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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KARGOUGOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): At a time when the United Nations is going through a painful crisis of growth, when relations between States are becoming more and more complex and presenting virtually insoluble problems, to accept the direction of the affairs of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is surely evidence of courage and unselfishness.
2. That is why, at the outset, I should like on behalf of my country and of my delegation to congratulate Mr. von Wechmar most warmly on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I say his acceptance is evidence of courage, and his election is a sign of confidence in and an honour paid not only to him personally but also to his country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which the Upper Volta entertains excellent relations. We are quite sure in advance that his personal qualities, his competence and his dynamism will greatly contribute to the success of this session, in which there is obviously great interest, judging by the quality of the representation and the level of the debates. His predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, of whom Africa is proud, also deserves our respect. What has been accomplished under his enlightened guidance has enabled our Organization to make notable progress this year in the quest for peace and security.
3. To the Secretary-General I reaffirm the encouragement of my Government in his tireless performance of his noble task. During the months of crisis we have just experienced, we have been able to gauge his determination to safeguard the ideal of peace and justice which is the very foundation of our Organization.

4. It now remains for me to discharge another agreeable duty: that of congratulating the new State of Zimbabwe, solemnly admitted to our Organization on 25 August last. Symbol of a bruised Africa, which, in light as in darkness, fights tirelessly for its independence and dignity—that is Zimbabwe, free at last. May its accession to international sovereignty prove a fruitful contribution to our collective effort in solidarity to serve the cause of peace. May its example inspire the valiant peoples of Namibia and South Africa which, day and night, are fighting grimly to preserve their dignity as free men. Because, to quote a celebrated African, who is no longer with us, "Freedom is the ideal for which, in all times and throughout the centuries, men have fought and died". The people of the Upper Volta therefore salute multiracial Zimbabwe, where white and black, fraternally united, are now assuming their historical responsibilities.

5. I extend my words of welcome also to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

6. Those two new States have joined the comity of free nations at a time when the peace and security of the world are greatly threatened, human rights trampled under foot and the health of the world economy is at its most precarious.

7. We are at a crossroads, at a year which is a turning-point, and of which it will be said that it was one of the most critical in the history of international relations, not because it calls to mind the imminence of the end of the century, but because it is of great significance from the point of time, politics and economics.

8. First, it coincides in time with the thirty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of our Organization. Thirty-five years make it an adult, mature enough to indulge in introspection, to measure the road that has been traversed and to apply itself to new causes.

9. Then, in the field of politics, it is a prelude to a renewal of hegemonistic antagonisms, a sign of the renewal of the cold war.

10. Finally, on the economic level, 1980 marks the beginning of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

11. Does that mean that the United Nations has performed its role effectively? The facts are more complex. Indeed, since its establishment in 1945, this supranational Organization, against all the odds and despite the difficulties and vicissitudes of our times, has taken initiatives, proposed solutions and even performed exploits which have led to notable progress in international life. Thus, in transnational political relations the United Nations has been and remains the living and privileged witness of the greatest events of

contemporary history. Similarly, in the economic sphere it has played a leading part, especially since the conclusions of the Jackson report¹ showed the capacity of the United Nations system to promote international development. In fact, thanks to its competent staff and its specialized agencies, the United Nations has devised and carried out a vast programme of assistance to the developing countries, thereby proving its versatile, many-faceted nature.

12. But although those efforts are undeniable, they could not be adapted to the rhythm of our time, which is set by ballistic missiles and voyages in outer space. That is shown by the successive crises which have severely affected international life in recent years. The consequence of this chaotic development is that the United Nations appears increasingly to be a fossilized system, the resolutions and recommendations of which have no practical effect. Moreover, the flagrant and repeated violation of the most elementary principles of international law leads to irrational and uncontrolled reactions, which are dangerous for the whole international community.

13. To say that our world is in crisis is not proof of any great originality. But there really is a crisis, a crisis which is essentially political and economic at first sight, but is also ideological and moral, as a moment's thought would quickly convince anybody.

14. Wherever we look we see that the questioning is general, through the internal convulsions of all societies, all continents, through the more or less violent and bloody conflicts which pit a large number of countries against each other, through the feeling of powerlessness which threatens our Organization. Must a situation so at odds with the hopes that clearly animated the drafters of the San Francisco Charter be seen as a proof of failure, or rather as the obligatory and not even contradictory path towards the mission assigned to the United Nations? Opinions differ on this point. I think we have better things to do than to take part in a theoretical and altogether sterile debate. Rather, we should patiently seek issues on which the world may be able to achieve the minimum consensus indispensable for building together our common human destiny.

15. Throughout history it has been the nature of man and of the societies he has organized to give rein to the desire for power. Whether in individual competition or in the race for leadership among nations, that constant is found at all levels, with formidable consequences, which are reflected in perennial wars, the exploitation of the weakest, greed and pillage. Generous doctrines and ideologies have been born aiming at radically reversing this course of events, but no conclusive results have been produced in practice. Those that professed liberalism and fundamental human rights based on freedom have equally not been able to resist the temptation of abusing and denying their own principles. And that is a pity.

16. During this jousting match, which technological development only exacerbated, the third world countries have become aware of their dependence on an already established order which only demands clients. Indeed, what kind of

independence is it if one has no control over the prices of one's own products, if the monetary base standard is but a trap and if access to education and technology is first and foremost governed by the selfish interests of the multinational corporations. Even the richest societies do not nowadays escape the widespread anxiety about the future. Everyone feels that the apocalypse can come at any moment, for it is within the logic of over-armament to encourage a constant forward movement and the taking of risks that are at times less calculated than we think. Hence we are at all times at the mercy of a mistake, if not a misjudgement of the facts.

17. This crumbling of the international order, promoted by a certain complicity, is sufficient to explain the arrogance of South Africa in persisting in its ignominious policy of *apartheid*. In hardening its position, the Pretoria régime each day exacerbates tension in the region, and the worst is to be feared. We reiterate our appeal to all countries friendly to Pretoria to bring South Africa to heed reason by making it understand that the independence of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], is unavoidable and the liberation of the South African people an irreversible process.

18. The ambiguities of the international political order doubtless equally explain the futility of efforts to break the deadlock in certain international conflicts.

19. That is the case, for example, with regard to Western Sahara and Chad. If the negotiations had been based exclusively on the relevant decisions of the African heads of State, they would by now have led to significant progress. Unfortunately, the inconsistency of certain attitudes only prolongs these fratricidal wars.

20. That also goes for the conflicts raging in South-East Asia, where the permanent presence of foreign forces each day breeds hatred and vengeance among peoples united by a common civilization and aspiring only to live together in peace and harmony. With reference to the explosive situation prevailing in Cambodia, the Upper Volta, my country, which is fundamentally devoted to the values of democracy and freedom and places its trust in the Charter of the United Nations, rejects any concept of international relations according to which the existence of a State might henceforth depend on the opinion its own neighbours hold of it.

21. With regard to the problems of the Middle East, we should recognize quite objectively that it has become a dangerous powder-keg for the international community as a whole, especially since the recent decision of the Israeli Government to make Jerusalem its "eternal capital". In its official statement my Government took a position on this question. That position is based on the sacrosanct principles of the non-acquisition of territory by force and the settlement of disputes through negotiation. For us the fate of Jerusalem is not what the Knesset will decide. That is to say that the Upper Volta fully associates itself with Security Council resolution 478 (1980), for only compliance with that resolution can lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

22. With regard to Afghanistan, notwithstanding the unequivocal condemnation by the international community of the Soviet intervention, that non-aligned Moslem State

¹ *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.I.10).

remains the theatre of bloody operations aimed at breaking any national resistance. The Upper Volta, a free country which has freely chosen its leaders, has already made its position known on this question, the definitive solution of which depends on compliance with General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980, requiring the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the policy of non-alignment of Afghanistan.

23. Having regard to threats to world peace, one must finally recall the inconceivable slap in the face to one of the most imprescriptible principles of international relations which is respect for the most elementary diplomatic customs. The trials to which a State Member of the United Nations has been subjected in Iran, with all the vile humiliation they entail, must not make us forget the risks this poses for the world. That is why, while the United States is doubtless not blameless with regard to the policy it has pursued in Iran, it nevertheless remains no less true that any dispute arising therefrom could surely not justify the taking of hostages among diplomatic personnel. Without elaborating, I say that that is an unjustifiable act for the very reason that all States Members of the United Nations cannot but feel very uneasy at such a flagrant violation of international law. Thus far, almost all of us have remained silent—in other words we are ourselves all hostages. Beyond the purely humanitarian aspect of the matter, it is the principle of respect for religion and, in particular, Islam, which is being called in question. The Upper Volta, a country member of the Islamic Conference, formally rejects any right and any claim to cover such practices with the cloak of Islam. That is why I make it my duty to recall here the message sent on 20 November 1979 to Ayatollah Khomeini by President El Hadj Aboubakar Sangoulé Lamizana for the release of the kidnapped diplomats. It will be recalled that, in that touching appeal, the head of State of the Upper Volta exhorted the leader of the Iranian Revolution to respect fully the rules of international law. He said:

“We are following with profound concern the events now taking place in Teheran since they seem to reflect ill what we know and believe of Islam and the universally recognized and respected principles of international relations.

“Without judging the substance of the dispute between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America, it seems obvious that it is in the interest of all that the American diplomatic personnel that have been taken hostage should be freed swiftly.

“In the circumstances we very much regret that you have not taken into consideration the unanimous decision of the Security Council of our international Organization and that you have turned a deaf ear to the urgent appeal that has been made to you.

“We appeal to your faith as a servant of Allah to spare us a severe judgement by history of the true practices of Islam.”

24. The present international climate, which is particularly tense and which characterizes the end of this century, may become the cause of our own collapse unless we prevent it from doing so, because, indeed, the obstinate refusal of the

great Powers to disarm and the establishment of the most sophisticated war arsenals are disquieting harbingers of doom, unless in an effort of will the international community can transcend its national egoisms.

25. At the end of the Disarmament Decade, which was proclaimed in 1969 [*resolution 2602 E (XXIV)*] and which has certainly enjoyed some success, the Upper Volta wishes from this rostrum solemnly to appeal to the conscience of each nation so that violence in all its forms may be banished from our world for ever. We are prepared to make our modest contribution to such a collective effort, provided that the States most directly concerned—that is, the great Powers—agree to give of their good will. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, put special emphasis on this basic demand, stipulating that the new Second Disarmament Decade should promote the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That salutary enterprise would not only free humanity from the spectre of war but would also, and in particular, contribute to the solving of economic problems by providing for development funds that would otherwise be used for military expenditures.

26. In our efforts to scrutinize the signs of the times and to work for the happiness of mankind, economic problems should be especially the subject of our reflections, because the economic aspects, as well as political actions, are essential elements of the dialectics of peace and security. We cannot and should not in any way remain insensitive and inactive in the face of the fact that colossal sums are being swallowed up by the arms race and that the resources of this world are being wasted when a tiny part of the money thus spent would allow us to develop, to modernize our agriculture, to give work to coming generations and to overcome underdevelopment.

27. All those burning questions, which have not been solved during the two United Nations Development Decades, should be broadly debated during the global negotiations that are to take place in 1981.

28. In anticipation of that broad collective effort, and in order to face up to the short-term international economic situation, which is difficult and particularly testing for the African countries, the heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], following their second extraordinary session of the Assembly, the first such session devoted to economic matters, which was held in April 1980 at Lagos² resolutely decided to lay the foundations for endogenous self-sustaining development centred in the African continent itself. In doing so, while relying on more dynamic, loyal and sincere international assistance, Africa wants first and foremost to depend on its own strength.

29. In its collective commitment to the establishment of the new international economic order, the United Nations has a leading role to play. It has a duty to put an end to the flagrant inequity of outrageous discrimination against peoples. And how will it do that? In our humble opinion, that should be done by emphasizing, in particular throughout the Third United Nations Development Decade, greater

² See document A/S-11/14.

appreciation of man and his environment and the reconsideration of priorities in international development.

30. Any development philosophy and the indispensable activities underpinning it must place man at the centre. Only concerted action for the integral development of man, and the development of mankind in solidarity, can guarantee a more stable and more just world order. His Holiness Pope John Paul II, with the high-mindedness that characterizes him and his extreme sensitivity concerning third world problems, most appropriately recalled that point last year from this very rostrum, when he stated that "the reason for all political activity, whether national or international, . . . comes from man, is exercised by man and is for man".³ Naturally, a greater appreciation of the social function of man also raises the problem of man's environment, man's milieu. World attention has been concentrated in recent years on drought and desertification, phenomena of an unprecedented magnitude that have emphasized the intimate relationship between man and his environment. The deterioration in his well-being and his social prospects invariably accompanies degradation of the ecosystem.

31. All efforts in the fight against desertification should be oriented towards man's well-being. That was the main conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Desertification,⁴ and that was the thrust of the important statement made by His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he visited Ouagadougou on 10 May. In that statement which touched the hearts of the populations of the Sahel, "those men who are thirsty for love and fraternal charity, and also water, which is necessary for their lives", the head of the Catholic Church said in substance:

"I lift my voice in supplication because I cannot be silent when my brothers and sisters are threatened. I am the voice of those who have no voice, the voice of the innocent who have died because they did not have water and bread, the voices of fathers and mothers who saw their children die and could not understand why.

"I appeal to you all.

"Let us not wait for the return of drought, this terrible, devastating drought. Let us not wait for the sand to bring death again. Let us not allow the future of these people to be for ever threatened. The solidarity of yesterday has through its extension and its effectiveness shown that it is possible to listen to no voice but that of justice and charity—not that of individual and collective egoism."

32. Since it suffered from this terrible calamity and since the effects continue to disturb its development efforts, my country, the Upper Volta, has at the last two sessions of the General Assembly suggested that a world programme be established in the field of reforestation. At the risk of repeating myself, then, I would say that the Upper Volta reiterates its proposal that there should be a United Nations decade for the tree. A green Sahel by the year 2000 should not be seen as a mirage but as a prerequisite for the survival of a whole civilization.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting, para. 18.

⁴ Held at Nairobi from 29 August to 9 September 1977. For the report, see A/CONF.74/36.

33. It is recognized that problems are interdependent and linked one to the other in a consistent and logical pattern, and that solutions to some have immediate effect on others. Thus, action against desertification is directly linked with problems of food, energy and, to a lesser extent, raw materials. These three fields are of great concern to my Government, as are commercial problems and monetary problems. I know that these questions have been fully discussed at the eleventh special session, devoted to economic issues, and that they will be debated again within the framework of the global negotiations which are to be launched next year. May I nevertheless briefly touch once more on food and energy issues in order to emphasize just how much of a priority they have for us in the Upper Volta.

