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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that the list of speakers will be closed at 6 p.m. today as decided by the Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting.
2. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Many years ago, I proposed in the Assembly that policy statements should be limited to 20 to 25 minutes. I have attempted and will attempt today to do that. The full text of my speech will be distributed to members of the Assembly. I have an abridged version which I will deliver, and the reading time—I ask members to look at their watches—will not exceed 20 minutes. I hope that this will be emulated by subsequent speakers. We waste too much time in long speeches, when I believe that the full texts can be distributed to the members, who can read them at their leisure in their rooms or apartments.
3. My delegation is pleased to join our colleagues in congratulating you, Mr. President, and the country which you so ably represent, and in paying a tribute to your wealth of experience and proved diplomatic skill. Having served as an international civil servant in a high capacity, you have an unrivalled knowledge of the vast machinery of the United Nations, a knowledge that we are sure you will share with us in our deliberations during this session.
4. I acknowledge gratefully your kind reference to me in your opening remarks following your election [*1st meeting*]. I can only say that if during my term as President, in 1949, I had had even a small portion of your mastery of the workings of the Assembly, and if I were younger, I would consider running for President again when Asia's turn next comes round.
5. Our congratulations also go to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar. He ran the Assembly with exemplary efficiency and punctuality—which we

must learn to emulate at this session—and imparted much of his wisdom in the solution of the numerous difficulties which beset the past session, especially in his pioneer work on global negotiations. In his eloquent valedictory address [*ibid.*], the best ever delivered by any outgoing President of the General Assembly, including myself, he left us a great deal of food for thought and profitable lessons for us all.

6. In the last 10 years we have noted the changing tone and colour of the relations among nations. Periodic crises, often low-key but more frequently of an emergency character, have continued to occur in the world. Many of these have been solved by time, like a wound that heals itself. But many more remain persistent and chronic, rising and falling in severity in accordance with the unpredictable global political climate.

7. Today we know that these crises create a cumulative impact. At a particular point in time the problems converge and generate intolerable pressures seemingly beyond our power to control. The prospect of a new world order built on the acceptance of reciprocal interests leading to peace, justice and security for all has been an illusory fabric, too frail to bear the burden of our deepest hopes.

8. We derive a measure of optimism from the fact that in the past we have managed our problems in a way that has kept the world on a reasonably even keel. But it is quite evident that the “windows of opportunity” for promoting a stable world order based on tacitly accepted norms of international conduct are at this moment firmly shut. Unless we can reopen those windows—and it is our task to do so—we should all very much fear that, against our will, we shall be writing a prescription for global disaster.

9. Why have we reached this dark passage in the history of our time? I suggest that behind the great issues of arms control, the apparently insoluble dilemmas in the Middle East and the issues of Afghanistan and Kampuchea lie profound psychological causes.

10. The following elements, among many others, have obvious causal connections with our failure to move ahead. One is deep-seated fears and suspicions. A second is an ineradicable feeling of insecurity. A third is lack of confidence in the viability of a world order capable of sustaining long-term stability. And a fourth is over-dependence on the luck of the gambler for the sake of particularist interests.

11. It would be ideal to suggest that the foregoing elements—the hidden and unrecognized causes that move men and nations to action—could be eradicated by a simple act of will. But they can be mitigated by open dialogue or, in a word, by communication. It is one of the

ironies of our time that, on a planet shrunk by unbelievable technological advances in communication, the one thing that we have been unable to solve is the act of communication among men in order to bridge the mysterious gap, which can lead to understanding.

12. The practical consequences of this lack of communication affect all of us and form the main burden of the deliberations of this session. It is in this context that we must view the ominous signs of the revival of the arms race, especially the infinitely sophisticated new generation of nuclear weapons with the power to destroy the world many times over. The efforts to establish an agreed ceiling on the most lethal nuclear arms remain deadlocked, a situation which enlarges the factor of uncertainty and further encourages even higher levels of nuclear-weapon development.

13. Many times in this forum, we have raised our voices in apprehension that the unimaginable horrors of nuclear war will be visited on mankind with profit to none and loss to all, including those with the power to unleash the weapons of apocalypse. In this grave situation, we must again appeal to the great Powers to begin conversations within a framework which will permit the resumption of agreements on mutually acceptable limitations of nuclear weapons. The longer the delay on this most critical issue, the greater are the chances that the rising level of tension will escalate to unacceptable proportions and thus ignite a conflagration which, without question, will incinerate the entire planet.

