restored to the Kampuchean people who, trapped in devastating conditions, are suffering in the midst of the fighting or are being forced to flee to neighbouring countries.

46. I believe that the United Nations should take a new initiative to create an atmosphere in which a settlement as called for in the resolution can be realized. In order not to aggravate the instability of the region, our most urgent task is to prevent by all means the conflict in Kampuchea from spreading once again into neighbouring Thailand. Moreover, I earnestly hope that in the course of this session of the General Assembly there will be further concrete and useful discussions about such matters as the time, venue and

agenda of an international conference on Kampuchea, as contained in General Assembly resolution 34/22 and which Japan has been advocating since last year. I also hope that guidelines regarding these issues will be set forth in any new resolution to be adopted during the current session. In this connexion, my country fully supports and, in fact, has become a co-sponsor of, the new draft resolution [A/35/L.2] regarding the situation in Kampuchea which was submitted by ASEAN and other countries and which incorporates, *inter alia*, these fundamental views of my Government. We are confident that all countries which strictly abide by international justice will support it as well.

47. Last month, I myself visited the area along the Thai-Kampuchean border and witnessed with my own eyes the miserable conditions of the refugees and Thai people affected in the nearby areas. Thus, in addition to resolving the political problem, another urgent task of the international community is to bring humanitarian relief to the masses of people who have been victimized by the Kampuchean conflict. Particular mention should be made of the fact that life for the Thai people along the Kampuchean border is being threatened by the tremendous influx of Kampuchean refugees. The Government of Japan pays a high tribute to the considerable success of the co-operative efforts of the international organizations and Governments concerned in providing humanitarian relief to the refugees and people affected, and is determined to co-operate further in such relief activities.

48. However, in order to make the humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people more effective, it is urgently necessary to improve the distribution of relief supplies. Thus, I should like to renew our appeal to the international community regarding the need to establish demilitarized peace zones as proposed by the ASEAN countries and Japan. According to this proposal, in order to ensure the safe and effective distribution of relief goods, certain areas within Kampuchea should be designated demilitarized zones of peace, with consultations between international relief organizations and the parties concerned. I should like to urge that the relevant United Nations agencies promptly begin consultations with the parties concerned on the establishment of such zones, and that all countries concerned transcend political differences, and, from a purely humanitarian viewpoint, support the establishment of the demilitarized peace zones. It is essential that they co-operate to the fullest extent with the relief activities of international organizations for the Kampuchean people. I also hope that, in order to implement this plan effectively, the relevant organizations of the United Nations will play an active role in monitoring the demilitarized peace zones. The establishment of such zones, as well as the dispatch to Thailand of United Nations observer teams, which has been urged by the ASEAN countries and supported by Japan, are temporary emergency arrangements, but I hardly need stress once again that, in order for lasting stability to be achieved in South-East Asia, it is necessary to find a solution that goes to the very root of the Kampuchean question.

49. The military intervention in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union at the end of last year not only violates the main principles of non-intervention and non-use of force as contained in the United Nations Charter, it also seriously jeo-

pardizes international peace and security. The international community absolutely cannot tolerate such a flagrant challenge to international law and justice. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly held last 10 to 14 January, a resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops was adopted by an overwhelming majority [*resolution ES-6/2*]. It was also clearly shown by the fact that two similar resolutions were subsequently adopted at the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 27 to 29 January 1980 [*see A/35/109-S/13810, annex, resolution No.1/EOs*] and from 17 to 22 May 1980 [*see resolution A/35/419-S/14129, resolution No.19/11-P*], respectively.

50. The Government of Japan cannot but express its profound concern over the fact that, despite repeated appeals by the international community, the Soviet Union continues to station its troops in Afghanistan and to prevent the establishment of a Government according to the free will of the Afghan people, thereby posing a threat not only to neighbouring countries, but to the entire world. We therefore strongly urge the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops immediately and to respect the Afghan people's right to self-determination. Moreover, I sincerely hope that, based on General Assembly resolution ES-6/2, the United Nations will adopt a new resolution containing concrete measures for a solution to this problem.

51. The problem of the Afghan refugees, which has been exacerbated by the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, is no less painful to me than the Indo-Chinese refugee problem. I visited the refugee camps in Pakistan last month after my visit to the camps in Thailand in order to acquire a better understanding of the problems and to discover what measures Japan, as well as the international community, should take. The human conscience cannot ignore the plight of people, whatever their nationality, who, in order to avoid the disasters of war, are forced to flee from their homelands with only the clothes on their backs and to wander in desperation, suffering from starvation and disease. I firmly believe that the international community, while hastening to find a political solution to the underlying cause of the problem, should also for purely humanitarian reasons extend a helping hand to these unfortunate people.

52. For its part, Japan has of its own volition provided relief for refugees around the world through major contributions to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to UNRWA, and is resolved to continue this assistance in the future. As an Asian nation, Japan is particularly concerned about the refugees in Indo-China and Afghanistan. We feel great sympathy as well for the difficulties which the Governments of Thailand and Pakistan are experiencing as a result of receiving the refugees. Japan sincerely hopes that, with the support of the international community, the Governments of both countries will be able to overcome these difficulties.

53. I am profoundly disturbed about the fact that, even after such a long period of time, no solution has been found to the problem of the occupation of the American Embassy in Iran and the taking hostage of its diplomatic personnel. Not only is this incident a violation of established interna-

tional law, but its illegality has been pointed out by resolutions of the Security Council and the judgement of the International Court of Justice.⁸ Thus, it is a matter of concern which the international community can by no means ignore. It is my sincere hope that the hostages will be released as soon as possible and that the question may be resolved peacefully. I have been following with intense interest the developments in Iran that have been reported over the past few days.

54. In addition, present indications that the conflict between Iran and Iraq is intensifying are a source of grave concern to me. I strongly hope that the fighting will cease immediately and that both countries will seek a solution of any conflict in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

55. The situation on the Korean peninsula, which lies in close proximity to Japan, is also a matter of great concern to us.

56. New developments have been witnessed in the Republic of Korea since last autumn. We sincerely hope that the stability of that country will be maintained and that its steady development will be achieved. It is our earnest wish that the parties concerned will continue to make strenuous efforts towards peace and the relaxation of tensions in the region. There still exist marked differences between South and North, but we strongly hope that, in order to achieve genuine peace and stability in the Korean peninsula, both sides will promote a dialogue and will gradually undertake exchanges in various fields with the aim of deepening mutual understanding.

57. I now wish to turn to the question of the Middle East. The solution of the question of the Middle East is essential not only to regional stability and development but to international peace and stability as well.

58. Japan's basic position on the Middle East question was clearly stated by its representative at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine⁹ held last July.

59. In order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, we believe that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must be completely implemented, that Israel must withdraw from all the territories occupied since the war in 1967 and that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination, must be recognized and respected in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

60. Accordingly, Japan supports the principles contained in, and the spirit of, General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, which recognized the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people.

61. In order to ensure that these resolutions will constitute a firm basis for achieving a just peace in the Middle East,

⁸ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Teheran, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports, 1980, p. 3.*

⁹ *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting.*

Japan believes that it is necessary to incorporate into them one of the essential elements of a just solution, that is, respect for and acknowledgement of the right of every State in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

62. We recognize the significance of the Palestine question, which is the core of the Middle East problem, and are convinced that in order to bring about a just solution of the question it is essential that Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which represents the Palestinian people, recognize each other's positions and that the PLO participate in the peace process. We should also like to stress the necessity for the parties concerned to make concerted and sincere efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to a just solution of the question. In this regard, Japan is profoundly concerned about an impasse in the Palestinian autonomy talks and the deterioration of the situation in the West Bank and finds it most regrettable that the primary cause stems from Israel's occupation policies, such as the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories and its steps to annex East Jerusalem. We sincerely hope that Israel will, with good grace, pay heed to the voice of the international community and demonstrate a courageous and flexible attitude towards the peace talks.

63. Japan supports all international endeavours for a just solution of the question and will vigorously co-operate so that the results obtained so far will not be jeopardized but will continue to be supplemented and promoted. In accordance with its independent viewpoint, it is Japan's policy to explore actively possible solutions of the problem.

64. In southern Africa, the fact that the question of Southern Rhodesia, which had been a major concern of the international community, was peacefully resolved through negotiations deserves our heartfelt congratulations.

65. The continued practice of racial discrimination in South Africa, however, goes against the trend of history towards establishing majority rule and must be strongly condemned. Japan, a country that has resolutely opposed racial discrimination in any form since the time of the League of Nations, strongly urges the Government of South Africa to make efforts to eradicate racial discrimination.

66. Furthermore, it is utterly deplorable that the Republic of South Africa maintains an intransigent attitude which has prevented the establishment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group for Namibian independence. Japan has declared its readiness to participate actively in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and earnestly hopes that it will be established in the very near future.

67. Disarmament is indispensable to the achievement of international peace. In this, the first year of the Second Disarmament Decade, we should renew our firm commitment to the promotion of disarmament. As a first step towards making the Second Disarmament Decade a "fruitful decade", I should like to make a strong appeal for the early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and a treaty prohibiting chemical weapons, for which the international community has long been waiting.

68. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is scheduled for 1982. My country intends to play an active role from the early stages of the preparatory work.

69. World peace is essential for the prosperity of the people of any nation; conversely, the prosperity of the people, which depends upon the stability and development of the world economy, is essential as a foundation for the true and firm establishment of world peace. In this connexion, as, on the threshold of the 1980s, we observe the world economy, we find that the economies of countries throughout the world are beset with numerous difficulties such as inflation, recession, unemployment and balance of payments imbalances.

70. One thing that is certain in the present world economy, however, is the fact that at this time of deepening interdependent relations, the economic prosperity of any country will not be attainable without the harmonious development and expansion of the world economy. Accordingly, it is essential that each country in the world assume its proper role and carry out its responsibilities in a spirit of international co-operation.

71. During the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which has just concluded, Japan stressed the notion of the shared responsibility of the North and the South in tackling various problems and in seeking and exploring mutually beneficial solutions,¹⁰ because it is our fundamental belief that such a responsible attitude on the part of the North and the South will be to the advantage of both sides.

72. Thus, I should like to welcome the fact that the special session was able in effect to conclude discussions on a new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. It is vitally important that the North-South dialogue be patiently continued, and that truly harmonious relations between the North and the South be generated within a long-term perspective. Accordingly, I sincerely hope that, based on the results of the special session just concluded, preparations for launching the global negotiations will be finalized during this session.

73. In this connexion, and in light of the fact that, more than anything else, the rapid increase in the price of oil is seriously affecting the entire world economy, including the economies of non-oil-producing developing countries, I should like to point out that the energy problem, including oil, is an area which deserves our urgent and priority attention and with which both producers and consumers must deal seriously in a spirit of co-operation.

74. The co-operation extended by developed countries for nation-building, as well as for human resources development, in developing countries is essential for strengthening the foundation of world peace and stability.

75. In the firm belief that it is the responsibility of developed countries to respond to the legitimate expectations of developing countries, Japan has been co-operating to the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting.

best of its ability with the self-reliant efforts of developing countries in promoting their economic and social development.

76. First of all, I should like to outline Japan's policy with respect to development assistance. I am pleased to confirm that the medium-term target set by Japan to double its official development assistance within three years from 1978 will be achieved this year as scheduled. Furthermore, Japan intends to maintain this positive attitude hereafter by making further efforts to increase the amount of its official development assistance, as well as to improve the ratio of official development assistance to its gross national product. As for areas to be covered by its official development assistance, Japan's policy is to stress the importance of humanitarian assistance and co-operation for the development of human resources as well as assistance in such fields as agriculture and energy.

77. Secondly, with regard to the expansion of trade in developing countries, I should like to call attention to the noteworthy progress that has recently been achieved in the field of primary commodity exports for the benefit of many developing countries. I am referring specifically to the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities which, after many years of effort, was finally adopted at Geneva on 27 June 1980, at the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.¹¹ Recognizing the Common Fund's importance to the economic stability of many developing countries, Japan has worked unceasingly for its early establishment and intends to contribute a total of more than \$60 million to the Fund, which includes the largest contribution to be provided to the Fund's second window.