34. During the Second United Nations Development Decade, the agriculture and food production of the developing countries increased only 1.3 per cent instead of the envisaged 4 per cent. That very fact is sufficient to convey clearly the acuteness of the food problem in the world. Aware of this worsening situation, we emphasized once more at the eleventh special session, devoted to economic problems,⁵ the urgency with which we should promote conditions for real world food security. The dimensions of the problem go far beyond national boundaries, and it is therefore essential to strengthen international co-operation in this field.

35. Food aid to countries that need it most, in particular those affected by drought, is an extremely laudable act of generosity testifying to the humanitarian qualities in international relations. However, as was emphasized by the heads of State and Government of the OAU at the second extraordinary session, devoted to economic matters and held at Lagos, only broad-based, permanent and long-term solutions can resolve the problems of food throughout the world, the first of these measures being to help developing countries to set up modern and rational methods of production which would enable them to achieve self-reliance in the area of food.

36. The energy crisis is of equal concern. Many say that it is the origin of the generalized economic crisis. We will not enter into the debate on that. But whatever the causes for this situation, one might wish to single out the fact that the developing countries, and in particular those that do not produce oil, are suffering much more from the shock and repercussions of the oil crisis. A country like the Upper Volta, which is among the least advanced countries, and has no outlet to the sea, had an oil bill in 1979, just last year, of \$30 million, or a tenth of the over-all value of its imports. We must, therefore, swiftly find a solution in order to break this deadlock. In the framework of the collective effort to establish the new economic order, we should, in an effort of solidarity and realism, redefine the terms of the dialogue between producers and consumers. Parallel with that, research should be pursued and intensified in the field of new and renewable energy sources. Wind energy, solar energy, nuclear energy are all possibilities which should be taken into account in the global strategy aimed at resolving the world energy crisis.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting.

37. All these complicated problems of our world are disquieting signs at the dawn of the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. The economic order that should result from this is awaited with impatience by millions of human beings who day by day are falling prey to growing feelings of frustration. The success of this new order depends, first and foremost, on two essential imperatives.

38. Politically speaking, what is required is a real will on the part of States to negotiate and fundamentally transform the fate of mankind, without any consideration other than the general interest. That means, in particular, abandoning the principle of ideological subordination, whatever it may be and from whatever source. It means also the renunciation of any attitude of complacency in either camp. We must negotiate forthrightly for the place which should be ours, namely, a place that should be one and the same for all men throughout the world.

39. Methodologically speaking, it is indispensable to achieve a democratization, and perhaps even a structural reform of the United Nations system, so that it may be better adapted to the needs of our era. We must manage to overturn the order of importance and give decision-making power to the largest possible number of States. We must recognize that the General Assembly has a particular role to play. A democratic machinery must be set up for taking decisions that will include small States in the solution of any problem that affects the future of the international community.

40. The new economic order therefore presupposes at the outset a restructuring of the international political order which, without detracting from the sovereignty of each State, would allow a bit more space for the United Nations, a United Nations which would no longer be controlled by a group of countries, but mandated by the international community as a whole.

41. The new economic order is also a moral value. It is the machinery whereby the developing countries would finally attain their rightful place, in which the determining parameters would no longer depend upon the geographical size of States, their military potential or the size of their population, but upon their own character, their respect for the human person, their specific contribution to the common work, their contribution to the search for peace.

42. We African countries are especially aware of the immense debt of gratitude we owe the United Nations and what an irreplaceable role it has played to the benefit of all third-world countries. That is why our words should be understood solely as an incitement to go forward and as a modest contribution to the quest for new prospects.

43. And thus, although to some the event might appear to be of secondary importance in comparison to so many serious problems, it is a pleasure for us to bring up the initiative represented by the recent meeting of women from all continents which was held at Copenhagen last July.⁶

44. Certainly, the feeling that predominated among the so-called serious observers was that this second conference smacked a little of folklore.

45. But I should say that the important thing is perhaps not so much the concrete results or the sparsity of the resolutions and recommendations that came out of the conference; the important thing is the fact that those debates could take place and that dialogue could be opened, despite the gulfs which existed between traditions and ways of thinking. The important thing is that at last an essential part of mankind could take the floor, enter into discussions and present this new perspective, this new approach to the same basic problem.

46. On behalf of the Upper Volta, I would say that in the final analysis the event was neither minor nor of secondary importance; to imagine that what took place at Copenhagen was nothing but a pointless game would be to misinterpret the true dimension of our time.

47. It is essential that the women of the whole world bring their own sensitivity to bear, that they remind us that everything in life should not be conceived and resolved in terms of strength and power, but that what we have is quite simply life, and the little parcel of happiness to which every individual should have a right.

48. Better than we, the women of the whole world should be able to convince our children—the youth of the whole world—that the future has not been irremediably warped and that it has orientations other than violence and apocalypse. And perhaps those women of the whole world could also from time to time remind us—the “powerful, all-knowing statesmen”—that it is not only war that counts, but also a certain satisfying quality of life.

49. It is time for dialogue and discussion; it is time for choices and, thus, for sacrifices. The Third United Nations Development Decade will be what we want it to be. It is for our civilization, going forward towards this great rendezvous with history, to move in the direction of greatness and not that of renunciation. Along these lines, I take pleasure in paying a tribute to the independent Willy Brandt Commission for the highly interesting document it has provided for our consideration.⁷ Stressing the need for a change in our way of thinking as a condition for the establishment of a new international economic order, that report was especially instructive for the North-South dialogue.

50. Humanity is fighting for its survival and it is imperative that a new international morality be defined. I am certain that despite its present imperfections the United Nations can be the ideal instrument to achieve this.

51. We must understand how eternally precarious the safety of the world is; through its history so many sacrifices have been required to overcome so many dangers.

⁶ World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.

⁷ *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).

52. We must acknowledge that the higher interests of our Organization require that nothing come before the duty to serve it.

53. We must be prepared to unite fraternally in order to safeguard peace and security, not only for our age, but also—and above all—for future generations.

54. It is in that way, and in that way alone, that we will have fully assumed our international responsibility, that of leading millions upon millions of human beings for whom we are responsible towards greater well-being and justice, towards greater hope and happiness.

55. Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset to convey to Mr. von Wechmar my warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

56. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim for the important contributions he made to the work of the United Nations during the past year in his capacity as President, first of the thirty-fourth session and then of two special sessions and one emergency special session of the General Assembly.

57. I should especially like sincerely to thank Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and his colleagues for their great efforts in the service of peace, stability and understanding in South-East Asia.

58. My delegation welcomes Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the United Nations.

59. Thirty-five years have passed since the founding of the United Nations, 35 years during which the world, embarked on a new stage of development, was witness to the most profound changes in history.

60. Unprecedented scientific and technological discoveries have opened up to mankind the greatest opportunities to reach new heights in economic development in order to eliminate poverty and backwardness on earth and at the same time to enable man to enter into the era of the conquest of space and the harnessing of nature for the welfare of mankind.

61. But on the other hand the miraculous gifts of science and technology have also been used to develop the most sophisticated weapons, capable of destroying all the material and cultural achievements which man's genius has amassed over thousands of years. Each year hundreds of billions of dollars are wasted on the arms race for the development and manufacture of the means of mass destruction. Present stockpiles of nuclear weapons are four to five times greater than what would be needed to obliterate all life on earth. In the fever of this arms race, mankind went through long periods of cold war in the 1950s and 1960s and very often stood on the brink of a war of annihilation.

62. But the miracle is that, in a world full of means of destruction which threaten the very life of mankind, mankind has triumphed. The past 35 years make up the longest and most stable period of peace enjoyed by mankind in the

twentieth century. For the first time in history, the principles of peaceful coexistence and of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful negotiations have a solid base in human society and have become universal principles which govern contemporary international relations.

63. This miracle has been achieved by mankind first and foremost as a result of the victorious struggle of the forces of peace and democracy and thanks above all to the Soviet Red Army which, by defeating fascism in the Second World War, seriously weakened the most bellicose forces. It is also the result of the awakening of mankind to the danger of a new war of annihilation, to its determination to check it and to the earnest aspirations of hundreds of millions of men and women for the maintenance of peace. The fact that peace has been defended in such a solid and durable way is the result of the growing strength of the socialist countries and their policy of peace. It is also the result of the development over the past three decades of the movement for national liberation and independence which, through liberation wars, brought about the collapse of the colonial system—a source of human and material resources for the warmongers—and the weakening of the most bellicose forces. The struggle of the peoples of the world for peace and democracy has also contributed greatly to the thwarting of plans for war.

64. Nevertheless, at the present time, the bellicose imperialist circles are stepping up their collusion with international reactionary forces in order to push States into another arms race, to revive the cold war and to sabotage international peace and détente. The expansionists and hegemonists, who cherish the idea of bringing about confrontation between peoples and of throwing the peoples of the world into great chaos, shout at the top of their voices that a third world war is inevitable. This is why mankind must remain vigilant. However, the chances of preventing war and preserving peace are greater now than they were before the Second World War and better than they were in the 1950s and 1960s. The days when imperialism, relying on its supremacy in material resources and arms, made use of war as a means of dominating peoples are past, especially after the defeat of the American aggression against Viet Nam. More than ever before, our peoples have a real opportunity to prevent world war, to preserve international peace and security and to bring about peaceful coexistence among countries with different social régimes.

65. Indeed the trend of the development of history is irreversible. One of the primary tasks of our peoples is to struggle against the attempt of imperialism and international reactionary forces to reverse the course of history.

66. The Vietnamese people for its part is totally committed to contribute to the struggle waged by mankind for international peace and security. We fully support the initiatives put forward by the socialist and the non-aligned countries aimed at easing tensions in the world, at curbing the arms race and at achieving general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence, in particular the initiative put forward for consideration at this session by Mr. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs [*6th meeting*], concerning certain urgent measures to reduce the danger of war. We believe that all international disputes should be settled peacefully through negotiations based on

the principles of equality and mutual interest. Only thus can the peace that has been achieved by the peoples of the world over the last 35 years be transformed into a solid and lasting peace.

67. During those 35 years, while the peoples of the world had the great fortune to experience the longest period of peace this century, the Vietnamese, who had fought with the Allies against fascism and militarism during the Second World War, were the only people who did not enjoy one day of peace.

68. In their senseless desire to crush our people's will for independence and freedom, the colonialist and imperialist forces took it in turn to impose the longest and bloodiest colonial wars in history upon the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

69. And since 1975, the reactionary leaders of our northern neighbour, in collusion with imperialism, have carried out a policy of total hostility against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. They have unleashed a war of aggression against Viet Nam. They have blatantly interfered in the internal affairs of the peoples of Indo-China. They are now threatening to unleash another war against our people.

70. Everyone knows that there was a time when imperialism accused Viet Nam of being a tool for Chinese and Soviet expansionism and it cooked up the Gulf of Tonkin incident in order to justify its criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. In the same way, in order to cover up their policy of expansion and aggression, the authorities of the only Asian country to possess nuclear weapons claim today that they are fighting Viet Nam because it is a tool for Soviet expansion in South-East Asia.

71. The truth is that in the last 25 years South-East Asia has been one of the most unstable regions in the world. It was the only region where the sound of warfare was never silenced. Indeed, after the Second World War, many countries in South-East Asia fell victim to colonial wars. Then came the bloody war of aggression waged by the American imperialists against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. It was also during the last 35 years that the leaders of the most heavily populated country in the world made use of their nationals and of local rebel groupings of self-styled ultra-revolutionaries to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of South-East Asia, thus giving rise to civil wars and lasting rebellions that threaten the peaceful life of the peoples of those countries and pit the countries of the region against one another. They have continually made territorial claims, concerning both land and sea, upon almost all the neighbouring countries. With reference merely to the China Sea, which they would like to transform into a Chinese lake, they occupied the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa by force in 1974; they claim sovereignty over our archipelago of Truong Sa; and they mark out their southern maritime territorial limits as including the whole of the continental shelves and exclusive economic zones of Viet Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

72. After the defeat of the United States in Viet Nam, the hegemonists from the north unleashed a bloody war against Viet Nam on its northern border on the one hand, and through the Pol Pot régime on its south-west side on the

other. They intended thus to catch Viet Nam in a two-pronged attack, while gravely threatening the independence and security of Laos. But the uprising of the people of Kampuchea, in co-ordination with the counter-attack in self-defence of the Vietnamese people, overthrew the genocidal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and thus dealt a severe blow to the dark schemes of the hegemonists.

73. The hegemonists in the north, unable to resign themselves to this defeat, have been feverishly carrying out threats of war and subversion, gravely menacing the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. At the same time, through dark intrigue, they are putting pressure on other countries to urge them to impose an economic blockade and to carry out a campaign of slander at the international level against the three countries of Indo-China, which they hope to subjugate.

74. Taking advantage of the fact that the Lao People's Democratic Republic is sparsely populated and landlocked, they carry out coercion and intimidation and subversive activities, inciting the reactionary forces in a western neighbour of Laos to provoke border conflicts, which they use as a pretext for blocking supply routes and applying an economic blockade, with the aim of stifling the Lao People's Democratic Republic and sowing discord between it and the other countries of Indo-China.

75. They have systematically turned down all proposals aimed at ending the confrontation and restoring peace on the Sino-Viet Nam border, which would normalize relations between the two countries.

76. They have twice rejected our proposal to resume the third round of negotiations between Viet Nam and China which they had pledged to enter into in the second half of 1980.

77. They have repeatedly threatened to teach Viet Nam a second lesson. Such action is an insolent challenge to the independent and sovereign States of the world. It is a manifestation of big-nation hegemonism claiming the right to teach another country a lesson just as the United States claims the role of international policeman in any part of the world which it considers to be of vital interest to it.

78. It is common knowledge that over the past 35 years, the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries have made great sacrifices in the struggle for independence against bloody aggression by colonialism, imperialism and expansionism. But with a view to covering up their criminal acts, the aggressors have always resorted to such labels as "fighting aggression", "defence of the right to self-determination", "defence of human rights", to oppose the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries. Today, while claiming to be the champions of human rights in the world, they do not hesitate to come out in defence of the genocidal Pol Pot clique, the worst violators of human rights in this century, to oppose the people of Kampuchea and other Indo-Chinese countries, just as they did in support of the racist régime in South Africa, the Fascists in Chile and the Israeli aggressors.

79. Looking back at the situation in South-East Asia over the past 35 years, one finds it crystal clear that the lack of peace and security in this region stems from the policies of

aggression and intervention of the imperialist forces and of the hegemonism of a country which styles itself as the centre of the world. The peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, as well as other peoples in South-East Asia, have been the victims. By launching a relentless and victorious struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and expansionism, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have successfully defended their national independence and, at the same time, contributed to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world at large.

80. Following repeated failures in their attempts to revive the genocidal Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea, the international reactionary forces still hope they can reverse the course of history in that country. They have intensified their collusion with imperialism and, by using reactionary elements in a neighbouring country west of Kampuchea, they have sought to supply the armed remnants of the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer elements and have them launch attacks against the people of Kampuchea, creating an extremely tense and explosive situation on the border between Thailand and Kampuchea. In order to divert public opinion from their criminal actions, they have launched a new anti-Vietnamese campaign.

