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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Your country, Mr. President, the Federal Republic of Germany, and mine, Botswana, enjoy very cordial relations. Through our diplomatic and other relations and through our dealings with German institutions and people, we have developed a knowledge of and confidence in German capabilities. In congratulating you upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly, therefore, we recognize that the blending of these national traits with your acquired experience and diplomatic skills will provide the leadership which this Organization requires. We hope that under your stewardship we shall find not only that our deliberations will be crowned with success, but that our resolutions will find ready implementation.

2. I congratulate also all the members of the Bureau for their well-deserved election to their respective offices. We are all aware of the weight of the responsibility we have placed on them. We are confident that they all have the shoulders to bear it.

3. To Ambassador Salim A. Salim, Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, the outgoing President of the thirty-fourth regular session, the eleventh special session and the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions of the General Assembly, and to his Bureau, we express our unstinting gratitude for the creditable manner in which they acquitted themselves in discharging the task entrusted to them throughout the year.

4. So also must we hail the co-operation and support which our illustrious Secretary-General has always been ready to provide and has provided. It would be impertinent to attempt to measure or assess the degree of his fidelity and

commitment to the aims and objectives of the United Nations as enshrined in the Charter. Suffice it for us to thank him warmly.

5. But before I make a political tour of the world horizon as I am wont to do, permit me briefly to interpose a national sentiment in this Assembly and before the delegations assembled here to acknowledge with gratitude all the messages of condolence and all the expressions of sympathy and of goodwill and continued solidarity addressed to my country following the demise of our late President, Sir Seretse Khama. It was not without cause that our nation mourned the passing of its Founder, as did those who knew him as their friend. May his soul rest in peace.

6. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly that has just ended is one of the many varied meetings, conferences, symposia, working groups and so on, all inspired by the overriding objective of correcting economic and development inequalities, redressing prevailing injustices and closing the ever-widening gap between the life conditions of the developed and the developing world.

7. As my country, Botswana, fully participated in the deliberations of that session, it would be imprudent of my delegation to subject this Assembly to the painful tedium of repetition. I must nonetheless record my country's grave disappointment that, even at the end of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, the general debate at the plenary meetings was still engaged with the identification of problems, the justification for the development of improved international economic relations and the exhortation to work out a sound, universally acceptable strategy and programme of action for the decade ahead.

8. We are gravely disappointed because the failure of the developed countries to comply with resolutions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and of UNCTAD has resulted in a further and more serious decline in real terms of trade of the developing countries and because, with the ever-spiralling energy costs, even the true political independence of those countries is in jeopardy. It is clear to us that although a resolution to launch global negotiations was adopted at the thirty-fourth session [*resolution 34/138*], its objective will be frustrated by the reluctance and inflexibility of some developed countries to negotiate meaningfully the relationship between the central authority and the United Nations specialized agencies.

9. Despite all these very serious setbacks, disappointments and frustrations experienced in the past two decades, developing countries continue to rely for ultimate success on the

realization by developed countries that justice and peace in the world will come only when all nations are self-supporting.

10. It is therefore hoped that no effort will be spared to ensure that through the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade real development progress will be achieved. As a first step in this direction, it is vital also that the international community should endeavour to secure the success of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, scheduled for early next year.

11. We cannot over-emphasize the importance of regional economic co-operation for developing countries. In recognition of this fact, heads of State and Government of majority-ruled States in southern Africa made a declaration in April this year on the setting up of regional machinery for co-ordinating and integrating the development of their economies and reducing their economic dependence, particularly on South Africa. Various studies have been undertaken in various fields, including food production and security, animal diseases, natural resources, transport and communications. For the success of this effort funds will be required. We shall continue to rely for assistance on those who share our concerns and support our objectives.

12. This year we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of December 1960. The resolution crystallizes the hopes and aspirations of colonized peoples everywhere. Our period of celebration should be an occasion for reflection and the assessment of our achievements.

13. The record over the lifetime of this resolution provides us with only qualified justification for rejoicing, for while many hopes, many aspirations, have found their fulfilment, some have been tantalizingly frustrated.

14. In celebrating this occasion, therefore, we should, in true Christian fashion, place more value on what we still have to achieve than in what we have achieved. Only when we rededicate ourselves and work assiduously and unremittingly to that end may man universally regain his freedom, his respect and his dignity.

15. International concern is being expressed also about the growing tendency of States to violate the conventions relating to the rights, privileges and security of diplomatic personnel and foreign missions in the territories of States Members of this Organization. The practice is gaining in frequency as it is degenerating in cruelty. Our Organization remains mute, impassive and seemingly insensitive to the physical suffering of the victims and the psychological ordeal endured by their families. The problem requires our urgent attention with a view to restoring to international diplomatic relations the time-honoured security and dignity without which international communication and understanding will not always be possible.

16. The political problem of Western Sahara is that it is a case of the recolonization of an African country by another African country.

17. The first preambular paragraph of the charter of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] expresses the firm conviction of the heads of State and Government of the signatory States that "it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny".

18. The Kingdom of Morocco is not only a fully-fledged member of the OAU but enjoys the high distinction, limited to only a few among the present membership of that organization, of being one of the founding member States. It is when the Kingdom of Morocco, so placed and so honoured, undermines the charter by denying the Sahraoui people the total emancipation of their territory, their right to independent existence, their sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their State, it is when the Kingdom of Morocco, so placed and so honoured, deliberately obstructs and frustrates efforts directed towards resolving the dispute between itself and the Western Sahara peacefully by negotiation, that Botswana recognizes Western Sahara as a sovereign State and supports its admission to membership of international organizations.

19. It might be observed by some that Western Sahara does not satisfy the classical criteria for the recognition of States. That might well be so; but the question is whether the Kingdom of Morocco has the right to be obstructionist, or whether the Kingdom of Morocco is exempted from the observance of the time-honoured, far-sighted resolve by the OAU to respect colonial boundaries existing at the time of the attainment of independence. If the answer to these questions is "No", as I am certain it will be, the Kingdom of Morocco should be ordered to withdraw its forces from Western Sahara and allow the people of that country to determine its own destiny without hindrance. If its deliberate decision after a referendum is to join Morocco, my country will respect that decision. Africa has unequivocally repudiated Morocco's claim to that territory. Morocco should terminate its colonial aggression against the people of Western Sahara.

20. In July 1980 the seventh emergency special session, convened to consider the question of Palestine, voted overwhelmingly in support of resolution ES-7/2 calling upon Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territories not later than 15 November 1980. The said resolution was one of the many which have been churned out to no avail since Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The requirement that Israel withdraw is international confirmation of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by war and an expression of disdain regarding Israel's annexation of Palestinian and Egyptian territories.

21. Israel has consistently, over the years, flouted injunctions to withdraw and it would surprise no one, least of all the United Nations, if, when 15 November 1980 arrives, Israel not only defied the resolution, as usual, but decided to establish a few more Jewish settlements in the territories concerned or demolish a few more homes of innocent Arabs on the West Bank as a reprisal for the enlistment of their sons in the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Such action would be thoroughly provocative, but consistent with the acts of escalation in which Israel has engaged during the past few years.

22. Botswana continues to regard the Palestinian problem as the core of the Middle East conflict, and only by restoring to the people of Palestine its legitimate right to territory and self-determination can hope for a comprehensive settlement be entertained. Such a comprehensive settlement cannot be reached without the participation of the Palestinians or their accredited legitimate representatives, the PLO. We recognize the right of every State in the area to live within clearly demarcated and secure boundaries. We deplore the declaration that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel and the desecration of the holy shrines of other religions.

23. We call upon Israel to show the same degree of commitment to the working out of an acceptable solution to the Middle East problem as is displayed by the other parties concerned and to work tirelessly and honestly towards the attainment of that objective.

24. Because they had not themselves known peace for decades, the people of Viet Nam should have, after the end of their long liberation and revolutionary wars, held peace sacrosanct and inviolate not only for themselves but in the territory of others. Their adventures in Kampuchea, however, do not confirm the validity of such suppositions. Inurement to pain and suffering cannot provide enough reason for their actions; the reason must lie in their quest for hegemonistic accretions.

25. Botswana is guided in its foreign policy by its respect for the fundamental right of people to self-determination. For that reason, we find the interference of Viet Nam in the affairs of Kampuchea, under the guise of humanitarian intervention, inexcusable and capable of being dangerously infectious. Other States nurturing similar ambitions might catch the fever. Botswana does not condone the excesses of the Pol Pot régime but my country cannot, for that reason alone, condone external aggression. The problem of Kampuchea should be solved by the Kampuchians themselves and Viet Nam should give them the opportunity to do so by withdrawing its occupation forces from that country.

26. In the view of my delegation, what goes for Kampuchea goes for Afghanistan as well and in equal measure. Botswana calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and for the cessation of all military aid to any nationalist group in that country. To condone the destabilization or overthrow of a Government by a foreign Government because of differing social and economic systems would be to create a dangerous precedent. Weak, small nations such as my own, existing side by side with powerful neighbours, would lose their right to self-determination and to their identity. The United Nations must increase its vigilance to ensure that such acts of aggression are outlawed.

27. We urge the people of Afghanistan to seek a solution of their differences by any of the peaceful means provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

28. On the occasion of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, the Republic of Zimbabwe was admitted to the membership of the United Nations as the one hundred and fifty-third Member. The independence of that country and its subsequent admission to full membership of this Organization proclaim the victory of the forces of change and progress over those of conservatism and colonialism.

29. After many years of fighting and exposure to human misery and suffering, the people of Zimbabwe must now adjust to a life of peace, rehabilitation and national reconstruction. The task will not be an easy one. They will be subjected to pressures. They will be tugged and pulled in different political directions by external forces motivated by the desire to extend their imperial influence and promote their interests. Botswana implores the people of Zimbabwe to continue to be inspired, in peace, by the sublime ideals of national unity and national interests which won them respect and resounding victories in war. We urge the international community to guard against any external interference in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe and to assist the people of that country to come into their own.

30. We are confident that Zimbabwe will add strength to the Organization and curb colonialism from following the course of adventurism in other parts of the world. The strengths and weaknesses of oppressed peoples should not be measured by the quantity or quality of their weapons, but by reason of their will to sacrifice their lives for their freedom. May the success of Zimbabwe be an inspiration to others.

31. Another reply from South Africa on the Namibia question¹ has come to hand—another chasm to keep the United Nations from its sworn objective of realizing the emancipation of Namibia, yet another document that adds frustration to impatience, and constitutes a serious indictment against the sense of purpose, urgency and degree of importance which South Africa professes to attach to the solution of the Namibia problem. While the Secretary-General has replied promptly to South African communications in the past, South Africa has consistently made three months of sterile silence the appropriate interval between official replies. The raising of unnecessary and irrelevant queries can only arouse doubts concerning South Africa's seriousness—otherwise to what purpose, one might ask, is all this wrangling? Is it to encourage the hope that the people of Namibia might tire of insisting upon the exercise of their fundamental right to self-determination and so recognize and accept the existing apparatus of minority domination? Is it to enhance the chances of the consolidation of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance? Is it hoped that the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] might burn itself out to extinction? If none of these, what then?

32. In 16 paragraphs of its letter of 29 August last, South Africa accuses the United Nations, its organs and bodies, of partiality towards, and preferential treatment of, SWAPO and for being SWAPO's "most ardent protagonist". It berates the Secretary-General for his actions, statements and comments in the course of his duty. It expects him to condemn SWAPO for waging the struggle to help to restore to the Territory of Namibia the legality which this Organization upholds. It recoils at the condemnation of its violation of the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia and of the killing and maiming of their peoples.

33. It is the responsibility of the sovereign nations here assembled to pass judgement on the statements and com-

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14139.

ments of their chief executive if these should call for such action. To require his unswerving compliance with varying standpoints of individual States would be to nullify the concept and practice of impartiality. Botswana has nothing but praise for the objectiveness with which the Secretary-General executes his heavy international responsibilities, in particular for his efforts to advance the course of the liberation of Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

34. To hail the role played by the front-line States in the struggle for Namibia's independence may sound immodest when it comes from me, for my country, Botswana, is one of the countries in southern Africa which, together with SWAPO, has been directly involved in the search for an abiding solution to the Namibian problem. In the interest of peace, and to facilitate fair elections free from any form of armed intimidation, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia graciously volunteered to demilitarize areas of their territories. SWAPO has accepted the holding of free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and involving all the parties in Namibia. The delay in the holding of elections, therefore, postpones the day when the people of Namibia as a whole should give their own verdict. In the circumstances of the case, it is South Africa that shows definite partiality towards SWAPO, for by obstructing the election process it perpetuates and gives support to the internationally held position that SWAPO is the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

35. Neither repeated aggressions against the sovereign independent States of southern Africa, which have so often been condemned by the Security Council, nor the attendant massacres of their people and of the Namibian refugees in those countries, neither the strategy to enhance the chances of the Pretoria-sponsored internal minority parties nor the haranguing of the Secretary-General of this Organization will stop SWAPO from winning the elections if the people of Namibia, in the free and fair exercise of their right to self-determination, wish to entrust their destiny to that liberation movement. South Africa should climb down and engage in serious, constructive and meaningful discussions aimed at setting the stage for the holding of elections within a reasonable time. Together we must accentuate the positive, even if it is to express our appreciation to SWAPO for its co-operation, as amply illustrated by the compromises it has progressively made in the interest of a settlement. Botswana does not find doing so impolitic for, let it be known, it would equally have no inhibitions in expressing like appreciation for any substantive South African move towards making the independence of Namibia a practical reality.

36. Four years ago from this very rostrum² I said that the bell that had tolled for Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa would next toll for other States in the region. It has tolled for Rhodesia; it will toll for South West Africa soon. The time has now come for South Africa to refrain from drawing unconstructive conclusions and even from rearing up to score points on what it considers weaknesses in the United Nations position as expressed by the Secretary-General, and to grapple with fundamental issues relating to the objectives, conditions, manner and timing of the differ-

ent processes leading to elections and ultimate independence in Namibia. Now is the time for South Africa to accept the fact that SWAPO exists not only to fight against but to talk to, in a spirit of realism and compromise and not of capitulation. Now is the time for South Africa to accept that Namibia will be free and that it will only have itself to blame if Namibia should be so antagonized as to become what South Africa might consider an unfriendly neighbour.

37. In Africa, the last decade has been marked by the accession to independence of the former Portuguese colonies, the Comoros, Djibouti and the Seychelles. Their independence was hard won and bought with the lives of valiant young men and women in a heroic struggle for liberty and freedom for their people. This they have honourably achieved. Their graves are unmarked and unknown, but we revere their memory.

38. There is no reason to suppose that the ensuing decade will not witness again in Africa the further extension of the frontiers of justice and freedom. Already the flag of the Republic of Zimbabwe flutters proudly in the breeze outside our Headquarters building. Namibia and Western Sahara wait their turn, which should come sooner rather than later if an end is put to the liberation wars which stubborn colonialism has forced upon the people of those Territories.

39. In South Africa, the violation or, rather, the denial of fundamental human rights to Africans in order to protect white privilege and supremacy is being challenged. The burden of *apartheid* and racism has become too heavy to bear any longer. Schoolchildren have taken to the streets; industrial workers have downed their tools; high tension has led to incidents, such as the SASOL explosion, the Silverton Bank hold-up, attacks against police stations and the stoning of people to death, that are becoming all too common—all of which are eloquent indications of impending disaster. It lies within South Africa's competence to avert it.

40. We are aware of the reported recent constitutional changes made in that country. Some political observers believe that those changes are designed to pull the country out of the strait jacket of its traditional policy of racism and *apartheid*. We are not too sure about that. However, we are aware that Prime Minister Botha, addressing the Transvaal National Party Congress, said recently: "We must get our priorities right. We cannot afford to stare ourselves blind against blacks who have lived with us for years." That is significant, particularly when it is coupled with his oblique admission of the powerlessness of even the strongest army in the face of insurgency and chaos born of freedom-seeking revolution.

41. Six years ago the world welcomed the promise, made by yet another Prime Minister of South Africa, of radical changes in South Africa within six months. The promise of change was inspiring and impressive, but it proved hollow and inconsequential. The scepticism with which the international community has greeted the latest pronouncements by Prime Minister Botha is therefore not surprising.

42. That the whites in South Africa are desirous of preserving their racial identity and their culture is neither in dispute nor begrudged, except to the extent to which such identification becomes justification for defining an individual's rights

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 27th meeting, para. 47.*

and status by his birth, assessing his worth by his colour or his race and determining where he will not work and where he will not live. That is what makes the system totally repugnant. What is more, while any immigrant or refugee of European extraction can acquire South African citizenship, the Xhoss of the Transkei, the Batswanas of Bophuthatswana and the Vendas of northern Transvaal have been made to go through the motions of losing their South African citizenship in an attempt to transform the reality of a plural South African society into the questionable concept of multinationalism within a single country. Africa has refused to recognize this arrangement. We appreciate the stand of other States which also shun the consolidation of racism and *apartheid*. We are outraged by the actions of those who see these bantustans as potentially lucrative centres for the establishment of their industries.