14. In this connection, my delegation wishes to invite the attention of the Assembly to the wide-ranging report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/36/1]. In his customary fashion, the Secretary-General has drawn for us a faithful picture of our times, full of sharp insights into the human condition and all-encompassing in his range of vision. Only he, as a seasoned diplomat and with his long experience as Secretary-General, could have given us such a statesmanlike report, which should be translated into all languages in order to give the world a correct over-all appraisal of the contemporary condition of human kind.

15. On the subject of the arms race, for example, the Secretary-General has the following to say in his unchallengeable analysis. I hope that the super-Powers will listen to him. He says:

“What is called the problem of the arms race is in reality a complex of problems. The largest single factor fuelling the world-wide arms build-up has for a long time been the hostility between East and West. After a period of relative relaxation, the relations between the super-Powers are again going through a period of tension, and there are clear indications of a sharply intensified upward spiral in their arms build-up.” [*Ibid.* sect. V.]

16. Those are wise words, words of alarm, words that should alert all of us. The Secretary-General continues a little later:

“From their first appearance in history, the existence of nuclear weapons added a new and frightening dimension to the potentialities for world catastrophe. While the governments concerned have rightly ex-

pressed their extreme aversion to using such weapons, their very existence in the tense context of great-Power relationships constitutes an unprecedented threat to human society and civilization.” [*Ibid.*]

Those are the words of the Secretary-General warning the super-Powers. He continues:

“In international affairs, confusion, confrontation and emotion cannot accurately be foreseen, forestalled or controlled, and a nuclear war would be both devastatingly quick and conclusive. If the present nuclear-arms race among the most powerful States is the greatest potential danger threatening mankind, a similar race between additional nuclear States will add immeasurably to that danger and to the risk of the actual use of nuclear weapons.” [*Ibid.*]

17. Those are words of warning from the man who has been leading us all this time.

18. Until this issue is resolved, further forward movement on general disarmament in the longer term will be impeded and may indeed put at issue once more the limited gains in the area of collateral measures achieved after lengthy and protracted endeavours. Time is not on our side. We should make every effort to maintain the momentum which can lead to meaningful results in the proposed conference on disarmament to be held early next year.

19. The spiralling arms race has an obvious connection with the other great issues that face the world today, and which the Secretary-General also emphasizes. I refer to the North-South dialogue. In his farewell address to the Assembly, the outgoing President, Mr. von Wechmar, called attention to the fact that if only 5 per cent of the budget for military expenditures were diverted to economic development, it would provide a solution to the stagnant world economy, particularly the economies of the developing countries [*1st meeting, para. 13*]. This sage observation underscores the need to curb the vast sums spent for military hardware and weapons development. The new economics of war-preparedness conflicts with the global demand for higher standards of living and for the even more urgent task of eradicating poverty everywhere. Abundant proof exists that the increasing capacity to wage war not only endangers peace but also dissipates international wealth.

20. I suggest that this situation is not worth the price that it entails, for it involves grinding poverty and social and political instability, with their predictable adverse consequences for world peace. Many less developed countries are engaged in massive and sustained national efforts to promote growth and eradicate poverty. But a deteriorating external environment for development will make these efforts increasingly difficult, if it does not frustrate them altogether. We wish to emphasize that this is not a one-way street. We must recognize the changed nature of interdependence. The problems of the poor and the rich impinge on each other and cause grave difficulties for both.

21. In the report of the World Bank in 1981, the developing countries are described as “engines of growth” in the world economy. The report makes two important points. Firstly, an increment of 1 per cent in the rate of

growth of developing countries would generate significant increases in the developed world. Secondly, the sustained development efforts by the developing countries prevented serious recession and widespread unemployment in the industrialized countries. In our view, this is the operational meaning of interdependence.

22. Yet the continued depressed condition of the world economy is not necessarily inevitable. Policy choices in key areas fall within the political range of international decision-making. For this reason we look forward with cautious optimism to the informal exchange of views at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held next month. It may—and could—provide the needed political will to launch the long-delayed global round of negotiations at this session of the Assembly.

