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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualifications and your experience in the world Organization guarantee you full success in your eminent post.

2. We recall with praise the effective and objective performance of the outgoing President, Mr. Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who so brilliantly marked the imposing presence on the international scene of the peoples of Africa and the new characteristics of the United Nations in the present world political setting.

3. We greet Zimbabwe as it enters upon independent life and as it joins the United Nations, following a strenuous struggle for liberation and the legal consecration of its birth as a free country by the democratic exercise of the popular vote.

4. We also welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, of the Caribbean subregion, which has just joined the group of 30 Latin American countries within the nearly universal fold of the United Nations.

5. We welcome also the Latin American Economic System [SELA] as an observer, an item which already appears in the Assembly's agenda [item 117] following the recommendation of the group of Latin American States.

6. Ecuador repeats that its international policy is guided by the scrupulous observance of permanent principles that are the basis of international law and of the United Nations system, such as those of non-intervention, self-determination of peoples, the legal equality of States, absolute

respect for human rights, ideological pluralism, opposition to all forms of racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism, rejection of all aggression, non-validity of territorial conquest achieved through the threat or use of force, and the defence and strengthening of the system of peaceful settlement of disputes.

7. In accordance with these principles, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, Mr. Alfonso Barrera, said, on taking up his duties:

"As for relations with neighbouring countries and those of the subregion and the region, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will make every effort to achieve the best understanding with them and to ensure that the handling of problems is conducted in a most cordial and frank manner, both with regard to the presentation of problems and the search for solutions, in a spirit of solidarity and of respect for our rights".

8. In connexion with its Amazonian rights, which it will not renounce, and in consistency with its commitment to peace, Ecuador will continue to seek, vis-à-vis Peru, a just solution to its permanent claim.

9. The aforementioned principles govern Ecuador's position with regard to the problems of the international community, including, *inter alia*, those of Palestine and the whole Middle East, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Namibia and that of the diplomatic hostages in Iran. Ecuador hopes that the appeal made yesterday by the President of the Security Council¹ for a cessation of the military activities between Iraq and Iran will be heeded.

10. Within the United Nations, the universality of human rights should be demonstrated through impartial analysis and firm criticism of their enforcement in each and every country, whether it be a Member of the Organization or not. To censure in certain places what is met with silence in others merely weakens the impartiality of the United Nations system and will reduce its objectivity whenever it takes a stand in the future.

11. The Constitutional President of Ecuador, Jaime Roldós, in the implementation of his programme of government, firmly upholds the defence of human rights, at both the national and the international levels.

12. I have the honour to announce that, in our Andean subregion, the heads of State of Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador and the Vice-President of Peru, representing that country's President, meeting this month in the city of Rio-

¹ Document S/14190. See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Resolutions and Decisions*, "The situation between Iran and Iraq".

bamba to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first Constitution of Ecuador, approved the Charter of Conduct that was proposed by President Roldós and which, on this very subject, reads as follows:

“ [It] reiterates the solemn commitment that respect for human, political, economic and social rights constitutes a fundamental rule of internal conduct for the States of the Andean Group, that the defence of those rights is an international obligation which is binding on States and that, therefore, joint action undertaken to protect such rights does not violate the principle of non-intervention”.²

Joining in the spirit of this declaration, the heads of State of Costa Rica and Panama and the personal representative of the President of the Government of Spain have also signed it.

13. Similarly, with the participation of outstanding political personalities and organizations of the region interested in the subject, this past month of August the Latin American Association for Human Rights was established, with headquarters in the capital of Ecuador.

14. The main pillar of human rights and the essence of the system of democratic government is freedom of expression, of information and of communication, which also involves the right to dissent. I am pleased to emphasize that Ecuador scrupulously respects these rights in its institutional life, as well as in its actions within the United Nations Committee on Information, where, in order to strengthen the world Organization, and in order to extend more effectively the economic, social and cultural spheres of action of the developing world, we have given our support to the new world information and communication order, while at the same time defending the widest use of the Spanish language and a better geographical balance in the composition of the Secretariat of the United Nations.

15. Furthermore, in line with its principle of respect for ideological pluralism, Ecuador has, from its clearly democratic position, widened the scope of its diplomatic and commercial relations in the course of the past year, establishing such relations with Albania, the People's Republic of China, Cyprus, the Congo, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Indonesia, Jordan, Liberia, Malta, Saint Lucia, Senegal, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia and Viet Nam.

16. My country, which maintains its unswerving commitment to the struggle against all discrimination and the need to extend rights to all social sectors, has been supporting the participation of women and youth in the responsibilities of development. The women of Ecuador, with the backing of the public authorities, are making constant progress towards the full exercise of their rights, not because of concessions of a paternalistic nature, but as an expression of maturity in the social evolution of our country. At the World Conference³ at Copenhagen, Ecuador took a stand at the highest level demanding maximum training facilities for women, in order truly to open up equal opportunities at

all social levels and in order to eliminate discrimination as to race, sex, religion or political belief throughout the world.

17. Ecuador has faithfully supported the resolutions relating to disarmament and has pointed out the catastrophic economic and social consequences of the arms race. The expenditure on armaments could, if transferred to development, effectively generate a climate of trust and peace. Ecuador hopes that the progress recorded in General Assembly resolution 34/71, concerning the signing and ratification of Additional Protocol I to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),⁴ will be matched by parallel initiatives for the denuclearization of other regions.

18. Ecuador has continued to protect its natural resources, which constitute a part of its sovereignty; it has consequently supported resolutions 2692 (XXV) and 3281 (XXIX) of the General Assembly, relative respectively to the declaration on the permanent sovereignty over natural resources of developing countries and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Together with other equatorial States, it has also defended its rights over the corresponding segments of the geostationary orbit. The latter represents a *sui generis* and limited natural resource, which must serve the development aims of Ecuador as well as those of all developing countries in general. Ecuador will also continue to uphold its rights over the 200-mile width of its territorial sea.

19. Ecuador attaches importance to its cultural possessions, which, as its artistic heritage, constitute its national roots and its contribution to universal civilization. In that regard, we shall continue to support, at the General Assembly and within UNESCO, international action for the restitution or return of cultural property to its country of origin.

20. In consistency with its status as a developing country and as a member of the Group of 77, Ecuador supports the firm and reasonable proposal put to the industrialized countries in a consensus of great political value since it resulted from a meeting of the minds of 120 countries, which represent two thirds of the world's population. That proposal, concerning both global negotiations⁵ and the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464], was made in the light of the imperative need to establish the new international economic order without which we would end up facing a regrettable confrontation and would not be able to guarantee permanent peace.

21. Turning a deaf ear to the voices of that majority of the human race and sowing difficulties with a view to bringing about a breakdown in the North-South dialogue would be dangerous for the course of history and for universal co-existence. The presence of those 120 countries on the international scene is the most significant historical fact of our century in which peoples expect social justice and economic development in the national and international fields.

² See A/C.3/35/4, annex.

³ World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, para. 16.

22. The world of justice that we seek must be found in the United Nations, in response to the inescapable challenge of history. The time has come to find new forms of understanding, which are likely to help to accelerate the establishment of the new order. The global negotiations are intended to treat, not only in a centralized and coherent manner but also simultaneously, the essential aspects of the areas which the developing countries have identified, while corresponding political will on the part of the industrialized countries is required for the conduct and success of those negotiations. It is encouraging to realize that practically all Member States now share the view of the Group of 77 and we trust that the support of the three countries that have not yet joined in the desired consensus will be forthcoming as early as possible.

23. We have to admit that the scale of development is also the scale of world poverty. We, the countries on that scale, are actively promoting measures and programmes in favour of the least developed countries. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which is to take place next year, will provide the opportunity to show in a concrete manner what the international community is capable of achieving, on the threshold of the Third United Nations Development Decade, in the process of reducing the deep structural problems which affect our sister countries in greater need.

24. In South-South co-operation, the field of action is broadening, thanks to the eagerness of the developing countries to move forward in joint activity which can contribute to the attainment of collective self-reliance. Ecuador, like the other Latin American countries, is participating in several measures to promote economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. In the organization of its own economy, Ecuador has adopted a National Development Plan based on democracy involving the participation of all national sectors and on responsibility for progress, in economic development and social justice, which are expressions of dignity and freedom for the individual. Undeterred by the magnitude of the task, we give preferential attention to the rural sector, which is among those in greatest need within our social context.

25. Outstanding areas of action in the United Nations system are the operational activities in the transfer of technology for the promotion of development. Aware that the technological gap is the most serious of the disparities between rich and poor peoples, Ecuador, together with its sister nations in Latin America, has maintained that it is necessary that UNDP should preserve its original features of universality, the voluntary nature of its programming and financing and its access to and permanence in the system.

26. Our country has rejected the attempts to paralyse the efforts for development by trying to reduce the UNDP allocations in the intermediate levels of the system. But it has supported the earmarking of 80 per cent of UNDP resources in the next five-year cycle to countries having a less than \$500 *per capita* income and opposed any trend of a neo-colonialist nature left over from the old order, which would tend to exclude those who strive hardest, penalizing them for the meagre achievements of their progress and trying to make the Programme in some way reimbursable, whereas it

should rather be an initial, however modest, example of the new international co-operation.

27. The decolonization process must be completed and the last traces of the wrongful and intolerable scars of the past, which the present has changed for the better, must be eliminated. The ignominy of racial discrimination, in all its forms, must disappear, and particularly the shameful policy of *apartheid*.

28. As a member of the Andean Group, Ecuador honours its responsibility with regard to economic co-operation among developing countries and the staunch defence of democratic principles, the continental promotion of which is one of the objectives of the subregion, as reaffirmed in the Lima Declaration, signed on 29 July this year and in the Charter of Conduct, signed on 11 September at Riobamba.

29. Ecuador reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and supports action aimed at strengthening it in the opinion of the world through education for international peace and understanding, which carries with it the obligation of Member States and of the agencies and the programmes of the system to defend the world Organization and the principles which inspire it, in order that it may fully discharge its responsibility and fulfil the hopes placed in it by all peoples.

30. Mr. PASTOR (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to begin my statement by congratulating you most sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. This Assembly's good judgement in choosing you as its President will undoubtedly be rewarded by success in the tasks stemming from our heavy agenda and, in particular, in reinforcing the aims of the United Nations Charter concerning peace, security and progress for all peoples. The Federal Republic of Germany, your noble country of origin, is a nation with which the Argentine Republic maintains firm relations of friendship and co-operation. We also congratulate the Federal Republic on the honour conferred upon it by your presidency of this Assembly.

31. It is equally appropriate to recall the distinguished services rendered by Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who carried out brilliantly and effectively the tasks of the presidency of the thirty-fourth session and the subsequent special sessions of the General Assembly.

32. Just as in 1979 the United Nations rejoiced in the admission of Saint Lucia as a new Member of the Organization, on this occasion we wish to reiterate the welcome we gave during the eleventh special session of the General Assembly to Zimbabwe, its Government and its people and to extend to them our best wishes for peace and prosperity.

33. Similarly, we also wish to express our warmest esteem for Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the American country which has just been welcomed as a full Member of our Organization, and we are confident that it will make a constructive contribution to the task of consolidating international peace and security.

34. The threats to international peace and security that existed a year ago have not disappeared; indeed, they have increased.

35. In January this year, at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, the Organization had the opportunity to review the situation on the Asian continent. The great majority of countries—among them the Argentine Republic—expressed their opposition to any act implying violation of the political rights of States and, hence, of the Charter of the United Nations, which must be adhered to equally by all Members without exception.

36. In fact, those situations have been created within an international context which continues to be ruled by the ambitions and tensions prevailing among the super-Powers. Their power appears to be used for no other purpose than their own self-perpetuation and aggrandizement, at times at the expense of the rights of other States and the opportunities of the rest of the nations which constitute the great majority of the world's population.

37. The present international political outlook is such that the developing countries appear justified in their efforts zealously to defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, protect the authority of this Organization and assert their right to contribute actively to the solution of international problems and participate as equals in initiatives aimed at the economic, social and political advancement of peoples—and I stress “as equals”.

38. As can be seen, the international situation confronting us today differs greatly from that which could have been hoped for until very recently, when we believed that we were advancing firmly on the road to international détente and co-operation.

39. Therefore it is necessary, for the nations whose vocation is freedom, to reject from the outset any attempt to impose on us a confrontation in which neither the interests nor the wishes of our peoples are at stake.

40. At the same time, it is essential that all nations, especially the two great Powers, refrain from infringing the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. These basic principles of international relations must not be ignored by any nation or any intergovernmental organization, whatever the motive or pretext.

41. Only unrestricted adherence to these principles will ensure lasting understanding and real co-operation among States. The ineffective paternalism of those seeking to impose their judgement on the sovereign will of other peoples leads to a rarefied international atmosphere which impairs efforts to bring about peace and development.

42. We note with great concern the present escalation of tension and warlike activities between Iran and Iraq, which might have serious consequences and endanger peace in the area and even beyond. We therefore associate ourselves with the timely appeal made recently by the Secretary-General to the parties concerned and we are confident that they will reach an understanding which will preserve peace in the area. Similarly, we support the appeal made by the President of the Security Council on behalf of the Council members for the cessation of any armed or other action that might exacerbate the present dangerous situation and for the solution of their dispute by peaceful means.

43. The competition between the super-Powers is most clearly evident in the arms race. In this area there have been alarming signs during the period since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Not only has the process of ratification of the SALT II agreement⁶ been suspended but there seems little prospect of an early beginning of negotiations on a future SALT III agreement.

44. The trend thus indicated is therefore negative and denotes the readiness of those States with the most and the most sophisticated nuclear weapons to continue to exercise a sort of guardianship over the rest of the world by means of nuclear terror.

45. The reasonable level of legitimate defence of the super-Powers was greatly exceeded long ago. Furthermore, they have encroached on the security of all States, without offering any guarantees other than the goodwill of a few or the dubious security offered by complex electronic devices—which are in fact as fallible as their operators.

46. If the decade that has just started is to be sincerely described as the Disarmament Decade, it will be necessary to respect egalitarian—not discriminatory—and effective foundations that will enable us to progress once and for all towards general and complete disarmament. The priorities established in 1978 in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*] clearly indicate the steps to be taken. We cannot allow secondary issues to serve as an excuse to postpone the solution of more important issues on which a consensus has already been reached. In this regard it is clear that there is a fundamental objective above all: the objective of arresting and reversing the nuclear arms race, until it is completely eliminated.

47. In this connexion, we have already referred to some of the structural characteristics of and situations connected with the present system of international relations that affect the stability of peace and security. It has rightly been said that the absence of war is not enough to enable us to live in peace.

48. The genuine enjoyment of peace implies that each people is in a position to make its own order, has available the resources to develop its economy, is capable of trading with other nations and providing for the health and education of its population and, lastly, can live a worthy life of work in freedom. Only thus will peace be accompanied by the necessary security which development brings.

49. These aspirations are frustrated whenever an unjust system of economic relations persists, since its bases the welfare of certain nations not only on their own labour but also on insufficient payment for the efforts of other nations.