43. It is not the redrawing or redefining of South Africa's provincial and regional boundaries which will satisfy the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa; it is the dismantling and abolition of the policy of *apartheid* and its supportive apparatus, and the restoration to the people of South Africa of their rights, including the right to self-determination. The promotion of the sentiment of ethnicity will not stem the tide of the rampant desire for change. To be orderly and peaceful, change must be immediate and based on freedom, equality, justice and dignity for all.

44. Mrs. de AMORIM (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is being held at a time of growing tension in international relations. This situation is hindering the efforts and the prospects with regard to the need for a climate of dialogue essential to the solution of the basic questions facing mankind on the threshold of the year 2000.

45. This assertion prompts us to reflect on the role of the United Nations in the context of the major problems of our day. The ideal forum in which peoples can come together, the United Nations is also the catalyst for the hopes of most of mankind, which is working tirelessly to realize the ideals of freedom, peace and dignity.

46. In this context, the admission to our Organization of the Republic of Zimbabwe represents a twofold victory. On the one hand, it demonstrates once more that the determination of a people is the fundamental factor in the struggle to win its right to manage its own destiny; on the other, it crowns the efforts of the international community.

47. Thus, in welcoming the delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe as the one hundred and fifty-third full fledged Member of the United Nations, we greet all those who, united by the principles and ideals of our Organization, contributed to the triumph of justice and freedom.

48. We also welcome the republic of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to our Organization.

49. In the context of the contradictions and changes of our time, the United Nations assumes a primary role as a forum for the condemnation of situations and actions which aim to stifle the rebellious outcry of peoples resolved to burst the chains of injustice and humiliation. In this connection, we cannot disregard the tragic situation in Chile, El Salvador

and Bolivia, where the peoples find their basic human rights stifled by successive waves of repression and terror. Our silence would constitute a complicity hardly compatible with our commitment to defend man—the subject, object, end and *raison d'être* of our Organization's existence—by every means at our disposal.

50. Finally, the United Nations is above all the most appropriate forum for seeking constructive and essential dialogue among nations and peoples sharing a common concern to build a future worthy of mankind. Yet developments in the international situation prompt us to observe with apprehension another dimension of the United Nations.

51. Have we succeeded in using the United Nations truly to bring the peoples of our planet together?

52. The difficulties faced by our Organization in realizing the ideal of bringing peoples together for the achievement of well-being for all might lead us to believe that the path of dialogue has not been embarked upon equally by all the Members of our Organization and that we are running the risk of diverting dialogue from its true end, that of uniting and bringing closer together peoples and countries in defence of shared ideals.

53. There is a tendency in the United Nations to turn dialogue into a diversionary exercise, which leads us to a constant postponement of solutions commensurate with the seriousness of problems and the expectations they raise. This constant postponement of adequate solutions might, if senselessly prolonged, make peoples lose faith in the strength of dialogue, which would lead to growing feelings of despair in the context of the expectations of nations and peoples yearning for redress.

54. In this context, what can be said of the situation in Namibia? The right of the people of Namibia to independence has continued through the years to be the subject of long—interminable—scrutiny. Despite the sacrifices made by the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, and despite our efforts, that heroic people has had as its sole reply repression and terror.

55. Only the irresponsible blindness of the *apartheid* régime in the face of the progress of history and the shameful interests of a group of Member States can explain the systematic rejection of the solutions proposed by our Organization. The United Nations considers *apartheid* to be a crime against humanity. Yet, in spite of the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, under the auspices of the African National Congress, and in spite of our repeated condemnations millions of people continue to live in conditions unworthy of human beings.

56. And in this context, what can be said of the aggressive and criminal policies of that racist State against the People's Republic of Angola and against other sovereign States of the region? What is the meaning of dialogue in these circumstances?

57. The problem of Palestine has been discussed in our Organization for some four decades. The solution to this

question involves, first of all, recognition of the right to self-determination, the establishment of an independent State and the Palestinian people's return to its homeland.

58. The PLO is today an essential factor for peace in the Middle East. Whenever the need for peace in that region is felt with greater urgency and a comprehensive solution appears urgently necessary, we witness attempts to disregard the legitimacy and representative nature of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. If we envisage a solution which serves the circumstantial—and therefore ephemeral—interests of the moment, to a problem which requires the effective participation of the United Nations and all the concerned parties, we are inevitably doomed to failure.

59. What explanation can be found for the obstinacy of Israel and its supporters in their rejection of a dialogue which would spare mankind the risks of a crisis with unforeseeable consequences?

60. Is the systematic policy of taking unilateral and aggressive measures—such as the recent transformation of Jerusalem into the capital of Israel and the acts of aggression perpetrated against southern Lebanon—a measure leading to dialogue?

61. The invasion and occupation of East Timor since 1975 by Indonesian forces have tragically interrupted the process of decolonization in progress in that Territory.

62. The international community should pay particular attention to the struggle of the Maubere people for its right to self-determination and independence under the aegis of its legitimate representative, FRETILIN.³ We also hope that Portugal will more clearly assume its position as administering Power.

63. The distressing division of Cyprus and the obstacles in the way of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea only reinforce our desire for peace and co-operation among peoples.

64. Likewise, the presence of military bases is a source of concern for the Government of Sao Tome and Principe. In spite of repeated declarations by the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the OAU aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, we find that new bases have been set up in that region. These manoeuvres endanger the integrity, security and sovereignty of nearby States and contribute not at all to the establishment of an atmosphere of harmony in the world.

65. It is with a sense of urgency that we reiterate the support of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe for the peoples of these countries and appeal to our Organization to assume all the responsibilities demanded by each of these issues so as to prevent the prolongation of situations of flagrant injustice which are so costly in human lives. In this connection, it would be remiss of us not to mention the situation of Western Sahara. We hope that the course of dialogue and understanding will triumph in order

to enable the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic to join the great family of the United Nations.

66. The situations which we have mentioned by no means constitute an exhaustive list of the problems facing mankind which require us to take a specific position.

67. There is, in fact, a fundamental question at issue for our Organization. If we persist in the present course of fruitless and frustrating dialogue, we could compromise the essence of our Organization, namely its great moral force as the spokesman for the conscience of mankind. This immense storehouse of trust and hope which our moral force represents must be preserved and protected against the attempts at erosion to which it is subjected.

68. Indeed the forces that persist in disregarding the role of the United Nations by consistent and repeated rejection of its decisions recognize, in their attempts to evade the implementation of our decisions, often by unjustifiable means, the power of our moral force.

69. The impasse which characterizes our debates and initiatives concerning the need for a new international economic order and general and complete disarmament under effective international control is for us and for the majority of the peoples of the world a source of constant and growing concern.

70. Day by day the incidence of death, destruction, misery and disaster increases and spreads. Is it our role to watch that increase?

71. Rendered powerless by our limitations and by the interests of a selfish, necrophil minority, are we to allow man to destroy mankind?

72. Is it not time to put an end to this dangerous situation by introducing into our process of dialogue the real, concrete dimension of our resolve, commitment, determination and responsibility to do all in our power to ensure that the fundamental rights of peoples and nations are respected and defended?

73. By acting in this way we may avoid a situation in which the feeling of frustration caused by the lack of response to the urgent and vital problems of our day might lead to despair and insidiously substitute itself to the feeling of hope in the heart of man.

74. We believe that the major responsibility lies with the United Nations if it is to remain faithful to the noble principles set forth in its Charter.

75. Within the framework of the responsibilities which our Organization is called upon to assume, the Secretary-General plays a primary role.

76. We are therefore very happy to congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim on the persistent efforts which he has made to implement our decisions and on his relentless search for viable solutions to the delicate and complex problems that require his constant intervention. We are convinced that the example of his dedication will go down in the annals of our

³ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

Organization and that this will be a source of additional encouragement in our collective commitment.

77. Your own qualities, Sir, as a diplomat and a man of action, demonstrated throughout a long career characterized by your great competence, are a guarantee of the success of our work.

78. We wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, on the brilliant manner in which he discharged his responsibilities in the search for solutions to the problems of our time. The efficiency, care and commitment with which he dealt with the problems considered by the General Assembly only served to confirm the qualities and merits that contributed to his election.

79. We cannot conclude without expressing the concern of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe with regard to the recent conflict between two fraternal non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq. We are convinced that those two countries will demonstrate tolerance and understanding in order to make it possible to reach through dialogue an appropriate and definitive settlement of their dispute.

80. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, I should like to extend my warmest congratulations to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, on his unanimous election to the presidency of our General Assembly. This is a tribute both to his personal qualities and to his great country, which has consistently played an increasingly important role in the world. I am convinced that under his enlightened leadership the work of our Assembly will be successful.

81. My delegation would also like to associate itself with other delegates in extending its warm gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who over the past year has exerted himself to the utmost in the cause of peace, security and stability in the world, particularly in the region to which my country belongs.

82. We should also like to extend our most sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts for world peace and to ensure that the United Nations fulfils its heavy responsibilities.

83. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would also like to take this opportunity to welcome warmly to membership in the United Nations the Republic of Zimbabwe which has just become an independent and sovereign State after a stubborn struggle. We should like at the same time to bid a cordial welcome to another new Member of our Organization, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

84. We also wish to convey our warm gratitude and our most cordial greetings to all countries throughout the world which love peace and justice and have endeavoured to make a valuable contribution to the just national cause of the survival of the people of Kampuchea.

85. The past year has seen the international situation evolve in the direction of greater tension and complexity.

The increased aggressiveness and hegemonistic ambitions of international expansionists are the cause of this. After the aggression against Kampuchea by Hanoi and the invasion of Afghanistan by the Kremlin, the threat of the spread of war in South-East Asia, in southern Asia, in the Middle East and throughout the world has been growing, while a new conflict has just broken out in the oil-producing regions of the Middle East, thus piling up factors that are liable to lead to a third world war.

86. The United Nations is quite rightly concerned at the deterioration of the international situation and has put forward relevant proposals to contain it. In particular, with regard to the problem of Kampuchea and that of Afghanistan, it has taken a just and correct position by calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan in order to allow the peoples of these countries to exercise the inalienable right to decide for themselves their own destinies without foreign interference. All peoples that love peace and justice have given their firm support to this just position.

87. But the Hanoi authorities and the Soviet international expansionists have not only turned a deaf ear to the repeated demands made by the whole of mankind, but, what is more, they are violating ever further and ever more arrogantly the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing international relations. Applying the law of the jungle, they are stepping up their aggression in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. They are, in particular, using chemical weapons, although they have been universally prohibited by international conventions, and are taking their cynicism so far as to use the weapon of starvation in order to exterminate the people of Kampuchea the more speedily. At the same time, under the cover of a sham détente, they are intensifying the arms race.

88. For the small and medium-sized countries, like Democratic Kampuchea, the United Nations still remains the last resort for the preservation of their independence and sovereignty. In face of the challenge offered by the Vietnamese-Soviet expansionists who so impudently violate the Charter of the United Nations and international law, it is the duty of our Organization strictly to enforce respect for its fundamental principles and in no way to permit expansionists to trample these principles underfoot. Otherwise, our Organization will not be able to provide any solution for the various problems in the world and will thus have lost prestige and effectiveness. Small and great expansionists will then have a free hand to lord it over the world, bringing our planet dangerously near to the brink of cataclysm through their unbridled ambition and unlimited adventurism.

89. Although having to face a most barbarous war of aggression, the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea have none the less been paying serious attention to the grave problems of the world. In this regard, concerning Korea, we are gratified at the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which calls for a solution of the Korean question by peaceful means, without foreign interference. This is a positive contribution that is in keeping with the deep-rooted aspirations of the Korean people for an independent and peaceful reunification of their country, as well as with the interests of peace.

90. We are categorically opposed to the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel. The Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 must be returned. We repeat our firm support for the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people, which is continuing its heroic struggle under the leadership of the PLO.

91. With regard to Namibia, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations should be put into effect so that the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, can recover their independence and dignity. We repeat here our constant support for the just struggle of the people of Azania against the colonialist and racist régime of *apartheid* of South Africa.

92. Finally, the tension maintained in the Horn of Africa by the Soviet expansionists remains a subject of concern for all.

93. Twenty-two months have elapsed since the occupation of Phnom Penh by the invading troops of Hanoi. For many the conflict between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam—which came out into the open on 31 December 1977 with the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the two countries—was like a peal of thunder in a clear sky. But enlightened observers of Asian matters were not surprised, because they were aware that the ambition of the Hanoi authorities to swallow up Kampuchea and Laos so as to integrate them into the so-called “Indo-Chinese federation” went back as far as 1930, the date of the founding of the “Indo-Chinese Communist Party”, composed solely of Vietnamese, and whose very name even at that time revealed the hegemonistic designs of its founders. Furthermore, the Vietnamese strategy of the “Indo-Chinese federation”, which is nothing else than the “Greater Viet Nam”, was writ large in the statute of that Party. The Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978 is thus only the logical outcome of a whole concatenation of conflicts which have become unceasingly worse over the years, conflicts caused deliberately by the expansionist designs of Hanoi. Still, Hanoi has endeavoured to swallow up Kampuchea quietly, as was the case with Laos, without world public opinion being aware of it. To this end, it has had recourse to attempted *coups d'état* and assassinations of the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea carried out by its agents who long ago had infiltrated the State machinery in order to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea from within. But this was a futile effort. The fact that Hanoi has been forced to resort to overt aggression and thus to show its hand is by no means the least of its setbacks, because the myth of Viet Nam as the champion of national liberation has collapsed like a house of cards.

94. For a better understanding of the problem, we must take a look at history because, as part of the strategy of the “Indo-Chinese federation”, everything possible was done to bring this about.

95. The first Indo-Chinese war was an opportunity for the Hanoi authorities to intervene openly in Kampuchea on the pretext of anti-colonialist solidarity. In reality, the leaders and troops of the Vietminh were sent to Kampuchea to wrest control of that country from the French colonial

administration under the disguise of a so-called Khmer resistance movement. It was since that time that the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, alias the Vietnamese Communist Party, began to recruit and train agents, who later on succeeded in infiltrating and working their way up to high-level positions in the State apparatus of Democratic Kampuchea.

96. But, following the Agreements reached at the Geneva Conference of July 1954, the Vietnamese troops had to withdraw from Kampuchea. Benefiting from this ebbing of Hanoi's influence over the national liberation movement of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean patriots decided to take over the leadership of the struggle of the Kampuchean people, relying on their own efforts. The Hanoi authorities never forgave the Kampuchean patriotic movement for having taken this independent and sovereign line. They did everything possible to fight it and to distort it. In the 1960s, they took advantage of facilities that had been accorded to them—sanctuaries, freedom of movement in Kampuchean territory—to re-establish contact with their former network, which had been abandoned in 1954, and to step up even further their subversive activities. After the *coup d'état* of 18 March 1970, they set up parallel organizations in the army and in the Administration, using in particular 2,000 Khmer agents whom they had taken to Hanoi for training in 1954 and sent back to Kampuchea subsequently.

97. The *coup d'état* of 18 March 1970 provided an unlooked-for opportunity for the leaders and troops of Hanoi to return in force, like a tidal wave which was to flood the whole of Kampuchea. But contrary to their expectations, the people and patriotic army of Kampuchea, firmly adhering to their stand of independence and sovereignty, valiantly stemmed that tide. The liberation of Phnom Penh by Kampuchean patriots on 17 April 1975, 13 days before the fall of Saigon on 30 April 1975, plunged the Hanoi authorities into chagrin and disarray as they witnessed the collapse of the hegemonistic plans they had so patiently nurtured for so long; for Lê Duan and his cohorts were dreaming of sending in their troops against Phnom Penh after the occupation of Saigon in order, allegedly, to “liberate” it but, in actual fact, to occupy it.

98. After the liberation of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities undertook a world-wide campaign, first by proxy, and then openly, to isolate Democratic Kampuchea by propagating the worst kind of slanders and most sordid lies about it. It will be recalled how fiercely the Hanoi authorities opposed the normalization and improvement of relations between Democratic Kampuchea and Thailand. The visit paid in October 1975, shortly after liberation, by the Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to Bangkok was viewed by Hanoi as an act of treason. It is noteworthy that, at the time of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976, Hanoi exerted considerable pressure, but in vain, on Democratic Kampuchea to induce it, within the non-aligned movement, to serve the interests of the so-called “natural ally” of that movement—in particular, to wage a crusade against the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], accused by Hanoi of being an organization in the pay of a great Power.