23. Having dealt with those two paramount issues, I turn now to problems of a regional character.

24. The events of the past year in the Middle East suggest a setback in the continuing efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the interlocking problems which beset the region. In our view, the most important single element is the question of Palestinian self-determination. Unless and until Israel modifies its unyielding stand on this issue, violence will continue to rack that part of the world. Israel has a legitimate concern for its security, and the Palestinians must recognize this, but Israel's reactions transcend the limits of that concern. Israel must accept that it cannot aspire to be the paramount power in the region; a just solution requires, within the boundaries of security for all, an equal partnership in peaceful endeavours.

25. Similar conditions afflict Namibia in southern Africa. It is difficult, in the light of the negotiations of the last few years, to interpret South Africa's intransigent position as anything but delaying tactics to enable it to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia. My delegation is prepared to support once again any initiative by the General Assembly to secure the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the subject and for the imposition of sanctions on South Africa within a specified time-frame.

26. Within South Africa itself, the racist policies remain unchanged. But it is a measure of the increasingly bold opposition by that country's black majority that violence has demonstrably increased in the past year. The radicalization of oppressed elements is a natural consequence of unceasing repression. South Africa should not be surprised if it finds itself increasingly besieged from within and from without.

27. In Afghanistan, the prospects for solution remain dim. The Soviet Union has consistently rejected the beginnings of a dialogue which could at the least create a framework within which negotiations could take place, leading to the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the exercise of self-determination by the Afghan people. There is no other rational solution to a problem which correctly concerns the whole world, not only because it violates the Charter of the United Nations, but also because it has extensive ramifications which could in time involve other areas of Asia and the Middle East. In the meantime, the Soviet Union is paying an unexpectedly high price in sup-

porting a satellite régime which does not have the support of the Afghan people. For the rest of the world, the violation of the sovereign rights of an independent people by the use of naked force is gross misconduct from which it cannot and should not avert its eyes.

28. The situation in Kampuchea continues to be a matter of very serious concern. The spurious claims of the restoration of stability in that war-torn country are not borne out by the facts. They are false. The situation remains a threat to the peace of the whole of South-East Asia, to all of us in South-East Asia.

29. Earlier this summer, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened under the auspices of the United Nations. The major result was a Declaration unanimously adopted by the Conference. The Conference agreed that the key to the Kampuchean problem lies in a comprehensive political settlement. With this end in view, the Declaration calls for negotiations based on four major elements.

30. It continues to be a matter of regret that Viet Nam and its friends chose to avoid the Conference. The elements for negotiations were offered in open-handed and sincere fashion, and to all observers they were most reasonable ones. But Viet Nam continues to entertain the fiction that the Kampuchean problem lies outside the purview of the United Nations and that therefore any action which the United Nations might take is, in their words, illegal. This is an untenable proposition. We once again invite Viet Nam to come forward and begin considering serious steps to solve a problem which has increased world instability and caused Viet Nam itself great difficulties.

31. In another part of Asia, an old problem which still remains a danger deserves fresh examination. Although the question of the re-unification of Korea is not on the agenda of the Assembly, we should take note of the efforts of President Chun to revive the negotiations at the summit level. In view of the lack of response from the North, perhaps the already overburdened Secretary-General could be persuaded in the interest of peace to use his good offices as a channel of communication. In the past we have supported the admission of the two Koreas into the United Nations if it would serve the interests of both. We do so again today.

32. We cannot stress too strongly our concern with the related issues of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both involve the use of force and the repression of the right of their respective peoples freely to determine their own destiny. We cannot give our willing assent to flagrant violations of the Charter or ignore the danger to world peace inherent in these intolerable acts of aggression. My delegation appeals to everyone present in this Assembly to unite and, with one voice, to urge the parties concerned to return to the peaceful and orderly processes of settlement of the problems of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

33. Turning to another subject, my delegation views with deep regret the failure of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to adopt the convention on the law of the sea. Last year, it will be recalled, the Assembly acknowledged the nearly-completed draft not only as being important in itself, but as being an example of how much the United Nations can achieve when

the requisite will is present. Our expectations, unfortunately, proved to be premature but not, we hope, irremediable. We express the view of a majority in this forum that to reopen fundamental issues already decided by consensus over the span of a decade of arduous labour would amount to rejection of the draft convention.