78. I should now like to turn to the question of the maintenance of peace, and to present a few concrete ideas concerning measures which would enable the United Nations better to fulfil its fundamental purposes as contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

79. First of all, it is essential that Member States demonstrate maximal respect for political resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in the field of the maintenance of peace. It is extremely regrettable, in this connexion, to note the tendency in recent years for parties directly involved in a conflict to disregard, and in certain cases openly to challenge, important political resolutions which are supported by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations and, which, as such, reflect the collective will of the international community. I should like to appeal to those parties to show utmost respect for the resolutions of the United Nations.

80. Secondly, I should like to refer to some concrete measures for enhancing the fact-finding functions of the United Nations which my Government proposed during the general debate of this Assembly last year,¹² namely that, whenever a serious dispute arises, a representative of the Secretary-General would be stationed at the scene for a certain period of time in order to investigate the facts of the

situation and to report to the Secretary-General from time to time. We are convinced that recent incidents, such as that which occurred along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea, have underscored even further the real relevance of our proposal. We hope that the Secretary-General would make even greater use of the powers conferred upon him by the Charter of the United Nations and would take active steps in this regard. Furthermore, we should like to appeal to all Member States to render their maximal support to the Secretary-General as he carries out his responsibilities.

81. Thirdly, I should like to take up the question of limiting the veto power in the Security Council. Although we recognize the necessity of maintaining the veto system itself, it would certainly enhance the peace-keeping functions of the Security Council if abuse of that power could be restricted as much as possible. Thus we shall follow with interest future deliberations on that question at such forums as the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization.

82. I should like to confine myself to making, just as an example, a specific suggestion concerning the function of the Security Council in connexion with the fact-finding functions of the United Nations as a whole, which I have just mentioned. Since Article 34 of the Charter, which attributes to the Security Council its important fact-finding function, has been interpreted as being subject to the veto of the permanent members, the Council has been unable to perform that function in major international conflicts where a permanent member may in some way be involved. We therefore believe that the United Nations should, as soon as possible, take measures which would result in preventing the permanent members from exercising their veto power, at least in decisions relating to the Council's fact-finding function under Article 34. We are convinced that the smooth functioning of the Security Council in the fact-finding field would enable it to cope more effectively with situations as they develop, and thus help to strengthen dramatically the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations.

83. The international community can never maintain peace by remaining idle in today's world, where there is a tendency openly to challenge the law and order of the international community and where such challenges can result in a fait accompli which eventually simply pushes aside international justice. It is essential that each member of the community of nations share the common responsibility for pursuing world peace, in the conviction that its own peace cannot be maintained unless peace prevails in the rest of the world. It is precisely such efforts actively to fulfil our responsibilities towards peace that will determine whether we shall be successful in handing down to future generations an international environment that is a little more peaceful and a little more congenial than that which we experience today.

84. In concluding my statement, I should like to confirm once again that, for its part, my Government is ready and eager to carry out even more positively Japan's proper responsibilities towards the construction of a peaceful international community.

¹¹ Document TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 179 and 180.

85. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly is both a tribute to you personally and a recognition of the important place which your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, occupies in the world today. In the 35 years since the end of the Second World War, the Federal Republic of Germany has rebuilt its economy into one of the most dynamic economies in the world. It has successfully imbibed the democratic form of government and faithfully adhered to its ideals and values. You, Mr. President, are known to your colleagues at the United Nations as a man of extraordinary intellect and charm, a person who always seeks to understand the other man's point of view and to reconcile the differences which exist among men and among nations.

86. I should like to pay a deserved tribute to the President of the thirty-fourth session, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. Mr. Salim's fair and efficient management of our affairs during the past year has earned him universal acclaim and admiration. One of his more remarkable accomplishments which, I am glad to see you are trying your best to maintain, is that he has cured the United Nations of the disease of never starting its meetings on time. It is also my pleasant task, as a fellow member of the Commonwealth, to welcome Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership in this Organization.

87. In his report on the work of this Organization during the past year, the Secretary-General has correctly summed up that year as one which has provided us with some reasons for celebration and many for anxiety. The Secretary-General pointed to the negotiated agreement which paved the way for the independence of Zimbabwe and the important breakthroughs which occurred at the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea [see A/35/1, sect. I] as two of the silver linings in a sky full of dark clouds.

88. Dark clouds still hang over southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In southern Africa very little progress has been achieved in the struggle for the freedom of Namibia and to dismantle the evil policy of *apartheid*. We pledge our support to our African brothers in their struggle to free Namibia from the illegal embrace of South Africa and in their campaign against racial discrimination in South Africa.

89. In the Middle East, the peace process of the Camp David accords has made little progress for some time now. Singapore has always stated unequivocally that Israel has the right to exist. We agree that Israel is entitled to exist within safe and secure boundaries recognized and accepted by its neighbours. However, if there is to be peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours, Israel must be prepared to do three things. First, Israel must give back to the Arab countries the territories it occupied as a result of the June 1967 war. Secondly, Israel must be prepared to recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to a homeland of their own. Thirdly, Israel must rescind the illegal measures it has taken recently to alter the character and status of the city of Jerusalem.

90. It is a matter of great concern to us that the Israeli Government has enacted legislation incorporating East Jer-

usalem into its territory and has proclaimed the city of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. While Israel, as the occupying Power, has the responsibility to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious character of Jerusalem, this unilateral action by Israel to transform the character and status of Jerusalem, pending a settlement of the Middle East problem, is tantamount to converting the spoils of war into national territory and does not help progress towards a solution to the Middle East and Palestinian problems.

91. The majority of us here, Members of the United Nations, gained our independence from Western imperialist Powers in the last 35 years—the years since the end of the Second World War. Most of us were colonies or protectorates or subservient to imperial Powers in one way or another. Those who gained their independence early helped others to gain theirs. We sought and obtained help from many quarters in this struggle for independence and national dignity. We had the support of liberals within the imperial countries. We had the support of socialist States like the Soviet Union. The material and moral support we received from those various forces will not be easily forgotten by us. It is natural that, because of our history, for most of us suspicion of and antagonism towards the Western imperial Powers are not far below the surface of the friendly and amicable relations we have established since independence with most of the colonial Powers.

92. Singapore is a small country that gained its independence only 15 years ago. Since we are small, it is in our interest to be friendly, not only with our immediate neighbours but with all countries. It is not at all in our interest to be caught in the press of power contests, be they contests between super-Powers or regional Powers. However, when the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other small nations are violated by bigger nations we feel that our own security is endangered. This is why, for the past two years, Singapore has spoken out clearly against certain of the policies of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. We are not anti-Soviet or anti-Viet Nam because they have chosen a system of government and economy that is different from ours. What internal policies they follow is entirely their business. But, when their external policies impinge on our security and set precedents which can be used against us, we have no alternative but to do all we can to cause them to change those policies.

93. It is in this context that I ask this Assembly to consider our views on the events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They arise from a deep concern for what those events portend for us who belong to the third world. Singapore is not alone in its concern. Many other countries, especially the small non-aligned nations, share this concern. Like Singapore, they too have been alarmed by the implications for themselves of these events. The 91 countries that voted in the United Nations General Assembly in November last year to call on Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea did so for this reason. Likewise, 104 countries voted in the United Nations General Assembly in January this year to call on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan.

94. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam have dismissed those resolutions. They argue that those countries were pressured

by the United States and China to support those resolutions. This is an argument which, in my opinion, does not warrant repetition. They must know it is simply not true. We hope that, in spite of such public postures, both the Soviet Union and Viet Nam will pay careful heed to the frank views which are expressed by many non-aligned nations on those issues in this Assembly. If they want to retain the confidence of the world community, especially that of the non-aligned nations, they must change their policies in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

95. The majority of us in the United Nations, especially those of us in the third world, have taken a clear and unequivocal position on the issues of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We will continue to oppose the actions of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam in those two countries. If we show that we acquiesce in, compromise with or condone the actions of those two countries, we in the third world will surely pay the price, as the next victim will come from our ranks.

96. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam claim that they were invited to send their military forces into Afghanistan and Kampuchea and that this is a sufficient and legitimate reason for them to intervene militarily. A brief review of the events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea will show that this was never the case.

97. In Kampuchea, the formation of a group called the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea was announced by Viet Nam on 2 December 1978. Three weeks later, on 25 December 1978, Vietnamese forces invaded Kampuchea. By 11 January 1979, the large Vietnamese forces had overrun the country. They then set up a puppet régime headed by one Heng Samrin. On 18 February 1979, nearly two months after the invasion, a so-called Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation was signed between Viet Nam and the puppet Heng Samrin régime. It was subsequently claimed that under the terms of this Treaty—a Treaty signed two months after the invasion—Vietnamese troops were invited into Kampuchea. Today, Vietnamese troops numbering more than 200,000 remain in Kampuchea.

98. Similarly, in Afghanistan, Soviet airborne troops landed at Kabul on 25 and 26 December 1979. On 27 December, they attacked and captured governmental installations, killed Amin, the head of Government, and disarmed Afghan army units. They brought in one Babrak Karmal, who was not even in the country during the Soviet invasion. They installed him as head of a new Government and then announced that they had been invited under the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978 between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

99. While the ostensible reason advanced by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam is that they were invited by the Governments of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the real reasons have since begun to emerge. One need only read the various publications of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam for evidence. Today they are increasingly admitting that their real reason for intervening militarily in those two countries is that events in the neighbouring States threatened their own security. In fact, one Soviet commentator, Alexander Bovin, went so far as to say that "We [the Soviet Union] knew that we would cease to be a great Power if we refrained

from carrying the burden of taking unpopular but necessary decisions". In other words, an imperial Power would lose its credibility if any of its satellites or protectorates were allowed to pursue an independent policy.

100. In Afghanistan, the Soviet Union considered that a revolt by the people of Afghanistan against their communist Government was a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. In Kampuchea, a Government that refused to accept the leadership of Viet Nam in an Indo-Chinese federation was considered to be a threat to Viet Nam's security. The pattern of invasion was the same in both countries. Having concluded that its security was involved, the aggressor nation first invaded its neighbour with massive military power, then established a puppet régime and then got the puppet régime to acknowledge subsequently that it had invited the foreign forces.

101. Most of us have no wish to become partisans in the rivalry and contests between the big Powers. We wish to avoid the fate of becoming cannon fodder in the conflicts between the great Powers. This is why many of us chose to be non-aligned. For many years we have held the view that non-alignment is our best safeguard. For many years the Soviet Union supported the concept of non-alignment to such an extent that some members of the non-aligned movement even championed the Soviet Union as the natural ally of the movement. Today, events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea have shown that non-alignment by itself no longer offers us protection. Both Afghanistan and Kampuchea were non-aligned nations. Both professed the communist ideology. In both cases the national integrity has been violated, in the case of Afghanistan, directly by the Soviet Union and, in the case of Kampuchea, by Viet Nam with the aid and support of the Soviet Union.

102. Did the Soviet Union support non-alignment all these years as a cover, to persuade countries to dissociate themselves from and weaken links with Western Powers until the Soviet Union was in a position to bring them within its orbit? That question is not as far-fetched as it sounds. Today the Soviet Union already has allies and proxies in the non-aligned movement which are completely in support of its policies. Viet Nam, for example, declared on 15 July 1980 that "solidarity with the Soviet Union has always been the basis of our foreign policy". With such allies and proxies within the non-aligned movement, the Soviet Union can be assured that there will be no clear consensus among non-aligned countries to oppose its moves against a non-aligned nation.

103. What is most distressing is that Viet Nam, a member of the movement, a nation that has suffered the ravages of war for 30 years, should have betrayed the non-aligned movement and the ideals for which it sacrificed so much. The Vietnamese underwent a heroic struggle for their independence. They should therefore understand how dearly their neighbours value their independence. For 15 years Viet Nam fought against the United States in a war which the United States claimed was aimed at containing China and preventing the rest of South-East Asia from falling into communist hands. With that experience, the Vietnamese should know the fallacy of overrunning a small nation on the grounds that that is intended to counter the threat of

China. They now advance the same reasons as did the United States in the past. They claim they are a dam containing the Chinese menace. How are they containing the Chinese menace? Not by confronting China. Today it is Kampuchians who are dying, not Chinese. Vietnamese troops are unwelcome guests in Laos, not in China. And on 23 June Vietnamese troops made incursions into Thailand, again allegedly to fight the Chinese menace.