99. Along with those diplomatic manoeuvres, Hanoi was striking bloody blows along the Kampuchean-Vietnamese border and had seized the Kampuchean island of Koh Way. In an attempt to normalize the situation, the leaders of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, despite their heavy responsibilities within the newly freed country, went to Hanoi in June 1975 to negotiate with Hanoi a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. That turned out to be a waste of time, because the Hanoi authorities, intoxicated by their recent victory and the vast stockpiles of arms which had been left behind, did not want to hear any talk of an independent, neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea. They banked on the ability of their military forces to embark, if necessary, on the conquest of Kampuchea. That is what happened at the end of 1977, after the successive failures of their efforts to achieve that by means of wiles, subversion and destabilization, combined with border attacks and attempted *coups d'état*.

100. After the defeat of the first attempted act of armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, on 6 January 1978, Hanoi signed a military pact with Moscow on 3 November 1978,⁴ and it was with the immense assistance of the Soviet Union that it launched a second act of armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on 25 December 1978.

101. Since then, Vietnamese occupation troops have put the whole of Kampuchea to fire and the sword, causing tremendous destruction and committing innumerable crimes, unprecedented in Kampuchea's 2,000-year history. Almost 3 million Kampucheans have already been massacred; hundreds of others are slain every day. The Hanoi authorities, with unheard-of cruelty, have been applying three means of extermination: conventional weapons, chemical warfare and, above all, the inhuman weapon of starvation. So it is not a war of colonial conquest such as has been known in history, but a war of extermination of a whole people and nation.

102. Survivors, in hundreds of thousands, have sought temporary refuge in Thailand, while millions of others have become refugees in their own country. And it is because of the Hanoi authorities' persistence in this systematic extermination endeavour that international humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people was cynically diverted for the benefit of Hanoi's occupation troops or ended up in Viet Nam itself.

103. But in spite of those misfortunes and terrible sufferings, the people of Kampuchea, galvanized by the indomitable will to survive in independence and national dignity, has heroically fought the invader, under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They have succeeded in bogging down the 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers and 50,000 agents occupying Kampuchea. By way of comparison, this figure is the equivalent of 10 million foreign soldiers of occupation in any country or association of countries having a population of about 200 million.

⁴ Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

104. It will be recalled that the so-called "famous" dry-season offensive of October 1979-April 1980 mounted by the Vietnamese aggressors was supposed, according to their propaganda, to annihilate completely the forces of Democratic Kampuchea, thus putting an end to Kampuchean resistance. The victory of our national army, of our guerrillas and of our people, who inflicted a crushing defeat on that offensive, constituted a strategic turning point in the struggle of the Kampuchean people, in the sense that henceforth the Hanoi authorities would no longer be able to eliminate Democratic Kampuchea by force of arms and would be driven into a military deadlock.

105. In fact, first of all, the Vietnamese troops are sustaining heavier and heavier losses every day on the battlefield. Their morale has suffered seriously as a result; mutinies and desertions are ever more numerous in the front-line units, particularly in the north-west, the central region, the north-east and the south-west. To offset these losses the Lê Duan clique in Hanoi can only resort to new levies of troops or to the "Khmerization" of its war of aggression. But it is not in a position to do either of these two things.

106. Soviet assistance, which amounts to \$3 million a day, cannot remedy this critical situation, because the feeding of a 250,000-man occupation force is an enormous burden for Viet Nam, a poor country that has been sucked dry by 40 years of war and must also maintain a 50,000-man occupation army in Laos.

107. In the second place, in Viet Nam itself, the Lê Duan clique finds itself in a disastrous economic and financial situation because of its policy of aggression and expansion against all its neighbours. Politically, internal dissension among the leaders has been continually worsening, particularly as a result of the accumulated failures in Kampuchea, while discontent has begun to overwhelm the entire Vietnamese people, whose opposition to Hanoi's domination is widespread and manifold. Insecurity has become rampant. On the high plateaux of central Vietnam, the Dega-Fulro resistance movement is gaining strength. In the Saigon and Mekong delta regions, the people belonging to the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects in particular have stepped up their armed resistance. Their troops have been launching murderous attacks against the Hanoi troops. In the Mekong delta too, guerrilla units of the Khmer Krom population have become more and more active and have inflicted severe losses on the North Vietnamese troops, particularly in the regions adjacent to Kampuchea.

108. Whatever the subterfuges used by the Lê Duan clique to attempt to mislead international public opinion, it could not succeed in concealing the fact that at the present time it is experiencing great difficulties in Kampuchea.

109. On the other hand, the situation is steadily improving for Democratic Kampuchea. Our national army and our guerrilla units are consolidating their hold and are developing steadily and methodically in accordance with the plan that had been devised. The fighting zones are becoming ever more extensive and are covering almost the whole country.

110. The Hanoi authorities are finding it necessary to resort to subterfuge in an attempt to make the world believe

that the situation in Kampuchea is "irreversible" and that they have a total grip on Kampuchea. They are insolently claiming that Kampuchean resistance has been reduced to just a few "pockets" along the Kampuchea-Thai frontier. But everyone knows that the national army and the guerrilla units of Democratic Kampuchea are fighting throughout the country up to Phnom Penh itself and are succeeding in inflicting severe and heavy losses on Vietnamese troops every day. Furthermore, the Hanoi authorities have not succeeded either in "Khmerizing" the administration. In the temporarily occupied regions it is the 50,000 Vietnamese agents who are running the whole show. The administration installed in Phnom Penh is a purely Vietnamese one.

111. All the successes of Democratic Kampuchea from a military standpoint could not even be imagined without the support and active participation of large strata of the Kampuchean people in the popular war of national resistance. Indeed, it is absolutely clear to the people that the national stake in that struggle is the very survival of the Kampuchean nation. That explains its active support for the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the new strategic policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which are mobilizing all Kampucheans, whatever their record, their history, their political ideology or their religious beliefs, with one objective in mind—to drive out all the Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchea. The preparation of that political programme and of that new strategic policy has been guided by the noble national and patriotic ideals common to all Kampucheans, and the carrying out of that policy has satisfied the people. The Vietnamese occupiers are very well aware that no Kampuchean accepts their occupation. That explains their frantic genocide of the people of Kampuchea.

112. Therefore, the present struggle of the people of Kampuchea is not a struggle for the triumph of any ideology or any given social régime. All classes and social strata in Kampuchea must subordinate, now and in the future, their particular private interests to the higher interest of national survival.

113. It would be national suicide if, after liberation of the country from the Vietnamese yoke, we were to call into question the basis of the political programme of the Front and the new political strategy—because the danger from Vietnamese expansionism will not disappear that soon. Even if the Hanoi authorities are forced to withdraw their forces from Kampuchea temporarily, they will not by so doing renounce their age-old expansionist ambitions. Furthermore, after being liberated, Kampuchea, which will emerge from the war totally denuded, will not be able to rehabilitate itself from the ruin and devastation caused by this war without international co-operation and assistance. It is only with that assistance and that co-operation based on equality, mutual respect and reciprocal interest that an independent, sovereign, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea will be able to be built and to survive. Responsible to future generations and to history, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will do everything in their power to carry out that sacred duty.

114. Facts and history have shown that the problem of Kampuchea is not a civil war or an ideological conflict. It is a

conflict between the determination of the people of Kampuchea to be independent and the determination of the Vietnamese regional expansionists to dominate and to annex, to swallow up Kampuchea into the "Indo-Chinese Federation". To start from the premise that it is a problem among neighbours or one of frontiers would be a very serious error of judgement. What it is above all is a problem between aggressors and the victims of aggression, which can be resolved only by the withdrawal of the aggressors.

115. Furthermore, the fact that the Vietnamese regional expansionists are supported by the Soviet international expansionists places the Kampuchean problem within the context of the global strategy of Soviet international expansionism. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are two aspects of one and the same strategy. The struggles now being waged by the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan constitute a bulwark against the expansionist drive of the Soviet Union, which aims at becoming, with the control of the Straits of Malacca, the Persian Gulf and the oil reserves of the Middle East, the master of the principal supply routes in South-East and South-West Asia.

116. In particular, in Kampuchea, in the war which it is being forced to wage against the Vietnamese aggressors, the people of Kampuchea are fighting, certainly, for their own survival and that of their nation. But at the same time, they are sacrificing their blood to defend peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, in Asia as a whole and throughout the world.

117. Countries that love peace and justice are becoming increasingly aware of what is at stake, in international terms, in the struggle being waged at the present time by the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They realize the full importance of that struggle in thwarting the global and regional expansionist strategy of the Soviet Union and the Hanoi authorities.

118. That is why the Hanoi and Moscow expansionists are seeking so assiduously to eliminate at all costs the major obstacle, constituted by Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, if they succeed in consolidating their position in Kampuchea by eliminating Democratic Kampuchea, there can be no doubt that they will come to dominate South-East Asia and control the Straits of Malacca and the eastern part of the Indian Ocean. They will then have won a strategic superiority that they have never enjoyed before. The position of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan will be strengthened, thus enabling it to push its expansionism further south. In such a situation, no force will be in a position to resist the Vietnamese-Soviet expansionist drive.

119. Thus, solidarity with the present struggle of the people of Kampuchea and with that of the people of Afghanistan is not only an act of justice, but above all a necessity, if we want to put a stop in time, and with the minimum of suffering and loss of human life, to the growing danger of Soviet expansionism and the danger of a third world war.

120. In order to eliminate at all cost Democratic Kampuchea, the only force capable of opposing their plans in Kampuchea, the expansionists are sparing no effort to hatch all kinds of plots and manoeuvres.

121. In the military sphere, the Soviet expansionists are in the process of providing a massive build-up of their military assistance to the Vietnamese regional expansionists in their new attempt to crush the national resistance of the people of Kampuchea and to pose even stronger threats to Thailand and the other countries of ASEAN.

122. At the political level the Vietnamese expansionists are making a great deal of noise about the so-called elections in order to lend the semblance of legitimacy to the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh, as if it were possible to organize general and free elections in a country at war, under the heel of 300,000 Vietnamese soldiers and occupation agents.

123. From the diplomatic standpoint, the Vietnamese expansionists are arrogantly continuing to propagate odious lies and slanders with a view to sowing confusion and division among peace-loving and justice-loving countries in order to prevent them from constituting an international anti-expansionist front. Their aim is to win through diplomatic means what they have not been able to win militarily, namely, recognition by the international community of the *fait accompli* of Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

124. To this end, they are trying to make everyone forget the underlying cause of the Kampuchean problem which is the Vietnamese invasion, and to present this problem as the result of a conflict among the three countries of the so-called "Indo-Chinese federation" and the five countries of ASEAN, while brandishing the so-called "Chinese threat". This is the substance of their four-point proposal, the so-called Vientiane proposal, which was in fact hatched in Moscow and brought forward following the Vietnamese aggression of 23 June of this year against Thailand. That proposal was quite properly rejected by the ASEAN countries, which saw it as a political trap designed to prevail upon Thailand to recognize, if not officially at least *de facto*, the Vietnamese administration installed at Phnom Penh. The proposal to create a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier is nothing but a subterfuge designed to legitimize the presence of Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea.

125. Furthermore, the agenda item of the Vietnamese expansionists entitled "Question of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia" is all part of this diversionary tactic.

126. Here, in the United Nations itself, the expansionists are desperately manoeuvring in an attempt to deprive the Government of Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate rights and to leave the seat of Democratic Kampuchea vacant. This vacant seat is merely the prelude to the usurpation of Democratic Kampuchea's seat by the Vietnamese administration installed at Phnom Penh. It is tantamount to United Nations approval of the violation of its Charter by the expansionists of Hanoi and Moscow.

127. Finally, through all these manoeuvres and plots, the Hanoi authorities want to avoid the implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/22, which calls for the immediate and total withdrawal of their occupation troops from Kampuchea. All these manoeuvres and plots have so far been thwarted by the international community, as amply demonstrated from this very rostrum by statements of representatives from peace-loving and justice-loving countries.

128. The people of Kampuchea wish only to live in peace and security, in honour and national dignity, within their frontiers, and to mobilize all their strength and national resources to build a prosperous country.

129. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is committed to the search for a solution capable of putting a rapid end to the unutterable pain and suffering the Kampuchean people have endured for so long.

130. We believe that any solution to the Kampuchean problem must be subject to a pre-condition: that of the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Vietnamese occupation forces from Kampuchea, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/22. Any measure that fails to take into account the pre-condition is unrealistic and unworkable.

131. Wishing to restore peace, security and stability to Kampuchea and in the area, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea issued, on 5 May 1980, a statement containing a three-point proposal [A/35/221-S/13934 and Corr.1], which was reaffirmed in the communiqué issued by the Council of Ministers of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 7 June 1980, namely:

"*First*, the Hanoi authorities must withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea, in compliance with the United Nations resolution 34/22 . . . and let the Kampuchean people solve by themselves their problems.

"*Secondly*, after the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people will choose by themselves their national government through general and free election by secret and direct ballot under the direct supervision of the United Nations Secretary-General or his representatives. Kampuchea will remain independent, united, democratic, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned, without any foreign base, with the guarantee of the United Nations and the world community." [See A/35/295-S/14005, annex.]

132. The Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea calls upon all patriotic parties to unite in this struggle for the national survival of our country and to form a government of national union committed to proceeding to general elections. The communiqué further states:

"*Thirdly*, with regard to Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea do not foster any hatred or rancour and they do not require any indemnity, provided the Vietnamese troops withdraw totally from Kampuchea." [Ibid.]

The Kampuchean people are ready to live in peace and on good terms with their neighbour to the east, and indeed with all their neighbours in the area.

133. In this regard, we would like to express our great appreciation and deep gratitude to the ASEAN countries and other peace-loving and justice-loving countries for the tireless and enlightened efforts they have made since the beginning of 1979 to solve the problem of Kampuchea by their resolute adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the profound peaceful aspirations of their peoples and by calling urgently for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

134. These efforts are an important contribution to the sacred cause of Kampuchea. They are also a contribution to the restoration of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and the establishment in that part of the world of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality propitious to world peace. Such efforts also contribute to the strengthening of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of non-alignment and of international law.

135. My delegation wishes to express its conviction that this year our Assembly will again have the courage to defend the existence, independence and sovereignty of the Kampuchean nation, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, by repeating its call for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. For their part, no matter how great the sacrifices they are called upon to make, our people and our national army, under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are resolutely determined to continue their just struggle to drive all the Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchea. They will earn the sympathy, the support and the assistance of all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples by fulfilling the difficult historical task that has fallen to them of successfully opposing regional and world expansionism and of making their modest contribution to world peace, to the independence of all States, to the social progress and to the well-being of all peoples of the world.

136. My delegation would like to repeat the unswerving commitment of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the cause of peace and freedom for all the world's countries and peoples, and particularly our devotion to traditional friendship with all neighbouring peoples and countries. A founder member of the non-aligned movement and a Member of the United Nations, Democratic Kampuchea still remains faithful to the ideals and principles of non-alignment and of the Charter.

137. Mr. ROJAS GALDAMES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for my Government to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. You represent a country which is admired by Chile and with which we enjoy historical ties of friendship and co-operation in various fields. Your acknowledged talents as a diplomat constitute a priceless guarantee of success in the conduct of the important matters to be dealt with at this session.

138. We also wish to extend our appreciation to Mr. Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who so wisely presided over the last session of the General Assembly, as well as other important sessions of our Organization during the year.

139. Similarly, the Government of Chile welcomes the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, a country on the American continent whose independence was attained this year and which has recently become a Member of the United Nations. We hope that that nation will continue to progress on the path of peace and prosperity.

140. At the beginning of the decade of the 1980s the United Nations is entering a new and delicate stage with the maturity and fruitful experience acquired through its 35 years of existence.

141. In the course of time, peoples have developed in the most varied manner. Today there are more than 100 States which have been incorporated gradually within the grand framework of the principles and purposes embodied in our Charter. Strict observance of and faithful compliance with those principles will enable us to continue to endorse and support the legitimate aspirations to a world of peace and co-operation.

142. The evolution of this phenomenon is not alien to the United Nations. In fact, one of its great achievements has been specifically decolonization, which has led to the independence of many States and to their joining us in our common tasks.

143. Chile has always contributed to the efforts of the international community to find valid solutions within this Organization.

144. The world is concerned to tackle the problems which face it in the latter years of the twentieth century. Chile shares that concern and it is its national objective to focus on the challenges it presents.

145. On several occasions my Government has informed the Assembly of the reforms it has introduced in the economic, social, juridical, labour and educational fields, *inter alia*, with a view to adapting their structures to the requirements of our time. However, this task could not be accomplished in the absence of a system of coexistence and a dynamic, secure and stable Government. Peoples cannot remain static.