50. Only a few days ago a most serious attempt to reformulate the international economic order was frustrated by the intransigence of some developing countries. We are all in agreement that the economy of the world is going through a period of grave difficulties. In those circumstances it would

⁶ 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.

seem obvious that there should be no opposition to attempting to overcome the crisis by means of a negotiated solution.

51. Nevertheless, the proposal of the Group of 77 that a new round of global negotiations be held in 1981, within the framework of the North-South dialogue, was not approved by three developed countries, which alleged that the procedural framework proposed during the eleventh special session of the General Assembly was unacceptable. In view of the present state of the dialogue, the Republic of Argentina reiterates before this Assembly its willingness to continue to make all the necessary efforts to enable the international community to reach a genuine consensus on all aspects related to the preparation of a new round of global negotiations.

52. Argentina, the only developing country that is a signatory to the Food Aid Convention of 1980,⁷ has donated significant quantities of grain to many countries in the developing world, thus contributing within its possibilities to the fulfilment of their food needs and allowing them to concentrate their efforts on other fields of economic development. In a spirit of solidarity, our country has also aided countries in emergency situations by supplying provisions and medicine. Our greatest satisfaction lies in the knowledge that we have been helpful, as evidenced in the expressions of thanks from the Governments of the recipient countries.

53. However, we do not believe that the elements essential to human life—for example, food and medicine—should be used as means of political or economic pressure.

54. With regard to humanitarian questions, the rules of the game prevailing in the international order render unacceptable the attempt to take political advantage of such questions. Those who adopt that attitude expose themselves to the censure of international opinion, to the distrust of States and to the squandering of efforts on a sterile objective: the furthering of electoral aims or the provocation of confrontation between peoples.

55. These attitudes become even more serious when arguments are used in a selective manner and when the strategic risks of the opportunistic accusers are smaller.

56. The internal political development of each nation, with its achievements and difficulties, is the sole and exclusive responsibility of that nation, and those who seek to teach lessons from abroad are committing an error with consequences that will be increasingly difficult to eliminate.

57. Similarly, no contribution to peace and security has been made by the violation of rules that from time immemorial have given diplomatic agents immunity in accordance with the delicate functions they must carry out. The interests of the entire international community are affected when these rules are infringed.

58. The perpetration of criminal attempts against representatives and diplomatic missions—such as those that are, alarmingly, taking place at an increasing rate all over the world—must also be the subject of more decisive action with a view to the total elimination of such attempts.

59. Latin America is a subject of fundamental interest to us. The Republic of Argentina is a Latin American country, because of its geographical location as well as its culture and vocation. That is why I cannot fail to mention in this context an event that holds promise for our region and, consequently, for international relations in general.

60. The process of Latin American integration gained renewed momentum with the establishment of the Association for Latin American Integration, composed of 11 countries whose Foreign Ministers or other Ministers signed the Treaty at Montevideo in August of this year establishing the Association. The prospects opened up by this instrument exceed what was regarded as possible by the preceding Latin American Free Trade Association, after 20 years of hard and positive efforts. The economic pluralism of Latin America having been acknowledged, the new Association will make possible, in the long term, access to the much desired objective of the establishment of a Latin American common market. Also, it will enable the signatories to take steps to establish and intensify the links of solidarity with developing countries and integration areas in which they are active, in accordance with the guiding principles and commitments assumed in the context of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

61. We wish also to express our satisfaction with the undeniable substantial progress achieved by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during its ninth session, held at Geneva from 28 July to 29 August of this year. It is well known that our Latin American countries have made a great contribution in this important matter. We trust that final agreements will be speedily reached.

62. We are also satisfied—and with justification—with the stage reached in the relations between Argentina and Brazil, as demonstrated by visits at the highest level of government and the signing of important economic, technological, trade, energy and nuclear agreements.

63. Our relations with the neighbouring and other countries of Latin America have been extremely good and, as an indication of the closeness of those relations, we point to the outstandingly important work of physical integration with the countries of the River Plate basin and the increase of imports from those countries by nearly 80 per cent in the last four years. That growth is in itself eloquent.

64. We should like to reiterate Argentina's gratitude to His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the continued and invaluable assistance he has been giving to the Governments of Argentina and Chile in the search for an equitable and honourable solution to the dispute over the southern zone of the American continent, in compliance with the provisions of the Montevideo Agreement of 8 January 1979.

65. This Assembly will be faced, for the second time during the course of the year, with the question of Palestine, the heart and crux of the crisis in the Middle East. The first opportunity this year was provided last July by the seventh

⁷ See document TD/WHEAT.6/13.

emergency special session, which was convened chiefly on the initiative of the non-aligned countries.⁸

66. The position of the Argentine delegation at that time—which we now reiterate—consisted in support for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to the establishment of its own sovereign State and to freedom to choose its own representatives and its own future.

67. At the same time, we reject the unilateral and arbitrary measures adopted by Israel in the territories it has occupied since 5 June 1967. Moreover, we believe that the City of Jerusalem must be put under a special régime, recognized by all parties and in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

68. In appealing once more to the Israelis and the Palestinians to recognize each other's legitimate rights, we express the hope that they will fulfil, in an atmosphere of peace and far from all forms of violence, their responsibilities to a world in which the tensions are becoming extremely dangerous.

69. We also urge all the parties involved to make major efforts to bring about peace in Lebanon. We fervently hope that that long-suffering nation will preserve its complete sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and that all acts of violence against its inhabitants will cease.

70. Another area which my country contemplates with alarm is southern Africa. The independence of Zimbabwe, which we noted with satisfaction, was not followed by other positive events in that area.

71. The international community is still awaiting the end of the illegal occupation of Namibia. That Territory must accede to sovereignty with complete territorial integrity. The present situation must be brought to an end, because its persistence calls into question the implementation of the principles and decisions of the United Nations and, at the same time, constitutes a significant danger to the peace and security of Africa and the entire world. In affirming this, we also welcome in advance the representatives of the United Nations Council for Namibia who will soon visit the Republic of Argentina.

72. My country wishes to reiterate most categorically its total rejection of *apartheid* and any other form of racial discrimination. Those systems—which offend the moral conscience of all nations and are contrary to the Christian traditions on which we were brought up—are the root of future suffering and conflicts. We have no guarantee that the violence that they are creating will be localized and will respect the frontiers of the countries involved. There is therefore a double imperative—moral and political—to clearly condemn all forms of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

73. Because of the seriousness of the risks confronting mankind, it is particularly important for the movement of non-aligned countries to continue to play an active part without abandoning its original principles. This presup-

poses the reaffirmation of the independence and impartiality from which the movement was born and which it must preserve at all costs so that its influence in world affairs may be great enough to meet the exigencies of the times.

74. Only thus will the movement of non-aligned countries be a reflection of the feeling of international responsibility of a significant number of States, which, over and above their political, economic and social differences, attempt to direct international relations towards full respect for non-intervention through solidarity and co-operation among peoples.

75. I come to a matter of the greatest importance to us. Year after year Argentina has given repeated proof of moderation and patience with regard to the usurpation by force by the United Kingdom of a part of our national territory, the Malvinas Islands.

76. This Organization is well aware of the background of this question and has not ceased to urge the Argentine and British Governments to continue negotiations to put an end to the occupation of the islands. Moreover, the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries have expressed their unqualified solidarity with Argentina regarding its sovereign right to the Malvinas Islands.

77. We must also mention the wide international support for Argentina's claim, as well as our willingness to seek an early solution by means of negotiations culminating in the definitive recognition by the United Kingdom of Argentine sovereignty over the aforementioned islands. As is well known, Argentina has made a series of efforts to meet the interests of the nucleus of inhabitants of the islands and has offered them the necessary safeguards and guarantees.

78. It is precisely at this time, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), that we must reaffirm our support for its provisions and redouble our efforts finally to eliminate colonialism from the world. It was by virtue of that resolution that the General Assembly adopted resolution 2065 (XX), on which negotiations on the Malvinas Islands are based.

79. I hope that at the end of this session we shall be able to say that the efforts of this Assembly have been fruitful, that peace is possible and that we shall continue to work resolutely for its consolidation.

80. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all allow me to extend warm congratulations to you on your being elected President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We believe that under your presidency the current session will achieve new successes in the noble cause of maintaining international peace and security.

81. This year we are celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On this occasion we note with pleasure that four more countries—Zimbabwe, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines,

⁸ See document A/34/542, annex, chap. I, para. 133.

Kiribati and Vanuatu—have joined the ranks of independent countries since last year. We warmly welcome the admission of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations. It is our sincere hope that these newly independent countries will play an active role in international affairs and make their contributions to the cause of world peace and to the progress of mankind.

82. The past year has witnessed encouraging progress in the struggle to win national liberation, defend state independence and safeguard world peace. The brilliant victory of the Zimbabwe people marks a significant turning-point in the course of the African people's struggle to root out colonialist and racist domination in southern Africa. The just demand of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples for the recovery of their lost territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights has won increasingly extensive support throughout the world. Irresistibly, the national democratic movement of the Latin American peoples continues to develop in depth. The peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, holding high the sacred banner of safeguarding national independence and fighting heroically against brute force, have upset the smug calculations of foreign aggressors for a quick decision in the war and exacted an ever heavier price from them. In 1980 the United Nations, the Islamic Conference, the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the European Community have made a series of very important decisions on the major international issues of today, giving expression to the urgent desire of all peoples for world peace, security and justice. The unprecedentedly strong reaction to the Afghan incident shows that the struggle of the people of the whole world against hegemonism and for world peace has reached a new level.

83. However, we cannot ignore the fact that world peace and the independence and security of States are still facing serious threats. The international situation is more tense and turbulent than before. The danger of war is growing. Relying on its vastly increased military strength, the Soviet Union has stepped up its pace of expansion. It has launched a *blitzkrieg* against Afghanistan and occupied the country by armed force. With Soviet backing, the Vietnamese authorities have not only refused to withdraw their forces from Kampuchea but have invaded the border areas of Thailand, making threats of war against the South-East Asian countries. Thus the resolutions of the United Nations on Afghanistan and Kampuchea have been grossly trampled underfoot.

84. Prior to the Afghan incident, the Soviet Union had normally carried out its military invasion or subversion of third-world countries through its agents. But this time, in Afghanistan, it dropped the mask and sent troops to fight the battle itself. Through its propaganda machine it openly declared that "under the new historical conditions, the internationalist missions of the Soviet armed forces have broadened". In other words, the Soviet Union may, under the pretext of fulfilling its "internationalist obligations", carry out armed intervention in other countries at will. It even advanced a theory to justify aggression by stating that, to the Soviet Union, "a hostile Afghanistan is unacceptable, because there is a common border 2,200 kilometres long". This "doctrine" of allowing no hostile neighbours means that all the neighbours of the Soviet Union must show

complete obedience. It is even more peremptory and aggressive in nature than the notorious doctrine of "limited sovereignty". Based on such logic, would it not be all right for Israel to hold on to the Arab territories it has occupied by force and commit further aggressions against the neighbouring Arab countries that are opposed to its expansionism? Would it not be all right too for the racist régime in South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and even send troops for aggression against southern African countries that are opposed to racism? Clearly, in spreading these fallacies, the Soviet Union is trying both to defend its present aggressions and to create theoretical justifications for similar acts in the future. Whether in theory or in practice, the Afghan incident marks a new stage of development in the external expansion of the hegemonists.

85. In sending troops to Afghanistan and supporting the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the Soviet Union aims not only to enslave those two countries but also to turn them into spring-boards for further expansion. Both incidents are important steps taken by the hegemonists in their policy of a southward drive. With the dispatch of troops to Afghanistan, the Soviet armed forces have pushed more than 600 kilometres southward to press against the northern and western parts of the Pakistani border and the eastern part of the Iranian border. Another step forward will take them to the Indian Ocean and the shores of the Gulf. By supporting the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the Soviet Union has strengthened its control over Viet Nam and moved into Cam Ranh bay, thereby advancing its military base in the Far East southward by more than 4,000 kilometres and pressing towards the Straits of Malacca. In driving south towards the Indian Ocean and along the Pacific Ocean, in co-ordination with its activities of expansion in the Red Sea and in the Horn of Africa, the Soviet Union aims to seize strategic sites in the vast area of crucial importance—from the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula in the west, through the Straits of Malacca in the middle and to the South China Sea in the east—encircle the oil fields in the Gulf and control key international sea lanes. In other words, while further threatening the whole Asia-Pacific region, it intends to outflank western Europe and to hasten the completion of its global strategic deployment for world domination.

86. Therefore, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its support for the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea are certainly not "accidental" events, but premeditated acts; not "defensive" measures, but offensive and aggressive moves; not "local" problems, but major issues affecting the over-all situation of the world. The threat they pose to world peace and the security of all countries is not "temporary". The hegemonists will never stop where they are. They will see how the wind blows and wait for an opportune moment to start new adventures in order to attain their strategic goals. In these circumstances, while the third-world countries located along the route of the hegemonists' southward drive will no doubt bear the brunt of the attack, other countries, including the Western European countries and Japan, will also be facing gravest threats. Should the Soviet Union succeed in every step of its expansion and in its global strategic plan, it will be difficult for the world to avoid another holocaust.

87. It is not without reason that, faced with the realities of intensified arms expansion and war preparations by the

Soviet Union over the years and considering the change that has taken place and is going to take place in the global balance of military strength, many people have pointed to the mid-1980s as a period of danger. This point of view is not devoid of foundation. That the 1980s opened with the Afghan incident was indeed a bad omen. The incident has further revealed the ambitions of the hegemonists and brought into relief their adventurous nature. Thus an alarm was sounded for the people of the world, awakening them to the fact that the international situation has now reached a crucial point. Faced with the war provocations by the hegemonists, the people of the world must promptly and decisively choose between a resolute counterblow or a steady retreat.

88. We believe that the strategic offensive by the hegemonists should be countered with over-all measures so that wherever they seek expansion, they will be held in check. It is not enough just to condemn and call for sanctions against the aggressors. We must also adopt effective measures to help the people of countries subjected to aggression, because in fighting for their national independence and liberty they are in fact struggling for international peace and security. Provided that the countries of the world strengthen their solidarity, co-ordinate their actions and persist in struggle, it is entirely possible to check the aggressive drive by the hegemonists, upset their global strategic plan and prevent their launching a new world war.

89. But if we yield our positions one after another in the face of hegemonist onslaught, the hegemonists will become even more insatiable and unscrupulous in their expansion and aggression. In the end, we shall be backed against the wall with nothing but the choice between being forced into complete submission or being caught totally unprepared for a major war. The course of the Second World War has demonstrated to the full what a heavy price one has to pay for the failure to make the right choice in time. History does not simply repeat itself, but the lessons of the past are worth taking seriously.