104. The events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea have great significance for us small nations. Precedents and principles are being established which have profound implications for us. Unless we resist and reject them now, one of us may become the next victim.

105. In both Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we are being asked to accept a certain code of international relations. The elements of that code have been clearly expressed in numerous Soviet and Vietnamese publications and broadcasts, such as the Vietnamese commentary entitled "From Phnom Penh to Kabul" broadcast by Radio Hanoi on 31 January 1980, an article in the Soviet *New Times* of January 1970 and an article by one Alexander Bovin in the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* of 22 April 1980. Those are only a few examples.

106. What are the elements of this new code of conduct that we are asked to accept?

107. First, we are asked to accept that a country has the right to invade another country and set up a puppet Government if the invading country considers its security threatened or if it disapproves of the internal policies of the neighbouring Government.

108. Secondly, we are asked to accept that it is the internationalist duty of the Soviet Union and communist States to provide military aid to elements in other countries which seek to overthrow their Governments by force and establish communist and pro-communist régimes.

109. We are also asked to accept that if a people of a non-aligned country wants to change its Government from a communist or pro-communist to some other type of Government, then it can be prevented from doing so by another communist Power under its internationalist obligation to safeguard the gains of revolution.

110. We are asked to accept that communist Powers are not under an obligation to uphold the principles of independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and that communist imperialism and interference in the internal affairs of other States are morally justifiable and acceptable since they promote socialism and not capitalism.

111. To accept that code of conduct would be to spell our doom. We must reject those propositions and make it clear that we are against all forms of imperialism and domination.

112. We must make it abundantly clear that, just as we fought to dismantle capitalist imperialism, we will resist communist imperialism or any other form of imperialism. We must make it clear that we reject the right of any nation to violate the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of another nation to impose or preserve commu-

nism, capitalism or any other form of government. We must reject the notion that either the communist or the capitalist State or any other type of State has a moral right to pursue an expansionist foreign policy.

113. We have to reject all forms of imperialism for our own preservation. We are not anti-Soviet or anti-Viet Nam. We wish those Governments well in whatever way they want to pursue the happiness and well-being of their own people, so long as their foreign policies do not endanger our security.

114. How do we reject and oppose those moves? First, on Kampuchea we must resist any attempt to unseat Democratic Kampuchea from the United Nations. To allow Democratic Kampuchea to be unseated would be to endorse and encourage the policy of aggression by Viet Nam. We are not here to decide on the merits of the Democratic Kampuchean Government in its dealings with its own people. We did not create the Government of Democratic Kampuchea nor did we sustain it. Viet Nam nurtured and sustained it and defended its internal policies until 25 December 1978. It was only after Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea that it seemed to have suddenly discovered that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea was a barbaric and genocidal Government.

115. Here in the United Nations we are faced with a simple question. Are we going to allow the legitimate Government of a country, which is fighting against a foreign invader, to be unseated just because the foreign invader has been successful in establishing a puppet régime in the capital city? Some are advancing the idea of leaving the seat of Kampuchea vacant here in the United Nations. That would only punish the victim and reward the aggressor because an empty seat is a prelude to the puppet régime's making a bid for the empty seat.

116. Secondly, we must continue to insist that foreign occupation forces must be withdrawn from both Kampuchea and Afghanistan, and that the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan be allowed to chart their own destiny. The root cause of the present problem in Afghanistan and Kampuchea is the occupation of those countries by foreign forces. Both the Soviet Union and Viet Nam would have us believe that the root cause of the problem is the resistance by the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They would have us believe that the way to solve the problem is for resistance to cease. Are nationalists fighting against foreign invaders for their nationhood, their dignity and self-respect to be told by us that they are wrong? Does that not go against the very principles which united us Members of this Organization? The least we can do is to stand by the nationalists of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. No effort or great sacrifice is demanded of us. All we are asked to do is to vote for their just cause. The moral force of such a vote will mean a great deal to people fighting against the invaders at desperate odds. It is the least we can do for a just cause.

117. Thirdly, through our stand here on those two issues we must show clearly to the super-Powers that we will have no truck with the policies of their proxies. If we condone Vietnamese action in Kampuchea it will be a clear signal to the super-Powers that they have our licence to canvass for

proxies among the non-aligned nations to promote their interests.

118. The events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are not distant events that have no bearing on us. The security of small countries like mine is adversely affected whenever the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of other countries are violated. This is why we must speak out and defend the independence and integrity of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. There is another reason why we must continue to condemn the actions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and of Viet Nam in Kampuchea. It is that, in trying to justify their actions, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam have attempted to circumscribe the application of some of the most basic principles of the United Nations Charter, including the principle that every State is entitled to respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the principle of non-use of force in international relations. We must defend these principles against any attempt to revise or undermine them, for these Charter principles afford us, the small countries, some degree of protection in a world in which a few who have the military might may want to impose their will on the many.

119. Mr. OLESEN (Denmark): Allow me first of all, Sir, to offer you my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. For my country, it is a special pleasure to welcome a distinguished representative of a neighbouring country with which we have the closest and most friendly relations bilaterally and within important regional organizations. I see your election, Mr. President, as an obvious recognition of your eminent personal qualifications and of the important contributions which for more than 30 years the Federal Republic of Germany has made to peace, reconciliation, co-operation and security among nations, especially in the context of East-West relations.

120. Next, I wish to extend a most cordial welcome to Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as new Members of the United Nations family. Their presence here today offers proof that the world is, after all, still moving forward.

121. We need such proof, for in other respects the present world situation does not give much cause for optimism. In fact, the international situation at the opening of the thirty-fifth session is marked by a number of sinister problems and perspectives, politically and economically, which it will take our most strenuous and constructive efforts to cope with.

122. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan represented a breach of fundamental principles. It recreated uncertainties which we had hoped belonged to the past. The continuing and growing tension in the Middle East constitutes a serious danger to peace. The detention of American diplomats in Iran, in flagrant violation of international law, poses serious risks. The situation surrounding the grave and unacceptable invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces remains unchanged. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its abhorrent *apartheid* system continue to make the area one of the powder kegs of the world. Let me add that the reported military clashes between Iraqi and Iranian forces constitute a new element in the fragile world situa-

tion. Therefore we are relieved that the Secretary-General has taken steps to arrange for consultations within the framework of the Security Council.

Mr. Elvir Sierra (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

123. The world-wide economic recession has become a critical factor. This is even more true of the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world, the so-called North-South problem, which my Government regards as one of the most serious challenges to the international community in the years ahead. The solution of the North-South problem not only is a prerequisite for a more just world economic order but has a crucial bearing on the basic problem of international security and, in turn, on the safeguarding of world peace. Let me, finally, mention the suppression of democracy in various parts of the world and the mounting problems of refugees, hunger and ill-treatment of human beings.

124. I could mention many more problems giving cause for taking a pessimistic view of the current international situation. Many of these problems can be solved only through concerted efforts by all our countries. Where do we find a body that is more suitable for such endeavours than the United Nations? In times of problems, crises and confrontations, we must use the world Organization more, not less. But, in making use of the unique machinery of the United Nations, we must adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of its Charter. We must, therefore—and I emphasize this—firmly reject all attempts to alter the all-important principle of universality of the United Nations.

125. In the midst of all the difficult old and new problems facing us, the most positive development during the past year has no doubt been the negotiated settlement of the conflict in Zimbabwe. At long last the people of Zimbabwe has been enabled to exercise its right of self-determination and to elect the Government in a democratic way. To Denmark, which has a long-standing tradition of active support for the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination, this development is indeed most welcome.

126. Against this background, it is all the more regrettable that the negotiated settlement of the conflict in Namibia has not yet been implemented. The responsibility for this lies squarely with South Africa. In spite of its acceptance of the United Nations plan for free elections in Namibia, South Africa has obstructed and defied the decisions of the Security Council and the will of the international community as a whole. South Africa should have learned from the Rhodesian experience that a so-called internal solution excluding the national liberation movement is no solution. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia must be brought to an early end.

127. My country remains fully committed to supporting the ongoing efforts to achieve early implementation of the Security Council resolutions on Namibia. The United Nations offers us the instruments for securing, in a peaceful manner, the freedom and independence of the Namibian people. Denmark, for its part, is prepared to assist, on the practical level also, in the implementation of any agreement worked out within the framework of the United Nations.

128. As far as South Africa itself is concerned, we must reiterate our strong condemnation of the *apartheid* system. In spite of all the warnings from the international community and many internal groups and parties outside the National Party, the Government of South Africa refuses to accept a society with equal rights for all. Even the very limited reforms which the Prime Minister of South Africa promised have not been implemented. We can only draw one conclusion from that: the pressure on South Africa must be intensified and made more effective.

129. The conflict in the Middle East continues to have serious repercussions on relationships not only in the Middle East but also in the rest of the world. Despite all the efforts that have been made, the past year has seen growing tension in the region. My Government welcomed the agreements reached at Camp David by Egypt and Israel,¹³ with the help of the United States, and the peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel¹⁴ as important steps towards a comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict. Unfortunately, we have not so far seen a broadening of the peace process towards a comprehensive settlement.

130. Two essential elements are involved in such a process: clear acceptance by all of the right of Israel to continue to exist as a sovereign State within secure and recognized borders and recognition of the fact that full account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination.

131. In this perspective, the nine member States of the European Community issued the Venice declaration on the Middle East in June this year and decided to make the necessary contacts with all the parties concerned. We are convinced that the members of the Community are making a constructive contribution towards establishing the understanding and the climate required for bringing about a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

132. However, this goal will remain a distant one as long as the cycle of violence is allowed to continue in the area, not least in Lebanon. Renunciation of the use of force by all the parties involved is a pre-condition of real progress.

133. Other serious obstacles to the peace process are the Israeli settlements and the unilateral Israeli initiative to change the status of Jerusalem. We urge all the parties concerned to exercise maximum restraint in word and in deed, in order not to hamper the endeavours to bring peace and security to the region.

134. The armed Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea nearly two years ago and its implications for the neighbouring States remain a matter of serious concern to the world at large. Like the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, Denmark deeply deplores this development and has emphasized the right of all peoples to determine their own future without outside interference.

135. We deeply deplore the sufferings inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians throughout the region. In this connexion, my Government would like to commend the international relief organizations for their accomplishments in alleviating the human sufferings of these innocent people. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the Kampuchean question¹⁵ and to pledge our support for his continued efforts to find a political solution that will end the conflict.

136. As I mentioned in my introductory remarks, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan during the last days of 1979 has caused a regrettable deterioration in international relations.

137. At its sixth emergency session, held from 10 to 14 January this year, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution urging the Soviet Union to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and promptly put an end to its military intervention in Afghanistan. It is deplorable that today, nine months after the adoption of that resolution, there are still Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

138. Various initiatives aiming at a political solution of the crisis have seen the light of day in recent months. But, regrettably, Soviet reactions have so far generally been negative, and they provide no basis for optimism as to an early solution.

139. Denmark believes that the countries in the region, the Islamic countries and other non-aligned countries in particular, can offer important contributions to the search for a comprehensive political solution.

140. The challenge to East-West relations posed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan presents a very real and significant problem. It is imperative that all efforts be devoted to preserving what is realistically possible of the achievements of the 1970s, and especially the practice of East-West contacts and dialogue, which has become part of everyday life.

141. Arms control and the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are examples of areas in which it should be in the interest of both sides to secure détente based on a genuine two-way process. We must concentrate our efforts on continuing this East-West dialogue.

142. The continued world-wide arms race is fraught with such dangers and entails such a drain on the world's resources that it must impose on all States of the world a responsibility to contribute to international disarmament efforts. In our age a nuclear conflict would simply mean the end of modern civilization. In this context the ongoing broad dialogue in the United Nations on these central problems is essential.

143. All nations share a profound common interest, transcending all ideological and national boundaries in avoiding war—not just a major war, but also local conflicts which might escalate into a major war.

¹³ Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

¹⁴ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

¹⁵ See document A/34/627 and Corr.1.