146. The Government of Chile has, since 11 September 1973, repeatedly reaffirmed its intention to begin a new era in the history of our homeland, designing with an eye to the future the structures of a stable and creative political régime. It has further stated that the new system of institutions developing in the country would be entrusted with establishing the legal framework for the great collective task to which the nation is committed.

147. Accordingly, one of the first steps taken by the Government was to entrust a committee, composed of university professors of various democratic ideological tendencies, with the task of drawing up a draft political constitution. Over 100 representatives of the most diverse activities, including professional, union and youth leaders, collaborated in that work, contributing their ideas and their concerns.

148. After five years of thorough legal and political studies, including the consideration of the most modern consti-

tutional texts, the committee studying the question of a new constitution presented to the Government the preliminary draft of a fundamental charter.

Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

149. The State Council, a body made up of national representatives at the highest level, including former Presidents of the Republic, former magistrates of the higher courts of justice, former rectors of universities and union leaders, reviewed the preliminary constitution. In order to carry out its task properly, the Council requested wide-ranging collaboration, and many suggestions were received.

150. The conclusions reached by the State Council after over one and a half years of analysis were presented to the President of the Republic. Finally, the head of State and the Government Junta drafted the final text of the constitution which, as had been previously promised, was submitted to a plebiscite for approval.

151. The Chilean public followed the development and preparation of the new political constitution step by step. Both the preliminary draft prepared by the committee on studies and the draft prepared by the State Council, as well as the final text of the new Constitution, were duly published, giving rise at every stage to wide and active discussion on the part of the different sectors of national life in Chile.

152. The public debate held during the period just prior to the plebiscite was particularly intense. In that debate supporters and opponents of the new constitutional text and of the Government's action expressed their views for or against in public rallies, with complete freedom and full publicity. The mass communications media, domestic and foreign, published and informed the country and the world of the individual and collective views of all Chileans.

153. On 11 September, in conditions of freedom, secrecy and full information, a plebiscite was held throughout the Republic so that the Chilean people might decide on the approval or rejection of the proposed political Constitution.

154. In a country of 11 million inhabitants, 6,300,000 citizens voted. This represents the highest participation ever known in our national history.

155. All Chileans over 18 years of age, men and women without any discrimination whatsoever, fulfilled this duty which, in accordance with Chile's political tradition, is mandatory. Foreign residents also voted, inasmuch as they share in the life of the nation.

156. More than 4,200,000 citizens voted in favour of the new Constitution, that is, over 67 per cent of the voters. Approximately 1,800,000, that is, 30 per cent, voted against it. Votes declared null and void amounted to only 2.77 per cent.

157. No one can contend that there was a lack of opportunity or means to express, with complete freedom, opinions for or against the constitutional text, and to participate in the debate. No one can truthfully hold that there was no access to each of the steps of the balloting process. No one can in good faith state that, on account of regulatory or

technical circumstances or legal restrictions, he or she was deprived of the right to vote. No one who thinks dispassionately can doubt the legitimacy, legality and correct conduct of the plebiscite.

158. Chile is a country which is noted for its constitutional stability. In a period of over 150 years of independence, Chile has had only two constitutions: those of 1833 and 1925. Today, we have approved a new fundamental law which, taking in the principles of freedom and democracy enshrined in the preceding constitutions, aims at organizing that stable and creative political régime needed to meet the vital challenge of the years to come.

159. The political Constitution of 1980 contains, in general terms, some solutions not usually provided for in contemporary fundamental charters, aimed at solving the problems of the Chilean individual of our times.

160. As regards the crucial dilemma of the individual versus the State, it provides for the principle of subsidiary status of the State, thus limiting the latter's action in order to prevent its interference in areas which are basically left to the free initiative and action of individuals.

161. On those grounds, the Constitution of 1980 is directed towards defining the field of action of the rulers and ensuring the freedoms of those governed.

162. It further enshrines all the rights of man, as established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*] and the International Covenants on Human Rights,⁵ and provides the means required by individuals in order to ensure that their rights are fully respected.

163. Another basic characteristic of the political charter is the effective attempt to secure the participation of the people, based on methods designed to bring the people closer to their rulers and to enable the latter to have the opportunity of learning the opinion of those governed.

164. Likewise, under the rule of the Constitution of 1980, Chile continues to be a democratic republic and its authorities are chosen by means of free, secret and informed elections. It establishes, once again, the traditional separation of the powers of the State and especially the independence and the immutability of the judiciary, which is created in an autonomous manner, a prime guarantee for the respect of the legal order.

165. Just as the new Constitution endeavours to protect the individual from possible abuses by the State and the authorities, it also aims at protecting the individual from one of the most serious scourges of our contemporary times, that is, violence used as a tool for political conviction, in other words, terrorism. The General Assembly has been dealing with this distressing problem of the twentieth century, this ultimate denial of human rights.

166. The fundamental charter of Chile explicitly defines the preaching of violence and the practice of terrorism as a

⁵ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol, and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex).

constitutional crime and entrusts the investigation, trial and punishment of such acts to the courts of justice.

167. The aforementioned results of the plebiscite are unequivocal: over 4 million Chileans, that is, 67 per cent of the voters, have decided that the first presidential term of office of eight years, with which the new Constitution enters into force, is to be entrusted to General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. These figures grant the Government the highest representation registered in the political history of our country.

168. The President of the Republic, faithfully interpreting this legitimate will of the nation, once the results of the plebiscite were known, affirmed that there were neither winners nor losers and called upon all Chileans to unite in order to continue striving for the prosperity of the country and, most especially, for the economically weaker sectors.

169. At the beginning of my statement I said that the world was concerned over problems which should be resolved in the last two remaining decades of this century. Those problems are numerous, diverse and serious. The most complex and dangerous ones stem from political situations or from social-economic behaviour, in addition to other problems stemming from religious, doctrinaire or ideological beliefs.

170. Approximately one year ago the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The urgent meetings of the Security Council and the emergency special session of the General Assembly, which condemned that intervention, have proved to be futile in resolving that situation. Neither have the appeals for respect for the most elementary human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Afghanistan achieved their purposes. We have witnessed with amazement the intervention in that small country of one of the super-Powers which, because of its military might, appears to feel itself invulnerable in the face of the outcry of the international community.

171. The tragedy affecting that country is eloquently evidenced by the Afghan refugees who are fleeing to Pakistan and whose fate deserves priority consideration by this Organization. Chile shares that concern.

172. Unfortunately, the case of Afghanistan is not unique. We have witnessed, with distress, the bloody and lengthy struggle of the people of Kampuchea.

173. The millions of refugees, whose sad story has made an impact on international public opinion, necessarily constitute another humanitarian problem of vital importance for the United Nations. Chile, as in the case of the refugees of Afghanistan, has contributed in so far as possible to the efforts made to resolve this situation. We trust that the generous assistance provided by countries actually reaches those for whom it is intended and who need it so badly. We most sincerely appreciate the work accomplished by the international organizations and other entities, such as the International Red Cross, engaged in this noble humanitarian task.

174. It will soon be one year since the unusual problem of the diplomatic hostages in Iran began. We note the con-

tinued breach of the most basic rights and immunities enshrined in numerous international instruments.

175. The crisis in the Middle East continues to be one of the political situations which cause the most pressure and which most threaten the peace of the world.

176. The recent seventh special session of the General Assembly testifies to the priority assigned by the international community to the solution of the Middle East problem and its main element, the question of Palestine.

177. The Government of Chile supports without reservation the endeavour of the United Nations to find an urgent solution to the crisis in the Middle East. It believes, likewise, that all efforts towards peace in that region should be welcomed and encouraged by the entire international community.

178. A realistic solution should be based on the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied territories, on the acknowledgement of the right of the States of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries and on the full exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of a sovereign and an independent State, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, especially those of the Security Council.

179. We are concerned over the situation in Lebanon, a State with which we have close ties of friendship. Many sons of that land are of Chilean nationality. We support the efforts of the Government of Lebanon to achieve peace, unity and prosperity, as well as the important work performed by this Organization in that country.

180. As regards the grave situation which has arisen between Iran and Iraq, my Government wishes to put on record its support for the appeal issued by the Security Council, through its resolution 479 (1980), to end the conflict and bring about a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of justice and international law.

181. On the African continent, my country has been particularly pleased to witness the birth of the State of Zimbabwe, after so many years of struggle and suffering. For us, it is historical evidence of the positive mission which can and should be carried out by the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of international disputes whenever the parties show goodwill and a readiness to reach an agreement. My Government cannot fail to express its appreciation to those who have made this achievement possible, especially the people of Zimbabwe and the Government of the United Kingdom, whose flexibility and determination have brought the Lancaster House agreements to a happy conclusion.

182. While expressing our best wishes for the well-being of the people of Zimbabwe and for its progress on the path of freedom, development and social progress, we trust that it may serve as an example in other unresolved situations, such as the case of Namibia. In this regard we call on the parties to make it possible for the Security Council plan for Namibia to be carried out.

183. Our firm support for decolonization and the self-determination of peoples is accompanied by our forceful condemnation of all types of racial discrimination, including *apartheid*, and of all foreign intervention in the solution of Africa's problems.

184. We share with our sister countries in Latin America a common destiny towards which we must advance guided by common principles and values. We must unite our efforts in positive action for the benefit of all peoples. The closer relations among our nations, the increase in trade and the regional co-operation are all pointing in that direction.

185. We are glad to observe such tendencies on the continent. The meeting held at Montevideo last August, which gave rise to the Association for Latin American Integration and which I had the honour to attend, is eloquent evidence of that spirit of co-operation.

186. However, we cannot conceal our concern over the foreign intervention and the escalation of terrorism in some regions of America. We wish to see the American continent free from the scourge of terrorism and of totalitarian ideologies—so alien to its historical and cultural traditions—which imperialist interests are attempting to introduce in the region for hegemonistic purposes.

187. The international community has witnessed how Chile, faithful to its tradition of using peaceful means to settle international disputes, had recourse to the mediation of His Holiness Pope John Paul II in connection with the dispute with the sister republic of Argentina.

188. Thus on 8 January 1979 both countries signed the Montevideo Agreement, through which they agreed to request the mediation of His Holiness and solemnly undertook not to resort to the threat or use of force in their mutual relations.

189. Under the lofty guidance of that august mediator, the parties submitted their respective positions and conducted active negotiations aimed at finding points of agreement so as to facilitate a just and definitive solution to the controversy.

190. Chile has emphasized and now reaffirms its appreciation of the noble mediating task performed by His Holiness the Pope and expresses its trust in that high office.

191. My country is confident that the solution of the controversy of concern to us must be found on the basis of the mutual readiness and the goodwill of the Governments to unite in their efforts for the well-being of their peoples and of full respect for the rules of international law and the agreements and commitments we have signed, which constitute the foundation for harmonious relations between States.

192. In this decade the world is facing increasingly urgent economic problems. The solution to those problems, which has so long been postponed, cannot be set aside indefinitely.

193. Our indecisiveness concerning the need for structural changes offers the prospect of a grim future characterized by slow economic growth, high rates of inflation and increased unemployment in developed and developing countries alike.

194. The international community, despite the diverse and complex problems facing it, should not forget the sufferings of millions of human beings who are experiencing extreme poverty in the lower income countries. We all share that responsibility. This is Chile's understanding.

195. None the less, international co-operation is weakened by the decreasing flows of financial aid, the alarming increase in protectionist and discriminatory barriers against exports from the developing countries and the persistent instability imposed today by international currency conditions.

196. During the 1950s and part of the 1960s, the world economy was surprisingly prosperous. To a great extent, this was accounted for by the more liberal economic policies of the developed nations and their favourable impact on the increase in international trade. However, those same nations which in the past promoted free trade are now, paradoxically, supporting a sort of "organized free trade", involving protectionist measures and commitments for "self-limitation of exports".

197. My country regards the subject of energy as a fundamental element in the restructuring of present international economic relations.

198. The developing countries have been doubly affected by the sudden rise in the price of energy, inasmuch as we have felt its direct impact through our hydrocarbon imports and have had to absorb the increase in prices of manufactured goods, resulting from the adjustment policies of the industrialized countries.

199. My Government deems it vitally important to support all feasible initiatives aimed at channelling funds to finance investments and provide needed assistance for the development of conventional and non-conventional sources of energy in the developing countries, especially in those where there is a considerable shortfall in domestic oil production.

200. The facts I have mentioned and the far from satisfactory results of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly prompt us to affirm the need for greater political will on the part of the developed countries. We appeal to them to realize the importance of their role in solving international economic problems and in the growth of the developing countries.

201. We, the countries of the third world, must also contribute with our efforts and our dedication to maintain our economies, ensuring that resources are not uselessly squandered and making it possible for our entire populations to share in the benefits of development.

202. That is my Government's understanding of the position and five years ago it began a process of restructuring which enabled it to adjust to changes in the world economy, thus avoiding the maintenance of obsolete systems of production regardless of cost.

203. This development has been characterized by a higher growth rate than obtained in the past and by increased economic independence. The overall growth of Chile's

economy during the period 1976 to 1980 amounted to 40 per cent.

204. Moreover, the Government of Chile has assigned top priority to the redistributive role which the State should play for the benefit of the neediest, since the 1970 census revealed that 21 per cent of Chileans lived in conditions of dire poverty.

205. In order to overcome this tragic social and economic situation—which is shared by many of our nations—and to permit the inhabitants of the country equitably to share in the benefits offered by economic development, my Government has considerably increased its social expenditures, including financing of programmes in the fields of health, nutrition, education, housing and social security.

206. Thus, social expenditure has been increased from 27 per cent of Government spending in 1973 to 53 per cent in 1980.

207. Significant social progress has been achieved, and this is due to the stability of our Government system and to the implementation of an economic policy which has proved to be sound and successful.

208. My country, which is greatly interested in the outcome of negotiations on the new convention on the law of the sea, wishes to pay a heartfelt tribute to the author of the first Declaration on the 200-mile maritime zone, the recently deceased former President of Chile, Mr. Gabriel González Videla, who had the visionary foresight to proclaim, on 23 June 1947, a principle which is today universally accepted.

209. That statesmanly action, which places him among the pioneers and precursors of the new law of the sea, gave rise to the Declaration of Santiago of 1952⁶ on the maritime zone of the countries of the South Pacific linking Chile, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador. Furthermore, this Declaration is one of the bases for the vast process of revision of the law of the sea, a process which culminated in the adoption and signing, at Caracas, of a universal convention on the subject.

210. The important conclusions reached at the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, especially in connection with questions on the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the area of national jurisdiction, cause us to look forward optimistically to the completion of the broad task undertaken by the United Nations over 10 years ago.

211. In the face of this extended attempt to achieve consensus in the international community, we cannot but voice our rejection of the unilateral adoption of national laws favouring the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the area of national jurisdiction. These laws lack all validity with regard to the international community. My country endorses the protests raised by, among others, the countries of the South Pacific and of the Group of 77.

212. At the dawn of this new decade, we reaffirm our unlimited support for and commitment to the fundamental principles of the United Nations which the Charter has enshrined as indispensable for peaceful coexistence in the international community.

213. Among other principles, we place emphasis on equal rights, the sovereign equality of States, the fulfilment in good faith of obligations undertaken, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the self-determination of peoples and international co-operation.

214. We know that this task is difficult. We know that some States pay lip-service to these principles without ever having honoured them; we know that they distort them in order to use them against other States whose political régimes constitute barriers to their hegemonistic endeavours. We know too that however difficult the task it must never be abandoned. That is Chile's resolve.

215. Mr. LENIHAN (Ireland): I should like to congratulate Ambassador von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. It is a source of particular satisfaction to Ireland because of his character and abilities and because of our regard for his country. Through his long years of experience at the United Nations, he has learned the advantage of patient negotiations in the solution of conflict, and I am sure that he will apply that experience in guiding our work.

216. I should also like to thank his predecessor in this onerous office, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the patience, competence and understanding with which he presided over several sessions of this General Assembly.

217. To the Government and people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, I offer our warmest congratulations and our wishes for every success for their future well-being and prosperity as our one hundred and fifty-fourth Member.

218. I should like to express, too, my Government's continued confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose deep concern for this Organization and for the preservation of international peace and security is so absolutely manifest in his latest report on the work of the Organization [A/35/I].

219. Thirty-five years ago the founders of the United Nations, speaking in the name of the peoples of the world, set themselves to build a new framework of international order from the ruins of war. They drafted a Charter which speaks of rights and human dignity, of peace and security for peoples, of tolerance and social progress for all.

220. That is a language which expresses universal human aspirations and ideals. But it did not then, and it does not yet, describe very well the reality of human life for all of the world's peoples.