90. At present, the Soviet Union is playing the trick of "détente" with great fanfare in order to divert world attention and divide the anti-aggression forces. For some time it has been advocating "a summit meeting of leaders of States of all the regions of the world", making appeals to the parliaments and members of parliaments of various countries "to strengthen peace and détente", and so on and so forth. As a matter of fact, it has long been the established practice of the hegemonists to pursue aggression and expansion while trumpeting the slogan of "détente". Especially after massive aggression and expansion, they always strike a pose of defending peace and launch a big "détente" offensive. Was it not the Soviet Union which proposed in 1969, not long after its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, that the question of so-called "strengthening international security" be considered by the United Nations General Assembly? Shortly after the Afghan incident, it was predicted that the Soviet Union would come forward with another round of the "détente" offensive. As it turned out, that was exactly what happened. The new item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the war danger" proposed by Mr. Gromyko at the plenary meeting yesterday [6th meeting] for consideration at the current session is precisely that kind of thing. The facts show that the armed aggression against Afghanistan being

carried out by the Soviet Union constitutes in itself a grave threat to world peace. If the Soviet Union is really sincere about "reducing the war danger", is there any action more "urgent" and practical than the scrupulous implementation of General Assembly resolution ES-6/2, endorsed by 104 countries, and the immediate and total withdrawal of its aggressor forces from Afghanistan?

91. In the face of the current pressing international situation, the Chinese people are determined to keep up the struggle against hegemonism together with the peace-loving and justice-upholding peoples all over the world. The Chinese Government will maintain its consistent foreign policy of peace and wishes to establish and develop State relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. But we are resolutely opposed to any act of hegemonism. We take this stand not merely for the sake of our own security but, more importantly, with a view to safeguarding the over-all interests of world peace.

92. The question of how to check the naked armed aggression in Afghanistan and Kampuchea must have priority over other issues on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

93. More than eight months have elapsed since the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly adopted a resolution by 104 votes, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. However, the Afghan people continue to shed their blood because foreign aggressor troops are still engaged in the massacre, over 1 million Afghan refugees have been compelled to flee the country and the number continues to rise. While intensifying its repression of the Afghan patriots, the Soviet Union instructed the Kabul régime to put forward a so-called "seven-point proposal" for the settlement of the Afghan question, advocating bilateral negotiations between the Kabul régime and Governments of neighbouring countries. The aim of the Soviet Union is to legitimize the Afghan régime it has installed through military intervention and to confuse the public so that the crux of the Afghan question would appear to be a matter of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbouring countries, and not one of Soviet armed aggression. Such a proposal has of course met with universal opposition.

94. Viet Nam has behaved exactly the same way in Kampuchea as the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Disregarding General Assembly resolution 34/22, adopted by 91 votes, Viet Nam has not only persisted in its aggression against Kampuchea but also extended the flames of war to Kampuchea's neighbour, posing an increasingly serious threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

95. After the recent setback in its armed incursion into Thailand, Viet Nam, acting as the overlord in Indo-China, has dished up a so-called "four-point proposal" for defusing the tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border. While evading the question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the proposal calls for the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Thai-Kampuchean border and advocates negotiations between Thailand and the Heng Samrin régime. In essence, this is an attempt to force others to recognize the puppet régime in Kampuchea, installed and propped up by Viet Nam at

bayonet point, and to divert attention from Vietnamese armed aggression, which is at the core of the Kampuchean issue.

96. Thailand and other ASEAN countries have sternly rejected this unreasonable Vietnamese proposal. The Thai Government has sharply pointed out that the proposal represents "an attempt to legitimize the illegal presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea". Viet Nam has now sanctimoniously requested that the "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119] be included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. One cannot help asking: in South-East Asia today, which country, in fact, has stationed its troops on foreign soil? Which country has tried to overthrow the Government of another country by means of armed aggression? Which country, after all, is sabotaging peace, stability and co-operation in the region?

97. It is understandable that some countries hope to find a political settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean questions so as to ease international tension. China is in favour of a just and reasonable political settlement of the two questions. However, we are opposed to any political settlement based on the acceptance of the *faits accomplis* created by the aggressors. We should guard against their attempts to distract public attention in the name of seeking a political solution, and to turn negotiations for a political settlement into an endless debate so that they may buy time to step up their military actions and consolidate their gains from aggression. We should likewise guard against their attempt, in the course of a political solution, to exploit the desire of certain people in the world for momentary peace and security and to induce them to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples.

98. The Afghan and Kampuchean incidents have the same characteristics. In the joint statement issued at Kuala Lumpur last March by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of ASEAN and the European Community, it was pointed out that the two incidents "have as a common denominator the imposition of will on small independent States by foreign Powers through the use of force in open violation of international law, thereby threatening international peace and security" [see A/35/129, annex II, para. 3]. In the view of the Chinese delegation, a just and reasonable settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean questions requires that the following three basic principles be followed.

99. First, the foreign aggressors must withdraw all their troops immediately and unconditionally from Afghanistan and Kampuchea in compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. This is a principle of key importance and the prerequisite of any settlement.

100. Secondly, after the withdrawal of foreign troops, the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples should be free to decide their own destiny without any outside interference. In its resolution, the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May of this year, emphasized respect for "the Afghan people's inalienable right to decide their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system" [see A/35/419-S/14129, annex I, resolution 19/11-P]. Recently, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea stated that after the

withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea "the Kampuchean people may choose their own national government through a general election by free, direct or secret ballot, and, if necessary, under the supervision of the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative". The Chinese Government supports the above propositions.

101. Thirdly, Afghanistan and Kampuchea should be restored to their independent and non-aligned status.

102. After the Afghan and Kampuchean questions are settled in accordance with the above three principles, China, in the interest of safeguarding the independence of these two countries and peace in Asia and the world, will be ready to join the other countries concerned in an international guarantee that the territory of Afghanistan or Kampuchea shall not be occupied or used to encroach on the independence and sovereignty of other countries in either region, nor shall there be any form of interference in the internal affairs of these two countries.

103. At the current session the Assembly will also consider some other major international political and economic issues. We should act promptly, wisely and with far-sightedness in our effort to find a just, reasonable and effective solution of these issues, not only on the merits of each case but also in consideration of their impact on the world situation as a whole.

104. The Middle East question has been dragging on for several decades, gravely threatening regional and world peace and stability. At the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, held in July this year, speeches made by many representatives and the final resolution [ES-7/2], adopted by 112 votes, expressed the demand of the people of the world for an early comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. In this connexion, the declaration of the European Community issued at Venice on 13 June [A/35/299-S/14009] also has a positive significance in promoting a Middle East settlement. However, Israel has brazenly declared the above resolution "illegal", accelerated its plan of occupying Jerusalem and committed new aggression against Lebanon. This is an act of utter contempt for the international community and a direct challenge to the United Nations. Israel has been so intransigent and arrogant precisely because it feels secure in the knowledge that it has the backing of one super-Power and that the other super-Power, honey on lips and murder in heart, will not give genuine support to the Arab countries.

105. The Chinese people strongly condemn Israel for its policy of aggression and expansion and for its dogged obstruction of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. We firmly support the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. We favour the position of many countries that Israel should withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, that the Palestinian people should regain their national rights, including the rights to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and establish their own State, and that all the Middle East countries should have the right to independence and existence. We have always held that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should

participate as an interested party in a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question.

106. The people of Zimbabwe has finally shaken off the yoke of colonialism and racism after protracted armed struggle. This has greatly changed the outlook of southern Africa and will undoubtedly expedite the great historical process of eradicating colonialism and racism from the entire African continent. After independence, the Zimbabwe Government has made creative efforts in handling racial relations at home. This will have a far-reaching impact on future developments in southern Africa. However, to this day the racist régime of South Africa still refuses to end its illegal rule over Namibia; what is more, it has further intensified its repression of the people of South Africa. This is intolerable. We firmly support the correct views of the front-line States on the question of southern Africa. Like Zimbabwe, Namibia should achieve genuine national independence in conformity with the aspirations of its people and on the basis of territorial integrity and national unification. *Apartheid* and the system of racial discrimination in South Africa should be completely abolished. The United Nations should make its due contribution to the termination of the colonial and racist rule in southern Africa.

107. The developments on the Korean peninsula call for close attention. The military junta in South Korea is intensifying its Fascist dictatorship by every ruthless means. Recently, in defiance of world condemnation, this régime has brazenly pronounced a death sentence on the well-known democrat, Kim Dae Jung. All this has not only created new obstacles to the North-South dialogue and the peaceful reunification of Korea, but has also added to the destabilizing factors in the Korean situation. A reasonable solution of the Korean question will be of major significance to the maintenance of peace in East Asia and the Pacific region. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward a series of formulas and proposals for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and has worked tirelessly to this end. On its part, the international community should help to create favourable conditions for its realization. It is necessary to implement as soon as possible the relevant resolution of the General Assembly [*resolution 3333 (XXIX)*] adopted five years ago by dissolving the "United Nations Command", withdrawing all the United States military forces and equipment from South Korea and converting the Korean armistice agreement into a peace agreement through negotiations between the parties concerned.

108. We are deeply concerned over the recent military conflict between Iraq and Iran. We sincerely hope that the two parties will cease hostilities speedily and settle their disputes through peaceful negotiations so as not to be exploited by those harbouring ulterior motives.

109. The current session, moreover, cannot shut its eyes to the stark economic situation prevailing in the world today. Most developing countries, poor in the first place, are now finding their economic situation deteriorating further. The disparity in wealth between North and South is in fact widening. An important reason for this is that, though politically independent, the third world countries are hampered by the old international economic order. This inequitable international economic order must be reformed if the

economic development of the developing countries is to be promoted. The recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly reached consensus on the international Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which, to a certain degree, reflects the desire of the developing countries. However, on the question of global economic negotiations, the session has failed to achieve the progress it should have achieved. In this connexion, we hope that the current session will take a bigger step forward to make a good start in the global economic negotiations and guide them in the direction of strengthening economic co-operation between nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The key to this hinges on the renewed efforts on the part of the developed countries, which would hardly be able to expand their own economies without economic ties and co-operation with the third world countries. What is more, the present international situation requires them to look farther ahead from a vantage point and approach the North-South relations from an over-all strategic perspective. Improvement in the economic situation of the third world and better North-South economic relations will contribute not only to world economic stability and growth, but also to the cause of world peace and security.

110. Thirty-five years have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations. During this period, the international Organization itself has undergone great changes. A large number of newly independent countries have become Members of the United Nations. This has so changed the composition of the Organization that it is better able to reflect the aspirations of the people of all countries to the maintenance of international peace, security and justice as well as their desire to promote economic development and social progress. Today, it is no longer possible for any big Power to control and manipulate the United Nations. The United Nations traversed a tortuous road before it became what it is today. This has not come about easily, but through the joint efforts of all countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice.

111. However, we must not fail to see that the United Nations is facing a grave challenge. It is expressly provided in the Charter that the primary task of the United Nations is to suppress acts of aggression. But actually a good number of correct resolutions adopted by the General Assembly for this purpose have been brazenly violated and undermined by certain Member States. The Charter clearly stipulates that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; yet, certain Member States have deliberately violated these provisions. Again, the Charter stipulates in explicit terms that international disputes must be settled in conformity with the principles of justice and international law; yet, certain Member States attempt to replace these principles by the law of the jungle and "recognition of faits accomplis created by aggression". The overwhelming majority of the Member States demands that the United Nations effectively fulfil the noble obligations placed on it by the Charter; yet, a tiny minority attempts to lead it onto the tracks of the League of Nations. This is an intense struggle, which can be won by the overwhelming majority of the Member States only if they persevere in opposing and suppressing by deeds as well as words,

both inside and outside the United Nations, any violation of the United Nations Charter.

112. This is the first session of the General Assembly in the 1980s. The coming decade will be a complicated and volatile decade, fraught with crises. Therefore, people have every reason to expect the current session to make a new contribution to opposing aggression, preventing war, safeguarding peace and promoting progress, so that a good start may be made in the work of the United Nations in the 1980s. We must not disappoint the people of the world. China is ready to work together with other Member States for the success of the current session and for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter.

113. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to congratulate you on your unanimous election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute to your personal qualities as well as to the contributions made to the cause of the United Nations by your country, with which Indonesia enjoys friendly and cordial relations. I pledge my delegation's full co-operation in making this Assembly a success.

114. To your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, I should like to convey our deep appreciation for the effective and efficient manner in which he conducted our deliberations, not only during the regular session but also in the three special sessions of the General Assembly, which were held this year.

115. I also wish to express my Government's gratitude to the Secretary-General for his continued service to our Organization and for his untiring and relentless efforts in promoting the realization of its purposes and objectives.

116. It is a pleasant duty for me to welcome the addition of new Member States and I am particularly privileged in welcoming Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership in our Organization. Indonesia would also like, once again, to congratulate the people of Zimbabwe on the attainment of their independence and warmly welcome them. The addition of those new Members will certainly strengthen the Organization and will contribute to intensified efforts in the promotion of international peace and justice.

117. In reviewing the world situation, we are profoundly dismayed by the deteriorating trend of events. While we began the decade of the 1970s in an aura of hope for world peace and stability, as indicated by the relaxation of tension in the context of détente between the great Powers, we regretfully closed the decade confronted by a deterioration in the relationship of those Powers and threatened by the possibility of a breakdown in the already fragile structure of international peace and security. The last year of that decade, in particular, was marked by grave turbulence and proved to be most difficult in the international arena, as we were faced by threats to world peace and mired in a stalemate on various political and economic issues.

Mr. Inonga Lokongo L'Ome (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

118. We note with deep concern that open armed intervention and interference in the internal affairs of small States by more powerful countries has been introduced as a new, disturbing phenomenon in the relations between States. What is particularly troublesome is that the area of conflict between the great Powers has now been indisputably extended to the territories of the developing countries in West and South-East Asia and in Africa. In the meantime, the situation in the Middle East has become more explosive and dangerous, owing to the arrogant challenge of Israel persisting in its defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, while a situation of tension and conflict continues to prevail in the southern part of Africa as a result of the unrelenting intransigence of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria.

119. This bleak situation is aggravated by pervasive economic uncertainties and structural imbalances on the world economic scene. International efforts to redress those problems have become bogged down, yielding little but disenchantment for the developing countries.

120. Facing armed conflicts and grave tensions exacerbated by a worsening economic situation, the international community as a whole has a solemn duty and responsibility to seek peaceful solutions of those problems and tensions. That is imperative for the realization of the ideals of the United Nations. Indonesia stands ready to co-operate with like-minded nations to find such solutions, especially in its own region of South-East Asia.

121. The grave problems which marked the closing of the last decade should be dealt with resolutely and with a renewed sense of responsibility in order that the decade of the 1980s may herald a period of harmony in State relations. The process of détente, so much disturbed of late, should be revitalized in our common effort to create a global system of peace and co-operation embracing all regions of the world.

122. What we need is a new resolve and determination on the part of Members to institute real change and achieve progress. Indeed, in the areas where the international community has exhibited such determination, notable success has been achieved. While we can take pride in past accomplishments, limited though they are, let us with renewed vigour and sustained efforts try to resolve the many issues which challenge the world today. It is with that in mind that I join previous speakers in the hope that this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will lead us to the re-emergence of international harmony followed by genuine peace, co-operation and justice for all the nations of the world.

123. While we look towards the future, we should continue to be guided by the experience of the past. The principles established at the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955,⁹ and elaborated and reaffirmed by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in 1961, have proved themselves an effective basis for relations among States. In this period of international flux, we must adhere to them more closely if we are to survive the turbulence that sur-

⁹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

rounds us. The adoption by all States of those principles can lay the foundation for a more broadly based and equitable international system of peace free from bloc politics and regional conflicts.