81. For some time now, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have been the constant object of the policies of aggression and domination of the imperialist countries and expansionist forces in the North which, in implementation of their aggressive plan, have always considered the three Indo-Chinese countries to be a single battlefield. At the same time, they have tried to sow discord among the three countries, to fan the flames of hatred among their peoples, and to pit them against one another. However, in order to defend their independence and freedom, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have always stood closely together in their struggle against the common enemy. That solidarity in combat has vital significance for the national interests of each people.

82. It is in this spirit that on three occasions not too long ago the armed forces of Viet Nam have fought side by side with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea in defence of the independence of each country and in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and now they are standing together in the fight against the hegemonists in the North. Everybody knows that already on two occasions, at the end of their struggle against the French colonialists and against the American imperialists, the Vietnamese army withdrew to Viet Nam, fully respecting the national rights of Laos and Kampuchea.

83. The Vietnamese armed forces now in Laos and Kampuchea are there under the terms of the Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation signed between Viet Nam and Laos,⁸ on the one hand, and between Viet Nam and Kampuchea,⁹ on the other. We must together defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country as well as the life and peaceful work of the respective populations. The presence of those troops threatens no one. In the

⁸ Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Laos and Viet Nam, signed at Vientiane on 18 July 1977.

⁹ Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, done at Phnom Penh on 18 February 1979.

past 35 years, in their common struggle at the side of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese armed forces have never been outside the territories of the three countries. It is particularly ironic that those who are raising a hue and cry against the presence of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are the very people who waged a war of aggression against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and committed monstrous crimes against those three peoples.

84. At the height of its war of aggression against Viet Nam, the United States sent more than 500,000 troops there and poured over 15 million tons of bombs on the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples. History still records the fact that China dominated Viet Nam for 1,000 years, from the first to the tenth century and invaded Viet Nam 10 times since the tenth century. Throughout history, Laos and Kampuchea have always been victims of aggression from Thailand. In particular, during the past 40 years, Thailand has on two occasions invaded Kampuchea and Laos. Throughout history, Viet Nam never committed aggression against Thailand. Thailand, on the other hand, invaded Viet Nam on three occasions during the last three centuries.

85. Those who are the loudest in opposing the presence of the Vietnamese troops are also those who did their utmost to support United States aggression against the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples and who have kept silent on the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples.

86. The United States, who invented the legend of the so-called "use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Laos", is the very country which dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of poisonous chemicals on our country—an average of 6 pounds for each person in South Viet Nam—which caused death and destruction among our people, and had a serious effect on the American veterans of the Viet Nam war.

87. These historical facts clearly prove that Viet Nam and the Indo-Chinese countries have never committed acts of aggression against any country and have always been victims of foreign aggression. Thailand itself has publicly admitted that its security is not at stake, and that is why it refuses to sign a treaty of non-aggression between Viet Nam and Thailand, and to establish a demilitarized zone between Kampuchea and Thailand. The fact that the international reactionary forces and imperialism make much of the so-called Viet Nam threat to Thailand and create tension along the Kampuchea-Thai border is nothing but a scheme to cover up the aggression from the northern expansionists against the Indo-Chinese peoples with the smoke-screen of a confrontation between Indo-China and the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN]. Pitting peoples of different countries against each other, inciting them to fight each other, instigating extremist groups to create disturbances in the world are the usual methods to which international reactionaries resort in order to realize their reactionary global strategy designed, so they say, to establish their own internal order over the great world chaos, thus achieving the world hegemony they seek.

88. This reactionary strategy of the expansionists is completely at variance with the interests of the Chinese people, a nation which has endured untold suffering caused by the oppression and exploitation of its own leaders and foreign

aggressors, a nation which has an age-old civilization and a glorious tradition of struggle, and which was always eager to live in peace and harmony with the peoples of the world. Whatever the circumstances, the Vietnamese people will always treasure the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people.

89. The fundamental task today in restoring peace and stability in South-East Asia is to halt the policy of aggression, intervention and threats of war by the expansionists, in collusion with imperialism, against the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the South-East Asian countries.

90. The key to the so-called Kampuchea issue lies in an end to the hostile policy carried out against Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam by the international reactionary forces. The presence of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is aimed at combating such threats of expansionism and is in response to the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese armed forces will be withdrawn from Kampuchea once such threats no longer exist and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea so requests.

91. The whole world has seen the true face of the Pol Pot clique, a gang of criminals who have no place whatsoever in Kampuchea. But its supporters are trying their best to put the blame on the presence of the Vietnamese troops, using that presence as a pretext to have the clique hold on to its seat in the United Nations, so that they can continue to use it as an instrument against the Kampuchean people and to undermine peace and stability in South-East Asia.

92. Now that everybody has come to know the Pol Pot clique as a gang of genocidal criminals who have killed 3 million Kampucheans; now that public opinion has come to realize that the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique has created for the Kampuchean people a chance to rekindle their lives from the ashes; now that life has returned to the Kampuchean land after the nightmare of genocide, no rationale can ever justify any action to legalize the actions of the genocidal Pol Pot clique against the resurrection of the Kampuchean people.

93. Whatever the excuse offered, one truth is undeniable: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the only genuine and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people because it symbolizes their will to rid themselves of the genocidal régime and thus enables the Kampuchean nation to live again. Kampuchea's seat in this hall should be returned to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

94. There are differences of opinion between the ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries over the Kampuchea issue. The views of the ASEAN countries cannot be imposed upon the Indo-Chinese countries by anyone, and the Indo-Chinese countries have no intention of imposing their views on the ASEAN countries. We regret that the proposals of the ASEAN countries presented at this session of the General Assembly show that they have not given up their intention to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the other Indo-Chinese countries and to blatantly violate their sovereignty. These proposals do not settle the fundamental question of the removal of the Chinese threat to the indepen-

dence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three Indo-Chinese countries and to peace and security in South-East Asia.

95. The ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries should temporarily put aside all differences and jointly make South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. This is in the common interests of all South-East Asian countries. We hold that if the ASEAN countries continue to impose their view of the so-called Kampuchean issue on the Indo-Chinese countries as they have done, they will not help solve the worsening situation in South-East Asia. The Indo-Chinese countries respect the security of the ASEAN countries and expect the ASEAN countries to reciprocate. The South-East Asian countries—above all the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries—should join hands in building a new relationship on the basis of mutual understanding, respect for one another's interests, and peaceful coexistence aimed at making South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability, thus contributing to the defence of peace and security throughout the world.

96. Motivated by this reality, we appeal once again to the ASEAN countries to respond positively to the proposals in the statement of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, issued at Vientiane on 18 July 1980 [A/35/347-S/14071, *annex I*] and, first and foremost, they should respond positively to the proposal of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the establishment of a demilitarized zone between Kampuchea and Thailand. We are prepared to enter immediately into discussions with the ASEAN countries on the establishment of a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia on the basis of the Kuala Lumpur Declaration,¹⁰ the Kuantan Principle and the Vientiane statement. We are also prepared to discuss the issues with the countries concerned and settle the disputes in the China Sea, with a view to turning that region into one of peace and co-operation between the coastal States, on the basis of respect for one another's rights over their territorial waters, continental shelves and exclusive economic zones, as well as respect for international sea and air routes.

97. We should like to inform the General Assembly that through the good offices of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a meeting is expected to be held within a few days between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam and Thailand at United Nations Headquarters. We hope that that meeting will offer favourable opportunities to restore peace and stability in South-East Asia.

98. At the same time, we have informed the Secretary-General of the following points which have been agreed upon by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea: the presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea is aimed at countering the Chinese threat against Kampuchea and Viet Nam and they are there at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. When this threat no longer exists and the People's Revolutionary Council so requests, the Vietnamese armed forces will be withdrawn from Kampuchea. The tension along the Kampuchean-Thai border is a threat to peace in that region. The creation of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Kampuchean-Thai border is the

¹⁰ See document A/C.1/1019.

best way to ensure peace, security and stability in the border areas of Kampuchea and Thailand. Through the good offices of the Secretary-General, Kampuchea and Thailand will negotiate in order to solve the explosive situation on the Kampuchean-Thai border on the basis of respect for the interests of both sides. Based on the situation of peace, security and stability along the Kampuchean-Thai border, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea will discuss and decide on Viet Nam's withdrawal of part of its armed forces from Kampuchea.

99. With the dramatic growth of peace forces over the past 35 years, the awakening of oppressed and dependent nations constitutes an historic event which has drastically upset the international order that imperialism wants to impose on mankind. Determined to live no longer in poverty and backwardness under imperialist oppression and exploitation, the peoples have risen up to wrest back their right to be masters of their own destiny. The colonial system, which weighed so heavily on mankind for over three centuries, has collapsed in a period of only three decades. The birth of a series of new States and their increasingly active participation in international political affairs have created conditions for the gradual emergence of a new type of international relationship among independent, equal and sovereign States.

100. Having gone through an age-old history of struggles against much stronger enemies in defence of its national independence, the Vietnamese people has consistently stood by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, welfare and social progress.

101. At the present moment, owing to American imperialism's policy of playing the China card, the situation in Asia is becoming extremely tense and peace and security there are seriously threatened.

102. We highly value the initiatives of the Soviet Union, the constructive propositions of India, which spring from its foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, and also the efforts made by other countries to strengthen peace and security in Asia. We support the legitimate aspirations of the countries which border on the Indian Ocean and wish to transform it into a zone of peace and who demand that the United States of America put an end to its military activities there, cease enlarging existing military bases, particularly Diego Garcia, and refrain from establishing new bases in that region. In this respect, we support the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar in seeking to convene a summit conference of countries concerned with the question of peace in the Indian Ocean. Viet Nam is ready to participate in such a conference. We are pleased that a Conference on the Indian Ocean will be convened at Colombo in 1981. We demand that the United States renounce its attempts to annex the Micronesian islands, withdraw its troops from South Korea and end its collusion with the expansionists who wish to perpetuate the division of Korea, and desist from its policy of aggression, intervention and subversion against the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and the countries of the Indian subcontinent.

103. The Vietnamese people is determined to strengthen its solidarity with the people and the Government of Afghanistan in their struggle to safeguard the gains of their revolution, their independence and their national sovereignty. We highly value the wide-ranging aid accorded by the Soviet Union to the Afghan people and Government to help them stand up to the attempts at aggression and acts of intervention and subversion on the part of the forces of imperialism and international reaction.

104. American imperialism and international reactionary circles, acting in close collusion, are the greatest accomplices of the Zionist Israelis in their policy of aggression against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab peoples, thus perpetuating the explosive situation in the Middle East. The Vietnamese people extends its total support to the struggle of the Palestinian people, whose sole authentic representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], for the recovery of its fundamental national rights, including the right to create an independent and sovereign State, and to confound the attempts of the American imperialists to impose a separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. We support the struggle of the Arab peoples for the recovery of all the territories illegally occupied by the Israeli aggressors, and we demand that Israel renounce its attempt to occupy once and for all the city of Jerusalem, the holy and inviolable land of the Arab peoples.

105. In the last 35 years the African continent has undergone the most profound changes in its history. The map of that continent has radically changed. The African peoples have thrown off the yoke of slavery and, together with their brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America, are in the process of building a new life. The Vietnamese people warmly welcomes the most recent victory of the African peoples—the accession to independence of the Republic of Zimbabwe and its admission to the United Nations. At the same time, we staunchly support the struggle waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, under the direction respectively of SWAPO and the African National Congress, against the barbaric domination imposed by colonialism and by the policy of *apartheid* carried out by the South African racists and for their right to true self-determination and independence. The victories of the people of Zimbabwe and of other southern African peoples cannot be dissociated from the support of the front-line countries, the OAU and the peoples of the world. We firmly support the fraternal peoples of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle to safeguard their independence, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity against the manoeuvres and acts of aggression of the South African colonialists. The struggle waged by the people and the Government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, under the leadership of the POLISARIO¹¹ Front, for the realization of their fundamental national rights, has always had the sympathy and warm support of the Vietnamese people.

106. As in other regions of the world, the policy of aggression, intervention and threat of the use of force on the part of imperialism, in collusion with international reaction, constitutes the most dangerous threat to national independence, peace and stability in Central America and in the Caribbean region.

¹¹ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

107. The Vietnamese people remain at the side of the fraternal Cuban people in their struggle against the hostile policy, the economic blockade and the military threats of American imperialism and international reaction. We demand that the United States of America restore to Cuba the naval base of Guantánamo, which it occupies illegally.

108. We are delighted with the important achievements of the peoples and the Governments of Nicaragua and Grenada in strengthening their national independence and rebuilding their countries. Equally, we staunchly support the struggle of the people of Panama to exercise total sovereignty over the Canal Zone; that of the people of Jamaica against imperialistic attempts at subversion and intervention; that of the Chilean people against the Pinochet Fascist junta; and that of the peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize against imperialist domination and for their right to self-determination and independence.

109. In particular, the Vietnamese people would like to express its solidarity with the struggle of the people and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador against the Fascist régime of the military clique in power and against the threat of imperialist intervention, and for their right to live in freedom and independence and to decide their own destiny.

110. The independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not be strengthened if these peoples, having thrown off the yoke of colonialism, do not regain their right to be masters of their own natural resources. It is regrettable that, because of the intransigent policy of the imperialist countries negotiations on world economic questions have not so far produced any tangible result. The Vietnamese people is determined to make its contribution to the struggle of the peoples in the developing countries to do away with all forms of colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, to achieve sovereignty over their natural resources and to eliminate all forms of discrimination and all inequality, in order to promote a new type of just and equitable international economic relations.

111. In this year of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we are happy to note that despite all the manoeuvres by imperialism and reactionary international forces to reverse the course of history, the forces of peace, national independence, democracy, social progress and socialism continue to develop. The non-aligned movement, which embraces the majority of developing countries, is now stronger than ever and has become an indispensable factor in the struggle by the peoples of the world for peace, security and international co-operation. Its voice and its role in the international arena grow ever greater. Many difficulties and obstacles still await us. However, we are setting out with confidence into the 1980s. The Vietnamese people will spare no effort to make its contribution to the common cause of the peoples of the world.

112. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to congratulate Mr. von Wechmar on his election to the high office of the presidency of the thirty-fifth

session of the General Assembly. We hope that under his chairmanship the current session will make a notable contribution to the cause of strengthening international peace and security. We should like to assure him that the Afghan delegation will fully co-operate with him and help him in every way to discharge his duties.

113. May we also express our appreciation to his predecessor, the prominent Tanzanian statesman and diplomat, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for his skilful conduct of the deliberations of the last few sessions of the General Assembly.

114. We should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts to make the United Nations more efficient in maintaining peace and security.