221. It is now more than a generation since these aims were proclaimed in the name of mankind. Over that period

⁶ Declaration on the Maritime Zone. See *Yearbook of the International Law Commission*, 1956, vol. I (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.V.3, vol. I), 362nd meeting, para. 35.

the sweep and flow of human history has quickened. A world political system of independent nations has emerged, with an interdependent world economy. There are no more unknown or uncharted areas on the globe.

222. It is evident today that humanity is one—and aware of itself as such. Global travel is faster and sure as never before, and communication is easy. An event of importance in one part of the world is quickly reported in all and generates immediate and varying reactions which are in turn reported throughout the world. Human technology and mastery by man of his environment have increased dramatically; and—symbol of this mastery—man for the first time has left this planet.

223. But there is also a darker side. Human nature has not changed. Tension and conflict are still a part of human life in society, and a global society must meet global problems and face global dangers.

224. It is this most important point which we must now grasp and act on, here and elsewhere, not simply in what we say but in our actions. What might once have been separate or local problems are now linked and interconnected, so that they arouse a common concern and pose a common danger.

225. We may have mastered the human environment. But we have also touched the limits of our planet and of its resources. We see now that life on earth—all life—is fragile and that it will be for humanity to decide through its actions whether to conserve or to destroy it.

226. We may have developed global communications. But our easy communication highlights inequity within the emerging world system and makes injustice more evident to the deprived, who, in their new-found solidarity, will no longer accept it or tolerate it.

227. We may have advanced our technology in the developed world. But it is evident that this more prosperous part of the world simply cannot maintain indefinitely that disproportionate claim on the world's resources which has sustained its present way of life.

228. We have seen the growth of a single international system which is global in character and almost universal in membership. But in a global system conflict, too, however limited in origin, can have a global dimension. What in another time might have been local rivalries within a region now send tremors throughout the international system, which is already tensed and polarized with major Powers and alliances in confrontation. It is true that we have avoided major war—though many have suffered in lesser conflicts over a generation. But we live always with a fearful paradox. Peace, to the extent that we have known it, seems to depend on a constant refinement of the means and a constant emphasis on the readiness, within minutes, to fight a major and disastrous war.

229. There is indeed a daunting list of problems before us: injustice and inequity within the world economy; unfair division of the world's resources and lack of care for their conservation; polarization and confrontation between

major Powers; the steady growth of armaments, dangerous in themselves and wasteful in their diversion of resources from human welfare; violation of human rights and lack of concern for large-scale human suffering and the problems of refugees; and conflict and confrontation within regions, which could have wide and dangerous consequences for all.

230. Those who founded the United Nations must have had some feeling for these global problems as they drew up the Charter, but they cannot have envisaged in any detail the kind of dangers which we now face. How can we respond to these dangers? That represents the challenge of today.

231. The United Nations as we inherit it is an Organization which comprises States and groups of States which differ greatly in outlook, culture, ideology and political orientation; and fundamental to its structure are the principles of national sovereignty and respect for non-intervention. These facts set limits to our capacity in this Organization to meet the global challenges we face. But the United Nations itself and the family of economic, social and other organizations linked with it do provide an essential framework of world order, and the Charter, if taken as a living instrument, does set guiding principles and provides the procedures to achieve that justice which is necessary if any order is to endure.

232. The United Nations, it has been said, can be seen either as a mirror which faithfully reflects the world's problems, confrontations and paralyzes of will; or it can be seen as a living instrument, an Organization, a set of procedures which is more than the sum of its parts, where problems can be faced and tensions eased. It is for each of us represented here to decide whether we shall use the Organization as such an instrument and develop fully its potential for resolving conflict or simply allow it to remain a mirror which faithfully reflects our quarrels but does nothing to resolve them.

233. The truth is that peace and justice are not static achievements. They require constant effort and a constant commitment by every nation to the effort to attain and maintain them. Above all, they require a willingness by each of us to apply in our own case the same principles we so freely ask others to apply in issues where we are not involved.

234. The United Nations has had many successful achievements as it has evolved in 35 years from an Organization representing a limited group of States that fought a war together to one that is now almost universal in membership. In this twentieth anniversary year of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is fitting that we recall the indispensable role that the United Nations played in helping to bring so many States to independence in a relatively short space of time. As a country which itself regained its independence in this century, Ireland has welcomed this development. We particularly welcome the presence in our midst of Zimbabwe, which has at last emerged to independence following troubled years in which it was a special concern of the United Nations. We believe that the people of the few remaining colonial Territories must be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination without delay.

235. Another achievement for the Organization has been the considerable progress made towards agreement at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It seems that, subject to the resolution of a small but very important number of issues, it should be possible to complete negotiations and adopt a convention on the law of the sea next year. The Conference has shown that, given a willingness to compromise, it is possible to negotiate successfully on a complex range of issues in a forum in which all Member States are represented. If, as we confidently expect, it can now be concluded successfully, it will mark a really historic achievement in agreed control of a large part of man's environment.

236. Another heartening development in recent years has been the growth of co-operation in many fields among groups of States on a regional basis. Such co-operation makes it possible to give substance to United Nations ideals and is in full harmony with broader co-operation on the world front. Indeed, it can increase the pace and scope of such co-operation on a world level to have functioning co-operation on a regional basis. I might mention that, in Europe, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process, if sustained and developed, can be of particular significance in reaching towards world peace and is a practical example of regional co-operation within Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

237. However, despite these achievements, the past year has not been a hopeful one for all of us who believe in the development of an international society in which peace and security should be maintained by international agreement and disputes settled by peaceful means and through negotiation. The 1980s, which promised to be a decade of political and economic negotiation and co-operation, unfortunately threaten to be one of conflict and confrontation. Détente is threatened by new and growing tensions, and there is a danger that the fragile achievements in the area of arms control and disarmament may be swept aside in a new round of the arms race.

238. Economic growth has been replaced, unfortunately, by economic stagnation. The efforts to establish a just and equitable international economic order fall far short of what is needed. Inflation and threats to the continuity of supply of crucial raw materials have added to the burdens of rich and poor nations alike.

239. A major crisis has erupted in the region of southern Asia as a result of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Within the last few days, a new armed conflict has broken out between Iran and Iraq, adding to the instabilities and tensions which that region has known for more than 30 years. We here are all fully aware of how serious that conflict could be in its human and economic consequences for those directly involved and in the wider dangers it poses for all of us. We must feel some concern, I believe, at how little we in this Organization have been able to do directly so far to achieve an end to the fighting and a settlement of the conflict in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

240. Yet it does no good to despair. There is no alternative to the attempt to find solutions through negotiations to the manifold problems which we face, however intractable these problems may seem to be.

241. Agreement to negotiate is, of course, not enough. There must first be the will on all sides to negotiate seriously and with the intention of reaching agreements which deal with the real problems and issues at stake and which will be more than mere expedients.

242. Secondly, all must be prepared to exercise restraint in their actions. It is difficult to expect that negotiations can be conducted with any chance of success if any of those involved attempt unilaterally to change the situation to their advantage.

243. Thirdly, the search for agreed solutions through negotiations requires that we do not ignore injustices for so long that those who suffer those injustices are forced to bring their grievances to our attention by other means. It is sobering to reflect how many of the problems with which this Assembly has to deal could have been resolved at an early stage if sufficient awareness and generosity had been shown at the right time and the appropriate steps had been taken.

244. This is not to say that the United Nations must be involved in every dispute, or, indeed, that the form of its involvement should not vary, as it has, depending on the circumstances. What it is true to say is that we will not come close to resolving many of the issues with which we are faced unless we use to the full the flexible and varied means which the United Nations provides.

245. Since Ireland joined the United Nations 25 years ago we have acted consistently in this belief. I hope and believe that our contributions over the years in this direction have been constructive. It is with this belief in the resolution of disputes through negotiations and with a commitment to accept in our own case the principles we commend to others that I now go on to speak in more detail about some of the major issues confronting this Assembly.

246. On the issue of disarmament, I referred a few moments ago to the danger of a new round in the arms race. There are now more nuclear weapons than ever in the world. Their destructive power is multiplied and they have become a permanent feature of the security policies of major Powers and their allies. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to envisage any rational political calculus in which the use of nuclear weapons could play a part. Indeed, deterrence has been based on the assumption that a nuclear war would result in the certain and mutual destruction of the adversaries. None the less, we now face the danger that technological imperatives, combined with political mistrust and the inherent pessimism of military planners, may bring this period of relative nuclear stability to a close. The development and possible deployment of new weapons and the strategic doctrines that go with them will not only greatly complicate arms control negotiations but may even inhibit the exercise of restraint in future crises.

247. It would be ironic, indeed, if, in the interests of the increased security of the nuclear States, the world were subjected to a new generation of weaponry, which would in reality diminish the security of all.

248. But the nuclear arms race is not confined to the nuclear Powers or to the development of more deadly and

more accurate weaponry. During the past year, the danger of the further spread of these weapons to countries which do not as yet possess them has been increased. My Government must register its very profound regret and disappointment at the outcome of the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.⁷ The system of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], to which Ireland has had the honour to adhere since its inception, has helped to hold the ring and prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. We fear that the unsuccessful outcome of the Geneva Conference will make the task even more difficult.

249. It would, of course, be unjust to lay the blame for the arms race solely on nuclear weapons and the nuclear Powers. So-called conventional weapons have killed 25 million people since the Second World War. The destructive power of such weapons is today vastly greater than in the Second World War, and the greater part of military expenditure is devoted to conventional arms. One generation of sophisticated conventional weapons follows another in rapid succession, consuming enormous sums of money, a fraction of which would contribute so much to relieving hunger and disease throughout the developing world.

250. It is easy, I know, to talk about disarmament in the abstract. It is easy to deplore the arms race, to urge its immediate end and to call for general and complete disarmament. What we really need and need urgently are concrete measures that are practicable in the short term and bring immediate results that all can see, and I will make some suggestions in this regard.

251. First, the SALT Treaty should be ratified. In our view, this would be of great significance in restraining competition among the major Powers in the further development of nuclear weapons and in helping to promote the reduction of existing nuclear arsenals.

252. Secondly, we need a comprehensive test-ban treaty or, failing that, a moratorium on nuclear testing, which would help efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The existing Non-Proliferation Treaty régime, in particular, would be strengthened by such a development.

253. Thirdly, there should be an agreement on ending the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons. This would also help the cause of non-proliferation.

254. Fourthly, we need an agreement or international convention to insure non-nuclear States against the use or threat of nuclear weapons.

255. There are, of course, other issues on which agreement would be of great practical and political benefit: for example, a chemical weapons convention, an agreement on the reduction of military budgets and steps to prohibit the development and deployment of new weapons of mass destruction.

256. Turning to the question of peace-keeping, if on the one hand the hopes of the framers of the Charter in regard to

the maintenance of peace and security have not all been realized, on the other the United Nations has developed over the years the useful concept of peace-keeping operations. The introduction of peace-keeping forces into an area where there is a dispute does not of itself resolve the dispute but it does provide a respite during which parties to a dispute can seek a more permanent resolution of their differences. The concept and practice of peace-keeping is still evolving, and each new generation provides fresh insights for the conduct of future operations.

257. United Nations peace-keeping has become the political counterpart of United Nations programmes in the economic and social fields, in which assistance is offered on a disinterested basis to those who need it. Ireland has consistently supported the development of peace-keeping and has participated without interruption since 1958 in United Nations peace-keeping operations. We believe that this is one of the practical ways in which small nations can help in the task of maintaining international peace and security.

258. The Middle East continues to be an area of great concern which presents serious dangers for international peace and security. Foreign Minister Thorn of Luxembourg, as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community, has already set out in detail the policies of the nine Community countries on this issue [*6th meeting*]. He has outlined the progress of the contact mission which he undertook on behalf of the nine countries to the Middle East in recent months to see how Europe could best contribute to the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in that area.

259. None the less, I should like to call attention to two principles which were stressed by the Heads of State and Government of the nine member States of the European Community in their declaration at Venice on 13 June 1980 [*A/35/299-S/14009*] and which, in the opinion of my Government, are essential elements in a peace settlement. These are the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel, and the requirement of justice for all the peoples involved, which includes the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people within the framework of a peace settlement.

260. It is only by reconciling these two principles through negotiation that a comprehensive, just and durable settlement can be found. Such negotiation must involve all the parties concerned, including the PLO. No one is so sanguine as to imagine that this is an easy task but, equally, no one can doubt that the task must be faced or that the Middle East is a vital area where conflicts are likely to have repercussions on a world-wide scale. It is therefore essential for international peace and security that a settlement in the Middle East be achieved, no matter how discouraging the obstacles may appear to be.

261. Some of these obstacles indeed are inherent in the conflicting rights and aspirations of the different parties. Some arise from intransigent positions taken by one or another party and from unacceptable actions such as the establishment of settlements by Israel in occupied territories and the claim to alter the character and status of Jerusalem.

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

262. I cannot leave the question of the Middle East without reference to the tragic situation in Lebanon. My country remains firmly committed to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and looks forward to the day when a Lebanese government will be in a position to exercise its authority fully over all its territory.

263. Ireland currently contributes some 650 troops to UNIFIL. I do not need to remind the Assembly of the difficult circumstances faced by UNIFIL which have resulted in loss of life for some contingents, including that of my own country, in brutal circumstances. UNIFIL remains unable to extend its control over the entire area entrusted to it in southern Lebanon. As the Secretary-General notes in his report on the work of the Organization:

“A main factor in this situation is the policy of the Government of Israel and its support of the *de facto* forces . . .” [See A/35/1, sect. III.]

He also refers to:

“The disturbed conditions in other parts of southern Lebanon, including the presence of Palestinian and other armed elements, and the general political and security situation in Lebanon . . .” [Ibid.]

264. Despite these difficulties, my country is convinced that over the two and a half years of its existence, UNIFIL has made a significant contribution towards the prevention of an outbreak of general hostilities in the Middle East by reason of its presence in southern Lebanon. At the same time, if a peace-keeping force is to operate, it must be given the necessary conditions to do so effectively: in particular, it must function with the consent of all parties and be allowed freedom of movement throughout the area assigned to it, and in conditions of adequate security for its personnel. I hope that all concerned will reflect carefully on the consequences of any further actions that may make UNIFIL's task more difficult.

265. I must also join with the Secretary-General in expressing my concern about UNIFIL's financial problems, caused by the policy of some Member States in withholding their assessed share of the costs of the operation. This places an unreasonable burden on troop-contributing countries such as mine, over and above the basic risks involved which they willingly accept. I earnestly hope that ways can be found to alleviate that situation at this session of the Assembly.

266. Operations such as UNIFIL serve as an example of the positive and practical contribution which the United Nations can make in keeping the peace in difficult circumstances.

267. We in Ireland have long admired the determination of African countries to work together in the OAU to achieve their common objectives. We know they welcome outside co-operation in their development and in dealing with problems created by national disasters, and Ireland is pledged to play its small part in this effort. We know, too, that the African States oppose intervention by outside Powers in their affairs. Such intervention can only compound the conflicts that exist.

268. In contrast, the constructive results of the promotion by the United Nations of the decolonization process are now evident, thankfully, in southern Africa.

269. Zimbabwe has at last achieved its rightful position among the free nations. Out of the years of bitter war has come a new source of inspiration and hope, not only for the future of southern Africa but for the resolution of conflicts in the world at large. At the regional level in southern Africa, possibilities for fruitful co-operation are now unfolding. The initiative undertaken by the countries concerned following the Conferences at Arusha in 1979⁸ and Lusaka this year⁹ is worthy of the widest support. The international community, for its part, has a special responsibility for ensuring that the achievement in Zimbabwe is not in any way jeopardized. Zimbabwe and the other front-line States should be supported, and pressure for change in Namibia and South Africa maintained.

270. In spite of the best efforts of the Secretary-General and of the contact group of the five Western countries, the United Nations plan, as contained in resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) of the Security Council, has not yet been implemented. At the technical level, the differences have been reduced to the point where they are no longer sufficient to justify continued delay. Concessions made by SWAPO and the constructive attitude of the front-line States have demonstrated their commitment to the achievement of a negotiated settlement, despite the provocation of the recent South African attacks on Angola and Zambia. The South African Government must realize that further delay cannot be justified. It will bear the full responsibility for the very serious consequences that will ensue if the legitimate aspirations of the people of Namibia continue to be denied to them. There is no alternative to the adoption of the United Nations plan if a peaceful and internationally recognized solution is to be achieved. Any attempt to establish a so-called independent State without international agreement would be doomed to failure. Ireland will continue to give its full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General, together with those of the Western contact group and the front-line States in co-operation with SWAPO, towards the achievement of a just and internationally recognized settlement without delay and without further bloodshed.