124. The emergence of regional groupings, like ASEAN, expressing common interests and viewpoints on important issues, has been a welcome development on the international scene. To preserve the viability of those groupings, it is essential that States refrain from actions which can undermine regional cohesion and stability. Of no less importance is the imperative need to contain regional conflicts and prevent them from becoming a source of external interference and great-Power confrontation. In that connexion, it is important to maintain the principles of respect for the independence of all States and their sovereign right to follow their national policies.

125. My delegation notes with deep concern the continuing conflict in Kampuchea resulting from the armed intervention by Viet Nam in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. At the thirty-fourth session the General Assembly focused attention on this military intervention and its attendant threat to international peace and adopted resolution 34/22 by an overwhelming majority calling for the prompt withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

126. Now, one year after the adoption of that resolution, foreign forces still remain entrenched in Kampuchea. Hunger and starvation persist in the country, while hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans continue to live as refugees in neighbouring Thailand. We are further disturbed by the recent armed incursions into Thailand from inside Kampuchea. This has heightened tensions along the Thai-Kampuchean border and increased the danger of a widening of the conflict. There is no doubt that peace and stability in the region can be achieved only through the strict implementation of resolution 34/22. It is therefore essential for the General Assembly to address itself to the various ramifications of this dangerous problem once again and find ways and means to secure the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. Together with other sponsors, my delegation has submitted draft resolution A/35/L.2 on the situation in Kampuchea for adoption by this Assembly.

127. No less alarming is the plight of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans who are now staying temporarily along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in Thailand itself after having fled their country, and of those who remain in the country and need international assistance for their survival. It is important that a system of voluntary repatriation of refugees be instituted and that the dire predicament of the Kampuchean people in Kampuchea be alleviated. The Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, held at Geneva on 26 and 27 May, adopted a set of recommendations [see A/35/303] which, if implemented, would go a long way in ameliorating the sufferings of the refugees.

128. We cannot be oblivious to the equally desperate situation of the refugees in other regions of the world, such as Africa and West and South Asia. It is our task to continue to seek all possible means of rendering humanitarian aid to

these unfortunate people as well as to find a lasting and satisfactory solution to their problems.

129. In the case of my country, tens of thousands of refugees have fled to Indonesia in the last two years and more still are entering the country every month. A great many of them have already been resettled in third countries, but several thousands are still in the processing centres especially built for them, waiting for permanent resettlement.

130. With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, we are concerned about the continuing intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State belonging to the non-aligned movement. Resolution ES-6/2, adopted at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly and calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, has not been implemented. It rests with this Assembly to take the necessary measures to ensure its full implementation in order to facilitate the re-emergence of Afghanistan as a non-aligned country able to play an independent role in the conduct of world affairs.

131. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May of this year, established the Committee of Three [see A/35/419-S/14129, annex I, resolution 19/11-P] to seek ways and means for appropriate consultations and explore the possibility of convening an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations or other forums to achieve a comprehensive solution to the grave crisis in Afghanistan. We believe that this initiative merits the support of the international community.

132. We are once again confronted in the Middle East with the intransigence of Israel in connexion with the search for a just and comprehensive solution, in spite of the growing world trend, as witnessed by a change in the position of the European Community in favour of the Palestinian cause. Indeed, not only does Israel continue to ignore the will of the vast majority of the international community but it also undertakes actions aimed at entrenching its colonial control over the occupied Arab territories, as indicated by its decision to annex Jerusalem as its capital. Such actions are a direct affront to this body, which has on many occasions declared Israel's measures to change the legal status and character of Jerusalem to be illegal and invalid. The use of the issue as a pawn in great-Power politics has further aggravated the present impasse and complicated the search for a viable solution.

133. As a member of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and of the Jerusalem Committee of the Islamic Conference, Indonesia has observed the growing anger and frustration in the Arab and Moslem world. It is clear that failure to resolve this conflict soon may well lead to catastrophic consequences which we shall all regret.

134. It is therefore incumbent upon this body to take the necessary steps to ensure a comprehensive solution of the problem by initiating effective measures to put an end to illegal Israeli policies and practices. The withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories, including Jerusalem, is a prerequisite for the realization of such a solution.

Finally, the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in all endeavours leading to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

135. My delegation is saddened by the outbreak of hostilities between Iraq and Iran, both non-aligned countries with which my country has close and friendly relations. In a statement issued yesterday, my Government expressed the hope for a cessation of hostilities and a peaceful settlement of their dispute. My delegation supports the appeal made yesterday by the Security Council to the Governments of Iran and Iraq. We hope that both parties will accept the offer of good offices made by the Secretary-General.

136. In the field of decolonization, it is heartening to note that determined international efforts to bring colonialism to a speedy end have brought new results this year with the independence of Zimbabwe, Vanuatu and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. While the international community is encouraged by this positive development, still no progress has been made towards independence in Namibia, where the racist régime of South Africa maintains its illegal occupation and has stymied the realization of a just settlement. The purpose of Pretoria is abundantly clear, namely, first, to stifle the struggle for immediate independence of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and, secondly, to exploit the natural resources which are indispensable to sustain the future independence, integrity and prosperity of this Territory. The Pretoria régime must be made to understand that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) offers the only means for a just and peaceful solution.

137. If all efforts for a peaceful and speedy transition of Namibia to independence fail, my delegation is prepared to support any measures which would more strictly enforce the embargo already imposed by the United Nations as well as comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.¹⁰

138. The responsibility of the United Nations vis-à-vis South Africa is in fact twofold: first, to compel the Pretoria régime to abide by United Nations resolutions on Namibia and, secondly, to bring the *apartheid* policy to an end. We must tighten the net of isolation so that the pressures upon Pretoria will immobilize its ability to function in the international arena.

139. The deteriorating international situation has been fully reflected by the lack of progress in the field of disarmament. The strategy adopted by the General Assembly at the first special session on disarmament¹¹ has yet to be implemented; instead, it has been followed by a further escalation of the arms race during the Second Disarmament Decade. The Committee on Disarmament has so far been unable to negotiate a comprehensive test ban. That is a crucial issue. Despite the persistent and repeated appeals of the General Assembly, nuclear-weapon testing has continued unabated, and this casts doubts on the existence of the political will to bring about its cessation.

140. Indonesia regrets that the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons¹² failed to reach agreement on a final declaration containing an assessment of the operation of the Treaty and recommendations for future action. Despite the absence of such a consensus, my delegation hopes that nuclear-weapon States will seriously take into account the concerns expressed by non-nuclear-weapon States and take concrete steps to ensure that the provisions of the Treaty are fully and effectively implemented.

141. With regard to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], my delegation wishes to reaffirm its support for the principles contained therein. In view of the current worsening military and political situation in the region, the planned Conference on the Indian Ocean has become urgent. We therefore believe in the wisdom of convening the Conference next year with a view to giving effect to the Declaration.

142. International co-operation in the wider transfer of space science and technology, as well as its application, has become imperative for the development of the developing countries. Indonesia already enjoys such co-operation, especially in the fields of remote sensing and communications, and we favour further and intensified efforts in this sphere. In this regard, Indonesia hopes that the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, to be held in Vienna in 1982, will serve as a major forum for an exchange of information and for the enhancement of co-operation for the benefit of mankind and, in particular, of the developing countries.

143. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has successfully resolved most of the hard-core issues during its ninth session and has largely completed the stage of informal negotiations. This is indeed one of the most significant achievements of the Conference, which for many years had to discharge an almost impossible task of reconciling and harmonizing various conflicting positions. The breakthrough achieved has paved the way for the successful conclusion of a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea, which will be the most important milestone in international relations since the signing of the Charter of the United Nations.

144. Besides attaching great importance to the legal régime of archipelagic States and of straits used for international navigation, Indonesia also considers many other issues in the Conference highly important, particularly those concerning production policies, which might affect existing or potential operations on land.

145. Indonesia supports the position of the Group of 77 against the unilateral legislation governing the exploration and exploitation of the sea bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Such action is contrary to international law and constitutes a breach of the principle of good faith in the conduct of negotiations and thereby undermines the legitimate interests of the international community as a whole.

146. In the international economic arena the issues and the negotiations on them remain contentious. Therein lies an

¹⁰ Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

¹¹ See Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2).

¹² Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

added danger, for in the last two decades the ascendancy, it not the primacy, of economic issues in international relations has demonstrated the pervasive linkage between peace and security and economic equity and justice. Persistent international economic imbalances and asymmetries critically inhibit the pursuit of international peace and prosperity. It is also becoming conventional wisdom that the world is increasingly interdependent and that the search for a solution to the problem of the deteriorating global economic situation is not just an act of benevolence but a condition of mutual survival.

147. In 1980, a year of mounting international tension, increasing armaments and ominous warnings to peace and security, the international community has sustained yet another disappointment with the poor results of the eleventh special session, devoted to the development and international economic co-operation. In this difficult and uncertain year—both politically and economically—it is imperative that the international community seize the moment constructively if the deteriorating situation is to be arrested.

148. The two major tasks confronting the international community during the eleventh special session—namely, the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the 1980s and the inauguration of the round of global negotiations—have ended, one in qualified progress and the other in unfortunate impasse. After six months of deliberations in the preparatory process of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and a further three weeks of intensive and even agonizing negotiations at the special session itself, the work on the global round, and in particular that concerning the procedural framework, almost resulted in a viable compromise. We therefore deeply regret that the unwillingness of a very few prevented the success of the negotiations, and that thus the high expectations invested in the special session by the developing countries have been reduced to disappointment. The convening of that session, which it had been hoped would generate the necessary spirit and impetus, failed to lead to the required breakthrough.

149. Short-sighted interests and narrow political expediency have once again been instrumental in subverting the unique opportunity presented by the special session to tackle constructively and comprehensively the substantive North-South issues. Such negative attitudes call the efficacy of the whole North-South dialogue seriously into question. This dangerous development runs the risk of setting mankind on a collision course, wrecking any advances it may have accomplished. The international community should, therefore, be on its guard and resist any worsening of the situation. The developed countries in particular, owing to their special responsibility by virtue of their favoured position in the international economic system, should make every effort to reassess their attitudes with a view to making them more positive in meeting the imperatives of the changing international economic realities. It is not the negotiating process but the commitment to negotiate that is wanting.

150. We cannot afford to despair but must continue the search for means of resuming these endeavours. The alternatives are simply unthinkable.

151. The consensus achieved on the text of the new International Development Strategy is an object-lesson in what can be usefully achieved with the exercise of mutual determination. It is encouraging to note that the Strategy, though not fully satisfactory, constitutes a progressive departure from its two predecessors. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade has proved a demonstrable failure. Few, if any, of its objectives have been fulfilled. Its fundamental weakness resided in the fact that it was predicated upon the trickle-down concept of development, which failed to address itself to fundamental structural changes in the international economic system and thus perpetuated the pattern of dependency in international economic relations. Instead of achieving the desirable outcome of self-sustaining growth in the developing countries, it contributed to widening the gap between them and the developed ones. It is indeed ironic that, as we enter the 1980s and after two decades of development co-operation, two thirds of mankind still live in backwardness and abject poverty while one third continue to live in relative opulence.

152. In direct contrast, the new Strategy has been formulated within the parameters of achieving the objectives of the new international economic order. We are convinced, given this thrust and framework, that the Strategy for the 1980s has great potential for stimulating and accelerating the development of the developing countries, thus helping to alleviate the pervasive poverty and suffering of mankind.

153. However, I must hasten to add that without a strong and persistent commitment and determination to implement this Strategy, it too will become just another empty shell, a compendium of *lettres mortes*, and thus an enduring indictment to our collective resolve.

154. The difficulties and problems besetting mankind are indeed overwhelming but usually, man's ingenuity and capacity to meet his challenges are almost limitless. Resources and technologies which furnish the essential means abound. The only vacuum remaining is that of unanimous political will. This is our immediate challenge. We must, all of us, without exception, muster this essential quality in order to resolve our differences and address the fundamental questions of the human predicament. We cannot forfeit this trust of mankind.

155. At the same time, we must remain fully aware of the special role the United Nations can play in meeting these challenges. While the Organization no doubt needs strengthening, the major role it has played and continues to play in solving the myriad problems we encounter must be recognized. Therefore, our efforts to build a world of peace and justice must centre on the United Nations. As we begin our deliberations in this first General Assembly session of the 1980s, let us reaffirm our commitment to the noble effort of mankind epitomized in the United Nations and enter this decade with a firm determination to continue the further advancement of the principles of our Organization.

156. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): The unanimous election of Ambassador von Wechmar to the presidency of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is a source of great pleasure to me and to my delegation. I congratulate

him most warmly. Guyana pledges its full support and co-operation to him in the exercise of his stewardship, confident that he will conduct the affairs of this Assembly with the efficiency which is one of his manifest characteristics.

157. Let me also seize this opportunity to pay a special tribute to his distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. Upon Ambassador Salim's broad and eminently capable shoulders fell the work not only of the thirty-fourth session but also of the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions as well as the eleventh special session. It is to his lasting credit that he bore these unprecedented responsibilities with cheerful fortitude and consummate skill. In the discharge of his duties, Ambassador Salim not only reflected the values which his country and his continent espouse but also upheld the principles of equity and justice advocated by the movement of non-aligned countries in pursuit of the fulfilment of the highest and finest sensibilities of man. We are greatly indebted to him.

158. At this session it is with satisfaction that we record a further advance in the historic march against colonialism. We do so as we welcome into our midst the new State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, with which Guyana has a shared historical experience. Bound as we are by close cultural, political and geographic ties, we look forward to continuing within this Organization the fraternal co-operation which characterizes the relations between our two leaders, our two Governments and our two peoples.

159. As we contemplate the international agenda for action in the 1980s, it is not inapposite for us to reflect on the nature and the evolution of the international system which was constructed in 1945 and to assess its achievements no less than its failures. In that analysis it is relevant, I suggest, to recall the assumptions which underpinned that system.

160. Is it not an effective commentary on the capacity of that system to be consistently in step with the reality of change that in today's circumstances there is retained in the Charter of the United Nations a reference to "enemy State"? The present enemies of the vast majority of mankind are those forces which have made a permanent investment in the maintenance of relationships which derive from domination, hegemony and control.

161. It is a truism to assert that our world is more complex than that of the mid-1940s. Nothing more strikingly demonstrates this change than the rise of the post-colonial States and their clamant and sustained endeavour to exercise their right to participate as equals in the management of their present and the determination of their future. The dramatic increase in the number of State-actors in the international system is not only a statistical reality; it is also a factor of qualitative significance. In this Assembly, Africa is represented by as many Member States as our Organization had at its creation—51; and Asia and Latin America, since those early days in San Francisco, have also advanced the principle of universality by contributing, respectively, 32 and 10 Member States to our Organization.

162. Also of significance has been the increased role of transnational corporations, which today are responsible for 35 per cent of all world production and account for more

than 30 per cent of world trade, and which in essential areas lie beyond the reach of both national and international direction and supervision.

163. Nothing, no single act, so starkly illustrates the contradictions in the workings of the international system as the failure of the recently concluded eleventh special session to reach agreement on the procedures for a new global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation for development—and this, despite the fact that the necessity for such negotiations had earlier attracted consensus.