34. The importance of that convention cannot be overestimated. It is vital to peace and stability in the oceans. A clear determination of the extent of the sovereignty and jurisdiction of States over the waters of the seas is needed to avoid economic and political conflicts, and even military confrontations, caused by uncertainty. The orderly exploitation under an international régime of these rich nodules on the ocean floor is necessary to implement the principle that the resources of the seas outside national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind.

35. The failure of the Conference to conclude a universally accepted convention would be tragic, because the alternative is chaos in the régime of the seas. For the sake of humanity, all States must resolve to reach final agreement at the next session of the Conference. My delegation suggests that the Conference, scheduled for March and April 1982, should have enough leeway so that it can extend its eight-week session by one or two weeks if necessary to complete its work.

36. On another important question, the Philippines reaffirms its firm commitment to the successful outcome of the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. The Charter, like every product of the human mind, is not immune from reform. It is not perfect. It must be dynamic and must adapt to the altered circumstances of a world in transition.

37. The Special Committee on the Charter has negotiated at length on the draft Manila declaration on the peaceful settlement of international disputes,² the first tangible product of the Committee following many years of activity. We are hopeful that the draft will be completed and adopted at an early date, and that this will lead to further steps, including a treaty on the peaceful settlement of disputes, with binding obligations.

38. The task which confronts us at this session of the General Assembly is a formidable one. In nearly every corner of the world, potentials for danger exist, threatening to cancel out the patient work of the Organization on behalf of peace. This is a time of testing for the United Nations that will last for many years to come. In the face of grave crises we need to summon all the resources of courage and wisdom at our command, always keeping in view the great goal of achieving a better life for all in an environment of peace and justice.

39. We shall be guided, Mr. President, by your wise counsel, and we shall be fortified by the boundless patience and unsurpassed statesmanship of the Secretary-General, who embodies in his own person the very qualities which have made the United Nations an indispensable tool for the solution of the grave problems which face us in times of crisis.

40. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): On behalf of the Government and people of Sri Lanka, I extend to you, Mr. President, our congratulations on your election to the

presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Our commitment to co-operating fully with you and our pleasure at your election are both manifest. We come from the same region of the world and are heirs to similar traditions. Our two nations view many international issues in the same perspective. More intimately, we are aware of your personal attributes. As fellow members of the non-aligned movement we have been able on numerous occasions to observe and take pleasure in your dedication to our founding principles and your skill. We are confident that those attributes will benefit the Assembly and, through it, the global community as a whole.

41. The non-aligned movement is now in its twentieth year. Next year, when it reaches the age of 21—an age associated with maturity in many societies—our heads of State and Government are scheduled to meet at Baghdad. Therefore your country has an especially important role to play as we prepare for a renewal based on experience and understanding. For the three years following that meeting, your country will be chairman and co-ordinator of the movement. We have no doubt that your stewardship will help to strengthen the movement and its validity as a positive force in international relations. In this connection, we are pleased that, for the first time in the history of summit meetings attended by the heads of Government of seven industrialized countries, this year's economic summit at Montebello, Canada, specifically referred to the significance of non-alignment. The concept and practice of non-alignment are being increasingly acknowledged as relevant and important.

42. In a very real sense, non-alignment will return to its roots when the movement holds its summit meeting in Asia once again next year. The first stirrings of Afro-Asian independence in foreign policy were heard in Bandung in 1955. Six years elapsed between the Bandung Conference and the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade. Some of the countries represented at Bandung were not at Belgrade. But there was a continuity between Bandung and Belgrade, and for all of us in Sri Lanka it is a matter of pride that our capital, Colombo, the venue of the fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, is in many ways part of that continuity, which will be reaffirmed in Baghdad next year.

43. It was in Colombo that the word "non-alignment" entered the vocabulary of international politics. The word was used with a foreign-policy connotation for the first time at the Colombo Powers Conference in 1954, which decided that the Bandung Conference should be held. With other participants at Colombo and Bandung and with all others who have added strength to non-alignment through the years, swelling the movement's numbers, we have a special commitment to preserving the fundamental principles of non-alignment. Those principles are not to be looked at in the negative sense of fence-sitting. Rather, those principles have a profoundly positive connotation in that they permit adherents of non-alignment the privilege of independence of judgement. Moreover, they provide small countries with the foundation on which to build a structure of positive relationships with all countries, without becoming drawn into bloc rivalries.