271. It is evident that there can be no durable peace in southern Africa so long as South Africa maintains its present racist policies. The system of *apartheid* condemns the majority in South Africa to a life as second-class citizens, renders millions stateless in their own country and involves the forced migration of many thousands to rural slums in the so-called homelands. It can be sustained only through repression. This is a policy that must lead to disaster. Ultimately it will fail, and at great human cost.

272. There are some signs of a growing awareness among the white community in South Africa of their isolation in the world. However, attempts to reshape or restructure *apartheid* will not create a free and just society. There can be no compromise on the principle of the equality of every human

⁸ Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, held at Arusha on 3 and 4 July 1979.

⁹ Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, held at Lusaka on 1 April 1980.

being and the need to translate this into practice. The need for concerted international pressure on South Africa to change its policy is in no way lessened by recent developments: rather, the need is to maintain such pressure, now that some movement is apparent. The Security Council should, therefore, continue its consideration of selective measures to increase the pressure for change in South Africa.

273. The breach of Charter principles is evident in Kampuchea. The people of that country have undergone a period of barbaric despotism in their own land, followed by foreign invasion and occupation.

274. As the Irish Foreign Minister declared on behalf of the nine Community members at the last session of the Assembly,¹⁰ a solution to the problem must be based on an independent Kampuchea, free from any foreign military presence, maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region and having the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction. In a joint declaration issued at the end of the Second Ministerial Meeting of ASEAN and the European Economic Community, held at Kuala Lumpur on 7 and 8 March 1980, we urged the early implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/22 and we also called on all parties to exert the utmost efforts in order to avert a possible spillover of hostilities into neighbouring ASEAN countries and a widening of the area of conflict [*see A/35/129, annex II*].

275. My Government is particularly concerned at the heightening of tension over the past few months in the area of the Thai-Kampuchean border and at the consequent grave danger to the large numbers of Kampuchean refugees who are concentrated there. The incursion into Thailand at the end of June resulted in a dangerous increase in tension, further threatened the stability of South-East Asia as a whole and caused still further human suffering. There is a need for restraint by all concerned in this potentially explosive situation.

276. Despite the failure so far to find a political solution, our Organization has, however, had some success in the humanitarian field. The immediate danger of widespread famine and its consequences which faced the Kampuchea people last year seems to have passed, to some extent. Credit for this is due in no small measure to the heroic efforts of the international relief agencies. I reaffirm Ireland's support for the activities of these agencies in their efforts to help all those in need, without discrimination, and I hope they will be given the greatest possible co-operation by the authorities involved.

277. In Afghanistan, too, any settlement must provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops. Afghanistan must be enabled to resume its traditional neutrality and non-alignment, to remain outside competition between the Powers and to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours. Conditions must be created in which the people of Afghanistan can determine their own form of government and decide their destiny free from outside intervention, in accordance with General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 adopted on 14 January 1980.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, para. 48.

278. Both among the peoples of the world and here at the United Nations, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of basic human rights and the need to protect them. Unfortunately, that growing awareness has been largely prompted by the knowledge that human rights are being violated on a systematic and widespread basis in many parts of the world. In the area of human rights, the plight of refugees or displaced persons in many parts of the world illustrates this in a most dramatic fashion. Governments continue, unfortunately, to act in conflict with the international commitments that they have accepted in this area.

279. The Commission on Human Rights has intensified its work as a result, and it is important that the Commission continue to develop its investigative powers and that it be given every co-operation to that end. It is especially important that investigations begun by the United Nations, whether under public or private procedures, should not be concluded before satisfactory results are achieved. We must also continue at this Assembly the effort to reach agreement on improved United Nations human rights machinery and to give to the Secretariat the resources that will permit it to function with much greater effectiveness.

280. Some progress has been made in establishing legal norms. The last session of the Commission on Human Rights made substantial progress in adopting parts of the draft convention on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.¹¹ The establishment of a working group to examine the fate of missing persons and persons who have disappeared was a significant achievement of the session and a recognition of a growing problem. For when authorities can deny any knowledge of the whereabouts of such individuals, they are effectively deprived of all their rights.

281. While on the subject of human rights, it is incumbent upon me to refer to the continued holding of members of the staff of the United States Embassy in Teheran as hostages, in flagrant breach of international law and of humanitarian principles. Ireland fully respects the independence of Iran and the right of the Iranian people to determine their own future. But in their own interest, and that of the world community as a whole, I would again call on the Government and the people of Iran to respect the rights of others with whom they may differ on a political or religious basis and to uphold fundamental and humanitarian principles and established tenets of international law by releasing the hostages.

282. Underlying many of our current problems are the gross disparities that continue to exist between rich and poor nations. Such disparities are not only unacceptable in themselves but can constitute a real threat to peace and stability. The millions of our fellow human beings who, through no fault of their own, exist in an apparently unending cycle of poverty and hunger, cannot be expected to acquiesce in that condition indefinitely. Justice demands that their situation be changed urgently and effectively.

283. The international community, through the United Nations, has taken the lead in helping to promote such

¹¹ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3 (E/1980/13 and Corr.1), chap. VIII.*

change and over recent decades some progress has been made to improve the lives of the less well off in developing countries. But the situation continues to be critical and much remains to be done. We must not only provide aid to help those who suffer from the effects of under-development but we must attack the very root causes of under-development itself.

284. The recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly was concerned essentially with seeking to concentrate our energies towards achieving that end. The agreed text of the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464] sets out the general framework for our actions over the next 10 years, establishes our priorities and provides that the outcome of future United Nations and other relevant conferences, including the global negotiations, can be incorporated into it as the decade proceeds.

285. However, my Government regrets that the eleventh special session was unable to finish its tasks and that work on the procedures and agenda for the global negotiations was not completed. That must now be done at the present session of the General Assembly, so that the new round of global negotiations can be launched early in 1981. We believe that global negotiations can be vital and, by promoting growth and development, can benefit not just the developing world but the entire international community.

286. Ireland is determined to play, both nationally and internationally, its full part in promoting a revitalized North-South dialogue. I can reaffirm that Ireland, although not a rich or powerful nation, is committed to progressing towards the 0.7 per cent target for official development assistance as rapidly as our resources will allow. Given our own stage of development and the many social and economic demands of a young and growing population, our progress may not be as rapid as we would wish. None the less we intend to maintain a steady increase in the flow of our official transfers during the course of the present decade.

287. Drawing on our own recent developmental experience, we in Ireland aim in our co-operation with the people of developing countries to help them free themselves from the trap of under-development.

288. In looking at those parts of the world where there is unrest and turmoil, I may be forgiven for being particularly concerned about an area close to home. The tragic violence that has come to be part of everyday life in Northern Ireland has endured now for more than 10 years.

289. In approaching that fact, as with any other problem, we must distinguish between symptoms and causes. The symptoms in Northern Ireland are evident but the causes are deep seated, and they will not be solved by security measures alone.

290. The division of Ireland 60 years ago and the establishment of Northern Ireland as a region within the United Kingdom was a misconceived attempt by the British Government to resolve a major problem of the day. On the one hand, it faced the need to come to terms with the demand of the majority of the people of the country as a whole that Ireland should be independent. On the other

hand, British interests and sentiment called for arrangements to meet the wish of a unionist minority to remain united with Britain.

291. Instead of resolving the difficulty, however, that settlement simply concentrated it within what then became Northern Ireland. The area was artificially devised not on a geographical or historical basis but to create a unit in which people of unionist leanings would have a permanent inbuilt majority. As a consequence, it also included a newly-created and substantial minority of nationalists who shared the aspiration to unity and independence of the majority of the population of Ireland, an aspiration that was frustrated by the new arrangement.

292. Sixty years have now passed since Ireland was thus divided. In that time, even though the vast majority of the population of Ireland—North and South—wants peace and abhors violence, and even though both British and Irish Governments act vigorously against violence, almost every decade in that period has seen violence erupt within Northern Ireland. It is clear that Northern Ireland as an entity and the settlement that brought it into being have failed. It is apparent that there is a fundamental instability in the very structure of the region which has inhibited the development of normal political and social life there and which all too frequently has found expression in violence.

293. The area is fundamentally unstable because there has never been within it the kind of political consensus which in more normal societies underlies party differences. Instead, the very existence of Northern Ireland itself has always been the issue, so that normal politics do not exist; and that has been the only basic issue for over 60 years. The majority were always insecure and fearful that the settlement which made them a majority would be upset; the minority, on their side, were frustrated in their basic aspirations to Irish unity, discriminated against because of this and excluded in practice from effective political participation in an area whose very existence they called into question.

294. The result is that normal political life has been distorted and community divisions based on historical or religious differences have been accentuated rather than diminished.

295. Even now, 60 years later, new efforts are still being made to establish suitable structures of regional government to accommodate the interests of all sections of the community within Northern Ireland. Many past injustices have indeed been corrected in recent years. But fears and insecurities continue and the forces of violence and extremism on each side of a divided community have taken advantage of the situation for their own narrow ends.

296. The toll of violence in such a very small area is indeed appalling. Over the past decade more than 2,000 people have been killed and 25,000 injured. There have been 27,000 shooting incidents and almost 7,000 explosions. Translated into human terms, the figures represent a society that is virtually under siege, with whole areas and neighbourhoods which can scarcely remember peaceful conditions. Perhaps even more disturbing are the social malaise and economic stagnation which have come about in Northern Ireland. Because of the continuing instability, valuable opportunities

for economic development have been lost. Industrial and agricultural outputs are now lower than in the early 1970s. The population, which had been increasing up to the 1970s, is now static or declining. Overall unemployment stands at 15 per cent. In some areas it is as high as 28 per cent.

297. For the young, especially, the picture is sombre and distressing. Many have come into a society where violence and deprivation are the norm. Their chances of finding a job and securing a decent standard of living are small. These social conditions provide a rich breeding ground for further disorder and extremist politics.

298. My Government cannot look upon these conditions as something affecting Northern Ireland alone or remote from our daily life in the rest of Ireland. They are happening in our country. They affect the people of all traditions in Ireland. Indeed, as a result of what is happening in Northern Ireland, my Government now spends on security alone proportionately more than the United Kingdom on similar measures. It is said that prosperity is indivisible. So also, unfortunately, is instability. The conditions I am referring to may affect not only Ireland, but places outside it. Trouble in any country today can mean trouble for many countries.

299. This is the background that has led my Government to fix the peaceful resolution of the problem of Northern Ireland as our primary political priority. We are determined to seek a lasting and comprehensive settlement to this question.

300. As we look back at the past 10 years, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that much of the political effort in Northern Ireland has been directed at the symptoms only. Successive efforts to work out equitable Government structures within the existing framework of Northern Ireland have come to nothing because they failed to get to grips with the fundamental problem. I would not wish in any way to be dismissive of the most recent attempt, which is still in progress, but it is difficult, from what we know of the positions and the expectations of those involved, to be optimistic as to the result.

301. It is necessary, in my view, to go beyond the efforts now under way to devise structures of government solely confined to Northern Ireland. The framework for a solution must take full account of three other vital dimensions: that of relations between North and South in the island of Ireland; the relationship—now so close in so many areas—between Britain and Ireland; and the common membership of both countries within the European Community.

302. The relation between North and South in Ireland is fundamental; it is a matter of geographical, historical, political, economic, social and cultural reality. Time has shown that division in Ireland simply has not worked. Accordingly, my Government wishes to see an arrangement evolve whereby Irish men and women would manage the affairs of the whole of Ireland in a truly constructive partnership, without a British presence but with active British goodwill for any arrangement in Ireland which may be worked out by agreement.

303. My Government is willing to discuss with all the representatives of Northern Ireland what arrangements

would be needed to safeguard their interests and traditions. My Government has no doubt that they can be accommodated. We would be willing to go far—very far—perhaps further than they realize, in order to reach agreement on new arrangements, looking not to the past but to the future to bring peace and stability to an area which has known trouble for far too long.

304. Having said that, I must add that attitudes struck up to now have been influenced by the unqualified guarantees given by successive British Governments to the unionist section of the people in Northern Ireland. This has encouraged them to veto any proposals, however constructive, in advance. Accordingly, it is our belief that a declaration by the British Government of their interest in encouraging the unity of Ireland by agreement and in peace could open the way towards an entirely new situation and help us, in Ireland, to devise new structures, by agreement and with consent, which would bring lasting peace to the whole island of Ireland.

305. It is clear that discussion of this question must be raised to a new plane between the sovereign Governments of Ireland and Britain and be set within the second and wider dimension of which I spoke—the unique relationship between the peoples of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the peoples of the Republic. That this relationship is indeed unique was explicitly recognised by the Irish Prime Minister, Mr. Haughey, and the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, in the communiqué which they issued following their talks in London in May this year. They agreed on that occasion to develop new and closer political co-operation between their two sovereign Governments and to hold regular meetings on a continuing basis, and they agreed to further that unique relationship between their peoples in the interests of peace and reconciliation.

306. Finally, there is the wider dimension set by the common membership of Great Britain and Ireland within the European Community. Linked together within the wider grouping, the two countries, together with their other partners, have developed new forms of co-operation which complement and extend the already close bilateral relations between them. Clearly, this common membership of both countries in a wider community committed to closer integration of its peoples provides a good background against which the two Governments can hope to resolve the apparently intractable problem which a common history has left to their two peoples.

307. I need hardly add that this new arrangement in Ireland which my Government wants to see emerge must be based entirely on agreement and consent. We have no wish to coerce or dominate, and we totally reject violence and will continue to act vigorously against it.

308. In summary, our approach to this problem, which is close to us, is essentially that which I commended to our Organization here at the outset of my speech. We commit ourselves to efforts to bring true and lasting peace to our island, and we reject those who have recourse to violence. We commit ourselves to apply in our own case the principles we commend to others and which underlie the Charter of this Organization.

309. Many of those who have come before me to this rostrum in the general debate have spoken of the world situation at present in sombre terms. I do not know if this view of the international situation today is wholly justified; but it is certainly true that the international climate is more difficult now than a year ago. At this time, it is, I believe, more important than ever that we uphold and abide by the principles of this Organization as set out in the Charter. My delegation has tried to do this since it became a Member 25 years ago.

310. Here at this rostrum today, I pledge on behalf of my Government and country that we will continue to do so to the best of our ability.

311. Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): My delegation takes pleasure in extending to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar its sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. In the name of the delegation of Thailand, which is honoured to serve as one of the Vice-Presidents of this Assembly, I should like to express our gratification at having a worthy representative of a great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which Thailand entertains close and cordial relations, in the Chair to guide our deliberations. At this juncture in the life of our Organization, when we are confronted by many intractable issues with grave implications for world peace, it is reassuring indeed to have such an experienced person conduct our proceedings. The unprecedented number of items on our agenda this year is a clear manifestation of the confidence that this Assembly has in his fine qualities, diplomatic skill and proven stamina. My delegation has no doubt at all that this confidence is well placed.

312. The delegation of Thailand has the honour also to convey its deep and sincere appreciation to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, President of the thirty-fourth session, for his invaluable contribution to the work of our Organization during his tenure of office. Not only did he distinguish himself at Headquarters in an especially busy year for the General Assembly, but he also took the trouble to visit many countries, including Thailand, in order to acquaint himself with some of the difficult issues facing the United Nations. His service to the international community has earned for himself, his country and Africa the admiration and gratitude of Governments and peoples around the world.

313. On behalf of the Government and people of Thailand, my delegation wishes to offer its warm felicitations to the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on being admitted to membership in the United Nations. The world Organization has thus gained its one hundred and fifty-fourth Member, through the process of decolonization which recently brought about also the admission of Zimbabwe. My delegation reiterates its cordial welcome to that African State, which is participating for the first time in a regular session of the General Assembly. The United Nations has every reason to be proud of its successes in the field of decolonization, especially on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With the admission of each newly independent State to the United Nations

family, the world Organization reaps the fruits of its long and arduous labour, and humanity is the true beneficiary.

314. Thailand looks forward to another milestone when Namibia gains its sovereignty and full independence, with territorial integrity as well as the integrity of its natural resources, and takes its rightful place in the family of nations.

315. It is therefore regrettable that the situation in Namibia continues to be a source of great concern to the world and a threat to international peace and security. Namibia remains occupied by South Africa, which is systematically plundering its natural resources, in defiance of United Nations resolutions. The process of negotiated settlement, in accordance with the proposal approved by the Security Council, has reached an impasse because of the intransigence and duplicity of the Pretoria régime.