164. In this regard, no analysis of the present international system can fail to take account of the role of the movement of non-aligned countries. The policy of non-alignment places that movement in the vanguard of the struggle for democratic international relations, including new equitable forms of international economic co-operation. Such is the strength, the efficacy and the influence of the movement of non-aligned countries that some States which are not within its ranks seek to win its support or to deflect it from the resolute pursuit of internally agreed policies.

165. Clearly there have been since 1945 changes in the international system and adaptation of the rules that govern relations between States. But generally these changes have not occurred as a result of the recognition by those who created the system of the need for them and the adoption of consciously determined action. In the main, such changes have been generated in response to pressures from actors like the developing countries and other forces.

166. The critical question therefore is the extent to which the changes fall short of the objective requirements of the global policy. The simple truth is that those who created the system still seek to maintain dominion over it.

167. As we survey the situation which confronts mankind at this particular juncture of history and undertake our analysis of the evolution of the international system, it becomes difficult to express unequivocal satisfaction with what has been achieved with regard to the establishment of conditions for a secure and lasting peace. This is palpably evident in the field of disarmament, which has always been a primary goal of this Organization. The present environment of tension and crisis provides a chilling dramatization of failure to control the escalation in arms and to move towards genuine disarmament.

168. Central to the question of arms control and disarmament and the attendant impact on peace and security is the relationship between the dominant military Powers and the blocs with which they are associated. The net result is that, in so far as there have been global efforts to deal with the issue of disarmament, an asymmetrical relationship has been established between the two militarily dominant blocs and the much larger category of developing countries. Thus, because of the manner in which disarmament diplomacy has until now been conducted and the rules of exclusivity which it encompasses, this latter group, as representative of the majority of the world's people, has not been enabled to play a role corresponding to the stake which it has in international peace and security. In the result, the diplomacy of arms control and disarmament has largely been the function of major-Power relationships and the less than global stra-

tegic perceptions that inform those relationships. Even where the major Powers have ascribed responsibility to themselves in limited response to a global need, they have not always carried out their obligations. They have, for example, failed to adopt effective measures for ending the nuclear arms race and for nuclear disarmament, as required by the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. Who can therefore take issue with a cynic who asserts that continuing inaction in this respect supports the objective of maintaining a nuclear *status quo*?

169. In the general area of relaxation of international tension we need to assess the prospects of the much vaunted *détente*. In its essence, *détente* was embraced as an instrument for regulating the relations between the major Powers. It derived from a recognition that uncontrolled military competition between the major Powers could be mutually self-destructive and that there can be meaningful bases for productive co-operation between them. *Détente* therefore assumed the character of an agreed policy for antagonistic collaboration between the major Powers.

170. The general understanding and expectations of *détente* when it acquired political legitimacy were positive and favourable. That is why the movement of non-aligned countries has always encouraged and supported it and called for its extension to embrace the relations of all States in all their dimensions.

171. We have however been witness to several attempts at imposing unilateral interpretations of the nature and scope of *détente*. Any interpretation which, in the context of contemporary realities, encourages hierarchical relationships and spheres of influence is therefore unacceptable.

172. Integrally linked to any genuine new effort to globalize *détente* must be a renewed commitment to respect the sovereignty and independence of States and to refrain from interference in their internal affairs. In this regard, Guyana and other non-aligned countries have since 1976 sought to persuade the international community to adopt a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We shall continue with our efforts at this session.

173. In proceeding with our assessment of the international system, let us applaud the outstanding contribution which this Organization has made to the struggle against colonialism. It was in 1960 that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted, a resolution which represented a concrete elaboration of a right enshrined in the Charter—the right of peoples to self-determination. More than that, resolution 1514 (XV) defined operational perspectives for the implementation of that right. I suggest that that resolution be regarded as the “freedom charter for colonial peoples”. This year, therefore, as the twentieth anniversary of that charter is celebrated, let us be reminded that there were some at the time of its adoption who stood aside from endorsing the provisions of that resolution, thereby signalling a reluctance to be in the mainstream of efforts to assert the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence.

174. Guyana takes this opportunity to salute the sterling work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard

to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is a matter of public record that that Committee, allied with progressive forces, has lent valuable support to the colonial peoples and their liberation movements in the struggle for the recovery of their freedom. The victories have been great and they have been many; but the work is incomplete and there are still some vestigial remains. On this important anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV), let this Assembly, in the name of human dignity and in the interest of freedom everywhere, resolve to bring a speedy end to colonialism and thus promote the cause of decolonization.

175. It is undoubtedly in southern Africa that the colonial impulse has been most enduring. The recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe, who are now properly represented in this Organization, helps to sharpen the focus of our attention on the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa and the situation in Namibia, rendering more propitious the moment for generalized efforts to terminate colonialism and *apartheid* once and for all in the southern Africa subsystem.

176. We can no longer put up with the unparalleled effrontery of South Africa. We must resolutely implement the plan so carefully and elaborately devised for the early independence of Namibia—for Namibia is decidedly next on the calendar of political freedom. Let us reserve its place in this Organization now.

177. In North Africa, Western Sahara represents a new dimension in colonial relationships. We again call on Morocco to respect the legitimate aspirations of the people of that territory. For our part, Guyana recognizes and has established diplomatic relations with the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. Let us also reserve its place in this Organization now.

178. In my own hemisphere, Belize is still held at the threshold of nationhood, despite the overwhelming support given by the United Nations to its people's legitimate aspirations. Guyana reiterates unequivocally its support for the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of the people of Belize to an early and secure independence with their territorial integrity intact. Let us, with Belize, fix a date for its freedom. Let us reserve its place in this Organization now.

179. There are two issues which have been with us from the beginning of this Organization's work and which have remained flash-points for global conflict. The first relates to what has historically been an arena of competing strategic interests. It is the Middle East. I do not need to recount the history of our consideration of that question in all its aspects. Suffice it to say that any mature reflection on the evolution of the Middle East situation and the Palestinian question in the United Nations and elsewhere would reveal a distinctive and decisive shift within recent times in favour of the Palestine liberation forces and the cause of the Arab nation. The shift has involved widening support for the Palestinian people. It has also involved increasing recognition of their liberation organization, the PLO, and of its vanguard role in the legitimate struggle for the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a homeland in an independent State in Palestine. The Palestinians have thus returned to centre stage, and no contrary assertion can invalidate that reality.

180. The continuing manifestation of intransigence and lack of sensitivity by Israel increases instability and tension and serves to impose further constraints on the search for a comprehensive solution. The purported annexation of East Jerusalem and Israel's flagrant interventions in Lebanon only frustrate that search.

181. The centrality of the rights of the Palestinians is beyond question, and so too are the other requirements for peace in the Middle East—the non-acquisition of territory by force, implying and involving the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since June 1967, and the right of all States in the area to live within mutually recognized boundaries.

182. Peace is also urgently required on the Korean peninsula. The people of Korea, in a South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972¹³ expressed their desire for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland without outside interference and involving the withdrawal of foreign troops. In this connexion Guyana takes note with satisfaction of the more recent proposals advanced by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its expressed readiness to resume meaningful talks. Let us determine to make that resolve an early reality.

183. Similarly, we must make a concerted effort to bring a lasting peace to Cyprus on the basis of a framework of action long established by this Organization. In this regard we take note of the resumption of the intercommunal negotiations. We should give every encouragement to those talks in order to ensure their successful conclusion.

184. Beyond those specific issues, the potential for regional conflict remains a danger to global peace and security. In this respect the movement of non-aligned countries has consistently supported the creation of zones of peace, in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean, for example. In my own region, the Caribbean, the peoples of the area are increasingly demanding that it should be a zone of tranquility, an area in which the various nation States can pursue freely their own independent paths of political, social and economic development. We believe in non-interference and ideological pluralism. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth Caribbean, meeting in Saint Lucia in February of this year, acknowledged that ideological pluralism is an irreversible fact of international relations. It is now time for the adoption of appropriate measures to make the Caribbean truly a zone of peace.

185. Like the zone of peace, regional organization not only can serve to develop economic and other forms of functional co-operation between States but can foster political understandings, thereby contributing to peaceful and harmonious relations. The peoples of the Caribbean and of Latin America have been prominent in the search for such new forms of organization.

186. Inspired by those objectives, Guyana and other States in the Caribbean have since 1965 been pursuing the elaboration of practical steps to promote regional co-operation and integration. Those efforts are aimed at max-

imizing co-operation and integration within the region and at laying a more secure basis for its survival and development.

187. In the wider context of Latin America, we have, through the creation in 1975 of SELA, sought to promote arrangements for beneficially utilizing our complementaries and for the elaboration of common policies in the global search for just and equitable economic relations.

188. More recently, in 1978 eight States of South America which embrace the Amazon shield have concluded a treaty¹⁴ to promote the harmonious, rational and mutually beneficial use of the vast resources of the Amazon region. In many senses the Amazon is one of the last frontiers of mankind. Similar frontiers have in the past been rapaciously and unscrupulously despoiled in the pursuit of policies informed by considerations which were other than global in their scope and humanistic in their effect. A tremendous responsibility therefore devolves on the States involved. They should make recompense both in terms of the restoration of renewable resources such as forests, which have been recklessly utilized, and the sensible and rational exploitation of new frontiers in the sea and the sea-bed.

189. For its part, Guyana will not allow any derogation of its sovereignty with regard to the development of its part of the Amazon shield. We urge those who at present seek through seemingly humanistic and altruistic motives to pontificate on the development of the Amazon shield to channel their not inconsiderable energies and influence in the direction of the reconstruction made necessary by past excesses elsewhere.

190. Next month the countries of the Amazon basin will meet in their first substantive consultations in Brazil. It is Guyana's expectation that those consultations will represent a watershed in the efforts of States collectively to pursue co-operative arrangements for their development.

191. Thus it is important that, as we welcome the positive developments on the recently concluded ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we remain cognizant of what is yet to be accomplished. A good basis for an international law of the sea treaty does exist. If in the concluding session full account is taken of the legitimate interests of all States, the agreement reached will mark a turning-point in our collective efforts to make a reality of our acknowledged interdependence. That is why Guyana views with apprehension the unilateral promulgation of deep-sea mining legislation while negotiations are in progress and an agreement for mutual benefit appears to be within our grasp.

192. Interdependence is frequently invoked in this forum and elsewhere. Less frequently, however, is a conception of interdependence espoused which takes account of the critical requirements for a democratic international order. Indeed it would be apt to observe that interdependence as proposed by some States amounts to nothing but a façade for the *status quo*. In our view that kind of interdependence

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I*.

¹⁴ Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation, signed at Brasilia on 3 July 1978.

perpetuates inequitable relations, and fosters contradictions. Such a situation is decidedly not conducive to global peace and security.

193. Properly defined and applied, interdependence can be one of several important and positive bases for the 1980s. It is in this context of interdependence and mutual benefit that we must view the need for a new international economic order and a new information order.

194. The twin prerequisites of genuine peace and security are decolonization and international economic democracy.

195. Colonialism has left a most pervasive legacy. Its effects are felt no less by the former oppressed than by the oppressors. Decolonization is a process, and the colonizers themselves need to be decolonized if they are to fully comprehend and meaningfully respond to the objective conditions of today's world.

196. The new international economic order is an essential foundation of international concern for the promotion of human rights. To the extent that one of us stands aside from full participation in the implementation of such an order or seeks to frustrate its achievement, to that extent is our commitment to human rights diminished. Let us therefore use the opportunity which this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly provides to continue the search for agreement on the procedures and agenda for a new global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation. Let us also demonstrate our commitment to the rights of the hungry, to the rights of the destitute and to the rights of the poor by giving careful consideration to the serious proposals put forward by our Secretary-General for an early action programme on the critical economic situation of many developing countries.

197. A desideratum for the 1980s is the quickening of the pace of economic co-operation among developing countries. It is both a requirement for the development of the developing countries and an impetus for effecting structural change in the international system. In these efforts the United Nations must play an enhanced supporting role.

198. Allied with the effort for a new international economic order is the necessity to alter the present information system which reinforces attitudes and perceptions that have their origins in hierarchy and domination. Equally, a new information order must eschew the use of the media as a tool of subversion and destabilization.

199. Though there are attempts to reinforce relations based on power, the international system is in a process of transition. At the beginning of the 1980s we have entered a period of heightened and generalized tension and involving increased interventions and interferences. Therefore all the more reason exists for the adoption of democratically determined arrangements for managing the transition to new and more egalitarian norms of international behaviour.

200. In the programme of action we devise for the 1980s, let us collectively agree to halt the development of underdevelopment and show our appreciation of the narrowing margins of safety into which mankind is being drawn.

201. The Director-General of FAO observed recently: "We are on the verge of simultaneous human disaster in many countries of an unprecedented character, with all the terrible implications of the consequences of inaction". It is an observation, I suggest, which has a relevance and validity wider than the immediate cause which inspired it.

202. Finally, if we are to respond adequately to the challenges of this decade, there must be etched in the political consciousness of all of us the imperatives of true peace and the need for such mechanisms as would make it a lasting reality. The prospects of success will be accelerated if those who in the past have been reluctant to be part of the vanguard will, in their own interest, take a leap into what will be tomorrow's history.

203. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Panama, a country which has excellent relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, has sincerely welcomed the election of Mr. von Wechmar to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session. In congratulating him on such a high distinction we are aware of his enormous responsibility, owing to the serious political and economic problems which will have to be considered by the world Organization in circumstances which are not at all auspicious and which characterize the sombre international situation obtaining in the world today. We trust, however, that his experience and wisdom will guide our work, and to that end he will have the full co-operation of the delegation of Panama.

204. The interests of the countries of the third world were particularly well defended during the term of presidency of the General Assembly of the outstanding African statesman, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, to whom the delegation of Panama pays a tribute and expresses its recognition of the excellent work done by him during the period just ended. Mr. Salim presided over four sessions of extreme importance, during which he showed his high sense of equity and his qualifications as a skilled negotiator and parliamentarian. I am referring to the thirty-fourth regular session, to the sixth emergency special session on the question of Afghanistan, to the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine and to the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation, in all of which Panama had the privilege of co-operating closely as a Vice-President of each of those sessions and as a member of the Credentials Committee. Panama also served as Vice-Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session and chairman of the contact group which negotiated the adoption by consensus of resolutions S-11/3 and S-11/4 relating to the least developed countries. It is due to these circumstances that my country has been able to view closely this period of history during which Mr. Salim played such an important role.

205. Although the delegation of Panama at the eleventh special session¹⁵ conveyed a brotherly welcome to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, on the occasion of Zimbabwe's admission to the United Nations, I wish to reiterate my country's pleasure at that

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 4th meeting.

historic event, since the independence of Zimbabwe is a mortal blow to colonialism in southern Africa and because it strengthens the ideal of universality of the United Nations.

206. We welcome with a special sense of satisfaction the admission to the United Nations at this session of the new State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, with which the Organization reaches a total of 154 Member States and the group of Latin American States a membership of 30. This is a positive development and, in offering our co-operation to the Government and people of that country, we extend a brotherly welcome and our best wishes for its progress and well-being.