144. It is sad to note that the present tense international climate has so far impaired the possibilities of progress in international disarmament talks. But we must never give up. It is today more imperative than ever to find an acceptable alternative to a continuing, unrestrained, dangerous and potentially destabilizing arms race. Issues relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be given very high priority in international disarmament efforts. A further spread of nuclear weapons would have far-reaching repercussions on international security and stability. It would obviously alter the entire international environment; it would increase the risk of nuclear confrontation; and it would be a hard blow to all our hopes of curbing the arms race.

145. It is deplorable that the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons failed to achieve consensus on a substantive final document. It should not be overlooked, however, that the Conference did much useful work.

146. In the longer view, the political will on the part of the nuclear Powers to halt the arms race will be a pre-condition of the preservation and, it is to be hoped, the strengthening of the present international non-proliferation régime. For that reason, among others, Denmark urges early ratification of the SALT II Treaty.¹⁶ We also urge a resumption of the negotiating process on the limitation of strategic arms in order to secure substantial future reductions in nuclear weapons as part of a new SALT III treaty.

147. We warmly welcome the latest developments regarding the beginning in the very near future of preliminary talks on arms control concerning long-range theatre nuclear forces. We expect that such talks may pave the way to early and realistic negotiations, thus making it possible to avoid a new and dangerous nuclear arms race on the European continent. Permit me also to re-emphasize that the Danish Government attaches decisive importance to the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear tests in all environments.

148. So far I have mentioned only nuclear weapons, but the efforts to halt the arms race must cover all types of weapons, including conventional weapons, which account for more than 80 per cent of total world military expenditure. Issues surrounding conventional weapons should be given urgent attention as well.

149. In the course of the second substantive meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission in May and June 1980, Denmark highlighted the problems and principles of conventional disarmament.¹⁷ The debate showed that there was wide support for the Danish idea of an in-depth study of the entire range of issues involved in conventional disarmament. We intend to pursue those ideas during the present session of the General Assembly.

150. As I have indicated, we are faced with a number of serious political problems, but also as regards economic

growth and stability the outlook for the world is gloomy. The poorer developing countries in particular are exposed. The present economic difficulties have, however, more clearly than in previous periods with economic growth, demonstrated the interdependence of our economies. More specifically, it has made us realize more clearly that the economic development of developing countries has a profound and indispensable impact on the growth of the world economy and thereby also on the growth of the industrialized countries.

151. Denmark strongly believes that it is in the common interest of all countries to develop a new and more equitable international economic order. We therefore regret that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly did not make as much progress as we had hoped. We ascribe that to the fact that the global negotiations in themselves represent a new venture which is both ambitious and difficult. Let me make it clear, however, that Denmark is in favour of those global negotiations. That was also reflected in our willingness to accept the compromise text concerning the procedure for the global negotiations¹⁸ which emerged during the last days of the special session. We are prepared to join in the efforts to reach a final agreement concerning the procedure and the agenda for the global negotiations during this session. Our aim is to set the global negotiations in motion as planned early next year. We see the global negotiations as a first step towards implementing some of the recommendations of the Brandt report.¹⁹ My Government fully subscribes to the thrust of that report. We hope that its findings will be taken duly into account and that they will make an important contribution to the coming round of global negotiations.

152. My Government welcomes the successful conclusion at the eleventh special session of the negotiations regarding the new development strategy for the 1980s. We are now looking forward to the final adoption of the strategy at this session of the General Assembly.

153. Denmark continues to put the strongest emphasis on extending official development assistance to the developing countries as the best expression in practical terms of the solidarity of all industrialized countries, including the socialist countries, with the third world in its struggle for economic development and social progress. I therefore strongly urge all industrialized countries to regard the targets of the strategy as commitments substantially to increase official development assistance so as to reach the 0.7 per cent target within the next few years. However, our ambition should not stop there; 1 per cent must be reached within the foreseeable future.

154. As I have mentioned, the preparatory work on launching the global negotiations is before the Assembly at this session. I am thinking especially of the agenda, which conveys all the major elements on which global economic growth is dependent.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, paras. 14-18.

¹⁹ *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

¹⁶ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

¹⁷ See document A/CN.10/13.

155. My Government has always favoured a more open world trading system. Today, with a grim outlook for the world economy, it is more important than ever for all of us to join in the fight against protectionism. My Government hopes that it will be possible during the global round to find new areas of agreement in order to secure an open trade system that is responsive to the needs of all Member States of the United Nations.

156. The establishment of a Common Fund for Commodities represents a significant achievement of the North-South dialogue. It is to be hoped that the Fund will soon become operational and thus give an impetus to the global round negotiations on how to cope with the many outstanding questions and problems in the commodity field.

157. One of the most important questions on the agenda for the global round is, of course, the scarce supply of certain natural resources. It is therefore essential that the global-round negotiations should bring about a common agreement on trends and predictability in the energy market. In this connexion, it is of great importance to agree on the establishment of a permanent energy forum within the framework of the United Nations system. I should also like to emphasize that the Danish Government attaches importance to the upcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy.

158. Many other items will be discussed during the global round of the negotiations. It is impossible to mention all of them, but I should like to point out that the growing food problems and other important matters in connexion with development are among the key problems to be solved during this decade. Let me point out, as a more imminent and pressing question, that in order to restore a high and sustainable rate of economic growth coupled with price stability we must find an effective solution to the problem of recycling—a solution that takes into account the interests of all parties concerned.

159. I have already dealt with a number of issues that have implications for human rights. During the past decades the United Nations has in particular contributed substantially to a growing appreciation that lasting world peace and security must be based on a world with social justice and respect for human rights. We have all seen how violations of fundamental human rights in many parts of the world cause social unrest, political disturbances or even armed conflict. In such circumstances, individuals whose human dignity and integrity are disregarded are left with only one choice: to take refuge elsewhere.

160. The United Nations has often considered the problems of the millions and millions of refugees in the world. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant organs of the United Nations have made strenuous and persistent efforts to find solutions to these problems. Denmark has taken and will continue to take an active part in the international humanitarian endeavours to relieve the plight of refugees, and the Danish Government sincerely hopes that all Member States of the United Nations will make a truly constructive contribution to these endeavours.

161. We should all recognize that universal respect for and observance of human rights would reduce the refugee problem. For that reason too, Denmark will continue to support all efforts to ensure that all human beings, without discrimination of any kind, enjoy all human rights.

162. A special feature of discriminatory practices is that of sex discrimination, which exists almost everywhere. In this respect, it is important to recall that since its creation the United Nations has agreed that the Organization should be instrumental in both national and international efforts for the advancement of women all over the world. To date, the main achievements of the United Nations in this field are the World Plan of Action²⁰ adopted by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in 1975, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which the General Assembly adopted last year [*resolution 34/180, annex*].

163. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, which was held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1979, provided further impetus for the implementation of both of these international instruments.

164. Denmark signed the Convention at the Copenhagen Conference, and we find that by far the greater part of the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference²¹ represents a most valuable action-oriented contribution to the advancement of women all over the world, and especially of the least privileged groups of women.

165. Within this framework, the Danish Government will be active in contributing to the implementation of the Programme of Action for the rest of the Decade.

166. The proposal of the five Nordic countries concerning effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic missions has been elaborated upon by my Finnish colleague. In this connexion, I should also like to mention the reference to this subject in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [*see A/35/1, sect. X*].

167. Denmark strongly supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to turn the United Nations into a more efficient tool for negotiation, accommodation and co-operation among all peoples and States of our globe. I have noted with great interest Mr. Waldheim's pertinent remarks on this point. I completely agree that the success of these efforts depends on the will of the Member States. Denmark, for its part, is prepared to show that political will.

168. Mr. COLOMBO (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to address to Mr. von Wechmar, on behalf of the Italian Government and on my own behalf, warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to convey to him the expression of our deep satisfaction at seeing the conduct of the work of this august body entrusted

²⁰ Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

²¹ Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3), chap. I, sect. A.

to the eminent representative of a country which is our friend and ally and our partner in the European Community. I would also like to reiterate here our great appreciation for the skilful and effective way in which his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, performed his particularly difficult task during four sessions of the General Assembly.

169. Allow me also to stress once more the importance that my Government attaches to the tireless activity of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in seeking solutions to problems that are among the most serious and most intractable of our era.

170. May I also extend a sincere welcome to the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which has just been admitted as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of our Organization, thus bringing us closer to the ultimate goal of the universality of the United Nations.

171. The achievement of this priority objective of making the United Nations effectively universal, which the Charter itself set for us more than 30 years ago, no longer appears unduly distant. However, although the 1970s have brought us close to this important success, the 1980s that are now opening before us are still full of challenges to be faced and goals to be pursued.

172. Even more than in past decades, the United Nations must therefore strive to increase its importance and effectiveness as a forum at the service of individuals, of peoples, of States, and of the whole international community, in order to contribute to the achievement of a world of greater solidarity and security.

173. Above all, our Organization has a paramount responsibility to work to serve individuals whose dignity it must safeguard and whose rights it must protect. In this respect, the membership of nearly all the States of the world confers a special legitimacy on United Nations action, precisely because the Organization is the expression of the universal conscience and, at the same time, of the diversity of cultures.

174. We must listen to the voice of all who are suffering unjustly and who are being persecuted, tortured or forced to abandon their own country because the authorities in power are unable or lack the will to provide adequately for their needs. In this area, Italy is ready to co-operate fully with the world Organization, for, whenever the value and dignity of the individual are threatened, no obstacle can stand in our way. No country can henceforth take refuge behind the principle of non-interference in internal affairs when human dignity is at stake.

175. The numerous international legal instruments—both global and regional—already in existence for the protection of human rights remind us of the vast amount of work that has been accomplished in identifying the fundamental principles involved. A large part of the credit for these achievements must go to our Organization. In the years to come, however, we must close the gap which in too many cases separates affirmations of principle from the practical recognition of these rights.

176. As a country of emigration—and now also as a country of immigration—Italy also plans to work actively and to table specific proposals within the working group which will be entrusted by this General Assembly with the elaboration of a convention for the protection of the rights of migrant workers and their families.

177. Millions of men and women are still turning towards the United Nations in the silent hope that it can tackle and improve the situations which unfortunately still exist in many parts of the world and in which they remain prisoners of misery. No one will believe us if we do not take into account that the sphere of freedom is very broad and that it is right to seek not only freedom of thought and movement, but also freedom to own a home, to educate one's children, to receive medical care and, first and foremost, for millions of human beings, not to die of hunger. Italy is profoundly convinced that no State, no responsible authority and no individual can find peace or can slacken their efforts so long as such tremendous problems as imbalance between population consumption and resources or the deterioration of the environment continue to face the peoples of the globe. These problems require from the United Nations, from all countries and from the whole international community the adoption of joint strategies, the union of forces and a genuine solidarity of the whole world. Future generations will judge us by the results of our efforts today and by the successes or failures that we register. On this depends our future and the quality of life that we can transmit to our children.

178. The conclusions of the recent special session of the General Assembly devoted to the problems of development have emphasized, *inter alia*, the objectives to be pursued and the expectations which exist in regard to them.

179. Admittedly, it has not yet been possible to reach complete agreement on all the questions on which we were called upon to take wide-ranging decisions, but nevertheless the special session was able to achieve substantial progress, which we should not underestimate.

180. I am referring not only to the agreement reached on the definition of the new International Development Strategy, which we hope will be duly adopted at the end of our work. I should like, above all, to stress the efforts made to re-establish—as Italy had fervently wished—the climate of trust and co-operation that is essential to revitalize relations between the North and the South in the present extremely delicate political and economic situation.

181. A highly significant political result, which we must include among the positive features of the special session that has just ended, was therefore the unanimous reaffirmation of the need to continue vigorously the close dialogue between industrialized countries and developing countries that began at the special session. We should not allow ourselves to be discouraged by difficulties. On the contrary, we must take advantage of the moral awareness generated by the special session in order to deepen and intensify that dialogue during the present session, in the conviction that it is essential to ensure the stability of international relations and to enable us to tackle without delay the urgent problems of development.

182. Italy maintains that in this field too the universality of the United Nations is an essential instrument for tackling positively the innumerable problems that must be overcome if we are to attain the objectives pursued and meet the expectations aroused.

183. The joint participation of all members of the international community is essential to the success of the efforts being made by the United Nations to reduce and eliminate the conflicts, crises and sources of tension that exist throughout the world.