316. Thailand, which has for many years imposed a trade embargo on goods from South Africa, strongly deplores the efforts of that régime to consolidate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to exploit Namibia's riches with the help of foreign multinationals. The world must continue to condemn such actions, and to bring every kind of pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime in order to ensure the exercise by the Namibian people without further delay of its right to self-determination. South Africa must end its prolonged obstruction of the settlement process, as endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), and cease its aggressive activities against the neighbouring African States. South Africa must adopt the measures necessary to reduce tension in the area, including the abolition of its abhorrent system of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and recognition of the legitimate rights of the majority of its population.

317. Unless and until the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant United Nations resolutions are scrupulously observed by Pretoria, increasing violence and conflict will be the order of the day. Unless and until the shackles of colonialism in Namibia are broken and the Namibian people is enabled to determine its own destiny free from external interference, subversion and coercion, the prospects for peace and stability in the region of southern Africa will not be bright. The time is now approaching when the world Organization must be prepared to tell Pretoria to comply with the Charter obligations, or else. The alternative would be continued defiance of the world Organization and prolonged obstruction of a peaceful settlement by South Africa, leading inexorably to a general conflagration in that part of the world.

318. Coming from a region of the world which is also beset by a serious threat to world peace arising from illegal foreign occupation and denial of a people's rights to self-determination and to return to its homeland, my delegation fully appreciates the plight of the Palestinian people. Not only must they be given urgent humanitarian assistance, but their inalienable rights must be assured, including their right to self-determination, national independence and to return to their homes and property. At the same time as the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, including the right to statehood, the legitimate rights of the State of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must

also be safeguarded. For its part, Israel must withdraw its presence from all Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war, rescind all unilateral acts pertaining to the occupied territories and in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and international law, and refrain from such acts in the future. Only with recognition of each other's legitimate rights can the Israeli and Palestinian peoples peacefully coexist and a just and lasting settlement become a reality in the Middle East. It is also essential to the free exercise by the Palestinians of their right to self-determination that all Israeli forces be withdrawn from the occupied territories and that the PLO, which is recognized by the General Assembly as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, be given the appropriate role to which it is entitled in all Middle East peace negotiations.

319. My delegation regrets the unilateral action of Israel in annexing the eastern part of Jerusalem and proclaiming the city its capital. Israel's illegal action was taken almost immediately after the conclusion of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, despite the unanimous pronounced opposition of the world body to the pending move. If there were any need for further evidence of world opinion, the subsequent meeting of the Security Council and its outcome should provide adequate proof on that score.

320. As the 15 November deadline for compliance by Israel with the emergency special session's resolution ES-7/2 draws nearer with each passing day, my delegation hopes and prays that reason will light the way around many dark and perilous corners and that a turning point will emerge so that we may be led out of the present impasse.

321. The protracted crisis in Lebanon constitutes another tragedy that has struck the Middle East. All parties should henceforth refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of that violence-torn country and cease their warlike actions which have left the once prosperous land in utter ruin. My delegation hopes that a peaceful solution can be found to extricate it from the vicious circle of bloodshed and destruction.

322. Now a new crisis has appeared with the eruption of the fighting between Iran and Iraq. My delegation shares the hope that resolution 479 (1980), unanimously adopted by the Security Council and calling for an immediate cease-fire, will be implemented, and together with the efforts of the Islamic Conference and with the co-operation and support of other countries, especially the major Powers, we shall succeed in ending the armed conflict between the two neighbouring and fellow Islamic States.

323. I now turn to South-East Asia. The situation in Kampuchea, which is not just a regional but a world problem, rightly remains one of the General Assembly's major preoccupations. This Assembly last year by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 34/22, calling, *inter alia*, for a cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of foreign forces and the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people. That resolution has, regrettably, been rejected by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and thus Kampuchea continues to be occupied by foreign forces.

Moreover, in its campaign to legitimize its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, Viet Nam has sought to draw attention away from the situation in Kampuchea, and to focus it on the situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border. At the same time, to lend credibility to this manoeuvre, Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea have stepped up their activities along the border and are also committing more frequent violations of Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The most blatant example occurred from 23 to 24 June 1980, when large units of Vietnamese forces staged well co-ordinated attacks on two villages inside Thailand, as well as on refugee encampments along the border, causing many casualties among Thai defence forces, innocent villagers and Kampuchean refugees. The armed incursions also caused a total disruption of the international relief and cross-border feeding operations, which have helped to keep alive hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians. The attackers were finally repulsed, leaving behind them over 70 bodies as well as seven of their comrades who were captured by Thai defence forces. Scores of weapons left by the invaders also offer irrefutable evidence of their hasty retreat. In the perpetration of such violations of Thailand's sovereignty, despite repeated promises to the contrary by Vietnamese leaders, their aims appear to be clear: they are to intimidate Thailand and its partners in ASEAN, force them to accept the situation in Kampuchea and compel the international agencies to recognize the Phnom Penh régime as the only channel for relief aid.

324. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers, at their meeting at Kuala Lumpur on 25 and 26 June 1980 [A/35/328-S/14060], rejected the various arguments which had been advanced to justify the continued occupation of Kampuchea and to accord recognition to the régime established in Phnom Penh by Vietnamese forces. The Foreign Ministers reiterated their stand that no régime set up by occupying foreign forces, howsoever it may be given the appearance of legitimacy, can satisfy the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. It is for this reason that my delegation and the other ASEAN delegations, together with the great majority of Member States of the United Nations, continue to support the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations. We strongly urge this Assembly to support the continued seating of Democratic Kampuchea at the Organization.

325. It is and will always be in Thailand's interest to work and continue to search for peace. Successive Thai Governments during the past decade have devoted the nation's resources and energy to economic and social development. Gains have been impressive by most standards and Thailand actively seeks regional stability to promote further progress. To attain that goal, peace is a prerequisite.

326. In this connection, Thailand welcomed the personal efforts of the Secretary-General and his visit to the region, undertaken in circumstances of considerable difficulty last July. The Secretary-General's initiative demonstrates his dedicated effort and his readiness to work on behalf of the world Organization for peace. His visit brought about a welcome reduction of tension in the area and enabled cross-border feeding operations to resume, thus ensuring the increased supply of food and rice seed for over 1 million Kampucheans in western Kampuchea. Thailand itself

received the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam in May 1980 and remains prepared to continue a constructive dialogue here in New York or elsewhere.

327. On the humanitarian side, in response to the plight of the Khmer people, ravaged by hunger and disease, Thailand over the past year has co-operated closely with the Secretary-General, United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations. It has, without discrimination, facilitated the provision and transport of assistance through the border, as well as via Kompong Som and Phnom Penh. Thailand led the call for a major humanitarian conference, held at Geneva in May this year,¹² to seek additional support for the international relief programmes. The Government and people of Thailand are proud to play a role in providing needed facilities for both components of the international assistance programme, namely, cross-border and direct distribution, by virtue of Thailand's geographical location and humane policy. These two factors have, in turn, created for Thailand the enormous burden of caring for over 300,000 Indo-Chinese refugees and displaced persons, as well as coping with the problem of over 200,000 Thai villagers who have been displaced by the massive influx from the neighbouring countries.

328. Thanks to the contributions of donor countries as well as to the efforts by the United Nations and its Secretary-General, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations concerned, this burden has to some significant extent been alleviated. Nevertheless, the situation involves both short-term and long-term risks for the security and well-being of Thailand. Therefore, it has been and continues to be my Government's intention to lighten the burden by all available means, in keeping with the generally recognized humanitarian principles and the inalienable right of people to return safely to their homeland. Consequently, when the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees sought the co-operation of the Royal Thai Government in a voluntary repatriation programme for Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, such co-operation was readily extended. Viet Nam seized upon that as a pretext for launching armed attacks on Thailand on 23 and 24 June 1980, claiming that the resistance forces in Kampuchea were being supplied again under the cover of this international programme. However, with regard to over 100,000 people of Kampuchean origin who were repatriated from Viet Nam in the early part of last year, such a right was recognized and exercised. It has been subsequently alleged that the majority of them were not Kampucheans at all but of Vietnamese origin and were resettled in Kampuchea for the purpose of effecting a demographic change favourable to the occupying forces. Moreover, in the press release issued on 26 June 1980 by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees simultaneously here and at Geneva, it was clearly stated that:

"In order to ensure that the voluntary character of their return was respected, and in conformity with the humanitarian mandate of the High Commissioner, the Royal Thai Government agreed that UNHCR would monitor the voluntary character of the repatriation.

¹² Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, held at Geneva on 26 and 27 May 1980.

“ . . .

“The agreement . . . includes that movements would be observed at every stage by all those interested, including voluntary agencies and media representatives.”

329. As a result of that agreement, the repatriation movement commenced on 17 June 1980 and was disrupted by Vietnamese military actions on 23 and 24 June 1980. Altogether, fewer than 10,000 Kampucheans, the majority women and children, were repatriated under the programme.

330. In its quest for peace, Thailand looks to this session of the General Assembly for further constructive action. The invasion and occupation of one country by the military forces of another is a problem for the world community. The sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea and the people's right to self-determination are principles that must be upheld by the world community. It is essential for small nations like Thailand to adhere to these principles for their own survival and for world peace.

331. Thailand does not insist that the problems of Kampuchea, Indo-Chinese refugees or humanitarian relief be settled on the basis of the view of any one nation. It can accommodate the legitimate interests of others. It believes that true and lasting solutions to problems of such import can be achieved only when supported by the world community acting in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. A solution based on the dictated terms of one country by virtue of its illegal occupation of another is no solution, because it would carry forward the seeds of tension and future conflict.

332. Mindful of the mandate of the thirty-fourth session, Thailand has consulted with a wide range of Member States to develop further proposals on Kampuchea for the Assembly's consideration. We have sought to broaden the avenues that could lead to peace in South-East Asia. A comprehensive, constructive and flexible draft resolution has been submitted to the General Assembly [A/35/L.2].

333. Recognizing the urgent need to defuse tensions in the region of South-East Asia, Thailand and its partners of ASEAN, taking into account General Assembly resolution 34/22, have proposed the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea in early 1981 with the participation of all parties concerned to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the present conflict in Kampuchea, with a view to reaching an agreement on, *inter alia*: first, total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time frame to be verified by the United Nations; secondly, measures by the United Nations to ensure law and order and the observance of the fundamental principles of human rights in Kampuchea; thirdly, measures by the United Nations to ensure non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; fourthly, United Nations-supervised free elections in Kampuchea; fifthly, guarantees against the introduction of any foreign forces in Kampuchea; sixthly, guarantees of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; and, seventhly, guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not be a threat to its neighbours.

334. Pending a settlement, humanitarian relief to the civilian population of Kampuchea, including those who have sought refuge in Thailand, should be continued and every effort made to ensure that such assistance will reach those for whom it is intended on a non-discriminatory basis. To facilitate this humanitarian endeavour, a United Nations observer team should be stationed on the Thai side of the border in order to monitor the situation along the border and verify that only civilian Kampucheans obtain international relief aid. In this respect also, safe areas should be established under United Nations supervision in western Kampuchea for the uprooted civilian Kampucheans encamped near the border and those in Thailand who wish to return to their homeland.

335. In the effort to bring the Kampuchean conflict in all its aspects to the conference table, the Thai delegation joins with the other delegations of ASEAN in reaffirming its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant United Nations resolutions, including General Assembly resolution 34/22, the joint statement of ASEAN and the European Economic Community on political issues [A/35/129, annex II], as well as in endorsing the final communiqué, issued on 8 September, of the New Delhi meeting of the heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific States members of the Commonwealth. At the latter meeting, the heads of Government expressed their conviction that to bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia there was an urgent need for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem which would ensure the sovereignty, independence and neutrality of Kampuchea, as well as for the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country.

336. My Government also shares the conviction of the heads of Government of the Asian Commonwealth members that a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean question would contribute to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, which would, in turn, contribute to the development of peaceful, friendly and harmonious relations in the region. By the same token, my delegation wishes to voice its support for the aim of small countries to promote a zone of peace which would ensure non-interference by external Powers in their internal affairs and the preservation from foreign encroachment of their sovereign independence and territorial integrity. Such a concept is indeed similar to the ASEAN proposal on the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, consisting of sovereign and independent States willing to co-operate with each other on the basis of equality and mutual interest.

337. In this connection, the "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119] appears on the agenda of this Assembly session. My delegation was able to join in the consensus for its inscription at the request of its sponsors, including the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, because we believe that peace, stability and co-operation remain our firm goals for the welfare of our region. Indeed, to bring about durable peace and stability, and to enhance constructive co-operation in South-East Asia, the conflict in Kampuchea must be settled by peaceful means. That is why my delegation joins with others in proposing an international conference to negotiate such a settlement. So long as the Kampuchean problem remains unsolved, it will con-

tinue to disturb the tranquillity which is necessary for regional peace, to destabilize the region and to impede the growth of mutual trust and confidence which is indispensable for regional co-operation. Nevertheless, my delegation is prepared to participate in the forthcoming debate on this new item in a constructive and realistic manner.

338. Thailand does not seek hostility with Viet Nam. Unfortunately, Viet Nam has not shown the slightest interest in Khmer self-determination or in reconciling the views of all parties on the Kampuchean question. It has repeatedly disregarded the will of the international community. I call once again upon Viet Nam to begin to pay heed to the desires of the international community and engage in a constructive search for a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

339. The Kampuchean issue directly involves fundamental principles of the United Nations. I urge all Member States to assist in promoting a political solution based on United Nations principles and not on the rule of force.

340. Aggression against and the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops have clearly shocked the world. The international community was subsequently disappointed by the deplorable intransigence and continued refusal of the USSR to remove its troops back to its own territory. Continued foreign occupation of Afghanistan and ruthless suppression of Afghan patriots have created similar political and humanitarian problems for neighbouring countries and have caused the people of Afghanistan untold suffering and hardship. General Assembly resolution ES-6/2, which calls for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and for the Afghan people to decide their own political future without outside interference, coercion or intimidation, remains, by and large, unimplemented. The efforts of the Islamic Conference to seek a comprehensive solution to the crisis have proved to be of no avail. The situation is fraught with the gravest dangers to international peace and stability, and the plight of the Afghan refugees will be aggravated by the approaching cold weather. My delegation has therefore joined with other delegations in the request for the inscription of this item on the agenda of this session. In so doing, my delegation reaffirms its unstinting support for resolution ES-6/2 and for the efforts of the Islamic Conference to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

341. It is noteworthy that the common denominator in the two situations—in Afghanistan and Kampuchea—is the imposition of their will on small, independent and non-aligned States by foreign Powers through the use of force in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Both situations have also threatened to escalate and have destabilized areas far beyond their local confines. The preservation of Afghanistan and of the right of the Afghans to self-determination, just as in the case of Kampuchea, are international problems which rightly belong to the world community.

342. While the rule of law has suffered setbacks during the past year with the situations in Kampuchea and Afghani-

stan, the successful conclusion of the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea appears as a bright spot in man's quest for peaceful and orderly change. Although the Conference has not reached the goal of a convention by the end of this year, my delegation sincerely hopes that its objective will be attained at the session to be convened in New York in March 1981. We are convinced that the new law of the sea has to provide the best possible assurance, in the light of the divergent interests of so many States, that stability and order will prevail in the use and management of ocean and sea-bed resources, which will bring enormous benefit for all mankind and promote, in particular, the economic development and growth of the poorer countries. It is significant and encouraging to note that, despite the divergences, a consensus on the myriad complex issues will soon emerge.

343. The developing countries of the world pinned similar hopes on the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. Consequently they were deeply disappointed at the lack of consensus, due to the intransigent few, on the procedures to be followed in the global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, due to begin in January 1981.

344. The eleventh special session, convened after long preparations dating back to the thirty-second session, afforded Governments an opportunity jointly to assess if any progress had been made towards the establishment of a new international economic order. While all delegations came to the same conclusion—that the progress, if any, had been either inadequate or largely negligible—prescriptions as to how to proceed further still varied.

345. The delegation of Thailand, which took an active part in that session, truly regrets the failure of the Assembly to accomplish the objectives of the tasks entrusted to it. Nearly three full weeks were virtually wasted in efforts to work out an agreed procedure for the global negotiations which, needless to say, is not as important as what will go into the agenda itself. This, the agenda, was not touched on. And when, finally, a fairly reasonable and balanced procedural framework was put forward and accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Assembly, a mere handful of the developed countries refused to join the consensus, thus making failure of the entire session inevitable.

346. It is much against the wish of my delegation to clutter up the economic agenda of this session with matters which ought to have been resolved before it began, but I reaffirm the readiness of my country to contribute constructively to the resolution of all outstanding issues so that the global negotiations can be commenced in January 1981 as originally intended by all participants. Failure to do that would have far-reaching consequences. One of these would be the loss of the already diminishing opportunities for a sustained and constructive dialogue on the global level between developed and developing countries. I need not elaborate further on what this loss will mean in the present international setting, so fraught with tensions and insecurity all over the world.