207. The activities of the United Nations in the field of international economic and social co-operation deserve general recognition but, in addition, they need to be strengthened and expanded. If only a modest percentage of the enormous amounts spent on weapons and military equipment could be devoted to that end, mankind would benefit greatly.

208. While proclaiming the hope that we shall see this happen some day, we wish to express our appreciation for the projects which are being developed in Panama by UNDP under the wise leadership of Mr. Bradford Morse. We trust that in the future these projects, which in the last five years have meant an investment by the United Nations of approximately \$10 million in the development of Panama, may be expanded and multiplied.

209. It is only just that I should mention the excellent assistance being given to Panama by UNFPA, under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Rafael Salas. Among the projects which have been implemented in Panama or which are under way, we might mention the one on dynamic educational planning of the population, which began in 1976; the basic studies on population and planning for development, dating back to 1978; assistance to the national census on population and housing of 1980, which began in 1979; the research on the growth of the Panama City metropolitan area, begun in 1979; and the programme of assistance to the national mother-child health programme. The funds provided by UNFPA for those projects amounted to \$3,764,122 as of 30 November 1979 and currently exceed \$4 million.

210. One of the priorities set by the Panamanian Government as part of the process of establishing the new international economic order is the expansion of its international trade and, in that connexion, maritime transport. Panama has traditionally been a maritime nation, fully capable of controlling and directly exploiting the natural resources stemming from its geographical position, especially since 1 October 1979, the date of entry into force of the new Torrijos-Carter Panama Canal Treaties, aimed at restoring the territorial integrity, sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Panamanian State over all its territory, including the old Panama Canal Zone.

211. The Panamanian Government considers it appropriate to reiterate at this session of the Assembly the appeal made in the Political Declaration issued at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, that all States of the world should adhere to the Protocol of the

Treaty relating to the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal, with due respect for the sovereignty of Panama and for the universal principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.¹⁶

212. The historic fact of the signing of the new Panama Canal Treaties in itself does not mean that all of Panama's claims have been satisfied, since compliance with the Treaties is a political, economic, social, administrative and also psychological process, the goal of which is to decolonize the Canal Zone. It entails breaking away from old mental attitudes and situations of privilege, which have no place in our constitutional system.

213. The decolonization process has led my Government to place marked emphasis on the development of its merchant fleet, which currently ranks fifth in the world, to make optimum use of the benefits of its geographic position and interocean communications. To that end, the Administration of President Royo has undertaken a broad maritime development programme with the advice, co-operation, technical counsel and material assistance of IMCO, giving due attention to compliance with existing international conventions in this field.

214. Panama has declared on more than one occasion in international forums that its status as a maritime country is based on the geographical position of the isthmus; the existence of 1,697 kilometres of Atlantic Ocean coastline and 1,160 kilometres of Pacific Ocean coastline; its vast fishing resources and the resources of its sea-bed; the operation of the interocean Canal; the recovery of the terminal ports of the Canal and the Transisthmian Railroad, as a result of the aforementioned Canal Treaties of 1977;¹⁷ the reversion to Panama, before the end of the century, of the interocean waterway, that is, the Canal itself and its installations; the establishment in Panama of an international financial centre; and the scope of Panamanian maritime legislation. All these factors were elements in Panama's being elected a member of the Council of IMCO at the eleventh session of its General Assembly, held in London last year.

215. My country, which has important maritime interests, wishes to express its deep satisfaction at the considerable progress made at the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which opens the way for the possible signing at Caracas next year of a universal convention on this important subject.

216. Directly related to the expansion of our international trade, modernization of our systems of communication, expansion of our maritime transport facilities and the development of the Colón free zone—which is one of the largest in the world—we have created conditions of stability, security and progress which have attracted to Panamanian soil one of the most important international banking communities, the fourth in importance in Latin America. Among the 10 most important Latin American banking centres, Panama ranks fourth, after Brazil, Mexico and Argentina.

¹⁶ See document A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 172.

¹⁷ Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed at Washington on 7 September 1977.

217. With this background, it is understandable that Panama showed interest in contributing, to the extent possible, to the work done by the eleventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly on international development, and particularly with regard to agenda item 7, relating to the assessment of progress made in the establishment of the new international economic order and appropriate measures for promoting the development of the developing countries and international economic co-operation.

218. In those activities, Panama, as Vice-President of the General Assembly, Vice-Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and chairman of the contact group, worked in close and harmonious co-operation with the President of the Assembly, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Chairman of the Group of 77, Mr. Brajesh C. Mishra of India, the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Kenneth K. S. Dadzie, the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Michel Dupuy of Canada, the Chairman of Working Group I on the International Development Strategy, Mr. Niaz A. Naik of Pakistan, the Chairman of Working Group II, Mr. Bogdan Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia, and the Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Ali Hachani of Tunisia. All of them deserve just recognition by the international community for their enormous efforts in achieving consensus on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which is to enter into force on 1 January 1981 and be applied from that date.

219. As chairman of the contact group, Panama, with the co-operation of participating States and groups of participating States, promoted the adoption by consensus of the two draft resolutions which were adopted without a vote. One was entitled "Suggestions by the Secretary-General to overcome the critical economic situation of many developing countries" [*resolution S-11/3*], and the other "Measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries" [*resolution S-11/4*].

220. My country wishes to appeal to the three delegations which rejected the text contained in the document submitted by the Chairman of Working Group II, Mr. Bogdan Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia,¹⁸ as a procedural framework for global negotiations, and to urge the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany to make an effort at this session with a view to reaching agreement on the programme and clearing the way for the global negotiations which are to be based on the new international development strategy.

221. The Panamanian delegation also appeals to those countries on whose political will depends the freeing of the American hostages in Teheran and the ending of the presence of foreign troops on the territory of the non-aligned State of Afghanistan. The solution of these two problems would contribute decisively to improving the international climate and creating an auspicious atmosphere for the global negotiations and the establishment of the new interna-

tional economic order. This appeal goes also to the States members of the group of non-aligned countries and to the States members of the Group of 77, which are in a position to exert friendly pressure on the States directly involved in those conflict situations in order to achieve their prompt and just solution.

222. The dynamic diplomacy of personal contacts at the highest political level, devised by General Omar Torrijos as head of Government of Panama during the period from 1972 to 1978 concerning Panamanian claims to the Panama Canal, is a political tool which the leader of my country has continued to develop successfully in various areas to promote the political, economic, social and cultural development of Panama.

223. The visits by President Aristides Royo to heads of State and Government, as well as to international organizations in the United States, Europe, Asia and, shortly, Africa, have been of great significance in the Latin American continent. The meetings between President Royo and the leaders of the two great democracies neighbouring our country, President Julio César Turbay Ayala of Colombia and President Rodrigo Carazo Odio of Costa Rica, have contributed to creating a climate of peace and trust in the region.

224. The talks between President Royo and the President of the United Mexican States, José López Portillo, and the President of the Republic of Venezuela, Luis Herrera Campíns, are characteristic of the new spirit that prevails in the Andean, Central American and Caribbean areas. Mexico and Venezuela, which have traditionally promoted Latin American unity, are now coming together on the specific solution of the serious problem of the net internal consumption of imported oil in Barbados, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic, and to that end they have allotted a total volume of up to 160,000 barrels daily, providing besides the necessary official financing.

225. This historic action by the leaders of Venezuela and Mexico is an encouraging example of achievement of an over-all solution of the energy problem, as well as eloquent proof that South-South co-operation may be realized through constructive acts and not be confined to rhetorical statements.

226. Panama has followed the policy of promoting the process of Latin American integration, embodied in the Panama Convention¹⁹ of 17 October 1975, by which the charter establishing SELA was adopted, with the participation of 26 countries from Central and South America and the Caribbean, from Mexico to Argentina. My country will continue its efforts on behalf of the unity and integration of Latin America and the strengthening of its collective personality within the framework of world-wide relations.

227. The contacts between President Royo and the leaders of the Caribbean countries at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, his meetings with Central American leaders and his meetings with the Presidents of the Andean Group have been motivated not only by the com-

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, paras. 16 and 18.

¹⁹ See *International Legal Materials*, vol. 15, 1976, p. 1080 *et seq.*

mon wish to give form to an authentic Latin American identity that is distinct and autonomous, but also by the collective concern over human rights and fundamental freedoms.

228. The great importance that Panama attaches to the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms was expressed in the Charter of Conduct signed on 11 September 1980 in the city of Riobamba, Republic of Ecuador, by the Presidents of Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and the Vice-President of Peru, and to which the Presidents of Costa Rica and Panama, as well as the representative of the President of the Spanish Government, pledged adherence at a memorable meeting of truly historic significance.

229. The Riobamba Charter of Conduct reiterates the formal commitment of the signatory States to respect for human, political, economic and social rights as a fundamental norm of the domestic behaviour of States and to their defence as an international obligation binding upon States and, therefore, to the idea that joint action aimed at protecting those rights does not violate the principle of non-interference.

230. The Riobamba Charter of Conduct is a revolutionary doctrine in defence of human rights that is in keeping with the ideals of the founders of the Latin American Republics. This historic document is of unique importance in the American continent in view of the massive violations of human rights which are becoming more and more frequent in the hemisphere. Only six weeks ago, the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, in resolution 308 (432/80) of 25 July 1980, on solidarity with the Bolivian people, in referring to the right of every State freely to develop its cultural, political and economic life and at the same time to the duty of the State to respect the rights of the human person and the principles of universal morality, specifically stated that this principle specifically embodied in article 16 of the charter of the Organization of American States was violated by the military coup that took place in Bolivia, when the elections recently held in that country, in strict respect for the principle of non-intervention, were set aside.

231. The regional organization has not only deplored the military coup, which unfortunately has suspended indefinitely the process of institutionalizing democracy in the sister Republic of Bolivia, but it has also expressed its "deepest concern over the loss of human lives and the serious violations of the human rights of the Bolivian people, which have been the direct consequence of the coup d'état".

232. Panama fully concurs in the pronouncement of the regional Organization and maintains its solidarity with the Bolivian people, in the hope that that noble people will find the most appropriate way of maintaining the existence of its democratic institutions and its freedoms without the interference of foreign military groups.

233. My country also reaffirms its firm adherence to the right of asylum, a classic institution in American international law, and wishes to reiterate its request made through regular channels that the Bolivian military régime speedily grant safe conduct to persons who have sought asylum in the Panamanian Embassy and in other diplomatic missions at

La Paz so that they may leave the country without risk to their lives or personal security.

234. Panama has also noted with deep concern that there have been persistent violations of human rights and deliberate attacks on the lives and persons of the best intellectual, professional and scientific thinkers, educators and men of letters in various parts of the hemisphere, who are suffering under torture and are the victims of the most savage and cruel treatment.

235. These barbaric acts have been intensified in recent times in the Central American area, despite the condemnation and opposition of countries that are highly respected in the continent. Such a situation is unjustifiable and effective collective action can no longer be postponed. The countries where those violations occur should not receive such military and financial assistance, as they have been receiving, from foreign Governments and from continental and extra-continental sources.

236. The growing deterioration of the situation in parts of the Central American isthmus, the constant loss of valuable lives, the gross lack of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the state of collective unrest with the resultant exacerbation of chronic economic and social problems have motivated the Panamanian Government to offer—and I am honoured to repeat that offer here—its capital city in which to hold a summit meeting of Central American leaders in order that means may be found to restore peace and tranquillity to the region and contribute to the development of a harmonious democratic process aimed at facilitating peaceful coexistence in those sister countries.

237. Faithful to its tradition of loyal support for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, the Government of Panama has been developing a government programme aimed at satisfying the economic, social and cultural needs of all human beings on Panamanian soil.

238. The Panamanian Government, under the presidency of Mr. Aristides Royo, has continuously endeavoured to strengthen the democratic system of my country. This coming Sunday, 28 September, elections will be held throughout the nation to expand the representative base of the legislative body and to include those sectors of our nation that wish to participate in legislative functions without distinction as to race, sex, ideology or religious creed.

239. During the first six months of 1984, when the statutory term of office of the current President will have elapsed, general elections will be held in Panama in order through a direct popular vote to elect a new President, for a six-year term beginning on 11 October 1984. Thus will be reaffirmed the existence of democratic institutions in the Panamanian isthmus as a centre of harmony and promoter of the interests and aspirations of Latin America.

240. At the international as at the national level, Panama has followed that tradition and it may be recalled that, after the establishment of the United Nations, it was my country which submitted the first draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights²⁰ as well as the declaration of rights and duties of States.

²⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second part of first session, Third Committee, Annex 17, document A/148.*

241. Panama has also signed and ratified the two International Covenants on Human Rights, namely, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol thereto [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], as well as the American Convention on Human Rights²¹ which established the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the binding jurisdiction of which is recognized by the Panamanian Government.

242. With its historical, moral and legal authority as repository of the ideals of the liberators of America, expressed at the Amphictyonic Congress convened by Bolívar in the city of Panama in 1826, the Government of Panama, while cultivating fraternal relations with each and every people and Government of Latin America, without exception, has also used those relations as an instrument for the defence and promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, wherever those have been affected in certain countries of our hemisphere.

243. Innumerable steps have been taken by President Royo, as constitutional leader, and by General Torrijos, as head of our armed forces, to obtain freedom, grant asylum and restore violated rights to sister States in which political upheavals or problems of public order have brought about distressing conditions for human beings whose dignity and integrity deserved protection, if only for reasons of simple human solidarity.

244. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Panama believes that the United Nations system as well as the regional organizations should develop more vigorous and specific action to meet the problems of violations of human rights, not only because such action would be in keeping with the spirit of the Charter but also because to the extent that respect for and exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms increase, so will diminish acts of violence, terrorism and insurgency, acts which are the sole recourse of peoples whose horizons are devoid of hope and who are denied access to a worthy and decent life.

245. In its foreign policy the Republic of Panama advocates the extension of détente to all regions of the world so that the nuclear menace, the arms race and conflicts likely to ignite a global conflagration might be avoided. That is a task to which all countries are committed. The responsibility of Latin American nations in that regard was embodied in the Declaration of Ayacucho of 1974.²²

246. In spite of the statements frequently made in favour of disarmament, in order that the savings realized thereby might be devoted to the solution of the acute economic and social problems of certain sectors of Latin American society, it is not at all encouraging to note the enormous sums which the armies of certain Latin American nations invest in weapons and sophisticated military hardware, which far exceed the reasonable requirements for defence and the maintenance of domestic public order in each country.

247. As President Aristides Royo stated in announcing Panama's accession to the Charter of Conduct of Rio-bamba, the founding fathers of the Latin American Republics would be deeply discouraged were they to see that after one and a half centuries of independence the problems of poverty, disease, malnutrition, ignorance, and social and economic need—problems which they had attempted to eradicate in liberating our peoples—were still rampant in broad sectors of the population of the continent.

248. In bitter contradiction of the ideals of peace, progress, unity and integration of our peoples advocated by the liberators of America, militarist circles, divorced from the needs of the people, sacrifice the well-being of those people, motivated by the futile accumulation of stockpiles which are not simply defensive but also offensive, with motives which are not in keeping with the solution of the vital problems pending at the Latin American level.