115. Permit me at the very beginning of my statement heartily to congratulate the delegations of the Republic of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on the admission of their newly born States to the United Nations. Their accession to independence is one more step towards the complete and final elimination of the obnoxious system of colonialism.

116. This session of the General Assembly has begun its deliberations at a time when the international situation is not as good as one would wish it to be. Certain quarters are desperately trying to reverse the course of world developments, to quell those healthy trends in international life which became known as *détente* or the relaxation of international tension and to bring the world back to the ill-famed time of the cold war.

117. The present international situation is characterized by an acute struggle between the forces coming out in defence of peace, strict respect for the rights of peoples and the lessening of international tension and those forces which propagate and practise violence, oppression, militarism and aggression.

118. Dangerous trends in world politics are visible enough and, unless they are stopped, the world could be brought to the brink of war. The main source of danger to world peace is the reckless and irresponsible policy of United States imperialism and the Beijing hegemonists. Seeking military supremacy over the socialist countries, the United States is stepping up the arms race, pressuring its allies into following the same course and trying to avoid the settlement of outstanding problems and disputes by peaceful means of negotiation.

119. Particularly worrisome are certain of the latest trends in the policy of the United States, namely the concept of a so-called limited nuclear war expounded by the Pentagon in the United States Presidential Directive 59. That concept is designed to blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear conflict and it may create fatal illusions.

120. Afghanistan is an Asian country and as such follows with concern the development of events on the great continent of Asia. On the one hand, the characteristic feature of political life in Asia is the strengthening of the will and determination of the peoples of the continent for peace and peaceful co-operation, for social progress and the consolidation of

national sovereignty. On the other hand, one can see the dangerous activities of forces which are hostile to the course of freedom of the Asian peoples. Imperialists and Chinese hegemons are seriously aggravating and complicating the situation in Asia.

121. Peace and security in Asia are threatened by continuing Israeli aggression against the Arab nations under the cover of separate deals supported by United States imperialism and by the fact that the Palestinian Arabs continue to be deprived of their national rights, including their rights to return to their homeland and to establish an independent sovereign national State.

122. Peace and security in Asia are threatened by an unprecedented build-up of United States military and naval forces in the Arabian Sea, the Gulf and the Red Sea. In recent months the United States has concentrated in those areas more than 30 naval vessels, including some aircraft carrier groups, several thousand Marines and hundreds of military aircraft. United States imperialism has already tried to use those forces to commit an act of outright aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

123. Peace and security in Asia are threatened by the attempts of the Beijing hegemonists and United States imperialists to destabilize the situation in Indo-China, for which purpose they stage military provocations on the Sino-Vietnamese border and provocative actions by the remnants of the Pol Pot bands against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

124. Those are the real sources of tension and instability in Asia. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, together with all other peace-loving Asian countries, comes out in favour of normalization and the establishment of good-neighbourly relations throughout the continent of Asia and for the elimination by peaceful means of hotbeds of tension and military conflicts.

125. The position of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on a peaceful settlement in the Middle East is well known. It was recently spelled out in detail at the emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the Palestinian question.¹²

126. Afghanistan resolutely condemns the separate behind-the-scenes deals between the Egyptian President and the Israeli Zionist clique. The capitulatory course of Sadat's régime and its separate treaty with Zionists have blocked the way to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Great damage has thus been done to the cause of the national independence of Arab and African peoples and, in the first place, to the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their freedom and the restoration of their inalienable national rights.

127. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the following foundations: there must be complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967, including Jerusalem, and the elimination of all the conse-

quences of the Israeli aggression; there must also be realization of the inalienable legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and, first of all, of their right to self-determination, including the establishment of their own independent and sovereign State and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, along with the participation of the PLO in all the stages of the Middle East settlement. The world community should demand strict implementation of resolution ES-7/2 adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh emergency special session, devoted to Palestine, which reaffirmed the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arabs and demanded the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab lands, to start before 15 November 1980.

128. Israeli aggression in the south of Lebanon, the victims of which are the civilian population and Palestinian refugees, must cease: long-suffering southern Lebanon should be protected from Israeli aggressors. The continued interference of Zionists in the internal affairs of the Lebanon, their attempts to split the country and to annex its southern part, should be resolutely condemned and effectively prevented.

129. The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reject with indignation the decision of the Tel Aviv Knesset declaring Jerusalem to be the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel. It is a flagrant violation of all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including the resolution approved by the recent emergency special session on the Palestinian question. The outright and blatant annexation by Israel of a city most sacred to all Moslems and followers of other faiths cannot leave silent or indifferent any Moslems or any peace-loving people throughout the world.

130. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is of the opinion that the Security Council should without further delay take the most effective measures, including the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to prevent Israel from moving its capital to Jerusalem. The restoration of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in the Middle East. All those who try to block such a decision of the Security Council by misusing their right of veto will deeply hurt the feelings and sentiments of hundreds of millions of Moslems and be held responsible for all the consequences of such an act.

131. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemns the unprecedented military and naval build-up of the United States in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, the Gulf and the Red Sea, which has been continuing for more than a year now. We express our concern over the feverish activity of the Pentagon aimed at the expansion of the existing United States bases in those areas, particularly the base on Diego Garcia, and the establishment of new ones. The agreements to this effect recently concluded between the United States and Oman, Somalia, Egypt and Kenya are causing concern to the other countries of the area and all peace-loving peoples of Asia. These moves create a direct threat of armed interference in the internal affairs of the oil-rich countries of the Middle East, the Gulf area and the Indian Ocean region.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting.*

132. The American military and naval build-up in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, the Gulf and the Red Sea runs counter to the numerous decisions of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement relating to the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It is very important, therefore, to facilitate concrete measures aimed at reaching this goal. Afghanistan for its part is ready to co-operate actively in this with other countries of the area and will take part in the international Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo in 1981 within the United Nations framework.

133. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is following with concern the events in South-East Asia. The Afghan people resolutely condemn the armed provocations of Chinese hegemonists against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We whole-heartedly support the constructive proposals concerning the settlement of the situation in South-East Asia put forward by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The three States have expressed their readiness to sign with Thailand bilateral or multilateral treaties of non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and refusal to allow anybody to use their territory as a base against the other contracting parties. We welcome other initiatives of the three Indo-China States aimed at creating a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

134. Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemns the continuing illegal presence in the United Nations of the Pol Pot henchmen. We demand the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kamuchea in the United Nations. Only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which enjoys the support of all the Kampuchean people and exercises complete control over the country, has the right to represent Kampuchea in the world arena, the United Nations and other international bodies.

135. Imperialist and hegemonist quarters try to cover up their aggressive schemes in Asia by making a great hue and cry about events in Afghanistan and around it. But it must be clear to any impartial observer that Afghanistan and the Afghan people do not constitute any threat to anyone.

136. Having launched their national democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in April 1978, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are engaged in the creative labour of eliminating the vestiges of the outdated feudal system and building a new society free from exploitation of man by man. This course was chosen by the Afghan people of their own free will and they will defend their freedom, independence, national dignity and honour to the last drop of their blood.

137. As a non-aligned country, Afghanistan steadfastly pursues a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with all countries willing to reciprocate. Article 12 of the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—the provisional constitution of the country—reads as follows:

“The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a peace-loving country, will make serious efforts to protect and strengthen friendly relations with other countries, espe-

cially the neighbouring nations and all Moslem countries and States, on the basis of mutual respect for one another's national independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in one another's internal affairs.”

138. Babrak Karmal, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan said recently:

“Afghanistan is a steadfast advocate of peace and friendship among various independent nations... and aspires to peaceful settlement of misunderstandings and problems among nations and States of the region and of the world.”

139. We regret to say that these peaceful aspirations of the Afghan people have not been reciprocated in certain quarters. Since the very beginning of the April revolution, imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and some reactionary régimes of the area have been engaged in hostile activities against Afghanistan. They help in every possible way the counter-revolutionary gangs which have taken refuge in the neighbouring countries; they supply them with modern weapons and military hardware; they send their instructors to train armed bandits, who daily intrude into the territory of Afghanistan, kill innocent people, including women, children and the elderly, burn schools and hospitals and murder teachers and doctors.

140. Unfortunately, all these hostile activities emanating from the territories of the neighbouring countries are conducted with the connivance and even tacit support and encouragement of the authorities of these countries.

141. The Afghan people and army, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, could easily suppress the resistance of the counter-revolution, if it were not for the broad and active support of these forces by imperialism, especially United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonists and some reactionary Islamic régimes. Because of this support, the scope and intensity of foreign aggression and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan have been continuously increasing.

142. Armed aggression from the outside and other forms of foreign interference reached such proportions that the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had to ask the Soviet Union to send a limited contingent of troops to render assistance to the Afghan army in repelling outside aggression. This contingent was dispatched to Afghanistan upon the request of the Revolutionary Council and on the basis of the existing and valid Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978, and in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations to help Afghan armed forces to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

143. The hostile activities from the territories of Pakistan and Iran notwithstanding, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has on many occasions

expressed its willingness and sincere desire to have normal, friendly relations with its neighbours. The peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan have centuries-old traditional, historical, cultural and economic ties with common roots and a common heritage. There is nothing to divide them; they may happily live in peace and friendship. It is only the imperialists that try to divide us so as to rule in our part of the world.

144. On 14 May of this year we put forward an elaborate programme for the political settlement of the situation that has developed around Afghanistan and the normalization of relations with Iran and Pakistan by peaceful means, by direct bilateral negotiations. The objective of such a political settlement should be guaranteed complete termination and non-resumption of all acts of armed aggression against Afghanistan and other forms of interference from the outside directed against the Government and people of Afghanistan. Negotiations on political settlement and normalization of relations with Pakistan and Iran can be held only on the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty and sovereign rights of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

145. The question of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan should be resolved within the context of a political settlement. The cessation and guaranteed non-recurrence of military incursions and all other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan would eliminate the reasons which prompted Afghanistan to request the Soviet Union to send that contingent into its territory.

146. The constructive peaceful proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to that effect were widely acclaimed by progressive and peace-loving forces all over the world. They were positively assessed by the realistic and sober-minded statesmen in some Western countries. Now it is up to the Governments at Teheran and Islamabad to respond to those proposals.

147. The taking of practical steps in the direction of political settlement around Afghanistan and the improvement of the situation in that area have been facilitated by the withdrawal from Afghanistan, by agreement with the Afghan Government, of those Soviet troops the presence of which was no longer necessary given the conditions of continuing stabilization of the situation in the country. That stabilization is the result of serious defeats sustained by the counter-revolutionary bands sent in from the outside.

148. We are ready to sit down at the negotiating table as soon as Pakistan and Iran are ready to do so. But it goes without saying that the conduct of negotiations should not be accompanied by the continuance of hostile activities against Afghanistan from their territories.

149. We are well aware that all sorts of obstacles in the way to such settlement are being created by the United States as well as by the Chinese hegemonists, who for these purposes use the ruling circles of Pakistan and some reactionary circles in Iran.

150. But we are quite confident that the trend towards political settlement will eventually prevail, and that that will

have a positive effect on the situation in the area and improve the political climate in the world as a whole.

151. Afghanistan, having friendly relations with Iraq, and being a neighbour of Iran, is following with deep concern the armed conflict between those two countries. We sincerely hope that the Governments of Iraq and Iran will desist from steps that may cause the situation to worsen still further, and that they will find peaceful ways and means of resolving their dispute.

152. That is the position of principle of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the issue of the elimination of hotbeds of tension in Asia in general and around Afghanistan in particular. We are grateful to all friendly countries, and to Cuba and India in particular, that have made sincere efforts to use their good offices to facilitate a peaceful political settlement of the situation in the region.

153. It is a plain truth that durable peace and the irreversible process of détente are inconceivable unless effective measures are taken to curb the arms race and to start effective disarmament. It is a sad comment that more than \$400 billion is spent annually on armaments while hundreds of millions of people go hungry and the gap between developing and developed countries is increasing at an alarming rate.

154. It must be noted though that, thanks to the relentless efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving countries and in spite of the stubborn resistance of those in imperialist and hegemonistic quarters, it has been possible to make some tangible advance in certain directions towards stopping the arms race.

155. But many important problems on which mankind's peaceful future and progress depend have not yet been resolved, especially in the field of ending the arms race, which continues to intensify, thus increasingly threatening the process of détente, peace and the security of peoples.

156. Therefore Afghanistan wholeheartedly supports the initiatives and proposals put forward last May by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty [see A/35/237-S/13948, annex I], in particular the proposal to hold in the near future, at the highest level, a meeting of leaders of States of all the regions of the world. Afghanistan agrees that such a meeting should concentrate on key issues of international life and chart ways to eliminate pockets of international tension and to prevent the outbreak of war.

157. Of great significance would be the entry into force of the SALT II treaty,¹³ ratification of which continues to be delayed by the United States. Very important also are negotiations on limiting medium-range missile systems in Europe, simultaneously and in organic interrelation with the United States forward-based nuclear systems.

158. There are a number of vitally important items on the agenda of the current session directly related to disarma-

¹³ 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.

ment and the curbing of the nuclear arms race. My delegation would like to comment briefly on them.

159. It goes without saying that a major goal of the United Nations should be to facilitate termination of the arms race and gradual transition to arms reduction. Of paramount importance is termination of the nuclear arms race, which constitutes a threat to the very existence of mankind.

160. There is a good basis for negotiations on stopping the nuclear arms race and on disarmament—that is, the realistic set of proposals put forward by the USSR and other socialist countries, which embrace practically every aspect of this problem. Among them is a proposal to hold negotiations with the participation of all nuclear Powers and some non-nuclear States on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons of all types and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they are completely liquidated. It is logical that simultaneously appropriate international legal guarantees of the security of States be worked out. An important step in that direction would be a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

161. Year after year the United Nations General Assembly has kept approving a resolution on the urgent need for the cessation of the testing of nuclear weapons, calling upon nuclear-weapon States to expedite the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. We highly appreciate the constructive flexible position of the Soviet Union on this issue and call upon other participants in the negotiations to be as flexible in order to reach an agreement on this vitally important issue as soon as possible.

162. In the context of curbing the nuclear arms race, it is urgent to strengthen still further the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. Although 112 States have acceded to that Treaty, it is very important to make it truly universal. We are still far from that goal, for there are now 154 States Members of the United Nations, to say nothing of States non-members.

163. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan expresses great concern—and we are confident that this concern is shared by the world community—over the attempts of Israel and South Africa to get access to nuclear-weapon technology. At this session the General Assembly should consider the experts' report on this issue, and stringent measures should be taken to prevent such an eventuality.

164. The cause of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be considerably advanced if two important steps were taken: namely, the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States and an agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

165. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons can also be promoted by the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world: in South-East Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. The Democratic Republic

of Afghanistan strongly supports that idea and is in favour of practical measures in that direction.