184. Here I should like, first of all, to refer to the crisis that began nine months ago with the intervention of Soviet military forces in Afghanistan, and in this regard I should like to recall the pertinent and timely resolution adopted by this Assembly last January at the end of its sixth emergency special session [*resolution ES-6/2*]. I fully agree with the analyses and assessments which, in respect to the serious problems arising from this new source of tension, have already been made here by the current President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Thorn, on behalf of the nine member countries of that Community [*6th meeting*]. Already, last February, the members of the Community stated that the crisis could only be ended by a political solution based on the withdrawal of Soviet military forces and the exercise by the population of its right to self-determination, thus leading to the establishment of a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan, removed from the rivalry among the major Powers.

185. This perspective, from the very moment in which it was formulated by the Community was neither exclusive in character nor intended to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan or in the necessary balance of power in the region. Precisely for this reason, the initiatives taken by the Islamic Conference appear to us to be particularly appropriate, because what Italy wants for the Afghan people, in full agreement with the overwhelming majority of this Assembly, is that Afghanistan should not indefinitely remain a victim of a *fait accompli*.

186. During the whole of this year we have followed with close attention and deep concern the difficulties that still prevent the implementation of United Nations proposals for the peaceful attainment of internationally accepted independence for Namibia, the consequences of the continued denial of the rights of the majority of the South African people, within the framework of a political, legal and economic system unacceptable and abhorrent as the system of *apartheid*, and the continuing risks of destabilization in the whole of South-East Asia and the sufferings of its martyred peoples.

187. The international community has been able to join in an effort of solidarity to save the people of Cambodia from annihilation. But the refugee problem today has a global dimension and afflicts other regions in Asia and Africa with extremely serious consequences. It is our fervent hope that the operations which, both through the United Nations and at the bilateral level, aim at putting an end to the tragedy to which we bear witness, the tragedy of millions of innocent people condemned to die of starvation, may be further developed.

188. In the face of the consequences of the armed clashes which recently caused destruction and mourning once again in the Horn of Africa, in countries to which we are linked by ties of traditional friendship and fruitful relations of co-operation, we urge the parties to search for negotiated solutions based on the principles of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and the United Nations.

189. On another continent, Latin America, to which Italy is linked by ties of friendship whose roots run deep in history and culture, we have witnessed this year positive developments in that a number of countries, recently including Peru, have restored democratic forms of government. But we have also noted with concern that in other countries hotbeds of grave tension persist or have been freshly ignited. These have taken the form, on the one hand, of the degeneration of the political system into an authoritarian régime, and, on the other hand, of the massive exodus of tens of thousands of people abandoning their native lands and their homes. These events, which involve risks of destabilization and which endanger the basic principles of civil co-existence, have been firmly deplored and condemned by the Italian Government.

190. For an assessment of those problems and of all the current international crises, I have already referred to the statement made on behalf of the European Community by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg. Indeed, the nine countries of the European Community are constantly increasing their joint actions in the international field to further at the global level, in a spirit of solidarity and peace, their priority objective, which is to contribute to the achievement of an ever better political, economic and social balance among the peoples of the world.

191. Italy, therefore, has set for itself the major political goal of building a Europe of community, open in the broadest way to all fruitful forms of co-operation. The European Community has already given concrete proof that this is not a selfish and autarchical endeavour designed to defend privileged positions.

192. Our Community, which, through the European Parliament which is elected by direct universal suffrage, henceforth guarantees in particular the participation of the peoples in its institutional machinery, will be further strengthened by the entry of Greece on 1 January 1981 and by progress in the procedures under way for the admission of Spain and Portugal.

193. Italy, which is situated in the sensitive Mediterranean area, looks with special interest at these developments of the European Community because it realizes that it is responsible for reaffirming and interpreting authoritatively the political will of the Community in that region.

194. Thus, no one is more thoroughly convinced than my country of the importance of the stability of the Mediterranean region for peace, security and economic and social development. This is why Italy's foreign policy is particularly aware of and devotes very careful attention to developments in the situation in this area, whether it is a question of the problems and conflicts which unfortunately still remain or one of co-operative efforts for consolidating peace.

195. Among these problems, the most important is to find a comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East which would be just for all. The nine countries of the European Community, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), have set out fully and comprehensively in the Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 all the principles which, in their judgement, must form the basis for a solution. At the same time, they decided upon a concrete follow-up in the form of a "European mission" to the countries of the region. Mr. Thorn has already given the General Assembly the basic information on the first phase of his mission; this phase will be completed in the next few days. It has already been decided to continue the European mission. On the basis of these results, the Community will draw up concrete positions on each of the most important items with a view to the decisions which the Council of Europe will take regarding the form which a European initiative might take when such an initiative would seem appropriate.

196. Italy is deeply aware of the basic questions that have to be resolved: that of the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians; that of the security of Israel; that of Jerusalem, for which no unilateral decision is acceptable; and that of Lebanon. Italy, therefore, actively contributed to the drafting of the Venice Declaration and took part in defining the position of the Community on the Camp David accords, which were considered a first step towards breaking the deadlock which had arisen in the search for a solution of the problems of the Middle East.

197. But Italy is not losing sight of the realities of the situation. It is well aware that the desired comprehensive peace settlement can be achieved only if all the fundamental principles defined by the international community are accepted and implemented by all the parties to the negotiations on the attainment of a comprehensive solution: that is, by Israel, by the Arab countries and by the PLO. Italy is aware of the need to ensure the effective exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination as a means of solving its tragic problems. Italy is also aware that, in conformity with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, all the States of the region, Israel and the Arab countries alike, have the right to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders.

198. It is essential that the people of Israel and the Palestinian people find the way to genuine co-existence. How long will it be before these two peoples, one martyred yesterday, one today, will be able to carry on a dialogue and to understand one another? How long will it be before all nations, big and small, will work actively towards this goal without mental reservations, opportunism or ulterior motives? History teaches us that solutions built on force and violence, which trample underfoot basic rights such as the right of all peoples to preserve their own identities and to be able to express them freely, nearly always remain precarious, if not ephemeral. It is indispensable that all the protagonists be deeply convinced that the present precarious balance is essentially unstable and dangerous and that the only path open to all the parties concerned is that of negotiation.

199. The direct participation of Italy in the operations undertaken by United Nations forces in southern Lebanon is proof of our firm desire to make an active contribution to the preservation of peace and to a gradual solution to the problems of an area with which Italy is linked by centuries of history and culture. It is my duty to express our gratitude and trust to the members of UNIFIL, in the hope that its full deployment and a greater respect extended to it in the field by all parties concerned will prevent the tragic situation in Lebanon from becoming uncontrollable.

200. The hope and trust which Italy places in the United Nations peace-keeping activities naturally extends to another delicate problem in the Mediterranean area. I am referring to Cyprus, where the unremitting activities of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, have recently brought the two communities back to the negotiating table as part of the effort to normalize the situation in the Republic of Cyprus, in which Italy continues to take a legitimate and natural interest.

201. The continuing detention of American diplomatic hostages in Iran is certainly not merely a bilateral problem. It also violates the conditions necessary for the safeguarding of justice and for the respect of clear international obligations. The release of the hostages without further delay is therefore necessary primarily to enable all members of the international community to re-establish normal relations with Iran, whose people have begun a new phase in their history, having made a choice which we fully respect. In their own interest, the hostage problem must be settled as a matter of urgency so that Iran may begin to play the role to which it is entitled in international affairs.

202. In Italy, where the conviction that there are no problems that cannot and should not be settled through negotiations is deeply rooted, we have viewed with grave concern the developments in relations between Iraq and Iran, which have now taken the form of armed conflict. This is a conflict that is linked to a territorial dispute over frontiers, which makes it even more urgent to put an end to the use of force and to hasten the search for a negotiated settlement, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

203. The history of my country, our recent history, so interwoven with extraordinary changes and sublime moments of unity, but also with cruel episodes which are an affront to the conscience of our citizens, sometimes disconcerts even those most convinced of the primacy of democracy over all other systems. That history, by undermining the confidence of those who are the most dubious, could induce us to take an indifferent view of recent events in Turkey, a country long stricken with political intolerance, and to hide from ourselves the gravity of the military coup d'état, the sudden suspension of the parliamentary system and the arrests of prominent advocates of democracy. The events in that great country, to which we are linked by such strong ties, cannot however leave us indifferent. If we were to remain aloof, our guilt would be great. But it is our hope that the people of Turkey may rapidly recover the full enjoyment of their democratic rights and freedoms. We therefore say to the military leaders: restore power as soon as possible to the legitimate representatives of the people of Turkey.

204. As regards the problems of the Mediterranean area, I am pleased to mention a recent development to which Italy has contributed, in the conviction that it would have positive consequences for the stability and consolidation of relations of peaceful co-existence among the countries of the region.

205. On 15 September, the Italian Government reached an agreement with Malta which guarantees *a priori* Italian recognition of the neutral status of that island, in line with the policy of non-alignment followed by the Government of Malta. The declaration of neutrality which will be made by Malta will list the corresponding commitments by that country, which exclude participation in alliances, the admission on Maltese territory of foreign military forces or bases and the repair in Maltese shipyards of units belonging to the American or Soviet fleets.

206. The declaration to be made by Italy will not only recognize the neutrality of Malta, but will also call upon all other States to respect it and will commit us immediately to proceed to consultations in the case of that neutrality being threatened or violated. Those commitments will be accompanied by measures to promote the economic development of Malta during the first years of its neutrality as well as, in the case of Maltese neutrality being threatened or violated, measures to guarantee that neutrality and aid to the island, measures that Italy could adopt if it deemed it necessary. We naturally hope that other Mediterranean countries, both European and Arab, which are neighbours of Malta, will make declarations similar to ours.

207. The commitments that will be entered into by Italy and Malta in this context were conceived with explicit reference to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with full respect for them. The text of the agreements between the two countries, as soon as it is ratified by the respective constitutional organs, will be deposited with the United Nations Secretariat, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter.

208. In the present international situation, it is crucial to maintain the balance of forces, even in seeking ways to strengthen international détente in other parts of the world besides Europe. From that point of view, participation in the Atlantic alliance—a regional factor for security and the defence of peaceful East-West relations—remains an important aspect of Italian policy.

209. The increased difficulties in the international situation must not hinder the continuation of efforts to promote realistic negotiations on disarmament, on the basis of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, held in June 1978 [see *resolution S-10/2*], decisions which, in our view, remain fully valid.

210. The work done this year at Geneva by the Committee on Disarmament,²² even in the international climate prevailing in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, has shown that the possibility and the will to continue disarmament negotiations exist. The substantial progress

made towards the banning of chemical weapons and on nuclear tests encourages us further to hope that ratification of the SALT II Treaty by the United States will not be further delayed, so that negotiations may be continued, within the framework of a new SALT III agreement. We maintain that that negotiating process, even with the limits inherent in its bilateral character, remains of fundamental importance for the strengthening of peace and security for the whole of the international community.

211. In referring in this context to the expectations related to the control and limitation in Europe of long-range nuclear weapons, I must point out with satisfaction that recently some progress was made. In fact, the offer to begin negotiations on achieving such control through common agreement between East and West, which Italy and its allies made in December 1979 at Brussels, met with a responsive reaction from the Soviet Union and its allies for the first time at the beginning of July. It is a positive fact that it has consequently become possible to put forward to the Soviet Government the proposal, which is in line with Italy's expectations and with the action it has taken at all meetings and in all international forums towards their fulfilment, that the opening talks of those negotiations effectively begin next month.

212. Within the framework of the initiatives aimed at promoting global disarmament, my Government also attaches great importance to the proposals and negotiations that relate specifically to the geographical areas of which Italy is a part: the European continent and the Mediterranean basin. It is obvious in this context that any formula or initiative must be aimed at the limitation of weapons and the maintenance of security in the field through the attainment of increasingly low levels in all weapons sectors. But any formula or initiative can be considered realistic only in so far as it takes into account the whole political and military situation throughout the world.

213. Constructive negotiations on disarmament, the control and limitation of weapons and the reduction of forces can take place only if all nations are encouraged by their interdependence to create conditions of greater understanding and trust. This is the framework which Italy considers to be essential for strengthening détente. It is therefore necessary that the possibilities, the political space and dimensions which individual countries occupy on the world scene should induce each one of them to begin with faith and, I would say also, with courage, a constructive and permanent dialogue. This is the only means which can in the first place set in motion international co-operation and, on a more complex but more complete level, allow détente to develop throughout the world.