249. As a non-aligned country, Panama maintains its faithful adherence to the commitment of the movement to fight until a world based on justice and freedom has been attained and an international political and economic order established in which peace, independence, equality and co-operation prevail in the face of all the obstacles and forces which tend to maintain old forms or to impose new forms of inequality and domination, and which have created difficulties in the establishment of the new international economic order.

250. Panama believes in a non-aligned movement born from the emancipating struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world. Like Panama, those peoples have chosen the path of independent political development and like us they reject polarization into blocs, bloc politics, pacts or military alliances and policies aimed at dividing the world into spheres of influence.

251. In keeping with that non-aligned policy, the Government of Panama reaffirms its adherence to the statements made at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, concerning rejection of foreign military bases in Latin America.²³ Panama likewise reiterates its support for the right to self-determination of the peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize, for the right of the Republic of Argentina to have the Malvinas Islands restored to its sovereignty, for the return of the Guantánamo base to Cuba, for the demand that the blockade imposed on the Cuban revolution by the United States be ended promptly, for the importance of continuing to lend political and economic support to the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua and for urgent action to restore the constitutional democratic process in the Bolivian nation.

252. This is a good opportunity to reiterate the solidarity of the Government of Panama with Spain's centuries-old claim for the return of the Rock of Gibraltar, a colonial anachronism for which there can be no justification in modern times.

253. Just as Panama strongly demands universal respect for the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in

²¹ *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

²² See document A/10044, annex.

²³ See document A/34/542, annex, sect. I, paras. 156-187.

Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),²⁴ the Panamanian Government believes that this Assembly should promote efforts to implement the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa,²⁵ to realize the idea of the "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East" [item 38], to bring about the "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia" [item 39] and for the prompt implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], so as to guarantee conditions of peace and security with the attendant elimination of military bases in that important region.

254. Members of the United Nations have agreed to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations. The gravity of the present international situation demands, more than ever, strict compliance with that provision, which forms part of the basis of the international legal order. Circumstances and conflicts that prevail in the Middle East, Central Asia, the eastern Mediterranean—Cyprus specifically—in southern Africa and in other areas, would doubtless be resolved if there were due compliance with resolutions of the Security Council.

255. That is the criterion which guided the Government of Panama in proceeding without delay to close its embassy in Jerusalem and transfer it to Tel Aviv, pursuant to Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980. My country remains convinced that, in order to achieve a just and lasting solution of the crisis in the Middle East, it is essential that there be recognition of, on the one hand, the legal status of the PLO as representative of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and, on the other, the right of Israel and of all States and peoples of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized borders.

256. The Panamanian Government is pleased to note the official statement of Mr. Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on 29 August, expressing the deep satisfaction of the Committee at the decision of the Panamanian Government to close its embassy in Jerusalem. In that statement he also indicates that, in the Committee's view, Panama's action "reflects the positive attitude of the Government of Panama concerning the question of Palestine and its concern over the feelings and the opinion of the vast majority of the international community".

257. I believe it a duty of conscience to reiterate in this Assembly the confidence which my country, like many other medium-sized and small nations, has in the Secretary-General, to whom the cause of world peace and harmony owes so much. The fact that this thirty-fifth session is the first session of the 1980s leads us to serious thought. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/35/I] acquires special importance at this time in history, since its analysis of the international situation is a challenge directed to the exercise of political will by the Member States with decision-making power in the Security Council, in this Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations system.

258. In the Panamanian Government's view, the ominous picture presented to the international community in the Secretary-General's report has extremely serious aspects. In his opinion, there is a climate of confusion in which the major objectives proclaimed in the Charter of San Francisco seem to have lost momentum or to have been obscured. In his view, a reliable system aimed at guaranteeing international peace and security has developed little further in practice than—and these are his words—"haphazard and last-minute resorts to the United Nations" [*ibid.*, sect. I].

259. It is not, as he says, merely that disarmament may be more distant today than ever before. In our view, instead of disarmament, mankind is faced with a growing arms race whose cost this year will reach \$500 billion annually. As a corollary, the world is today more than ever subject to the threat of nuclear destruction.

260. We concur with the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Group of 77 that the new international economic order continues to be little more than an abstraction, while the economic prospects of the vast majority of countries and peoples continue to be affected by the general disorder and malaise. The Secretary-General faithfully interprets international reality when he says that fundamental questions of human rights have been put aside or deadlocked for reasons of political and economic expediency.

261. We must accept the fact that development and the observance of international law and of a universally accepted international code of conduct have suffered a series of setbacks.

262. The Assembly cannot remain indifferent to the hostilities between Iran and Iraq, two Islamic non-aligned nations which are involved in a conflict in a region extremely sensitive for the peace of the world. Panama supports the offer to use his good offices made at the outset by the Secretary-General in order to obtain a cease-fire and the cessation of military activities on both sides, so that the parties may agree to use the peaceful means embodied in the Charter for a friendly solution of their differences, which so affect the interests of the third world.

263. Panama also wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his prompt and vigorous action in convening the Security Council so that, in the exercise of the powers entrusted to it by the Charter, it may adopt all necessary measures with a view to having the parties in conflict put an end to hostilities and restoring peace in the region.

264. The international community, shocked by the explosive situation that has arisen in the Persian Gulf, trusts that the States members of the Security Council will act in keeping with the ideals of the United Nations and that the two super-Powers in particular and the countries whose oil supplies may be threatened will exercise restraint and refrain from any action not in compliance with the strictest neutrality and with the agreements for the restoration of peace that may be adopted within the United Nations system.

265. The warning sounded in the Secretary-General's report calls for profound reflection, if reason is to prevail over folly, if prudence is to triumph over barbarous acts, if

²⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 283.

²⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

restraint is to win out over rashness and if justice and civilized order are to overcome inequality, abuse, discrimination, chaos and anarchy.

266. In essence, more consistent, concerted and vigorous action is required on the part of all Member States to resolve the grave institutional crisis affecting the United Nations today. Delegations participating in this session of the Assembly will agree with the delegation of Panama that the world is today witnessing, in both the economic and the political fields, a real crisis which, in the final analysis, is part and parcel of international relations. It is not a question of an imaginary crisis, nor fanciful conjectures, nor rhetoric. Facts speak for themselves. Although much more could be said, we can mention three very serious instances of what we term the institutional crisis of the international Organization with regard to the three main bodies of the United Nations.

267. South Africa's obstinacy and its failure to comply with Security Council resolutions relating to the independence of Namibia and the solution of the very serious problems in southern Africa highlight the lack of respect to which the main political organ of the world Organization is subjected.

268. Non-compliance by Iran with the judgment of the International Court of Justice of 24 May 1980²⁶ ordering the release of the American hostages kept in Teheran since November last year shows to the world Iran's disregard for the value of the decisions of the supreme legal body of the United Nations system.

269. The refusal of the Soviet Union to withdraw its military occupation forces from the territory of the non-aligned State of Afghanistan presents before the world the former's indifference towards and lack of compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly decreeing the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of those troops from that country.

270. If large and small States alike do not respect, give effect to or observe the resolutions of the Security Council, the supreme political body of the United Nations, the decisions of the International Court of Justice, the supreme legal body of the United Nations, or the resolutions of the General Assembly, the supreme legislative body of the United Nations, we wonder what future awaits mankind.

271. The international community is aware of the fact that the major political, economic and social changes and the scientific progress that have occurred in the world since the Charter was adopted have increased the importance of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States and of the need to apply them more effectively in the conduct of States at all levels.

272. Panama recognizes the importance of maintaining and strengthening international peace, on the basis of freedom, equality, justice and respect for fundamental human rights, and of promoting friendly relations between nations irrespective of differences between their political, economic

and social systems or their degrees of development. We believe that the only way open to mankind, if it is to survive, is the strictest observance of those principles and of the Charter of the United Nations as the most exalted means for promoting the rule of law and justice among nations.

273. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is once again this year opening at a time of crisis. The international situation, politically, economically and socially, has never been so tense or so burdened with distress and even despair.

274. The planet earth will very soon have a population of 4 billion people. It is not yet full up but because of the selfishness shown by some and the unequal way in which the wealth of the world is distributed, the presence of 4 billion people will fill the earth to the point of overflowing. One does not have to be any sort of a birth-control expert to predict on the basis of this figure that, unless there is peace on earth, unless there is peace among peoples and nations, people run the risk of trampling on one another; the law of the jungle may well become the order of the day as the crowding begins to be ever more intrusive.

275. Peace on earth, peace between peoples and nations, peace in whose shade people can live in harmony and tranquillity, fully enjoying the happiness produced by their common labour: this should be the main concern of all mankind in this last quarter of the century.

276. The Federal Republic of Germany, the country of the President of the Assembly, surely best represents this desire for peace. War has never settled matters in this world, and Germany can bear witness to this fact before history since, having emerged from two murderous world wars, it resolutely engaged in the task of national construction with the help of all the ingenuity of an industrious, courageous and hard-working people. Germany has more than anyone else understood the benefits of peace and has understood the necessity of living in peace with its neighbours and making peace the corner-stone of all its policies, both national and international. The Federal Republic of Germany maintains no military expenditures for the sake of possessing a costly military potential. That has enabled it to be one of the few industrialized nations of the world to be free of economic caprice and stagnation. This is why it gives me pleasure, on behalf of the Togolese delegation, to congratulate its representative on his well-deserved election as President of the thirty-fifth session.

277. The experience of peace which colours the policies of his country and his exceptional qualities as a seasoned diplomat quite naturally fit him to assume with competence the high office with which the international Organization has just entrusted him. This is why we are convinced that under his enlightened presidency the work of the thirty-fifth session will proceed in an atmosphere of peace, dialogue and mutual understanding.

278. His predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, deserves all our admiration and all our congratulations, having borne the weighty responsibility of skilfully guiding not only the work of our regular thirty-fourth session, but also that of the sixth and

²⁶ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Teheran, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1980, p. 3.*

seventh emergency special sessions, devoted respectively to Afghanistan and to Palestine, and of the eleventh special session, devoted to economic problems. We would like, once again, to reiterate to him our abiding sentiments of admiration for himself, for his country, Tanzania, and for his President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere.

279. The year 1980 will have been a particularly eventful one for the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We have seen that his time has been divided among numerous activities, both at Headquarters and also on the responsible missions which in the performance of his duties he has had to accomplish in the four corners of the world in search of peace on earth and peace among peoples and nations.

280. The Togolese delegation, on behalf of the Government and people of Togo and on behalf of the founding President of the Togolese People's Assembly, the President of the Togolese Republic, General of the Army Gnassingbé Eyadema, would like once more to express to Mr. Kurt Waldheim the full support and admiration which we owe him and to convey to him all our congratulations.

281. This year once again our family has grown. The progress of mankind cannot be measured by the power of destructive bombs but by the freedom of men to live in peace on earth. Zimbabwe, by acceding to independence in a peaceful way, has proved that wars—all wars, whatever their nature—have never in a definitive fashion been able to settle any problems. It is by seeking peace and agreement that solutions can be found to the great problems of our era. In acceding to independence amid tolerance and a respect for the multiracial complexity of its people, Zimbabwe has given us proof that racism and *apartheid* have been finally rejected by history. For this reason we salute the entry of independent Zimbabwe as the one hundred and fifty-third State Member of our Organization.

282. We salute the courage and determination of the people of Zimbabwe and the far-sightedness of its Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, and that of all the country's political leaders, who have been subtle and skilful enough to know that it is time to put an end to war by leading the people along the road to peace, concord and national construction. At the same time, we wish to congratulate Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission as the one hundred and fifty-fourth State Member of our Organization.

283. The year now drawing to a close will have been one of turmoil and anxiety. At one time it was felt that the latent conflicts could be reabsorbed so that outbreaks of war might be avoided. Unfortunately, the frenzied arms race continues, the peace initiatives undertaken in the Middle East are flagging and the situation in Kampuchea may well once again involve the destabilization of the countries of South-East Asia. Imprisoned and obsessed by their selfishness, the rich countries, despite their apparent opulence, are living in a closed circuit. Africa, too, has not been spared the clash of arms, while everywhere appeals for peace among peoples and nations go almost unheard amid the deafening clamour and the din of the weapons of war. This year, once more, the African continent will have been the most sorely tried.

284. If, thanks to the universal jubilation which greeted peace in Zimbabwe, jubilation which sprang from the hearts of millions all over the world, the rebel régime of Ian Smith was finally driven out of history by a popular election, the situation in Namibia and in South Africa will continue to constitute a serious threat to world peace, with the wretched system of *apartheid* persisting in its insolent defiance of the whole of the international community.

285. In fact, while the Namibian people under the leadership of its vanguard, SWAPO, tirelessly pursues its struggle to free itself from the colonial domination of the racist régime of South Africa, the Pretoria authorities continue to violate the most elementary human rights in that part of the continent. Arbitrary arrests, the creation of puppet groups, the use of mercenaries against independent neighbouring countries and repeated attacks against the territorial integrity of Angola and Zambia, in particular, continue.

286. A recent commission of inquiry established by the OAU found that South Africa is using chemical weapons in its undeclared war in Namibia and the neighbouring countries, despite the fact that the use of such weapons has been unanimously condemned by the international community. Will peace-loving people continue for much longer to put up with this challenge by the racist Pretoria régime? It is the height of absurdity for States Members of our Organization—and some of the most important ones—to give material assistance to South Africa to survive and pursue its policy of extermination in Namibia and its policy of provocation against the neighbouring States. It is high time that our Organization brought about peace in Namibia, with scrupulous respect for the territorial integrity of that country, of which Walvis Bay is an integral part.

287. It is high time that the international community ensured compliance by the States that continue to sell arms to South Africa and to offer South Africa the material, economic and financial possibilities of obtaining the most sophisticated weapons—which it subsequently uses against the independence of peoples—with the relevant United Nations decisions, particularly the decision regarding an embargo, because the failure of those Member States to comply with these decisions is used by the racist Pretoria régime in its permanent challenge to mankind.

288. But peace on earth, peace among peoples and among men, means first and foremost the independence of peoples and their dignity, their survival in an atmosphere of security, their freedom and equality.

289. So far as the people of South Africa itself are concerned, the year that is now coming to an end has been a nightmare, with the *apartheid* system—at bay—increasing its methods of harassment and refining its methods of repression. The strikes of schoolchildren have been drowned in blood; the workers' movements for the eradication of discriminatory practices have been savagely repressed, the slightest request for social justice and equality has given rise to arbitrary arrests and arrogant intimidation. The black majority in South Africa is demanding nothing less than an end to the unjustified system of *apartheid* in order to make it possible for everyone to enjoy equally the immense wealth of the country. The racist minority, constantly challenging the international community, rejects these elementary

demands, represses the black majority and directs its vindictiveness against the neighbouring States, whose only crime is to welcome the many refugees obliged to flee the inhuman kingdom of *apartheid*.