166. We follow with concern the reports on the attempts by Pakistan to gain access to nuclear-weapon technology. Should this happen, it may aggravate the tension in the area still further.

167. Apart from nuclear weapons, there are other sophisticated weapons of highly destructive and lethal power. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan notes with regret the rather slow progress in the Soviet-American negotiations aimed at outlawing chemical weapons: that is mainly the result of the position of the United States delegation. We hope that the current session will approve a resolution helping to solve this question.

168. This session, in our view, should facilitate practical steps for reaching an agreement on the prohibition of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons, as well as give an additional impetus to the negotiations on banning radiological weapons and highly inhumane neutron weapons.

169. Afghanistan supports steps aimed at banning new types of conventional arms having a great destructive potential, in particular an agreement by the permanent members of the Security Council and their allies to renounce the build-up of their armed forces and conventional arms.

170. It is the firm view of the Afghan delegation that the measures to which I have referred, aimed at curbing the race in conventional and nuclear weapons, should become an integral part of the programme of action of the second Disarmament Decade. An important role could be played in this respect by the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, scheduled for 1982, and the World Disarmament Conference. In our view, the World Disarmament Conference has to be convened soon after the special session. We hope that the 1980s will be a decade of substantial progress on the way to guaranteeing lasting peace and security in the world.

171. In the present complicated world situation, no effort should be spared to defuse the tension, to improve the international situation and to arrest the adverse course of developments. It is in that context that we welcome the proposal of the Soviet Union to include in the agenda of this session the item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war".

172. The measures to this effect provided for in the Soviet draft resolution, when implemented, will ease the burden of military expenditures of States, strengthen the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and create favourable conditions for a breakthrough in the field of curbing the arms race and disarmament. The Afghan delegation is therefore willing to support this draft resolution.

173. We also support the proposal of the USSR aimed at ensuring greater care and concern by States for the conservation of the earth's nature. Today, Mother Nature is primarily a victim of the arms race, and the most effective way to

protect her is to curb the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

174. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan belongs to the non-aligned movement, which is a considerable positive factor in present-day international politics. Within the non-aligned movement, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, together with other progressive non-aligned countries, struggles for the strengthening of peace and international security, the implementation of disarmament, the creation of zones of peace, the liquidation of foreign military bases on the territories of others, for the inadmissibility of any outside interference in the internal affairs of States and the creation of a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

175. Twenty years have passed since the adoption by the United Nations of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The face of the world has changed radically during those 20 years. More than 100 countries have acceded to independence since then, and the United Nations membership has increased accordingly. The colonial system is practically dead, but not yet buried; there are still vestiges of colonialism and racism in some parts of the world. The ugly face of neo-colonialism still exists as well. The abhorrent and inhuman régime of *apartheid* still survives in South Africa.

176. The best way for this Assembly to mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is to take effective and resolute measures to do away completely and irrevocably with the last vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The best way to do that is to extend all possible assistance to all the peoples and their national liberation movements that are still fighting against these evils for their freedom, self-determination and independence, for their dignity and honour.

177. We stand side by side with our African brothers, and we support the heroic people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, are fighting against the South African occupation force for their freedom, self-determination and independence.

178. We express our solidarity with the people of South Africa who are waging a valiant struggle against the brutal *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. Effective decisions aimed at the further economic, political and diplomatic isolation of that régime and of those countries which support it must be taken at this session.

179. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front, for self-determination and independence.

180. Afghanistan condemns the brutal repression of the people of South Korea by the despotic Seoul régime and the continuing occupation of South Korea by United States troops. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the just and persistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

181. The General Assembly, in our view, should denounce the attempts by the United States to annex the territory of Micronesia under various pretexts and thus to deprive the Micronesian people of their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. Such a step would be a violation of Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations.

182. We express our solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in their struggle against imperialist intrigues and attempts to destabilize the situation in some countries of that area. Our sympathy goes to the peoples of Chile, Bolivia and El Salvador who are fighting the military dictatorships in those countries. We denounce those quarters which give military and financial support to these reactionary and brutally repressive régimes.

183. Afghanistan invariably and consistently advocates the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and strict respect for its policy of non-alignment. A realistic and viable settlement of the Cyprus problem should provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island and the removal of all foreign military bases. A just and lasting solution of this problem is possible only on the basis and within the framework of the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

184. The vestiges of neo-colonialist exploitation are felt most of all in the sphere of international economic relations. The iron grip of the transnational corporations on the economy of the developing countries and the selfish, greedy economic policies and discriminatory protectionist measures of the developed capitalist countries are the main obstacles in the way of the economic growth and development of the majority of countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. We regret that the imperialist countries have not shown the desired response and political will vis-à-vis the proposals and suggestions put forward at the recent eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the economic development decade. In order to break the resistance and opposition of imperialist monopolies to the establishment of new, equitable and just economic relations based on truly democratic principles, unity is needed between the developing countries, the socialist countries and all progressive forces of the world.

185. Afghanistan considers the United Nations to be an indispensable instrument for maintaining international peace and security, and we shall continue our efforts towards enhancing its effectiveness on the basis of strict observance of the Charter and a further strengthening of its role in responding effectively and promptly to situations which tend to threaten world peace and security.

186. In concluding my statement, I should like to express the hope of my delegation that the first General Assembly session of the 1980s will make a tangible and positive contribution to the solution of outstanding acute world problems and will make the world a safer and better place to live in.

187. I assure members that Afghanistan will spare no effort to bring the world nearer to a lasting peace; to put a reliable, iron-clad barrier in the way of those who would like to drag mankind into a new confrontation; to preserve détente; and to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

188. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Madagascar is happy to join those which have addressed their congratulations and praise to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for we are convinced that the choice judiciously made by the Assembly in entrusting the presidency to him was motivated, *inter alia*, by recognition of the signal contribution he has made to this Organization as well as by the role played by his country and his continent in international co-operation.

189. To his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, we are ever happy and proud to repeat our thanks for the masterful way in which he presided, during the past year, over the successive sessions of the Assembly, always displaying the affability and effectiveness for which he is known.

190. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar warmly welcomes the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, another island country, to our Organization. Since in many respects the problems facing us are similar, we assure the delegation of this new Member State of our complete fraternal co-operation.

191. Finally, it is appropriate that we express to the Secretary-General the great appreciation of the revolutionary authorities of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar of the campaign he is carrying out in various international bodies for peace, the elimination of hotbeds of tensions and the peaceful solution of the problems facing us.

192. Twenty years have passed since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which, in the context of the promotion of world peace and co-operation, embodies the principle of the liberation of peoples who are henceforth to be the sole masters of their destinies.

193. We had hoped that this irreversible process would be manifested in the rapid and unconditional elimination of all manifestations of foreign subjugation, domination and exploitation, but in the enthusiasm of the moment we had not taken account of the deviousness of the colonial Powers, the appearance of new forms of colonialism and the insidious resurgence of practices which have enabled certain Powers to twist the provisions of the Declaration in order to justify the continuance of an illegal occupation and the denial of the rights of peoples.

194. Thus it is not surprising if, in spite of the positive results achieved, we tend to feel a certain disenchantment, not because the Organization has failed in its mission but because international ethics seem to be able too easily to accommodate themselves to faits accomplis and to failure to honour prior commitments.

195. Thus, in Namibia, we are still waiting for the just aspirations of more than 1 million Africans to be realized and for an end to the colonial presence of South Africa. The situation has been complicated by the request that SWAPO, the legitimate representative of an oppressed people, make the same concessions as South Africa, despite the fact that the latter abuses its aggressive military power and shelters behind its alleged position as the holder of a mandate—which is now obsolete—to set up an institutional framework favourable to the maintenance, in the Territory and the

region, of its political and economic dominance, as well as that of its Western allies.

Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

196. So we have every right to ask who gains by these dilatory tactics. Certainly it is not the Namibians! The elements of a political solution are well known, and because of those Powers who have shirked their responsibility of imposing them on South Africa, we must anticipate an intensification of the war in Namibia. The accession of Zimbabwe to independence shows that the time for coexistence has come; but we have yet to put the Namibians in a position to accept the form and substance of that coexistence.

197. A similar situation obtains in Western Sahara. The economic and other interests of the Western Powers in north-west Africa should have led them to exercise pressure on Morocco bilaterally or multilaterally in order to lead it to the negotiating table and to peace, and so that the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic may take its rightful place at both the regional and the international level.

198. This pressure, together with the conciliation efforts of the OAU, might have made Morocco abandon its intransigence and its claims—which have been rejected by the Sahraoui people itself—and begin a process inspired by respect for the rights of peoples and the safeguarding of peace. Is it not significant that the OAU, faithful to the spirit of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has many times advocated a cease-fire and the holding of a referendum, with which the United Nations could be associated?

199. As an international community, must we continue to accept the manoeuvres of a country that has replaced by force the former colonial Power and, because of our passive attitude, delay the application of a solution consonant with the interests of the Sahraoui people and, in the final analysis, of the peoples of the region? Here, as in Namibia, any imposed solution based on false premises is doomed to failure, because it is for the Sahraoui people to decide in complete independence, and without any pressure, the nature of its relations on the subregional level.

200. The adoption of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) also marked a new approach to the concept of human rights and the rights of peoples, and it is normal that we should base ourselves on this when we deal with the question of *apartheid*, in a perspective which emphasizes the necessary political liberation of African man, determined to decide his own economic and moral destiny.

201. It is pointless, we think, to deny the fact that *apartheid* has always been one of the devices used by colonial domination to justify or maintain a system of morals that we have denounced for its exclusivity. It is also pointless to try to consider *apartheid* as an epiphenomenon that can be reabsorbed by reformist measures. The serious incidents which have taken place in South Africa in recent months, the worsening tension and the persistence of demands by the majority and the exploited minorities show quite clearly that the race struggle is over and that we are now seeing the growing awareness of an entire people that has risen up

against imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation and that is bound together by decades of oppression and discrimination.

202. The solution no longer merely includes the granting of civil, political, cultural, economic and social rights to the non-white South Africans, but calls for the advent of a genuine majority Government, in which other sectors of the people will be fully represented. It is in this sense that we say that the settlement of the *apartheid* question is also tied up with the problem of decolonization.

203. The awakening of peoples, supported by the action of the United Nations and the solidarity of progressive and socialist forces in the world, has contributed to the break-up and the disappearance of colonial empires, while our Organization is gradually moving towards universality in accordance with its vocation.

204. Can we say, however, that we have succeeded in establishing a new order which guarantees respect for the independence, sovereignty and rights of all peoples? To what extent have we responded to the aspirations of States, in particular the most vulnerable of them, by helping them to solve their problems in a climate of security and peace, sheltered from any interference and external constraint?

205. Since the 1960s, the international community seems to have entered upon a long phase of transition marked by crises of adaptation which give rise to tension, uncertainty and disarray, and, while the quest for a more stable, more just and more balanced system remains our primary concern, we must nevertheless recognize that the demands for the necessary changes in relations of force are not accepted by the wealthy and the most powerful.

206. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which has just taken place, provided us with an illustration of this phenomenon in the field of international economic relations. We are not unduly concerned by the fact that this opportunity to negotiate did not achieve the results hoped for, or that the normal functioning of our institutions was sacrificed to the search for consensus at any price. What is more disquieting for us is that, by a skilful politicization of procedural questions, certain people managed to sidetrack the debates in order once again to put back the deadlines and conceal their refusal to undertake precise commitments to solidarity and co-operation in the economic field.

207. Politically it has become a truism to say that no State can enjoy absolute security. The peace in which we live has already been disturbed in many places and is essentially precarious, and authoritative voices have warned the international community of the dangers that threaten it. But, beyond the warnings, action is indispensable and it is urgent for us to set in motion the means available to us within the framework of the United Nations significantly to improve, if we cannot radically change, the prevailing situation in the military field and in the fields of security and inter-State relations.

208. Naturally, priority should be given to halting and reversing the arms race, for which the great Powers and the super-Powers are largely responsible, but in which an ever-growing number of countries are taking part. This year it

will devour considerable resources, of the order of \$500 billion.

209. Together with this unprecedented wastage, and while we see no real progress in nuclear or conventional disarmament, new threats are appearing. We would cite two: first, the elaboration of doctrines which extend on a global level the concept and the system of defence of some countries in the northern hemisphere and make nuclear war plausible and imaginable; secondly, the risk of the collapse of the legal and political barriers to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

210. In the face of this state of affairs, we wonder what other consequences will ensue from the suspension of the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms and the difficulties encountered in applying the Programme of Action, adopted by consensus and contained in the Final Document of the tenth special session [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*].

211. The problems of disarmament are complicated because in the field of security, which, like peace, is indivisible, the States Members are divided. There are two main groups here: one consists of the non-aligned countries and a few neutral countries, which have put their faith in the United Nations system, in spite of its imperfections and its limitations, for the defence of their security; the other consists of the most powerful countries, which have decided to ensure their own security outside the United Nations by means of military alliances or defence pacts.

212. In some specific cases, this latter attitude has deteriorated into one of promoting imperialist power policies and has led certain countries to designate unilaterally so-called areas of vital interest, which are subject to the threat of intervention by forces that are specially trained and equipped for the purpose. The outcome of that policy is that some countries of the third world are dragged into the dangerous game of military alliances, to the detriment of their non-alignment.

213. All these factors are reflected in practice by differences in approach and divergences which have a negative effect on the common initiatives at the level of the world Organization, whether it is a question of settling particular crises, the number and gravity of which never cease to grow, or of defending the integrity of the principles of the Charter, which, it is said, are valid in all places and at all times, but which events have obliged us to make explicit or to reaffirm only too often.

214. How, in these conditions, can we conceive of progress towards a new world order that would ensure the sovereign equality of States and put an end to all kinds of diktats and interference of any kind? How can we achieve this, if not by once more exhorting all States to observe more scrupulously the purposes and principles of the Charter? The non-aligned countries, individually and collectively, have never failed to show the way here.

215. This year again, they are considering a draft declaration on the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in international relations. We support that draft, as in the past we supported the Declaration on the

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and the declaration concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

216. Among the other initiatives taken by the non-aligned movement, there is one that is of particular interest to us, to the extent that the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, proposed, on 15 June 1980, on the fifth anniversary of the Malagasy socialist revolution, that it be taken up at a summit conference to be held in Antananarivo towards the end of 1981 or the beginning of 1982. I am talking about the establishment, or rather the re-establishment, of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

217. The devotion that we have unswervingly shown for the principles likely to preserve peace and security, our geopolitical position as well as our determination to practice towards our neighbours and our more distant partners and interlocutors a policy of open-mindedness in all directions and our awareness of the importance of the Indian Ocean to international communications, result in a situation in which we cannot resign ourselves to the installation of a zone of confrontation in our region to the detriment of the permanent interests of all the parties concerned.