214. The serious events in Afghanistan and their negative repercussions on the general situation have shown that détente can only be global and indivisible and that every attempt to reduce it to a regional or sectoral phenomenon may initiate a process which threatens to make it reversible. Even if the prospect of negotiations for the control and limitation of long-range strategic nuclear weapons represents a significant step forward, there is clearly a need for the full re-establishment of détente and for a political solution to the Afghan problem.

²² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 27.*

215. Certainly, in Europe the process of détente has now been under way for years and the path of détente has been made easier with the help of mechanisms at the regional level, such as the meetings which the Helsinki Final Act provided for as a follow-up to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

216. At Madrid, where the preparatory meetings are already in progress, Italy will participate, in a constructive spirit, in the review of the implementation of the Helsinki provisions and in the efforts to make further progress towards security and co-operation among the 35 participating countries. Italy will do so in the knowledge that only a serious and detailed exchange of ideas can lay the foundation for the recovery of détente in a situation adversely influenced by repeated violations of human rights by certain countries and by the serious events in Afghanistan.

217. Italy reaffirms that it is ready to contribute to the building of the foundations of a more balanced and more open world in which there is no longer room for the old temptations of hegemony and where these temptations yield to the appeal for solidarity. This is in fact a peaceful battle that we must all fight together, whatever differences exist between us, because it is a battle for the peace of the world.

218. The United Nations and its principal body, the General Assembly, will always constitute a valuable instrument in this battle. We hope that in the 1980s conflicts will be prevented and that means of mediating and settling existing ones will be found in this forum.

219. My appeal from this rostrum, rightly described as the forum of the world, is that the essential solidarity between us all should not fail, that the United Nations should increasingly assist the international community to win the battle for peace and that all States should do their utmost to promote the free circulation of people, ideas and hopes so that all of us understand more clearly how closely linked are the interests and aspirations of all peoples.

220. Mr. ULLSTEN (Sweden): It gives me great pleasure to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the election of Ambassador Rüdiger von Wechmar as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. His professional skill and wide experience in the United Nations sphere are well known to all of us and they justify our confidence that this Assembly will be wisely guided. I wish him and the other members of the Bureau luck in their very important task.

221. May I also add the voice of the Swedish delegation to the voices of all those who have expressed thanks to the former President, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the excellent way in which he conducted the work of the thirty-fourth session. Furthermore, I wish to welcome the new Member of our Organization, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, who by its accession to membership has strengthened the representation in the United Nations of the Caribbean region.

222. The 1980s have begun in an atmosphere of crisis.

223. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has tipped the scale from détente to distrust in the relations between the

two super-Powers. The arms race is gaining new and unprecedented momentum. The threat of new countries acquiring nuclear weapons has become more acute. The world economy is facing serious difficulties aggravated by the energy crisis.

224. Not only is the world thus moving deeper into crisis, but our collective will to deal with the situation seems to be faltering.

225. International disarmament negotiations have come to a virtual standstill. The United States Senate has failed to ratify the SALT II agreement. The Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons ended at Geneva without agreement.

226. The eleventh special session assembled to deal with development and international economic co-operation was unable even to agree on the formula for starting the so-called global round.

227. Why all those failures?

228. There is no simple answer to this question. Nor are there any easy solutions to the complex problems the world is facing. There is no shortcut to peace, no simple remedy for the world's economic crisis. But one thing is clear. The issues we are facing ultimately concern our survival.

229. A failure of international economic co-operation is a question of life and death for millions of people in the third world. If we fail to curb the arms race and prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, there is a danger that nobody will survive. Only if those simple truths are brought home can we hope for the spirit of compromise between ideologies and interests necessary to make headway in the difficult negotiations before us.

230. Let us begin by looking at disarmament efforts.

231. The armaments situation has many contradictory features. Thus, for instance, all countries agree that more armaments create a situation in which the security of all nations is diminishing. Yet almost all countries are trying to improve their security merely by increasing armaments.

232. All countries also agree in principle that the best way to improve security is to curb the arms race through negotiations. Yet those who play the decisive role in the disarmament negotiations always seem very careful to see to it that what comes out of those negotiations will not affect their own military capabilities. That reluctance is year by year bringing the world closer to the brink of disaster. That is particularly clear when one looks at the situation in Europe.

233. Both East and West agree that war in Europe may lead to a nuclear holocaust. Political leaders in both East and West also agree that the limitation of armaments in Europe is the way to reduce the danger of the ultimate catastrophe.

234. We are at present discussing the holding of a conference dealing with disarmament in Europe, a continent where the enormous military forces of East and West stand

face to face and from which two world wars have already emanated.

235. Western countries have primarily stressed the importance of obtaining far-reaching confidence-building measures. As for arms limitations, they have tended to refer to ongoing negotiations in existing forums. The Soviet Union and other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty wish to discuss limitations on nuclear and conventional weapons and disarmament in more general and political terms. The importance of those differences of opinion on what purpose the conference is to serve should not be underestimated. Nevertheless we do have to find a compromise.

236. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which will be held at Madrid could be the forum used for laying the groundwork for such a compromise. In the view of my Government, a possible basis for a compromise would be to allow for different time-scales for different disarmament measures.

237. We should like to have the Madrid meeting decide on certain confidence-building measures and formulate a concrete and precise mandate for a European disarmament conference.

238. The first phase of such a conference should aim at agreement on further and considerably more substantial confidence-building measures. A mandate adopted at Madrid should also deal with limitations of conventional and nuclear arms, to be discussed as soon as sufficient progress has been made in the negotiations in other forums concerning troop reductions and limitations of strategic and theatre nuclear weapons. Thus, even if actual negotiations take place in other bodies, a European disarmament conference would play a significant role by monitoring the state of negotiations on conventional and nuclear arms.

239. The purpose of the conference should be to establish a system where all the nations concerned can state their views on how European disarmament should be achieved and put pressure on those which bear the main responsibility for the arms race. If that formula is adopted, a European disarmament conference would naturally unfold in consecutive phases, each dealing with the measures which seem realistic at the time. That would give room for stock-taking and for formulating new objectives appropriate for later stages.

240. Let us go forward step by step but never lose sight of the final goal: a Europe where the nuclear threat has receded and stability and confidence reign.

241. The nuclear arms race is of concern not only to the super-Powers and the European countries.

242. In the strategic thinking of the nuclear-weapon States, it is frequently suggested that nuclear wars can be fought and that nuclear wars can be won. But a recently concluded United Nations study [A/35/392] initiated by Sweden two years ago shows that even the effects of a so-called limited nuclear war would be disastrous. In addition it seems highly unlikely that either side in a nuclear conflict will be able to exercise the restraint assumed by strategic planners in peace-time.

243. While the nuclear-weapon States continue to buildup and improve their nuclear arsenals there is a risk that they will encourage those in other countries who believe that the acquisition of nuclear weapons can increase national security and enhance national prestige. During the past few years there have been alarming reports that new countries, some of them in regions of tension, might have acquired or were seeking to acquire nuclear explosives. That heightens our concern about the threat of the proliferation of nuclear capability.

244. It is highly regrettable that the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons could not agree on a final document. The outcome of that Conference cannot, however, detract from the vital importance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We must continue the struggle to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We must strengthen and broaden the scope of safeguards formulated by IAEA. We must search for common approaches to nuclear co-operation and achieve more reliable assurances as regards both supply and non-proliferation.

245. In the field of economic co-operation, those who hold power seem to be captives of their own conventional thinking and unaware of the fact that the international economy of the 1980s is very different from any we have experienced in the past.

246. If the armament situation is dangerous—and indeed it is—so is the world economic situation.

247. We know that the South badly needs to import the goods necessary to develop its resources and infrastructures. We also know that the North suffers from unemployment and idle industrial capacity. Furthermore, we know that large sums are available in the international capital markets which are not being put to productive use.

248. Properly co-ordinated, those three negative components can be transformed into positive action. What is needed for that is co-operation between rich and poor, between the developed and developing regions of the world, between oil-producing and oil-importing countries, between the industrialized countries of the old establishment and newly industrialized nations. That co-operation should aim at achieving a more equitable distribution of the world's resources, thus creating jobs and well-being for us all.

249. The recent report of the Brandt Commission eloquently elaborates that reasoning. Its most remarkable feature is that it is submitted jointly by a group of members with widely different backgrounds and political persuasions. It is now for the Governments to discuss to what extent the consensus in the Brandt Commission can be transferred to the intergovernmental level and transformed into agreement.

250. A summit meeting early next year might well be needed to acknowledge that North-South relations must receive attention at the highest political levels.

251. Interdependence was also a theme underlying the eleventh special session that ended just a week ago. It is

highly regrettable that the session ended without agreement in that respect. Although one should not underestimate the complexity of the problem and the difficulties in finding quick solutions, it is obvious that the failure of the session was due not to technical obstacles but rather to lack of political will.

252. The present international economic order is changing only slowly, and the change meets with resistance from those who see their interests threatened. While this may be understandable in a short-term perspective, our common interests in a longer perspective should dictate a more forthcoming position even if this appears to imply giving up positions of power.

253. Since the special session failed, it is all the more important that this session come to agreement on a global round of negotiations. The Swedish Government believes that such a new effort is essential to bring about concerted solutions to problems which are of concern to everybody.

254. Sweden will make every effort to contribute to an agreement on the procedures and the agenda in the course of this session. The results achieved so far should serve as our basis.

255. The consensus on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade was an important step forward during the eleventh special session. Its very existence is an important basis for further efforts to be made by the international community to combat poverty and starvation in the coming decade. We have the tools at our disposal for this, but we do not have much time. To put it as the President of the General Assembly did in his speech of acceptance a week ago:

“The need to create a new, more just and balanced international economic order . . . is much too urgent to permit any substantial further delay. For millions, it could literally mean the difference between life and death.” [*1st meeting, para. 47.*]

256. The arms race and the world economic crisis are global phenomena which have implications for the security of all nations. The tensions and problems in the Middle East, South-East Asia and southern Africa may have local roots and causes, but if they remain unresolved they may have world-wide repercussions as well.

257. Viet Nam, once the symbol of the peoples's fight for independence, has now itself embarked on the road of armed intervention. Sweden has condemned the Pol Pot régime's unparalleled cruelty to its own citizens, but Pol Pot's reign of terror can never justify the continued occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. The Vietnamese troops must be withdrawn and the Kampuchean people be allowed to determine their own political future without foreign interference. Only then can Kampuchea begin the gigantic task of reconstruction after years of war, terror, invasion and famine.

258. Unanimous reports tell of a constant and increasing military build-up along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea. This build-up has already led to armed clashes between Thailand and Viet Nam in June this year, when Vietnamese troops reportedly crossed the border.

259. My Government urgently appeals to all the parties concerned to prevent the situation from escalating into an open conflict causing more suffering for the already hard-hit population and increasing once again the risk of a great-Power clash in that region. The refugees must be protected, the territorial integrity of Thailand respected and tension along the border reduced.

260. In southern Africa, the struggle for freedom and justice has led to an important victory. Zimbabwe is a forceful reminder to all that southern Africa is moving irresistibly towards majority rule. Judging from past experience, we could not expect the South African régime to draw the right conclusions from this development. Through the years it has resisted pressure from a united world opinion and remained impervious to both humanitarian considerations and the arguments of reason. However, we do expect other, more enlightened, States to play their part in efforts to abolish *apartheid*.

261. The instruments of peaceful action at our disposal are economic sanctions as envisaged by the United Nations Charter. It is, therefore, the duty of the permanent members of the Security Council to consider what means may still contribute to a peaceful dissolution of *apartheid* in South Africa. We appeal to them not to shirk this responsibility.

262. It has been argued that negotiations on Namibia would be hampered by Security Council action against South Africa. My Government believes the contrary to be true.

263. Measures against South Africa must be taken, and taken now, if negotiations are to yield results. Using delaying tactics and pretending to be co-operative, the South African régime continues to exploit these negotiations for two purposes: first, to gain time to build up an administration of its own choice in Namibia; secondly, to avoid the pressure of international sanctions. The negotiations themselves must not be allowed to serve as a means of postponing the freedom of Namibia.