44. Those principles have even greater relevance today than when they were first articulated in a political sense, for today it is necessary for us to be non-aligned not only

in relation to the great Powers but also in relation to disputes between and among other States, where efforts to reach accord can be exerted on a principled, impartial basis. Many disputes concern border issues, and it is a matter of great concern that existing United Nations mechanisms allow the international community to intervene in such disputes only when they have reached the point of armed confrontation. A process of moral or judicial intervention before confrontations erupt could help to eliminate the causes of friction or at least to buy time in which the political environment could change. It is in this context that Sri Lanka's proposal for the establishment of a border disputes commission is being studied within the non-aligned movement. We very much hope that that proposal will be given serious consideration by the international community.

45. However, politics is not the only source of friction and insecurity in the world. Economic imbalance is an equally important factor. This was recognized by the non-aligned countries as far back as their first Conference in 1961. The Declaration issued at the end of that Conference drew specific attention to the North-South imbalance and made specific proposals for correcting that imbalance.³

46. The creation of a new social and economic order in the world has thus been as consistent a theme of the Movement as that of establishing a new political order. Today, when the impetus of anti-colonialism, spearheaded by the non-aligned movement, has ended colonialism except in a few stubborn pockets of vicious resistance, it is our responsibility to struggle even harder for political and economic justice.

47. Having in mind our current quest for social and economic goals, I should like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President. He tried hard to move North and South towards a mutually beneficial accommodation. The fact that those efforts did not produce the final results we all desired was not for want of trying on his part. The international community's gratitude and respect are due to him.

48. Other speakers have commented on the assistance that has been received from the Secretary-General. I add my felicitations to theirs. I wish to place on record, too, our appreciation of the responsibilities and workload of the staff of the Secretariat. They are the world's generally unsung and often unnoticed warriors of peace. They provide the continuity that gives our own efforts more than passing effect. We thank them.

49. Sri Lanka is pleased to welcome Vanuatu as a Member of the Organization. Each new Member strengthens and sustains the universality of the Organization, which is an objective laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. We are hopeful that before long all those peoples of the world who are as yet in a state of subjugation or displacement will eventually take their due place in the Organization, making it truly universal.

50. Permit me for a few moments to refer to the domestic situation in Sri Lanka, a situation which should be of both interest and significance to the international community. This is a particularly important year for us, because it marks the fiftieth anniversary of the exercise of universal adult franchise in Sri Lanka. Our democratic traditions

were established long before modern parliamentary democracy was introduced in phases by a departing colonial administration. We are proud of our own traditions. We recognize, however, that the present structure of parliamentary government in Sri Lanka was set in place with the granting of universal adult franchise in Sri Lanka 50 years ago. During that half century we have fashioned political forms and practices which keep the fundamental tenets of democracy strong and meaningful in our country. We have also set in motion a process by which the aspirations of all communities in our country will be satisfied through constitutional means, without in any way sacrificing our national identity or integrity.

51. In the social and economic fields, no less than in the political and constitutional, we have pledged to give substance to the concept of human rights in all its dimensions. We do not believe that different sets of rights can be compartmentalized. On the contrary, it is our view that human rights in their fullest sense, as defined by the documents of the Organization, come alive only when man's rights within society are treated as a whole. That is our approach. It is an approach which requires commitment, skill and sophistication, qualities that can come only from within society. At the same time, we continue to hope for complementary support from the international community in the spirit of the Charter.

52. The interaction between domestic effort and external co-operation which I have described takes us to the heart of the North-South relationship. I have pointed out that the proper definition and reshaping of this relationship was the focus of attention at the very first meeting of non-aligned countries and has continued since to attract the attention of all developing countries.

53. The Group of 77 has pursued with passion the goal of a North-South compact. More recently we have been joined by several spokesmen of the North. Indeed, a great North-South assessment of global challenges and global responses was provided for the international community by the report of the Brandt Commission, which was unveiled here. What do we have to show for those efforts?