218. Another element that would enable us better to appreciate the situation is the imminent conclusion of the Convention on the law of the sea after the recent work of the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva, and we are glad to welcome the positive results achieved. That Convention will open new prospects for the peaceful uses of the oceans for scientific research and the exploration and exploitation of marine resources and the sea-bed, and it is important that all those activities be placed under an effective security régime. If such a régime is not specifically provided for by the Convention, it could be dealt with regionally within the framework of the establishment of zones of peace.

219. Finally, everyone is aware, particularly in this crucial period, of the fact that the Indian Ocean is a link between the various hotbeds of tension which quite rightly are of concern to the international community. I am referring to the situation in southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East, South-West Asia and even in South-East Asia, not forgetting the case of Diego Garcia and of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, whose return to the countries to which they belong has been rightly demanded.

220. The latent or open crises affecting the subregion of the Indian Ocean are potentially explosive and they imply, to varying degrees and according to each case, the transgression of principles which are dear to us, such as respect for the rights of peoples, the prohibition of racial discrimination, respect for the sovereignty of States and their territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference and non-intervention, and the duty of co-operation among States.

221. The fact that the above problems remain unsolved prevents implementation of the concept of the zone of peace, particularly since it offers the great Powers a perma-

nent temptation to intervene and to justify their military presence in the Indian Ocean.

222. Conversely, the establishment of a zone of peace would eliminate the factors of insecurity which prevail in the region and would therefore promote the restoration of peace.

223. It is in the light of all these considerations that we should like briefly to explain our position on the various crisis situations within the Indian Ocean area before mentioning the problems posed by the military presence of the great Powers in that zone.

224. I shall not revert to the situation in southern Africa except to denounce the policy of aggression, threats and intimidation of the *apartheid* régime against neighbouring States in the north, while it strengthens its military apparatus in order to put an end to the growing number of internal disputes. The arms embargo has not affected that régime, which is treated as a *de facto* ally of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], with which it so ably bargains in exchange for its co-operation and the benefits of its strategic position.

225. With respect to the Horn of Africa, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar has always sought to understand the position of the parties concerned. It is prepared to continue to offer its mediation, because the relinquishing of apparently irreconcilable positions can be facilitated by negotiation and not by confrontation, as has been shown by the recent conclusion of the Good Offices Committee of the OAU. We are convinced that the recognition of specific regional interests and the determination of the two countries to remain independent, socialist and non-aligned will open prospects that will enable the two peoples to live in harmony and to achieve their aspirations for progress and greater welfare.

226. Is it surprising that peace and stability in the Middle East have not yet been restored 18 months after the conclusion of the Treaty between Israel and Egypt?¹⁴ The proof is now quite obvious that there is no viable alternative to the solutions proposed by the United Nations, which would fully recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, in particular those on the establishment of its own independent State. That truth must be recognized notwithstanding Israel's determination, in collusion with the imperialist circles, to hold the Palestinian people in a state of subjugation.

227. Meanwhile, the situation in that region is getting very much worse, which does not help the Palestinian cause or that of the peoples of the region, while the conflict between Iraq and Iran has assumed proportions which can only be of deep concern to the international community. The consequences of the escalation of those armed activities are too clear for the countries in the region not to be alarmed, and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar joins with those that have appealed to the two parties to consider all the courses of action available to them in settling their dispute in accordance with the principles of the Charter and those of non-alignment.

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

228. Still within the context of the area around the Indian Ocean, we should like to repeat our position regarding the so-called Afghanistan affair, which some people wish to impose as a prior condition to any substantive discussion of the establishment of a zone of peace in our region. In passing, I should say that that argument is rather specious and that it could be quite easily used against those who have adduced it, reminding them that in logic there is another acceptable step which goes from the general to the particular.

229. We are told that a political solution is essential, and we would agree with that view. But then why do they not include in that solution the rights of a revolutionary people, the validity of treaties of alliance, the proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its declaration of 15 May 1980 [A/35/238-S/13951, annex], the seventh clause of which quite rightly deals with the military and political activities carried out in the region of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf by States that come from outside the area? Truth cannot be one-sided and we would do better to submit the programme for a political settlement submitted by the Afghan Government to an objective examination rather than to engage in a debate based on unsound premises, which in itself amounts to interference in the internal affairs of a Member State and exposes the Organization to criticism which it cannot easily refute in view of its past silence in other cases of flagrant intervention in other continents.

230. With respect to the problem of Kampuchea, so long as the non-aligned movement has not expressed its position, our position will be the same as the one we adopted at the last session.

231. But I would remind members that Kampuchea is a State Member of this Organization, a sovereign and independent State. The people chose a régime which once and for all liberated them from genocide. It hardly behoves us to question that choice and those methods in the name of a so-called democratic morality, or to advocate what amounts to trusteeship of the Kampuchean nation through an international conference, with the mandate of trying to find an over-all political settlement. In this respect, what we have said about a search for a solution to the Afghan problem remains valid.

232. In the Far East, a region remote from ours, it is true, but of interest to us because the tensions and manifestations of imperialist power policies have moved westward and the same causes are producing the same effects, we are witnessing a persistent and abnormal division of the Korean peninsula. And it is partly thinking about what could happen to our countries in case of a confrontation of this kind that we call for fulfilment of the conditions for a lasting peace in Korea and, therefore, in Asia, by promoting that country's independent reunification, putting an end to the interference and intervention by an external Power, eliminating foreign military bases and withdrawing foreign troops.

233. I cannot close my remarks on this subject without mentioning the Malagasy islands of the Indian Ocean, which will be the subject of a subsequent debate in the Special Political Committee, as decided by this Assembly. At this stage I would confine myself to recalling that those islands are situated in a so-called strategic zone the control

of which has a direct impact on Madagascar's military, political and economic security. But what assurances have we from the present administering Power that those islands will not be used for purposes incompatible with the maintenance of national and regional security and, therefore, at variance with the principles and purposes of the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean? This is one of the reasons, among many others, we have evoked in support of our call for retrocession.

234. What relationship is there then between the various crises of which we have just spoken and the military situation in the Indian Ocean?

235. In their anxiety to control what they call the "uncontrolled upheavals in the third world", which they regard as threats to their vital interests, and which they are trying to resolve to their advantage, certain great Powers have used these situations to justify stationing or maintaining in the Indian Ocean considerable military forces enabling them, so they say, to confront any eventuality.

236. Do those forces have broader missions in the context of the military confrontation between the two blocs? Great care is taken not to say so, even if the presence of strategic nuclear arms gives us every reason to believe it. A dangerous situation still exists in the Indian Ocean, which prompted the President of my country to address a message on 22 June 1980 to the United Nations Secretary-General in which he stated, *inter alia*:

"We realize that each State is concerned to protect its own interests, but we cannot accept the idea that this should be at the expense of ours. We recognize that there may be conflicts of interest between certain nations, but we cannot tolerate the creation of a balance of terror in our area as a result of such conflicts. On the pretext of guaranteeing the security of their petroleum supplies, the industrialized countries are currently engaging in a power contest in the Indian Ocean and are posing very serious threats to our security, if not indeed to our very existence, even though we ourselves have provided neither the cause nor the justification for such a formidable deployment of opposing forces. It is evident that all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the movement of non-aligned countries and the Organization of African Unity have failed to halt this escalation, for each Power is continuing to increase its presence in the Indian Ocean or is preparing to do so. All these trends are creating an increasingly dangerous situation which makes us fear a conflagration fatal to all the littoral countries, whose voices, interests and protests have been systematically ignored."¹⁵

237. The peoples of the region are uneasy at seeing the perpetuation of a situation which cannot be ignored without the risk of its deteriorating, and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] is the best way of averting that possibility. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar is gratified at the fact that in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean all nuclear Powers, the main maritime users and the States of the region were able to study together ways and means of harmonizing their views.

¹⁵ See document A/AC.159/L.32, annex.

238. We are encouraged by the fact that during preliminary discussions no delegation tried to question the basic political consideration underlying the concept of a zone of peace.

239. My country has no doubt, therefore, that there is an area of agreement among all the interested parties and that it is possible to explore and to extend that area, as long as the great Powers concerned abide by the principle of the sovereign equality of States and agree to negotiate without selectivity all of the principles for a zone of peace.

240. In that regard, the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, in the same message I have just quoted in part, stressed that:

“... from the outset ... we will forfeit all effectiveness in advance if we do not focus the discussions on the following basic points:

“1. The guaranteed freedom and security of merchant shipping, and particularly tankers, in this part of the world.

“2. The progressive and controlled reduction of the forces and armaments deployed in the Indian Ocean.

“3. The dismantling of all foreign military bases established on the territory or in the territorial waters of the littoral countries.

“4. The implementation of all measures or procedures which would facilitate the establishment of a genuine, totally demilitarized and, above all, denuclearized zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.”¹⁶

241. It is appropriate here that we should renew our support for the Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be convened under the auspices of the United Nations at Colombo in 1981. That Conference will be entrusted with achieving the necessary consensus on the various implications of resolution 2832 (XXVI) and facilitating its implementation.

242. The success of that Conference, for which my delegation will spare no effort, will certainly prompt the parties concerned, during the Antananarivo summit, convened at the initiative of my President, to expand already agreed principles and to define the nature of the commitments that will govern their mutual relations.

243. If some snag should unfortunately prevent the emergence of a consensus at the Colombo talks, the difficulties that arise on that occasion and the work already accomplished under United Nations auspices would help the participants in the Antananarivo summit to spell out the necessary conditions for the drafting of an international convention applicable to all parties concerned and to be implemented by them.

244. Whatever the case, the two conferences at Colombo and Antananarivo are not mutually exclusive and one would sincerely hope that their work will be complementary. In this respect, I should like to impart to the General Assembly the contents of the message which my President has sent today to the Secretary-General concerning both the

situation in the Indian Ocean and the Iran-Iraq conflict. It says in part:

“Without pretending to have foretold the future, we must observe that the prevailing situation of overt militarization and the frenzied construction of military bases in the zone and the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran unfortunately confirm our analysis and our fears. More than ever before this situation justifies the convening of the Sri Lanka conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and the urgent necessity of holding the Antananarivo summit conference.”

245. We have just expressed to this Assembly our concerns relating to the maintenance and the strengthening of peace in our region and the analysis of this situation which we have made leads us to affirm that the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean under a contractual legal régime is an essential element of global peace that would also be based on the interdependence of different forms of security, be they military, political or economic.

246. This naturally leads us to support the idea that recourse to a system of collective security, which would be original and without military alliances, is the sole means of preserving the rights of the medium and small Powers in the face of the more complex demands of the great Powers. It would have been easy for us simply to rely on the Security Council, as was done at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. But the considerable changes in the strategic and economic world environments, aggravated by the functional shortcomings of the Security Council, have led us to consider other means of assuring our security.

247. It would be tempting to give to the term “collective security” a new definition, which we shall not do at this stage; but it is a fact that the step which we envisage for the Indian Ocean, like that which the Latin American countries advocated for the elaboration and the conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),¹⁷ rests upon the concerted affirmation of a group of directly or indirectly concerned nations of their willingness to harmonize the promotion and the defence of their interests in the name of a peace based on an equal and guaranteed security, as well as on respect for international law and practice.

248. We do not reject the principles of the Charter; but as far as we are concerned, in the case of the Indian Ocean and in other cases, the co-operation which recognizes the responsibilities and interests of all parties is fundamental if we wish to eliminate all risks of confrontation and conflagration. It goes without saying that the mutual acceptance of respective interests permits of no grading of such interests, but presupposes on the contrary their integration in the search for the common good which some among us call the new international order.

249. That search, supported by a number of political, diplomatic and parliamentary moves is concerned, however paradoxical this may seem, with the maintenance of peace as

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

we, Members of this Organization, understand it; for this puts to the test our capacity and our willingness to have recourse to our collective responsibility without paralysing effects, to ensure the advent of an era of lasting peace, justice and social progress.

250. Mr. CHAKULYA (Zambia): I wish to join those who spoke before me in congratulating Ambassador von Wechmar on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. His country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and my own, Zambia, enjoy cordial bilateral relations and my delegation pledges to him our co-operation. We are convinced that he will use his diplomatic skill and acumen to steer the deliberations of this session to a successful conclusion.

251. I should like also to pay a fitting tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the sister republic of Tanzania. A man of great eminence and integrity, he presided over the work of the thirty-fourth regular session, the two emergency sessions and one special session in the most commendable manner which was a source of pride to Africa.

252. I wish also to pay a similar tribute to our esteemed Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts for the furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1], the Secretary-General has provided a frank, succinct, thought-provoking and sobering analysis of the global situation. My delegation sincerely commends him for thoroughly and objectively articulating the challenges that we shall continue to face in this decade.

253. Let me also express my delegation's congratulations to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission last week as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the United Nations. This signifies a triumph for the people of that country and we are pleased about its achievement. Its admission, like that of Zimbabwe last month, brings us closer to the fulfilment of the principle of universality of the membership of the United Nations.

254. I wish on this occasion to reiterate the great pleasure and satisfaction of my delegation at the attainment of independence by Zimbabwe and its admission to the United Nations at the eleventh special session which discussed economic matters.

255. A crisis of immense proportions hovers over the world economic situation. The issues at stake impinge on the welfare of mankind as a whole because we live in a world of interdependence. The underpinnings of interdependence in our contemporary era require little elaboration, as they have been amply demonstrated recently in various United Nations reports, the report of the Brandt Commission and the report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts.

256. What the world needs is a new realism which is based on equity and justice for all. It must be recognized that it is justice, equity and interdependence which are at stake as we institute a new system of international economic relations. What is required is to change the old order. What is required is to introduce order where disorder now reigns. In the present situation of disorder in the world economy, no

country is shielded and there can be no meaningful development or progress.

257. In Zambia's view, the time has come for all countries to realize the benefits which can accrue from international co-operation in this age of interdependence.

258. The battle to realize the goals of the New International Economic Order is one which the international community must not lose. Indeed, for many it is a matter of either ending poverty or facing extinction. The food shortage problem, for example, means that millions will perish if no relief is forthcoming.

259. The issues on our world economic agenda are inter-linked. As we approach the United Nations conference on global negotiations for international economic co-operation for development; it is imperative that a simultaneous, coherent and integrated approach to all issues under negotiation in this universal forum be ensured. If that principle was respected, there would be no need for a diversionary debate aimed at entrenching the old order by attempts to rely on institutions which should themselves be subject to change.

260. The international community should look to the future and avoid placing unnecessary emphasis on obstacles. Lessons learned from the eleventh special session should provide bridges of hope where progress was made. It is time to consolidate, to negotiate further and to marshal all pragmatic tools which could lead to agreement. The agenda is for the survival of all mankind.

261. The consensus reached on the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464] during the eleventh special session represents the barest minimum for the majority of developing countries. The litmus test of commitment lies in the full and effective implementation of the policy measures and the attainment of the goals and objectives enshrined in the Strategy. The past two decades provide us with examples of unfulfilled commitment and aspirations.