264. Over the years South Africa has, by its illegal occupation of Namibia, by its armed attacks on neighbouring States and by its *apartheid* policy, accumulated an appalling catalogue of oppression and blatant violations of international law and human rights. It is high time the Security Council took action to implement its own plan for a peaceful transition to majority rule and to a free and independent Namibia.

265. By their well co-ordinated and responsible policy, the front-line States are playing an increasingly strong and constructive role in developments in southern Africa, thus exerting an inspiring influence on the majority of the people of South Africa. The Swedish Government will continue to provide development assistance to the front-line States and humanitarian assistance to liberation movements in southern Africa. It will also favourably consider contributing to the regional economic co-operation.

266. For all too long, the peoples of the Middle East have been deprived of the right to live in peace and dignity, free from fear and want. Recent disturbing events and acts of

violence have once again demonstrated the implacability of the parties in this tragic conflict.

267. The peace agreements reached between Egypt and Israel were, in our view, an important step towards breaking the vicious circle of violence and hatred in the Middle East. Today we have less reason for optimism. Tension is again rising. Israel is adding to it by its settlement policy on the West Bank, its raids into Lebanese territory and its attempts to change the character and status of Jerusalem through unilateral action. All friends of Israel—and Sweden is among them—must note with sorrow that Israel is currently pursuing a policy which not only contravenes international law but also runs entirely counter to principles which should be fundamental to a democracy like Israel.

268. It is no less tragic that the Palestinians, in the pursuit of their legitimate national rights, should resort to violence. As has been so woefully demonstrated, violence inevitably breeds counter-violence.

269. A political settlement can be achieved not by force but through concessions and compromise by Israelis and Palestinians alike.

270. The Palestinians must recognize Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders. Israel must recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, including the right to establish, should they so wish, a State of their own, living in peace, side by side with Israel.

271. Israel must also realize that it is meaningless to try to reach an agreement on the Palestinian question without negotiating with those who represent the Palestinians. A comprehensive and lasting peace is possible only if all parties concerned participate in it—and that is to say that Israel must negotiate with the PLO.

272. A solution must, furthermore, determine the status of Jerusalem and guarantee freedom of access for one and all to the Holy Places.

273. I want to take this opportunity also to express my Government's deep concern over recent reports of armed hostilities between Iraq and Iran. My Government urges the parties to refrain from further military action and to settle their differences peacefully.

274. Today it is more important than ever to remind the super-Powers of their duty to adhere to the United Nations principles on non-intervention and the right to self-determination.

275. The resolution on Afghanistan adopted by this Assembly in January [*resolution ES-6/2*] was important in this respect. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and must be condemned as such.

276. Eight months have now elapsed since the Assembly adopted its resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. But Soviet troops are still stationed in Afghanistan; they are engaged in a cruel combat to force the Afghan

people into submission. But the Afghans will not let themselves be subjugated, and the Soviet Union will learn the lesson that all imperialist Powers should have learned from history. Mankind's yearning for liberty cannot be extinguished by occupation, repression, terror or torture. Individuals and nations will not give up their fight for freedom and self-determination.

277. The Soviet Union has said that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn as soon as it has guarantees against aggression from the outside. But the only aggression from the outside in this case came from the Soviet Union itself.

278. Only an independent Government which has the support of the Afghan people has any reasonable hope of achieving internal peace and stable relations with all its neighbours, including the Soviet Union. We must therefore once again urge the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops immediately, totally and unconditionally.

279. At the beginning of the 1980s, the most dangerous trend for world peace is the transition in relations between the two nuclear super-Powers from détente to distrust. The security of all nations hinges on how the two super-Powers handle their relations and what forms their rivalry will take.

280. By reason of their nuclear arsenals, the super-Powers are holding the fate of the entire world in their hands. All States therefore have the right to demand that they improve their existing lines of communication. Even if we cannot now have détente, we must urge the super-Powers to continue their dialogue. Their channels of communication must always remain open and function effectively in order to avoid misunderstandings, over-reactions and dangerous miscalculations.

281. Hence we note with satisfaction that the Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union are going to meet here this week. Let us hope that this meeting will be the beginning of a more stable pattern of contacts between the two super-Powers and lead to constructive results in the interest of world peace.

282. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to begin by conveying to the President, on behalf of the People's Republic of Angola, our warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This significant choice is undoubtedly a recognition of his distinguished personal and diplomatic qualities and merits. We wish him the greatest possible success in the exercise of his difficult task.

283. I should also like to convey to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim our deep appreciation for his brilliant performance as President of the thirty-fourth session and reaffirm to him our pride at the far-sighted and dignified manner in which he performed his task, thus enhancing the prestige not only of the United Republic of Tanzania but, above all, of the African continent.

284. Furthermore, we wish to express to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our most profound gratitude for his tireless efforts to find the

most just and appropriate solutions to the serious problems confronting the international community and pay him a tribute for his perseverance and his courage in the many contacts undertaken with those who feel directly concerned in the delicate situation prevailing in southern Africa.

285. At this time, as the thirty-fifth session is beginning its work, the world is in an extremely complicated, delicate and dangerous situation because there is considerable aggravation of direct confrontations between numerous peoples and those who support imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonialism, expansionism, zionism, *apartheid* and the exploitation of man by man.

286. Two years ago, from this very rostrum²³ we declared that the disturbing situation at that time might get even worse and deteriorate indefinitely as long as the Governments of certain Western Powers well known to us failed strictly to respect the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the OAU and the principles of non-alignment; as long as they continued to foment colonial wars and to perpetrate acts of aggression of all kinds, directly or indirectly, against independent States; as long as they continued to proliferate plots against the sovereignty and security of States; as long as they continued their economic pillage of the underdeveloped countries and persisted in preventing a gradual reduction of the gap that is ceaselessly growing between the affluent or developed countries and the poor or underdeveloped countries; as long as they imposed military bases in the farthest corners of the globe, bases generally maintained against the will of the peoples concerned; as long as they persisted in thwarting the serious efforts of the socialist and progressive and democratic forces to bring about détente, general and complete disarmament and a comprehensive ban on the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb; as long as they failed to comply with resolutions adopted by international bodies that clearly stipulated that it was imperative to make the Indian Ocean an effective zone of peace; as long as they continued to devote astronomical sums to the arms race instead of judiciously setting aside those same sums for the economic and social development of the developing countries; and as long as they strove to thwart the establishment of a new international economic order in spite of the principles already enunciated by the non-aligned movement.

287. Today we note with the gravest concern that those positions remain unchanged and that consequently there must be coherent unity of action against those who alone are responsible—that is, the Western Governments and their allies—for the growing tragedy of all human beings subjected to exploitation, oppression and injustice.

288. Thus, it is time for the millions of human beings still without freedom or the right to choose their own future to be able to avail themselves of ways and means of fighting servitude, humiliation, tyranny, poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease.

289. It is time for all developing peoples to take resolute action in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, expansionism, *apartheid* and the

exploitation of man by man so as to be able freely to choose their economic, political, social and cultural systems free from intimidation or pressure. It is time for them to take into their own hands their own natural resources and to exploit them for their own benefit and not for the benefit of multinational corporations. It is time for them flatly to reject all forms of subordination and dependence on any Power and all interference and all pressure, be it political, economic or military. It is time for them to demand, in combined and concerted fashion, the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territories of their countries which have been established against their will. It is time for them to make an effective contribution to the safeguarding of international peace and security and the easing of international tension. It is time for them to make a further effort to find effective means of mobilizing their human, financial, organizational and technological resources, thus laying a solid foundation for mutual economic co-operation in the raw materials field and in trade, transport, industry, agriculture, fisheries, health, insurance and so on.

290. In a word, it is time—and perhaps all that is necessary is for all the non-aligned countries without exception decisively to put into effect the final Declaration and the Programme of Action for economic co-operation approved at the historic Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, from 3 to 9 September 1979²⁴ for the serious problems besetting the world today to be properly resolved. That is our hope and our conviction.

291. Permit us to dwell at rather greater length on the problems of détente, disarmament, the nuclear threat and the arms race, because these are the major concerns of the countries that love peace and justice. Once again we are obliged to repeat ourselves. Considerable and praiseworthy efforts have been made, particularly by the socialist countries, to bring about détente and disarmament, to stave off the nuclear threat and to halt the arms race. If détente, which is so ardently desired, is to be meaningful and effective it is indispensable for it to lead to the elimination of all sources of tension and the halting of aggression, foreign interference and the political and economic exploitation of the weakest countries, as well as to the adoption of serious and concrete measures by all in the field of disarmament.

292. In so far as concerns general and complete disarmament, it is imperative for negotiations to continue towards the establishment of treaties or conventions designed to save mankind from the disastrous consequences of an unbridled arms race as well as major or minor wars. Once and for all, all nuclear Powers in particular must undertake to embark upon the gradual destruction of their arsenals of nuclear weapons and to adhere to and respect the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

293. We all know that the international situation is one of extreme tension. Over and above the factors I have mentioned, we must bear in mind the escalation of the cold war started by the United States Administration following the important victories won by the struggling peoples which have frustrated its shameful policy of domination and

²³ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 25th meeting, para. 6.

²⁴ See A/34/542, annex, sects. I and V.

exploitation. Many threats of aggression, of military intervention, of economic sanctions were then forthcoming from the imperialist Powers.

294. That climate of tension was to encourage a certain number of States to engage in an arms race, which is something that has always been of benefit to the Governments of imperialist Powers because of the fabulous profits they earn through their military consortia; and, apart from that, it served certain electoral interests, particularly in the United States of America.

295. Within the same context, certain representatives of Western Powers have frequently donned the mantle of champions of human rights, but that has always been a matter of opportunism, transient interests or the needs of their constituents.

296. If, from the point of view of credibility, the words they have uttered reflect a coherent attitude of action and determination on the part of their Governments to defend human rights, we would venture formally to call upon them to render every kind of assistance to the Namibian peoples and to the South Africans, the Sahraoui, the Palestinians, the Mauberes of East Timor, the Chileans, the Uruguayans, the Salvadorians, the Kampuchean and the Puerto Ricans, as well as all other fighting against tyranny, oppression, exploitation, social injustice and racial discrimination; and we would call upon them at the same time to denounce the régimes that are oppressing those peoples; to lift the economic blockade imposed upon Cuba and denounce the pressure exerted on and the threats uttered against the Cuban revolution; to halt all economic and military support for dictatorial racist and Fascist régimes; and to reduce, considerably and steadily, their military budgets and thus to help the peoples of the underdeveloped countries to combat famine, poverty, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and so on.

297. In reviewing the situation that prevails in the African continent, we note with regret that one of the fundamental objectives of the OAU has not yet been achieved—the total liberation of Africa.

298. Who is to blame for this? Not the OAU. Once again, the responsibility lies with the imperialist Powers, inasmuch as they are pursuing their aggressive policy to perpetuate or extend their domination and exploitation of the African nations and to destabilize States that oppose their plans. In the context of southern Africa, one people, that of Zimbabwe, has also just seized its independence after a fierce armed struggle. Today, Zimbabwe is a sovereign State, a member of the OAU, of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The People's Republic of Angola rejoices at this happy event and reiterates its congratulations to the people and leaders of Zimbabwe, who have fought so valiantly and have thwarted all manoeuvres designed to set up a puppet régime.

299. In the same region another people, that of Namibia, is awaiting the historic moment when it will regain its inalienable right to freedom and independence within the territorial integrity of its own country.

300. During the last 20 years, numerous relevant resolutions have been adopted by various international bodies recognizing, on the one hand, the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and, on the other hand, denouncing or condemning the illegal occupation of Namibia by the criminal South African régime, with its shameful system of *apartheid*, which is an intolerable and flagrant violation of human rights and the rights of peoples, its unacceptable arrogance and scorn for the international community and its organizations, and the lavish support afforded by certain Western Powers.

301. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia in May 1967 [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*] as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until its independence and as the decision-making organ of the United Nations for that Territory, the Pretoria régime and its accomplices have striven to obstruct the fulfilment of the Council's mandate and have arranged a series of manoeuvres designed to delay for as long as possible the inevitable independence of Namibia. Throughout all these years, the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], its sole and legitimate representative, has been carrying on an armed struggle for national liberation and has achieved considerable success.