347. The stark realities of the present-day world, with an ever-increasing number of countries joining the international community, more and more people to care for and the

gap between the rich and the poor ever widening, are the causes of changes which are inevitable in themselves. Such changes carry a momentum of their own. Left to their devices, they can produce effects which are unpredictable. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] was perceived as a means to give orderly and meaningful effect to such changes through a comprehensive and integrated approach, thereby attempting to ward off the adverse consequences which disorderly changes would bring. In this connection, my delegation is gratified to note that a consensus was reached on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and hopes that the Strategy will be adopted at this session and implemented as of 1 January 1981.

348. With so many weighty political and economic issues facing the world, the only sensible choice before us is to strive towards the achievement of a restructured international society in which rationality, equity, equal partnership and commonality of interests constitute the guiding principles, and in which the world must be looked at as one. The United Nations, with the support of its membership, can assist us by providing the framework and the forum for the attainment of these objectives. However, the Member States themselves must first make the choice and transform it into a commitment. Can they look beyond narrow national interests to the challenging years ahead with a devoted sense of community, while upholding individual freedoms and the dignity of man?

349. This is the question before us as we enter the new decade of the 1980s, and it is similar to the question that faced the founding fathers of our Organization 35 years ago. We must therefore renew our determination to pursue more vigorously our noble aims and objectives, in the interest of peace and progress for all mankind.

350. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401 statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

351. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Yesterday afternoon [*15th meeting*] the representative of Ethiopia—or Abyssinia, as the suffering majority in north-east Africa would certainly prefer to call it—under the guise of exercising his right of reply to the statement made by my Foreign Minister, viciously attacked my Government in a statement which obviously had been prepared well in advance. In his vain attempt to divert the attention of this Assembly both from the true nature of the Ethiopian empire-State and the ruling clique which he represents and from the frantic efforts of the latter to distract world attention from their appalling human rights record, he indulged in historical fantasies and shameless distortions of past history and present reality. He even went so far as to turn the otherwise universally accepted principle of self-determination on its head. His Government is entirely responsible for the current dangerous situation in the Horn of Africa, and I must at the outset reject out of hand his malicious accusations against my Government and his utter and complete misrepresentation of the causes of the tragic conditions which now prevail in our region.

352. In fact, the representatives of colonialist Abyssinia have in the past few years evolved and perfected a propaganda strategy based on myth-making and outright lies, the like of which even Goebbels was not capable of in his heyday as the chief propagandist of another oppressive régime. Because of the time limitation I can only deal with some of the points in his absurd statement.

353. Throughout history, the Abyssinian representative claimed, Ethiopia has had to struggle against the colonialists. The truth is different. There has been and continues to be a constant struggle within the areas currently—

354. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ethiopia on a point of order.

355. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I do not know if this is a point of order or a point of information.

356. The representative of Somalia has talked at length about Abyssinia and Abyssinians. Quite frankly, I am unable to locate a country called Abyssinia either on the list of States Members of this Organization or on any map in use today.

357. In the age of unidentified flying objects, it may not be so surprising if the representative of Somalia is talking about a threat posed to his country from some unidentified planet called Abyssinia. If that is the case, the proper place for his statement would be the United Nations Committee on Outer Space. If not, then certainly not the General Assembly.

358. If he is referring to a country that is a State Member of the United Nations, then he should call that country by its rightful name, and I would plead with you, Mr. President, to remind him of this.

359. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): The Ethiopian representatives seem to enjoy interrupting and statements made on points of order in a clownish manner, so that they can humour this Assembly. I do not have any objection to their being clowns and court jesters, but I would ask that I be allowed to conclude my statement.

360. Everybody knows that the old name for Ethiopia was Abyssinia. The representative of Ethiopia knows this well. I shall now continue.

361. Throughout its history, the Abyssinian, I mean, the Ethiopian, representative claimed, Ethiopia has had to struggle against the colonialists. The truth is different. That there has been and continues to be constant struggle within the areas currently dominated by the Addis Ababa régime is not in dispute. But the nature of this struggle must be understood.

362. One of the lesser known features of the scramble for Africa, which resulted in the period of colonial oppression from which the continent is now emerging, is the fact that the hitherto insignificant Kingdom of Abyssinia was an enthusiastic participant in the conquest and division of the African continent. To this end, it conferred, co-operated militarily and entered into treaties with other colonialists from Europe. Although on occasion it competed with them

for areas to open up and despoil, it was nevertheless accepted as one of the club of imperialists and was accorded invaluable diplomatic and military support. After the scramble, the Abyssinian empire-State was more than three times as large as before. It included the Oromo, Abbo and other nationalities and was later joined by the Eritreans. That they were subject peoples is even admitted by the Addis Ababa régime itself. Their diplomats still refer to them as "oppressed nationalities" in correspondence published recently in the London *Observer*. They are still denied their right to self-determination.

363. Even so, when the Abyssinian representative spoke of self-determination, it was for the former British Somaliland, ignoring the fact that that part of Somalia exercised its right to self-determination in 1960 through the process of constitutional provisions similar to those through which other African countries gained their independence. Alas, this cannot be said of the people of the Ogaden, which before the Second World War was referred to as Abyssinian Somaliland in maps and literature.

364. Regarding his ridiculous reference to self-determination for the various clans of Somalia, I should like to remind him that the Somali people, as is well known, constitute one nation, unlike those nations which continue to live under Abyssinian imperialism, have never had the chance to have a say in their own destiny and rise in arms today like freedom fighters elsewhere in Africa.

365. Yet another favourite falsehood, repeatedly uttered in international forums by Abyssinian representatives, is the denial of the existence—despite the report of United Nations fact-finding missions—of the 1.5 million refugees who are currently being cared for in my country with the help of the international community. Ignoring the persecution and the forcible expulsion of these pathetic people from their homes, the representatives of Abyssinia persistently talk of the widows and families of Somali soldiers—a falsehood that was again thrown in the face of this Assembly yesterday. Yet, refugees fleeing from terror are not to be found only in Somalia.

366. According to the published records of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are nearly 500,000 refugees in neighbouring Sudan and some 60,000 in Djibouti. The Abyssinian representative has not explained to this Assembly the reasons for the presence of such large-scale numbers of refugees in the countries I have mentioned. I wonder if he would have the temerity also to characterize them as the widows and families of the armies of Sudan and of Djibouti, as he has done in the case of those who are in Somalia. The fact of the matter is that the cause of the large-scale exodus of refugees in Somalia, in Sudan and in Djibouti and, indeed, in the countries of the Middle East, of Western Europe and even in these United States, is one and the same. Ethiopia is by far the world's largest donor of refugees, and in all respects they are the direct result of the policies of repression, persecution, expulsion, alien settlement and genocide, which the ruling clique in Addis Ababa has practised as official policies since it came to power in 1974. Yet it is the sympathetic efforts of Somalia and its friends with respect to the needs of these wretched victims that the Abyssinian representative dares to term "cynical

manipulation". What words then are left for the bloody atrocities committed daily against them by Abyssinia?

367. On 23 November 1974, 59 political detainees, including two former prime ministers, were executed in Addis Ababa without trial and buried by bulldozer in complete disregard of the appeal sent to the Mengistu régime by the Secretary-General on behalf of this Assembly. Others who have been detained, many of whom are now listed as "missing", include senior churchmen—the Orthodox Patriarch Theophilos and distinguished Protestant and Islamic leaders—trade unionists, academicians, senior and junior civil servants, military officers, airline employees, students and children—some no more than eight years old. On 1 May last year, a significant day one would have thought for a so-called socialist State, over 100 Oromo prisoners were taken from detention in Dira-Dawa and shot in public. This brutal exercise was repeated two days later, to make a total of more than 300 executions. This year also, the world press has had many an occasion to note that the persecution of other non-Amhara peoples is coming to rival the treatment traditionally accorded to the Western Somalis and Eritreans.

368. The record of the Abyssinian régime in the area of human rights is probably the worst in the world. It is not just that a former ruler in his eighties died in mysterious circumstances in detention or that both his successors as head of State—first, General Aman Andom and then General Tafari Benti—were assassinated in cold blood. It is the whole pattern of imprisonment without trial, torture, the breaking into private homes at all hours, the arbitrary searches culminating in the bayoneting of children before their parents and the ghastly exhibition in the open streets of their "labelled" bodies—all this stands condemned before all humanity. Relatives have even had to purchase the bodies of their loved ones—be it noted, of all political persuasions, including Marxists—executed or tortured to death in thousands of prisons in Addis Ababa and elsewhere. Reference need only be made to Amnesty International reports, horrifying news coverage such as that contained in *The Times* of London of 22 March 1978, and the pronouncements of those Ethiopian citizens fortunate enough to have escaped.

369. We have not forgotten how opposition mounted to the self-styled emperor Bokassa when humanity could no longer tolerate the atrocities he perpetrated. Yet the international community has to date been far too restrained, while the Mengistu clique persists in its officially announced policy of Red terror and organizes and practises massacres and indescribable atrocities on an even larger scale.

370. Yesterday the Abyssinian representative, intent on misleading—

371. The PRESIDENT: I must advise the representative of Somalia that, even after deducting the time spent in discussion on a point of order, he has fully utilized the 10 minutes. May I request him kindly to conclude.

372. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): The Abyssinian representative inquired whether my country might not one day support zionism. This is palpably absurd. It is not in my country that

the governing élite claims descent from the 12 tribes of Judah. In any case, Somalia's stand in the long struggle against zionism is a matter of record. But I would suggest in turn that a military régime advised by Zionists and arguing in favour of persistent colonialism, Red terror and the like would have little difficulty in finding common cause with racist South Africa.

373. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The heads of the delegations of the Congo, Zimbabwe, the United Republic of Tanzania and Botswana, in their respective statements, made extremely serious accusations against my country and with an aggressiveness to which we are not accustomed in this Assembly.

374. My country was described as a colonizer. In objecting to those accusations, my delegation wonders whether those speakers have not in some way been bewitched by words to such an extent that they have somehow lost sight of the meaning of the terms they used. Is it possible reasonably to draw an analogy between the desire for complete territorial integrity and an act of colonization? Those who, here or elsewhere, claim the right to self-determination for a people which has never existed are none the less aware that the inhabitants of the Saharan provinces of Morocco have already expressed their wishes, reaffirming that they are part of Morocco.

375. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, who denies Morocco the right to complete its national unity, has forgotten to tell us in the name of what principle, in the name of what legitimacy, his country annexed Zanzibar. He also forgot to tell us in the name of what ideal Tanzania invaded Uganda and continues to interfere in its internal affairs.

376. I would remind the representatives of the Congo, Zimbabwe and Botswana that it was in Morocco that the struggle against colonialism was born; it was in Morocco that the African liberation movements found the most comprehensive and disinterested support. I would remind them, finally, that Morocco is among the countries which have struggled whole-heartedly for the liberation and dignity of Africa. For that reason, my country cannot tolerate anybody coming here to give it a lesson in ethics or suggest how it should behave.

377. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The representative of the Democratic Republic of Somalia has once again made references to my country and has shed crocodile tears over the Ethiopians. I will not take the Assembly's time in trying to defend Ethiopia at this stage, because the record of Ethiopia speaks for itself.

378. Ethiopia is a founding Member of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement and a country whose anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle has kept the torch of freedom burning for centuries in a continent once so brutally cannibalized by colonialists.

379. Incidentally, the very top leadership which is today ruining Somalia participated from 1934 to 1941 in the Fascist aggression against Ethiopia. That was when Ethiopia was referred to as Abyssinia, and that is where the represen-

tative of the Democratic Republic of Somalia learnt his lesson.

380. Ethiopia is a country whose record of respect for the rule of law is so impeccable that it has for two decades tolerated even Somalia, the problem child of Africa, as a neighbour. Ethiopia's record as a country of a peace-loving, gallant and patriotic people is so well known that no amount of gibbering by the representative of Somalia can change the facts of history—a history written in the blood of true sons of Africa; a history that gave to our continent, and indeed to the oppressed masses everywhere, one of the first astounding victories over the forces of colonialism at Adowa; a history whose continuous march has today given birth to a genuine social revolution and a promising future for the hitherto downtrodden masses of Ethiopia.

381. Contrary to the baseless and utterly ridiculous allegations of the Somali delegation, which must be dismissed with the contempt they deserve, the Ethiopian revolution is restoring the economic, social, cultural and political rights of the masses in Ethiopia. This is precisely why imperialism is today looking frantically for a foothold on our doorstep. This is why it has forged an unholy alliance with the régime in Mogadishu: a régime that, like a desert chameleon, changes colour with the surroundings; a régime that, when it suits its purpose, can pose as authentic African, authentic Arab, authentic Anglophone, authentic Francophone, authentic Islamic, authentic socialist, authentic capitalist—and all at once. The irony of it all is that Mogadishu, by selling a network of military bases to the United States, has betrayed the interests of all those of which it claims to be an authentic part.

382. Little do Mogadishu's mentors realize that the cunning Merihan clique, which sold Berbera for military hardware, just as its predecessors once betrayed their country for a handful of rice, is the embodiment of treachery and opportunism. The self-appointed Merihan chief of Mogadishu may one day draw those imperialist forces into a serious conflict in Africa, with dire consequences for international peace and security.

383. On the other hand, Ethiopia follows a constructive policy of peace, co-operation and good neighbourliness. It will not renounce an inch of its territory, nor will it compromise on its sovereignty or territorial integrity. The sooner the Somali authorities realize the futility of their adventures, the better for the long-neglected well-being of their people.

384. With these few words, I should like to reserve my delegation's right to speak at greater length in exercise of the right of reply at a later time.

385. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representatives who wish to speak a second time in exercise of their right of reply. I remind them that this time they are limited to five minutes.

386. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): I have already spoken of the abysmal and appalling human rights record of Ethiopia, and I have given ample examples. The atrocities that have been committed since the accession to power of the present

Addis Ababa clique indeed stagger the imagination, so I will not go back to them. I will only refer to a remark which the representative of Ethiopia—and I will call him the representative of Ethiopia this time—has just made.

387. He spoke of bases being given by Somalia to the United States. I do not speak here for the United States, which is capable of defending itself, but as my Minister for Foreign Affairs did yesterday [15th meeting], let me assure the Assembly that the Government and people of Somalia continue to be totally opposed to imperialism, old or new. In that context, in the interest of accuracy, let me also state for the record that, the Abyssinian representative's innuendos notwithstanding, no agreement, recent or otherwise, made by my Government has ever permitted foreign military bases to come into being in our country.

388. In this general context, it might be helpful to list for the purpose of the record the foreign military bases which actually exist in north-eastern Africa, since he is so worried about Africa.

389. It is an indisputable fact that the Addis Ababa military régime has granted bases to the Soviet Union at the Eritrean ports of Massawa and Assab and on Dahlak Island, off that same coast. Moreover, that super-Power is afforded the unfettered use of every one of that country's many airports, not only military, but also civil. Furthermore, there are some 25,000 Cubans and other surrogate troops in that country engaged in vainly trying to hold down the occupied areas on the periphery of the empire-State.

390. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I am glad that the representative of Somalia has learned to forget the lesson he learned from the colonial Powers. I hope that that will extend so far that the Somali Democratic Republic will drop the idea of so-called Greater Somalia, which is a colonially conceived myth.

391. We do not mind referring to Somalia as "Somalia the great", or "great Somalia", if that would please them, but at a time when even Great Britain has abandoned such a title, I do not know why the Somalis are so fond of it.

392. But we shall never concede the idea of Greater Somalia, because that term has territorial implications for Ethiopia, Kenya and the Republic of Djibouti.

393. Having said that, I should like to ask: what is the crux of the problem in the Horn of Africa? It is Somalia's expansionist ambition. That ambition must be dropped if there is to be peace in the area.

394. Ethiopia put forward three basic conditions for peace after the *débâcle* of Somalia's attempt to occupy part of Ethiopia in 1977-1978. Those conditions were, first, that Somalia must renounce its territorial expansionist ambitions, secondly, that it may pay prompt and adequate compensation for the war damages suffered by Ethiopia, and, thirdly, that it must accept the principles of the United Nations and the OAU and the decisions that govern inter-State relations, and stop meddling in Ethiopia's internal affairs.

395. Instead of meeting those conditions Somalia, perhaps mistaking Ethiopia's patience for weakness, continues to resort to terror and sabotage and to deploy its regular army in the pursuit of the realization of its well-known expansionist ambitions.

396. Faced with such a situation, Ethiopia has no choice but to react in legitimate self-defence. But I must make it

abundantly clear that until and unless Somalia acknowledges the folly of its adventurist actions, it will have to accept full responsibility for the dire consequences that will ensue.

397. There are no bases in Ethiopia—of any kind.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.