290. As we can see, this year—whether in Namibia or in South Africa—the *apartheid* system continues its insolent policy and seeks to create all sorts of difficulties for the front-line countries. That is why the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU rightly decided at its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia in July 1979, to establish the Committee on Assistance to Front-line States, composed of 19 members.²⁷ My country was chosen as Chairman of that Committee; we view that as a sign of the confidence that Africa as a whole places in us. The international community must contribute to the efforts made within the framework of that OAU initiative, to make it possible for the many countries that are victims of *apartheid* to give even the most elementary shelter to the refugees, to make available to them the food, medicine and clothing they need and to help the authorities in the receiving countries to strengthen their economies so that they can build the necessary social and health infrastructures. Thus, the OAU was well inspired when, at the thirty-fifth ordinary session of its Council of Ministers, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980, it made an appeal for contributions by States [A/35/463, annex I, CM/Res. 786 (XXXV)]. That OAU appeal must be heeded, in order to demonstrate universal solidarity with the victims of *apartheid*.

291. We should not be silent or hoard the actions that have been taken or that will be taken. On the contrary, people should be made aware of these actions so that they may provide a stimulus for international solidarity. That is why my country decided, in response to the OAU request, to pledge a voluntary contribution of \$100,000 for the actions of solidarity to be undertaken in southern Africa. That is a token contribution—but it is a token that is well worth the candle.

292. On the African continent, the year now coming to a close has seen the dangerous persistence of certain conflict situations which at one time we believed had been overcome. I have in mind the situations in the Horn of Africa, in Chad and in Western Sahara.

293. Even in the Comoros, despite the reassuring statements by France and the Government of the Comoros, there has been a delay in the reintegration of the Comorian island of Mayotte into the Comorian State. We continue to hope that the two Governments will speed up their negotiations in order that this important question may be settled once and for all.

294. With regard to the Horn of Africa, the initiatives taken by the OAU to convene all the parties in order to try to find a peaceful solution are most welcome. The efforts made as a result of the meeting held at Lagos from 18 to 20 August should be followed up so that harmony and trust between the fraternal countries of Ethiopia and Somalia may be re-established.

295. In Chad, the hopes engendered by the Lagos agreement of 21 August 1979 have been rapidly dashed; scarcely

five months after the formation of the transition Government of national unity, the dialogue of mortar shells replaced that of the negotiating table.

296. When we witness the tragedy in Chad, we realize that every sacrifice must be made to save a people on the point of dying. That is why independent Africa, in a final initiative, entrusted the President of the Togolese Republic with the task of carrying out, with his counterparts from Benin, Congo and Guinea, peace efforts to ensure the scrupulous application of the cease-fire, in the framework of the Lagos agreements—for only the implementation of those agreements will make it possible for buffer neutral African forces to be moved into place. Will the current initiatives, within the framework of action by the Sub-Committee, make it possible for us not to despair. The international community must, in any case, have confidence in the Sub-Committee set up by the OAU, in order to avoid a useless internationalization of the conflict in Chad, which can only lead to an aggravation of East-West tensions and thereby constitute a serious threat to peace on the African continent and throughout the world.

297. In the Western Sahara, the obstinate refusal of one of the parties to recognize the obvious truth is at the origin of a war whose consequences the Sahraoui people have been alone in bearing. The wise conclusions of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara, reaffirmed at the meeting held at Freetown, from 9 to 12 September, are the only basis for an equitable solution of this problem. Meanwhile, the Frente POLISARIO,²⁸ the sole representative of the Sahraoui people, continues to receive wide international recognition, thus providing a lesson to the adherence of an all-or-nothing philosophy. My Government, prompted by a spirit of justice and the desire to seek peace on earth among peoples and nations, long ago recognized the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and decided to establish diplomatic relations with it at the ambassadorial level. In that way, my Government demonstrates that when one is faced with blinding evidence, even hesitation can be interpreted as complicity.

298. In the Middle East, the Camp David agreements²⁹ have, during the past year, aroused hope in some and curiosity in others. Those agreements, born of the complexity of the Middle East problem, have particularly moved the Togolese Government and people, which have constantly manifested their passion for peace on earth, peace among peoples and nations. It is obvious that the peace process is not helped in any way by Israel's obstinacy in its occupation of the Arab territories, its obstinacy in transferring the capital of the Hebrew State to Jerusalem and imposing conditions incompatible with any honourable peace in the region.

299. While the State of Israel quite properly claims its right to exist in the region and its right to independence in the framework of a specific territory, it must recognize that others, and particularly the Palestinians and their authentic

²⁸ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

²⁹ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

²⁷ See document A/34/552, annex II, AHG/Dec. 112 (XVI).

representative, the PLO, are equally entitled to an independent and sovereign State in that part of the world.

300. It is up to the international community to make Israel grasp these facts, so that it will accept tolerance as the rule of the game. The international community must help Israel to understand and accept this inviolable fact.

301. My Government, faithful to the principle of justice and peace on earth, and constantly striving to bring about equitable peace among peoples and nations, would like to reaffirm—while recognizing Israel's right to exist—its constant support for the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to independence and to a State whose territorial integrity must be guaranteed. At the same time, we call on the parties concerned to choose the path of dialogue, the path of agreement. For it is only negotiation that counts in the search for peace among peoples and nations. The thunder of arms, no matter how deafening, has never settled any problem.

302. In Asia, the increased militarization of South Korea continues to be a serious obstacle to the peaceful reunification and independence of Korea and may well prove a serious threat to peace. That is why we should continue to support the declaration of 4 July 1972 on prohibiting all foreign military forces in South Korea and the efforts to transform the armistice agreement into a final peace agreement.

303. In Kampuchea and Afghanistan the untimely interventions that have prevented the peoples of those countries from freely expressing their political choices are events that threaten to destabilize not only the countries concerned but also all the other countries in the subregion. Our Organization should reaffirm the immutable principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of each and every State.

304. As we can see, 1980 has not been free from the political crises that shake the world. These political crises have been complicated by unparalleled economic crises. The increase in the price of petroleum has brought about an almost exponential increase in the price of the manufactured products which are part of the daily needs of the poorest people on earth. How can we speak of social peace when billions of deprived people are not able to have access to the goods produced by mankind? How can we speak of peace among peoples and nations when scarcely 300 million people control almost the entire wealth of the planet and, as in the jungle, impose their laws on practically 4 billion deprived and illiterate people? Today the most serious danger which threatens peace on earth is not demographic growth, but rather the unequal way in which the goods produced by mankind are distributed. As long as we fail to check malnutrition, illiteracy and other scourges, peace on earth and among peoples and nations will be a Utopian vision.

305. While children are dying of hunger every day throughout the developing world, we have the impression that the major Powers are delighting in squandering the resources of humanity by further perfecting weapons of extermination, by launching bombs in the sky and under the

earth as if they were amusing themselves with fireworks displays. This is the height of human absurdity. While the major Powers spend time continuing their interminable conferences on disarmament, it is they alone that manufacture arms and hold the key to disarmament. The height of absurdity is that those major Powers are demanding the backing of the poor countries in their eternal disarmament and security conferences. The orchestra stalls are being organized to amuse the gallery. But the poor countries have no munitions factories; those factories are to be found in the rich countries. Instead of disarming, the latter are organizing the theatre of continual disarmament and other conferences to make mankind believe that they wish to do something, and it is again the poor countries that are being duped. The poor countries are using their meagre resources to participate in those interminable conferences organized by the wealthy countries on disarmament and other matters—conferences in which we know that the dice have been loaded for a long time.

306. We have the impression that the wealthy countries are revelling in their egoism and, from on high, are looking down on the vast majority of mankind wallowing in malnutrition, sickness and illiteracy. Since they cannot count on the wealthy, the poor are attempting some initial steps in solidarity.

307. The second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU—the first such session devoted to economic matters—was held in April 1980 at Lagos³⁰ and the communal efforts undertaken by 16 States of West Africa—the Economic Community of West African States—are part of those initiatives and are events that deserve words of encouragement from the international community.

308. This is the bleak reality of our time. This year again there is not much light to be discerned on the horizon; however we should not despair of life. To obtain peace it must be won, and that is something which demands patience and perseverance.

309. Togo, for its part, under the leadership of its President, General Gnassingbé Eyadema, has decided to follow, on the road to the winning of this peace on earth, this peace among peoples and nations, an open policy which respects the immutable principles of the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the independence of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and good neighbourliness, a policy based on a constant search for peace, active participation in events taking place on the African continent and the establishment of a new, fairer and more humanistic international economic order. In connection with respect for human rights and the need for an equitable distribution of goods, on 31 October 1979, President Eyadema, when signing what are known as the "LOME II" ACP-EEC agreements between the African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries and the European Economic Community³¹, said:

"Indeed, at the end of the twentieth century, which has meant the rapid evolution of science and technology,

³⁰ See document A/S-11/14.

³¹ Second African-Caribbean-Pacific-European Community Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

more than half the world's population is living with the spectre of hunger, sickness and death. This group of people is being denied its most elementary right, the right to live, although that right has been granted to animals which are afforded protection. Do human rights mean simply the right to die of hunger, ignorance and sickness? What does freedom mean when one can neither read nor write?

"No. It is high time that we replaced the theoretical notion of human rights—regarded as an option to do what is not prohibited, even if we are incapable of doing it—with a concrete right to the minimum means of living.

"To put it plainly, the peoples of the third world wish to have access on an equal footing to the wealth that nature has endowed the world with and to which they believe they are entitled. They wish to have access to the fruits of world development which they consider they have also been involved in."

310. This elementary right can be provided only in peace and concord. That is why safeguarding peace at all costs is a fundamental objective of my Government's policy. Only peace on earth and among peoples and nations can create conditions to make possible the harmonious economic development of nations. Thus, by its realism, Togo's foreign policy in all its aspects is made fully available to the service of peace for development, divorced from unconditional alliances and from any false neutralism. Those are the minimum conditions for establishing peace on earth, peace among peoples and peace among nations.

311. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

312. Mr. PHAM DUONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): In his lengthy statement the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs repeated his slanders against Viet Nam. These are the allegations of a thief who cries "Thief!". As regards the situation in Kampuchea, the head of my delegation will refer to that in his statement to the Assembly. On behalf of the delegation of Viet Nam, I wish to make a few remarks in response to the mendacious words of the representative of China with regard to my country.

313. China's policy concerning Viet Nam must be judged by China's acts rather than by its words; we should criticize its actions rather than listen to its deceitful arguments. The Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs devoted a lengthy passage in his statement to the root causes of the events in Kampuchea. It is clear to the whole world that 20,000 Chinese advisers and hundreds of tons of munitions have been sent to Kampuchea to help the Pol Pot clique encourage raids against Viet Nam on its south-western frontier and fight Viet Nam to the last Kampuchean.

314. But the Chinese representative is seeking to distort the position by alleging that Viet Nam is allying itself with the Soviet Union in following an anti-Chinese policy. History has shown that his words are devoid of any foundation.

in the course of the 4,000-year history of the Vietnamese people, feudal China committed aggression against Viet Nam 10 times and occupied it for 1,000 years. At that time the Soviet Union did not yet exist.

315. China's systematic attacks against Viet Nam in the past 30 years have been clearly described in the white paper entitled "The truth about Viet Nam-China relations over the last 30 years", published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and circulated on 9 October 1979.³²

316. These allegations, repeated like a broken record by the Chinese authorities, convince no one. All their wicked slanders against Viet Nam, their false allegations aimed at justifying their actions before world public opinion, cannot hide the truth of their expansionist and hegemonistic policy regarding South-East Asia, their chauvinistic policy vis-à-vis their neighbours, large and small and, in particular, in the course of recent years, their policy of co-operation with American imperialism in order to achieve modernization in the hope of realizing their dream of global hegemony by the end of the century, to undermine revolutionary and progressive forces in the world and, in the immediate future, to undermine peace and stability in South-East Asia.

317. The Chinese authorities resort to lies as a tool of policy. Even the Chinese leaders resort to slander to overthrow each other. There was one who was overthrown three times. Was there really anything cultural about their so-called great cultural revolution? They used it to get rid of their opponents in order to keep themselves in power. If they behave so barbarically among themselves, how can they conduct themselves differently vis-à-vis their so-called friends in the world? It is not surprising that the Chinese authorities turn their friends into enemies, and vice versa, so long as that is in their hegemonistic interest.

318. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the face of the comments made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama with reference to the situation in my country, the delegation of Bolivia feels compelled, despite the late hour, to set a few facts straight.

319. More than two months ago, given the constitutional and economic crisis that arose in Bolivia thanks to international extremism which, using democracy as a pretext, had infiltrated the country causing electoral expenses of many millions of dollars, the armed forces of Bolivia, opening the way to the President's resignation, took over the Government in order to foil that plot. In so doing, they did not resort to foreign ideologies or to mercenary troops or weapons. It was a domestic problem, a national problem. It was resolved among nationals, as has been the case in many other Republics of Latin America. That is all.

320. But it so happens that the international imperialist circles have an interest the more evident as it is paradoxical, in supporting the forces of extremist subversion in the continent because experience clearly shows that they want chaos to be victorious. They need chaos in order to continue to

³² Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1979, document S/13569.

exploit the wealth of Latin America for their benefit by using the cheap labour provided by our subjected peoples. Faced with the changes in Bolivia, the planners of imperialist interests, adducing defence of democracy, unleashed against Bolivia a campaign of slander the last echoes of which are now reaching this Assembly. That campaign clearly expresses the anger of those who see the frustration in Bolivia of the new plan to "democratize by force" the continent by giving millions of dollars to docile Governments while economically strangling those who defend the principle of self-determination and hope to free their economies from foreign manoeuvres. The campaign of slander against Bolivia set in motion by extremists has now been intensified by more powerful forces. All sorts of accusations have been made against a Government that has only tried to defend Bolivia against the threat of extremist anarchy and monopolistic manoeuvres.

321. Bolivia depends on its tin, its main and almost its only export commodity. Throwing periodically into the world market tons of this product originating from non-commercial reserves, some Governments play with the price of tin and therefore with the destiny of my country. Here we are touching on the real substance of the matter. Nationalist Governments opposed to political or economic internationalism are not welcome. In this hemisphere, Governments that proclaim self-determination and shield themselves with non-intervention are not welcome.

322. The United Nations, in response to the secret interplay of monopolistic interests that have infiltrated the decision-making circles of the most powerful Governments, has already discussed this matter. Four years ago, in December 1976, the General Assembly adopted by a substantial

majority resolution 31/91, the seventh preambular paragraph of which reads as follows:

"Aware that a wide range of direct and indirect techniques, including withholding assistance and the threat of withholding assistance, subtle and sophisticated forms of economic coercion, subversion and defamation with a view to destabilization, are being mobilized against Governments which seek to free their economies from foreign control and manipulation, to restructure their societies and to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources".

In operative paragraph 4 of that resolution, the General Assembly

"Accordingly condemns all forms of overt, subtle and highly sophisticated techniques of coercion, subversion and defamation aimed at disrupting the political, social or economic order of other States or destabilizing the Governments seeking to free their economies from external control or manipulation".

323. Bolivia is facing an economic and political blockade and a campaign of defamation. There was not at the time of the events, much less is there now, any denial of visas or closing of frontiers in Bolivia. Any person could then, and can now, freely enter Bolivia and see the facts for himself. Work in all spheres is proceeding normally; there is détente and national calm. There is respect not only for human rights but also for the permanent struggle of Latin America for the economic liberation of our peoples.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.