262. Zambia's position with regard to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been made known at past sessions, including the meetings recently held at Geneva. It is our hope that all delegations will work in a co-operative and constructive spirit at the forthcoming session, with a view to reaching agreement on those vital issues which remain unresolved.

263. Zambia continues to attach great importance to the policy of non-alignment. We consider that the principles and objectives of non-alignment are as relevant as ever in the present turbulent international situation and that they represent the aspirations of the vast majority of the peoples of the world. In our view, non-alignment is the best guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of small and weak States.

264. It is against that background that Zambia views with serious concern the present situation around the Indian Ocean and in the Gulf area. We deeply deplore the increased big-Power rivalry in that part of the world, which threatens

the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a number of countries.

265. In the last year, for example, we have witnessed intensified great-Power rivalry, which has virtually made the Indian Ocean a zone of conflict instead of a zone of peace. Seeds of discord have been sown and the peace and security of the countries and people in the area have been greatly impaired.

266. My delegation calls upon all States, particularly the big Powers, to respect fully the aspirations of the people of the Indian Ocean region and to co-operate with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean in its efforts to bring about the realization of the aims and objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

267. We call for an urgent resolution of the crisis in Afghanistan. In that regard, it is imperative that all foreign troops be withdrawn and that the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States be scrupulously respected by all foreign Powers. Indeed, the situation in Afghanistan should not be used by one or the other great Power to increase its military presence on the pretext of a perceived threat to its so-called strategic interests in the area. No foreign interests can be more important than those of the people in the area directly concerned.

268. On Korea, my delegation wishes to reiterate its view that peace and stability will continue to elude us if reunification is not achieved. Furthermore, it is my delegation's view that reunification efforts have been greatly hampered by the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. We therefore call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea in order that the chances for reunification may be enhanced.

269. Similarly, with regard to the situation in Kampuchea, Zambia hopes that an amicable political solution can be found soon. Such a solution must, above all, reflect the true wishes and aspirations of the people concerned, who have suffered far too long.

270. Regarding Cyprus, my delegation will continue to follow closely the intercommunal talks being held under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary-General. We hope genuine progress will be registered during those talks, with a view to finding a just and durable solution which, above all, will guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

271. With regard to Western Sahara, we in Zambia hope that an early solution will be found. I wish therefore once again to call upon Morocco to respect fully the inalienable rights of the people of Western Sahara and to allow them freely to determine their own destiny. Zambia strongly supports the POLISARIO Front and we have also recognized the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic.

272. Morocco's intransigence over Western Sahara is reminiscent of the intransigence of Guatemala over Belize. I wish similarly to express Zambia's full support for the Government and people of Belize in their efforts to secure their independence and to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity. My delegation calls upon Guatemala to co-operate in the long drawn-out negotiations on the ques-

tion of Belize, in the spirit of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

273. One of the perennial citadels of conflict in our time is the Middle East. The seventh emergency special session, on Palestine, which was held from 22 to 29 July this year, reiterated the view that Israel's policies and practices constitute the major obstacle to durable peace and security in the Middle East. Israeli intransigence serves only to hinder progress towards the ideals of peace and security in the region. That behaviour is reflected in the relentless Israeli campaign of consolidating its colonization of the occupied Arab territories through the establishment of Jewish settlements.

274. Israel has further defied the international community's counsel not to change the religious status of Jerusalem and it has chosen to declare the city of Jerusalem its capital, an act intended to compromise the traditional status of Jerusalem as the seat of world Christianity, Judaism and Islam. In that regard, my delegation condemns the Israeli authorities for their action to change the status of Jerusalem and calls upon the General Assembly at its current session to declare such action null and void.

275. Zambia is also concerned about Israel's persistent military activities directed against Lebanon. Such military forays have been pursued to the extent of embroiling UNIFIL, the personnel of which have, in the process, been murdered in cold blood. We condemn that military adventurism of Israel and call upon Israel to heed the warning that such activities make the prospects for peace and security in the Middle East all the more remote.

276. My delegation is gravely concerned about Israel's adamant opposition to the participation of the PLO in the Middle East negotiations. There can be no settlement of the question of Palestine without the participation of the PLO on a basis of equality.

277. The Middle East problem in all its aspects can be resolved only if the question of Palestine is addressed realistically. Israel must reconcile itself to the imperative need to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right to a national homeland. In addition, Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab territories.

278. I turn now to the situation in southern Africa. On 18 April 1980 the gallant people of Zimbabwe achieved their independence. That victory, like the independence of Mozambique and Angola, contributed to the extension of the frontiers of peace and security in the region.

279. As we express our joy at the extension of the frontiers of peace in southern Africa as a result of Zimbabwe's achievement of genuine independence, Zambia is only too aware of the challenge that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia poses to the United Nations system. The international community can ill afford to be oblivious to the underlying reasons why South Africa, through its delaying tactics, continues to defy the United Nations with impunity over the question of Namibia. My delegation is disturbed by South Africa's intransigence because it goes beyond South Africa's own capacity. South Africa gets its inspiration and resilience to do whatever it deems fit in Namibia precisely because of

the sustained generous support it receives from certain Western Powers. These Powers, like South Africa, are now busy depleting the abundant natural resources of Namibia while the illegal occupation holds.

280. There is in Namibia today a build-up of South African military forces, whose objective is further to suppress the people's will in their demands for their inalienable right to independence. As a result, there have been mass arrests, detention, torture, imprisonment and murder of innocent Namibians.

281. It is regrettable that the situation in Namibia has taken a turn for the worse. The illegal South African régime has intensified its manoeuvres aimed at consolidating a puppet régime in Namibia. The so-called Legislative Assembly and Council of Ministers have been established at the same time as negotiations for the establishment of a popular government through universally recognized elections have been going on.

282. The build-up of arms of destruction and the increased militarization of Namibia by the South African authorities with the support of certain Western countries has had very adverse consequences on peace and stability in the region of southern Africa. South Africa has stepped up its unprovoked acts of aggression against the independent African States of Angola and Zambia. Our people continue to be killed and maimed and their property continues to be wantonly destroyed by South Africa, all because of their support for the cause of liberating Namibia, to which the United Nations is committed. The international community should take seriously the persistent South African acts of aggression against Zambia and Angola.

283. The South African acts of aggression are part of an over-all South African strategy to undermine the support of the front-line States for SWAPO, which is fighting to free Namibia from the clutches of the Pretoria régime. This same strategy is being pursued by South Africa to remove international demands on the United Nations. The people of Namibia cannot be expected to surrender their birthright. The international community has a duty to support their legitimate struggle. Namibia is indeed a unique case in the decolonization process in that the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for that Territory. South Africa's continued occupation is therefore a challenge to us all.

284. It is a matter of public record that SWAPO has made all the necessary concessions in the protracted negotiations to give effect to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). That UNTAG has not yet moved into Namibia and that the implementation process of the United Nations plan on Namibia has not yet begun is directly due to the negative attitude of South Africa. The South African régime continues to stall in this process. Time and again it has come up with flimsy pretexts to prevent the implementation of this plan. The tactics of South Africa have included unwarranted attacks on the United Nations itself.

285. South Africa must be forced to stop engaging in deceitful manoeuvres and duplicity over Namibia. How can we, for example, reconcile the installations of the Turnhalle quislings with the attempts to implement the United Nations plan under Security Council resolution 435 (1978)?

286. We in Zambia will continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia within the framework of resolution 435 (1978). The Secretary-General, whose integrity and impartiality cannot be questioned, has done his utmost to carry out the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council. For the plan to succeed and for the independence of Namibia to be achieved on this basis, it is quite evident that more pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa to ensure its co-operation.

287. The five Western Powers which initiated the plan for the settlement of the Namibian question¹⁸ and which enjoy special relations with racist South Africa must acknowledge the challenge posed by South Africa's intransigence and demonstrate a willingness to use all their influence to put pressure on South Africa to co-operate. We are not convinced that they have used every available leverage on South Africa.

288. Failure to implement the United Nations plan on Namibia will obviously leave the people of the Territory with no other choice but to intensify their armed struggle. In any event, such a failure will also make it inevitable for States Members of the United Nations to press ahead with their legitimate demand for enforcement action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Thus the stage will have been set for confrontation and further loss of life in Namibia at a time when we should be emulating the happy solution to the problem of Zimbabwe.

289. The situation in Namibia is but an extension of the *apartheid* system in South Africa itself. The Pretoria régime is constantly consolidating its military position in order to sustain its anachronistic domestic policy of *apartheid*. All calls by the international community on South Africa to desist from the policy of *apartheid* have continuously been scorned.

290. It is in South Africa's interest to know that the winds of freedom will continue to gather force in South Africa itself until the complete eradication of the *apartheid* system. Events from Sharpeville in 1960 to Soweto in 1976 and beyond clearly demonstrate that the struggle in South Africa has become irreversible.

291. The struggle continues to gain momentum. This intensification of the struggle has taken the form of public strikes by workers and school boycotts by students, and there have been other manifestations. The recent blowing-up of the oil plants of the South African Oil, Coal and Gas Corporation, Ltd. (SASOL) serves to confirm the nature of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and the degree it has reached.

292. The abolition of so-called petty *apartheid* is not the answer, nor can the attempts of the South African régime to win over the so-called Coloured community and isolate the blacks succeed. There is urgent need for meaningful change in South Africa. Change in South Africa must involve the complete eradication of *apartheid*. It is in the interest of all

¹⁸ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

South African whites to create conditions conducive to racial harmony.

293. The oppressed people of South Africa, like those of Namibia, are fighting against a system of Government which institutionalizes racism. They are fighting to bring about a system of Government which will work for the betterment of all people irrespective of their colour and enable all people to contribute to the development of their country in all spheres of human activity.

294. Whereas the international community has been urging South Africa to abandon the policy of *apartheid* through peaceful means, the Pretoria régime has always chosen to resort to war. This has been intensified in recent years by its acquisition of nuclear capability, which South Africa is using in the manufacture of nuclear weapons with the complicity of certain Western countries. Recent South African military attacks against the front-line States of Zambia and Angola attest to South Africa's insatiable appetite for war in the area. This state of affairs must be halted. The international community must put an end to it.

295. It is against that background that Zambia appeals to Western Powers to withdraw the support which they give to the racist South African régime so that South Africa can come to grips with the realities and accept the need to allow the people of South Africa the right to participate on an equal footing in the making of decisions that affect their everyday life. We call upon the Security Council to move forward by closing all existing loop-holes in the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa¹⁹ and making it more comprehensive. We appeal to all States strictly to abide by the embargo and thereby desist from contributing to South Africa's military arsenal.

296. There are many other pressing international problems which, for the sake of brevity, I have not delved into. The arms race continues to escalate at an alarming rate and consumes more than \$500 billion per annum. The plight of refugees has similarly reached alarming and disconcerting proportions, as millions of innocent men, women and children continue to flee their homes and countries only to languish in harsh economic and social conditions. Indeed, millions of the world's people still live in conditions of abject poverty, afflicted by hunger, ignorance and disease. The human rights situation in the world remains generally bleak.

297. Ours is therefore still very much a miserable and perilous world. There are grave threats to international peace and security. The ideal world envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations remains far off. We have a long way to go, and the problems that confront us are monumental.

298. This year we are marking the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. This must necessarily be an occasion for renewed commitment by us all to the ideals of the United Nations. In Zambia's view, no other forum is better suited than the United Nations to tackle the many and complex problems that continue to trouble international relations. No other forum is better suited than the United Nations to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the millions of the world's citizenry.

299. I wish therefore in conclusion to reaffirm Zambia's abiding faith in the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for realizing the noble principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter. It is Zambia's hope that all States will in this decade of the 1980s generate the necessary political will to strengthen and support the United Nations in its commitment to freedom, justice, peace and economic and social development for all countries and peoples.

300. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): I should like to extend to the President my delegation's sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. His experience in world affairs as a diplomat and representative of his great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, assures us that he will guide the deliberations of this session to a successful conclusion. We in Lesotho are particularly pleased at his being elected President because Lesotho enjoys happy relations with the great country that he represents. Our words of congratulation are equally extended to the other members of the General Committee. To them all I pledge the support and co-operation of my delegation.

301. I would also pay a tribute to the outgoing President of the thirty-fourth session, Ambassador Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was a great honour for Lesotho to serve as one of his Vice-Presidents, not only because he is an able and illustrious son of Africa but also because he served his term of office with great zeal, dedication and distinction. His presidency was characterized by his punctuality, impartiality, spirit of compromise and great sense of humour. We wish him the best of luck in his future endeavours.

302. Thirty-five years ago, war-weary nations—not more than one third of the present membership—founded the United Nations and made solemn commitments to uphold the principles of its Charter. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war was one of the main goals of the United Nations. As we commemorate its thirty-fifth anniversary this year, we cannot but note with satisfaction and contentment that the world has for three and a half decades been continuously without a global war. In making this remark I also pay credit to our Organization for having prevented the outbreak of yet another global conflict whose consequences would be catastrophic in view of the weapons of destruction at the disposal of nations. We nevertheless continue to live in a period of relative peace, albeit in an era overshadowed by horrendous arsenals of destruction and annihilation.

303. The United Nations has been seized of the question of disarmament for many years. At each session, this Assembly adopts numerous resolutions urging Member States to reduce their military budgets, to destroy chemical and bacteriological weapons in their possession, to respect various regions of the world as zones of peace or denuclearized zones and to prohibit the development and manufacture of new types of weapons with massive destructive potential. The number of resolutions has increased; more members have been admitted to the nuclear club; guarantees for non-nuclear-power States have become meaningless while monies spent on armaments have trebled, to the neglect of millions who live in poverty, in disease, in hunger and without shelter.

¹⁹ Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

304. Ironically, we are told that the world is safe, and that its security depends on a system of mutual deterrence controlled by those who have the maximum military potential for destroying life.

305. We have said before, and we repeat today, that it is those nations that have nuclear weapons that can effect disarmament. If we are not so vocal on this grave issue, it is not out of acquiescence. We have no nuclear weapons and desire to have none. As we move towards the close of 1980, with one Disarmament Decade having ended, we continue to look with great expectations to those who have nuclear arms to live up to their verbal commitment to the need for universal disarmament.

306. Recently, the General Assembly concluded its eleventh special session, devoted to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Seven years ago, on the initiative of the non-aligned movement and many third-world nations represented in this Hall, this Assembly, under the chairmanship of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, adopted resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974. It is indeed with regret that we are forced to acknowledge that the ills that faced the world then remain with us today, despite a clear-cut plan and action programme to substitute a more equitable world economic order for the current unjust economic order.