302. What is the situation today? If, on the one hand, the United Nations, and particularly its Secretary-General, the OAU, and particularly the front-line countries and the non-aligned countries, as international organizations, have bent every effort to finding a just solution to the Namibian problem, on the other hand, the racist and Fascist Pretoria régime, which not only enjoys the support of certain Western Powers and Israel in the economic, military and nuclear fields, but which also, and consequently, takes advantage of their lack of determination, their selfishness and their hypocrisy, has continued insolently to defy the international community, to be intolerably rude and arrogant towards the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to intensify its criminal aggression against countries bordering on Namibia, in particular the People's Republic of Angola, and to set up a so-called Ministerial Council, loyal to it, in order to keep *SWAPO* out of the process of independence.

303. Since the efforts of all of us seem to be directed more clearly towards the search for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question under the auspices of the United Nations, we must necessarily and unambiguously give all the necessary support to the Secretary-General so that he may have every possibility of ensuring the earliest possible implementation of the plan established by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

304. However, if the South African régime, by its stubbornness, frustrates the solution of the Namibian question by means of negotiations, that will mean the choice of war, and as a consequence that régime and certain Western Powers will bear the very heavy responsibility for the disastrous consequences of such a choice. Whatever the circumstances, our support for *SWAPO* will be unswerving.

305. Allow me to remind this Assembly that the material damage to the People's Republic of Angola caused by the

invasion by South African armed forces in 1975 and 1976 has been evaluated at \$6.7 billion, as was pointed out by the present Head of State of Angola in his first address at this rostrum in December 1976, speaking as the Minister for Foreign Affairs.²⁵ On that occasion, he proposed for the consideration of the United Nations General Assembly the creation of an international fund for national reconstruction of some \$300 million, but this was not given the slightest attention by the international community. I would also venture to add that the material damage from 1978 to the present day has been estimated to amount to \$200 million. With rare exceptions, international solidarity in our regard has amounted to only indifference or inaction.

306. The People's Republic of Angola reaffirms its determination to co-operate closely with the United Nations Secretary-General to ensure that the parties to the conflict, namely, the South African régime and SWAPO, resolutely undertake to seek a negotiated solution to the Namibian question.

307. The firm and hard line we have taken may seem surprising, but it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to translate into diplomatic language the feelings of genuine revulsion of the heroic people of Angola in the face of the enormous sacrifices it has already made and the extremely high price it is still paying, almost alone, in thousands of human lives lost and in material damage, in order to fulfil its international duty and to comply with the relevant resolutions of international bodies with regard to Namibia, that the people of Namibia may also become free and independent.

308. In South Africa, as everyone knows, the internal situation is gradually getting worse, thanks to the persistent fight being waged by the numerous and valiant militants of the African National Congress against the last bastion of imperialism in the African continent. At the same time, the internal contradictions of the *apartheid* régime are becoming aggravated because of this very struggle for national liberation. What we need then is concrete and growing solidarity with the valiant fighters of the African National Congress.

309. In Western Sahara, the heroic Sahraoui people under the leadership of the POLISARIO²⁶ Front, its sole and lawful representative, is continuing its relentless struggle against Moroccan occupation to recover its inalienable right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. The recognition of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic by a considerable number of countries, especially African countries, makes it abundantly clear that final victory is near.

310. Thus it is with justified hope that we await, within the framework of the OAU and in co-operation with the United Nations, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State and Government on Western Sahara, the necessary political solution following the recent deliberations held by that Committee, which met at Freetown from 9 to 12 September this year [see A/35/529]. The Sahraoui people will triumph.

²⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, paras. 145-222.

²⁶ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

The considerable success won both in the military field and in the diplomatic field justifies this assurance of ours.

311. We should not like to leave the African continent without referring, however briefly, to the tragedy which has afflicted the people of Chad as a consequence of numerous instances of foreign intervention. We appeal to the international community to provide urgent financial and humanitarian assistance to the Government of National Union, either directly or through the OAU, and also to neighbouring countries which have given shelter to thousands of refugees, thus enabling the people of Chad themselves to solve their own problems.

312. In the Asian and Latin American continents, we find a proliferation of sources of tension fomented essentially by North American imperialism.

313. With regard to the development of the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it is our belief that the concrete proposals contained in the statement of its Government made on 15 May 1980 provide a valid means of seeking the necessary solution, that is to say a negotiated political solution. The taking into account of these points by the neighbouring countries, namely, Pakistan and Iran, pursuant to the principle of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, would make it possible to normalize relations among the three non-aligned countries and to promote a climate of harmony and stability in the area.

314. For its part, the valiant people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has since last year scored some very important and indisputable successes in the consolidation of its revolutionary process and control over its territory, as well as in the fields of agriculture, education and health care. The circulation of the new national currency is also a significant step for the economy of the country. The gradual recovery from the shock caused to the Kampuchean people by the murder of 3 million of its people, its compatriots, committed by the criminal régime that was overthrown, deserves all our admiration, which we wish to convey to the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

315. It is, however, regrettable and unthinkable that the legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people should still not be occupying their proper place in all international bodies and that in the meantime we, the non-aligned countries, have not been able to gain the endorsement at the United Nations of the decision taken at Havana at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, namely, to keep the seat empty until it has been determined to which of the two parties that empty seat belongs. Sooner or later, justice will be done.

316. In spite of the persistent efforts of the heroic Korean people to reunify their country by peaceful means and without any outside interference in their internal affairs, it is with indignation that we note the continuation of imperialist manoeuvring aimed at establishing two Koreas. We demand the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in the southern part of Korea, the replacement of the Armistice Agreement²⁷ by a long-term peace agreement and the dis-

²⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953*, document S/3079, appendix A.

mantling of the military bases that exist there so as to enable the whole Korean people to bring to fruition the three principles essential to their future: independence, peaceful reunification and broad national unity.

317. With regard to the situation prevailing in East Timor, it is deplorable and unacceptable that foreign troops belonging to a member of the non-aligned movement should have continued to occupy part of the territory—the capital, as a matter of fact—of the Democratic Republic of East Timor ever since the proclamation of its independence in 1975 following the withdrawal of the former administering Power, without the legal and political status of the territory having been established. For five years the people of East Timor, under the leadership of their lawful representative, FRETILIN,²⁸ have been waging an armed struggle to recover national sovereignty and territorial integrity, although in extremely difficult circumstances marked by a lack of external logistic bases, a lack of replacements of heavy weaponry and modern anti-aircraft weapons, a lack of financial assistance and the incomprehensible inaction of the progressive community.

318. In order to prove, should proof be needed, the gradual development of the armed struggle of the Maubere people against the Indonesian military occupation, it is sufficient to refer, by way of example, to a large-scale attack carried out by 300 FRETILIN fighters on the night of 10 to 11 June 1980 at Dili, the capital of the country. In six hours of fighting, the television station was damaged and two military barracks were taken by storm and occupied for several hours. Three days later, the Indonesian leaders landed at Dili 40 tanks and a large contingent of marines and commandos.

319. East Timor is obviously a problem of decolonization. Like the Palestinian and Namibian peoples, the Maubere people are still prevented from exercising their right to independence because of Indonesian military occupation, in spite of the resolutions adopted by organs of the United Nations and by the non-aligned movement.

320. A few days ago the Portuguese Government decided to shoulder once again its obligations and responsibilities with regard to East Timor, and it formally reaffirmed the right of the people of that country to self-determination. We would venture to hope that the Portuguese Government will undertake effectively and with determination and courage to make every effort to put an end to the Indonesian military occupation and to ensure the transfer of power to the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. There is no other way. It is now the duty of all countries and all international organizations which identify with the struggle of peoples to render every kind of assistance to the people of East Timor.

321. In the Middle East, the data of the problem remain unchanged, although the consequences are becoming ever more serious for the Arab peoples. As long as the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to recover its country, usurped by Israel, and to establish an independent State are not duly recognized by everyone, as long as Israel does not withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, as long as it

continues its criminal raids and its acts of aggression against Lebanon, as long as it continues to establish settlements in the occupied Palestinian or Arab territories, as long as the United States of America in particular continues to support Israel in all possible ways in its annexationist ambitions, as long as the city of Jerusalem is not restored in its entirety to the Arab nation, as long as the so-called Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel peace Treaty represent a partial and separate commitment which fails to take into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and is consequently a flagrant violation of the resolutions adopted by various international bodies, there will never be a just and lasting peace. However, we are convinced that the solution of the Palestinian question and of the Middle East problem lies fundamentally in the hands of the Arab countries if they jointly make up their minds to make use of all the advantages at their disposal against all those who support Israel.

322. We reaffirm our unswerving support for the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

323. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our unswerving support for the people and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus in their just struggle to safeguard their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

324. In Latin America, substantial and positive changes have taken place thanks to the valiant struggle being waged by its peoples. The Cuban revolution has been firmly consolidated and constitutes an undeniable source of inspiration for all struggling peoples, in spite of the economic blockade imposed by the American imperialists and the unjustifiable maintenance of the naval base at Guantánamo. It is time to put an end to these constant threats and acts of aggression against Cuba.

325. The revolutionary process in Nicaragua is proceeding towards the building of a future in keeping with the interests of the Nicaraguan people and we rejoice at their brilliant successes in national reconstruction.

326. We warmly welcome the victories won by the people of San Salvador and by its vanguard organization, the Revolutionary Democratic Front, as well as those of the Puerto Rican and Chilean peoples in their struggle against imperialism and its agents so that power may be transferred to those peoples and they may freely choose their own future. We denounce vigorously the manœuvres of North American imperialism aimed at destabilizing régimes in power, particularly in Jamaica, Grenada, Guyana and Panama, and we reaffirm our militant solidarity with them in their struggle against these neo-colonialist designs.

327. What else remains to be said, without repeating ourselves, about the grave economic crisis of the capitalist system or the urgent need to establish a new international economic order?

328. We venture to deplore the fact that, following the awakening of Africa to economic questions which marked the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Lagos on 28

²⁸ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

and 29 April 1980, the Plan of Action adopted²⁹ there was not accorded the slightest consideration by the delegations—even the African delegations—which participated in the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on global economic questions, held recently at United Nations Headquarters.

329. Nevertheless, we hope that in the future we shall be better able to defend the economic interests of the African peoples or help them prevail.

330. The Angolan people is preparing enthusiastically for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola.

331. During those five years, considerable results have been achieved in the consolidation of the Angolan revolutionary process, in the establishment of Party structures over the whole of the country, in the strengthening of national unity and defence and in laying the foundations of a socialist society. At present, the Angolan people, faithful to the teachings of the immortal guide of the Angolan revolution and founder of the nation and of the MPLA³⁰—Workers' Party, the late President Agostinho Neto, and under the far-sighted leadership of Comrade José Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the MPLA-Workers' Party, President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, are totally involved in the preparation of the first special Party congress and in the electoral process in all the provinces of future members of the People's Assembly, which is an emanation of the power of the people which will come into being shortly.

332. At the same time, considerable efforts have been made in the fields of education, agriculture, industry, health, fisheries, transport and construction, which hold considerable promise for the economic and social development of the People's Republic of Angola.

²⁹ Document A/S-11/14, annex I.

³⁰ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

333. What we hope for is to be left in peace, with respect for our own wishes, so that we may better meet the aspirations of the Angolan people and thus make a valuable contribution to world peace and security.

334. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

335. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I now call on the representative of Viet Nam, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. May I remind Members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

336. Mr. CU DINH BA (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): At today's meetings, certain delegations, in their statements, made false allegations that are in no way in keeping with the reality of the situation in Kampuchea. Everyone knows that it was Japan which, during the Second World War, engaged in aggression against the three countries of Indo-China and caused the famine that resulted in 2 million deaths in Viet Nam. It was the territory of Japan which served as a spring-board for American aggression in Viet Nam. Singapore and the Philippines provided a platform for the American war machine against the three countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

337. The hypocritical statements of those who claim to be the great defenders of the right of self-determination of the people of Kampuchea cannot absolve them of their crimes in the service of American policy against the countries of Indo-China, nor can they cover up the plots perpetrated against the security and independence of these three countries.

338. The delegation of Viet Nam totally rejects the slanderous allegations against its country and reserves the right to state its position on the problem of Kampuchea at the proper time.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.