307. Towards that end, certain concrete decisions were taken in the special cases of commodities, the external debts of developing countries and the transfer of technology, to name but a few. Not all of these decisions have been implemented, to the dismay of millions in the developing world. The tragedy of the present imbalance in economic relations is clearly demonstrated by the fact that while much of the world's population is barely scratching out a living, a tiny minority is overfed and alienated by the luxury of choice.

308. The establishment of the New International Economic Order demands a great amount of political goodwill throughout the world. It is regrettable to note that this General Assembly has not been able to solicit a general political goodwill, as is evident from the results of the eleventh special session. While we are grateful that a consensus on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade has been reached, we remain concerned by the failure to launch the global round of negotiations which is intended to be an instrument for implementing the agreed international development strategy. We are encouraged, nevertheless, to note that the door is still open to further negotiations, and it is hoped that if it pleases the Assembly to reopen the negotiations all the negotiating parties will adopt a spirit of compromise in order to facilitate the launching of the global round of negotiations.

309. The unanimous adoption of the two most important resolutions [*resolutions, S-11/3 and S-11/4*] in favour of the least developed countries and many other disadvantaged countries is a source of great satisfaction. This we regard as a demonstration of a genuine disposition on the part of the international community towards the plight of those extremely disadvantaged countries that lack the basic infrastructure for development.

310. It is hoped that these resolutions will not merely swell the number of those which have been passed but which still remain largely unimplemented.

311. This Assembly endorsed the need for financial institutions, both national and international, to accord special attention to the needs of these countries by extending adequate financial and technical assistance to projects and programmes designed for their economic viability and the improvement of their infrastructures. Not much, if anything, has been done. Fifteen years ago, this Assembly urged States to become parties to the Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States of 8 July 1965. This Convention laid down exhaustive guidelines and programmes designed to alleviate the disadvantaged geographic position of the land-locked developing States. All of these remain empty promises and documents as yet to be implemented.

312. As the United Nations strives to achieve the effective implementation of Article 1 of its Charter, namely, the achievement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, it has also to guard jealously against external forces that are aimed at infringing these rights and freedoms on grounds of geography. Coastal as well as land-locked States, under articles 22 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of 10 December 1948 [*resolution 217 A (III)*] owe their peoples the full enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights. We rely on this historic Declaration as well as on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], which entered into force in 1976—the solemn commitment of States in 1979 to the promotion of equality between men and women, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960 by this Assembly, and other decisions of this Assembly, in order to enjoy the freedom to move on the high seas, in air space and on earth, as common heritage of all mankind.

313. Mankind has evidenced unprecedented excellence in scientific feats over the forces of nature in the field of technology. Since the first man was launched in a man-made spaceship, co-operation among nations in conquering outer space has been without comparison in other spheres of human endeavour. We thus call upon the Member States of this Organization to display similar goodwill and co-operation in facing the challenges confronting mankind. These challenges are clearly demonstrated by our heavy agenda. This agenda underscores the need for universal co-operation in order to make our one world a better place for posterity. The issues are intricate and contentious. Since my delegation will be discussing some of them in depth in the various relevant committees, I shall limit myself to only a few comments.

314. Open clashes have broken out between neighbouring non-aligned States on the Persian Gulf. We appeal to the two States for a cease-fire and a return to talks and fraternal and amicable relations, and to solve the crisis through meaningful dialogue.

315. The peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula still remains elusive. We firmly believe that unification can only be achieved through a direct dialogue between North and South. Such a dialogue should not be prejudiced by demands that may threaten the security of the parties concerned. We call on the parties to resume their dialogue based on the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.²⁰

316. The Middle East remains an area of great tension and instability. At the centre of the problem is the Palestine question. The position of Lesotho with respect to this tragedy has not altered since it was clearly set out from this and many other rostra by various spokesmen of the Lesotho Government. We should like to reaffirm that for a lasting and peaceful solution to come about, all parties should be involved in the peace efforts. The inalienable right of the Palestinian people to its own State is not negotiable. The Palestinian territory alienated and expropriated by force of arms still belongs to the Palestinian people and should not be considered as permanently alienated. This land should be returned to the people of Palestine. All parties must accept each other and then negotiate meaningfully. The Israelization of the international city of Jerusalem is an affront to efforts to bring about a solution to the Middle East problem. We call upon all parties to the conflict seriously to map out a negotiating strategy to resolve the Middle East deadlock.

317. Southern Africa continues to constitute another major area of tension in the world today. Not long ago the Security Council and the OAU had to consider atrocious bombings and ferocious attacks by South Africa on the people's Republic of Angola. A few weeks earlier, South Africa troops had committed acts of aggression in Zambia, thus displaying unrestrained contempt for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of its neighbours. The attacks on Angola are a ploy to disguise South Africa's intention to deny the people of Namibia their right to self-determination and independence despite the numerous resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

318. In its resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, the Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until that international Territory's independence. It is a matter of common knowledge that South Africa has frustrated the Council in the fulfilment of its mandate. What is even more unacceptable is that Namibian patriots continue to languish in South African gaols. *Apartheid* and bantustans have been introduced into Namibia and an internal settlement built on the Turnhalle groups is being pursued relentlessly, if not insidiously. Namibian resources continue to be illegally exploited. South Africa has thus far flouted all Security Council decisions on Namibia. One might mention Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) and clearly discern a constant pattern of refusal to comply with the Security Council's decisions and of the promotion of bogus arrangements aimed at creating a neo-colonial puppet régime.

319. We should like to register our support for the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom. By now, South Africa should have learned that no amount of distortion, intimidat-

tion or oppression can stifle a people's desire to achieve freedom, independence and human dignity. SWAPO is a force with which the South African Government has to reckon. Nobody can afford to brush it aside in any negotiations on Namibia and act as if it did not exist.

320. The continent of Africa is plagued by three more critical spots: the Horn of Africa, Western Sahara in the north and Chad in the west. The OAU is seized at the moment of these serious issues and my delegation wishes to register its support for its endeavours. We urge great vigilance and honest counsel in approaching these issues. My delegation notes with appreciation the humanitarian assistance being extended to the displaced persons and refugees in these subregions. We appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General of the OAU, as documented under item 23 of the agenda of the Assembly. May goodwill prevail on the part of all concerned in efforts to normalize the situation in these areas.

321. We should also like to express concern for the speedy resolution of the Cyprus problem and the situation in South-East Asia. The world has seen enough human suffering. Our collective efforts should thus be directed at the final solution of such problems. How otherwise can we talk of progress and development in the midst of so much human suffering?

322. Under agenda item 28, entitled "Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of South Africa", sufficient time will be devoted to consideration of the very lucid report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/35/22], and I do not intend to take any more of the Assembly's limited time by going into that item.

323. The simmering crisis inside South Africa itself is a matter of great concern to us. Because of our geographical and political situation, we cannot watch the escalation of disruption and violence in South Africa with equanimity. To the extent that we cannot escape unscathed from a conflagration in South Africa, we are an interested party. We should be caught in the crossfire if anything were to happen. Hence our concern over South Africa's *apartheid* policies, which are the root cause of the economic and political instability in southern Africa.

324. Economic co-operation among States of any region is always a good thing. In Africa, both the OAU and the United Nations regional commissions have encouraged such co-operation. The independent African States of the southern subregion recently concluded a conference in Salisbury aimed at such co-operation and at reducing their economic dependence on South Africa. It is against this background that a distinction should be made between their efforts and South Africa's brand of co-operation, styled "Constellation of southern African States".

325. South Africa's so-called constellation of States, consisting of itself and its bantustans, which it wants to sell to the independent African States, is nothing but a political mirage. In our view, it is yet another attempt by South Africa to bring about the recognition of her bantustan creations, which have so far been rejected by the international community. Through this strategem South Africa hopes to win support and respectability for her grand *apart-*

²⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

heid, which fragments southern Africa into weak black satellites dominated by a strong white State. We reject this constellation while it is operated within the framework of *apartheid*.

326. I cannot leave this rostrum without conveying to the Assembly the Lesotho Government's gratitude for the support our people have received since 1976 following the Soweto upheavals and the closure of some of the border posts between Lesotho and South Africa. The assistance was aimed at expanding educational facilities in the country to create room for displaced South African students who had fled to Lesotho and to improve Lesotho's economic viability, to enable it to withstand external coercion and lessen its dependence on South Africa. The latest review report by the Secretary-General on the fourth review mission to Lesotho [A/35/432-S/14753] is before the Assembly. It will be noted that we have been the recipient of massive aid from a variety of sources, but mainly from some Governments represented here. We are indeed greatly indebted and we are glad to acknowledge such gracious assistance.

327. Notwithstanding this, the pledges, grants, loans and technical assistance extended still fall short of targets set four years ago. South African and Namibian students are still with us and continue to arrive in Lesotho. The need to remedy our geographical isolation still exists. We thus earnestly reaffirm our commitment to the international airport project to which Lesotho attaches great importance. In this connection, I should like to express my delegation's gratitude to those countries which have made modest contributions to our current efforts towards the construction of our one and only international air bridge. This was one of the leading projects recommended to and subsequently approved by the Security Council in 1977. It is our wish that Governments will reconsider their position on this expensive but vital project and become involved in it. So far only a few Governments of the European Economic Community and the Arab world are involved in it, with the Lesotho Government shouldering the biggest share of the funding.

328. I should like to observe, in conclusion, that we have reached a critical point in the struggle for the liberation of the rest of Africa. Heavy sacrifices have already been made and will continue to be made. To assist any of the front-line States or any of the independent African States neighbouring Namibia and South Africa is also to contribute to the final elimination of *apartheid* and alien occupation in southern Africa. This is a task to which we must direct our united force and energy. The lesson of Zimbabwe has proved, more than any other lesson in recent history, that racial bigotry and colonialism are myths which have no place in the community of free nations. Thus we also wish to associate ourselves with the congratulatory words already addressed to the new State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We are confident that the world community will respond to any request that this new State may wish to make for assistance in its reconstruction and development.

329. I wish this Assembly success in the consideration of the serious agenda items before us.

330. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to

speak in exercise of their 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 representatives from their seats.

331. Mr. HING UN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): A Khmer proverb says that it is impossible to hide a dead elephant in a wicker basket. This is what the Vietnamese expansionists have been trying to do for 22 months and are still trying to do today.

332. Indeed, it is universally known that since 25 December 1978 the Vietnamese regional expansionists, with massive assistance from the Soviet Union, have invaded Democratic Kampuchea, plunged the country into fire and blood, and have already killed nearly 3 million Kampuchians in their war of racial extermination, by massacring the inhabitants of entire villages, by the use of toxic chemicals and above all by starvation. Everyone also knows that despite the 250,000 soldiers and 50,000 agents from Viet Nam in Kampuchea, they have reached a total military and political impasse and are bogged down in Kampuchea because of the heroic resistance of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, and of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

333. It is also public knowledge that these Vietnamese regional expansionists can only persist in their present occupation and heinous crimes in Kampuchea thanks to Soviet aid, which is estimated at \$3 million a day. Without that aid, the 300,000 Vietnamese soldiers and agents could not remain long in Kampuchea and the Vietnamese régime of Phnom Penh would collapse like a house of cards. The so-called régime of Phnom Penh is but the shadow of the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea. Indeed, it is known that every decision, small or big, is made by a Vietnamese proconsul, Le Duc Tho, a member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese Communist Party, stationed in Saigon, and is carried out by North Vietnamese from the Le Duan clique in Hanoi, who have taken over as masters in Kampuchea as well as in South Viet Nam.

334. No diversionary manoeuvres of the Vietnamese regional expansionists will be able to conceal these stubborn realities. The unbridled and vain attempts of the Vietnamese regional expansionists to deprive the Government of Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate rights at the United Nations and in other international organizations, and even to leave the seat of Democratic Kampuchea vacant, cannot conceal their total failure to achieve by arms a Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. The flagrant Vietnamese aggression against Thailand of 23, 24 and 25 June last only too obviously confirms the ambition of the Vietnamese expansionists to spread themselves throughout the whole of South-East Asia if they should succeed in absorbing Kampuchea through the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese federation", placed in the service of Soviet global expansionism.

335. The so-called Vietnamese proposals which were concocted in Moscow after this aggression against Thailand are mere manoeuvres aimed at diverting the attention of the international community towards an alleged conflict between the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese federation" and the

countries of ASEAN. They cannot cause us to overlook the fact that it is the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese armed forces that are the deep-rooted cause of the flames of war which are extending more and more throughout South-East Asia.

336. It is sufficient to refer to the virtual totality of the statements of representatives of Member States of our international Organization during the past four days, which have unequivocally condemned the Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea that has been carried out in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, and which have made a strong demand for the application of General Assembly resolution 34/22 calling for the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea so that the people of Kampuchea might exercise its inalienable right to decide its own destiny without any foreign interference.

337. It is significant that every evening before this Assembly the representatives of the Vietnamese regional expansionists have felt their faces soiled and have sought to wipe them clean. This is easy to understand, because they plainly have not a clear conscience. They have been denounced and condemned by all, and it is certain that they themselves do not believe their own lies.

338. Just as the wicker basket cannot conceal the corpse of the elephant, so the sophism of the so-called Chinese threat, the lies, the calumnies, the diversionary manoeuvres and the perfidious and cynical diplomatic plots of the Vietnamese regional expansionists are not and never will be able to conceal their aggression and their crimes of genocide against Democratic Kampuchea and its people, or their regional expansionist ambition in South-East Asia, or their servility with respect to Soviet global expansionism, or the fact that they constitute the principal danger to peace, security and co-operation in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

339. There is only one way out for them if they wish to prove the sincerity of their peace propaganda and to show

that they do not subscribe to the law of the jungle: it is to put an end to their aggression against Kampuchea and apply General Assembly resolution 34/22—in other words, to withdraw all their armed forces from Kampuchea. If everything is really calm in Kampuchea, they should have no hesitation in doing so. They would then be able once again to become members of the civilized world.

340. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the representative of Viet Nam expressed in this Assembly a political judgement with respect to the Republic of El Salvador.

341. That country, Viet Nam, which has no moral authority even to criticize affairs taking place on its own continent—because it is a recognized aggressor—irresponsibly took the liberty, in obedience to dictates, to express points of view on matters which are solely within the competence of Salvadorians.

342. Possibly the intent was to distract attention from actions which Viet Nam is carrying out in its own area—actions which are interventionist in nature and in violation of the principles of the Charter—despite the repudiation of the overwhelming majority of this Assembly.

343. El Salvador wishes to declare emphatically that it does not submit to the dictates of any super-Power as does the Government of Viet Nam. Once and for all, we declare that the internal problems of El Salvador with respect to living in a free and independent manner and deciding its own destiny will be resolved solely and exclusively by Salvadorians. Accordingly, we reject any abusive intervention by foreign Governments, whatever their origin or orientation.

344. What I have just said, *mutatis mutandis*, may be applied to the Government of Afghanistan which, by its conduct, has flagrantly violated the sovereignty of its people by allowing the imposition of foreign troops on its territory.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.