54. Last year the General Assembly convened its eleventh special session, which was devoted exclusively to an examination of international development issues. That session produced a programme of targets for the strategy for development. We were pleased by the adoption of those targets; but development targets cannot be reached by declarations of intent.

55. Development is about people. The people's needs can be realized only by concrete measures which will sustain human will, measures which we had all hoped would emerge from the global round of negotiations which the eleventh special session of the General Assembly was meant to set in motion. A great deal of effort went into the search for agreement on basic preconditions. Many of the distinguished representatives here today, or their colleagues, participated in that exercise. Men and women of goodwill and prescience outside this Assembly joined in. Despite several setbacks, a remarkable area of agreement was identified. Nevertheless, disagreement on mere procedures slowed down the momentum towards global negotiations. Can we be satisfied with leaving it at that? Are we content to allow history to judge us as lacking in the political will required to sort out one set of procedural

options from another? If so, we will be untrue to ourselves, and unfair to those millions we represent. For the fact is that those differences over procedure masked a much more important divergence, a divergence of commitment to a global compact.

56. Such a compact requires commitment not only at the broad level of global management of resources but also in terms of specific sectors such as trade, transfer of technology, energy and housing, for instance. Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, made a special plea in the Assembly at its preceding session on behalf of the homeless [14th meeting, para. 59]. He specifically proposed that the year 1981 be declared the international year of shelter for the homeless. This proposal was made in the knowledge that providing the homeless with adequate housing is an essential component of an effective global assault on poverty. I repeat the Prime Minister's call, and express the hope that in this, as in other aspects of the assault on poverty, there will be no stalling. Time aggravates and does not heal.

57. It is only too easy to be discouraged by slow progress. Pessimism beckons readily. Nevertheless, there are also positive aspects in the situation and these deserve restatement. I will now turn to two areas of activity which give rise to hope, however slight they may seem.

58. First, I would draw your attention to the recently concluded United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi. I was privileged to participate in preparations for the Conference and, of course, in the Conference itself. Because participation was at a high level it was possible for agreement to be reached on a number of principles which can govern the use and development of energy sources. This activity can mesh within the United Nations with the programme of science and technology for development. We are pleased to note that some developed countries have already acted on the pledges made in Nairobi.

59. Secondly, I would draw attention to the forthcoming North-South meeting to be held at Cancún, where a small group of heads of State will meet informally to review North-South issues. The rationale for such a meeting was that if these issues needed political action based on an exertion of political will, then it was logical for matters to be discussed by the only people with the power to take far-ranging political decisions. Despite initial delays, agreement has now been reached on holding a summit meeting. Nobody expects miraculous breakthroughs to result from the meeting at Cancún. But there is every possibility that views will be harmonized, and that the stage will be set for a genuine attempt to refashion the North-South relationship. Agreement on the mountaintop can lead to real activity on the plains below.

60. Optimism and euphoria are dangerous bedfellows. There are, as I have pointed out, a number of indications that should give rise to optimism. But this should not blind us to the need for sustained effort if we are to break through the barriers that hold us back from mutual progress. Nor should it lead us to ignore the very real threats to international peace and security that continue to imperil the world. The area broadly and popularly described as the Middle East continues to be a threat to international peace and security, burdened by tensions and uncertainties. An area which has given civilization so much of its

wisdom and so many of its benign impulses is threatened by potentially explosive trends. We categorically assert, however, that a final settlement bringing lasting peace, justice and stability to the region will remain elusive until the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are fully restored. Until that unalterable truth is accepted, peace moves will fail to produce results, or will produce only piecemeal results. Sri Lanka has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. To believe that issues affecting the integrity of the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights can be resolved without Palestinian participation in the process is very unrealistic.

61. In another area of the world, the rights of another group of people remain grievously unfulfilled. Despite assurances that various forms of persuasion are being directed at South Africa, the people of Namibia remain subjugated, and Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which held so much promise, remains unimplemented. The racist régime in South Africa is so contemptuous of persuasion, so aggressive in its outlook, that it unashamedly resorts to military onslaughts—even against independent countries adjoining Namibia—to shore up its own illegality. At the same time, it remains dedicated to barbaric policies of racial discrimination against the people within South Africa itself. South Africa's racist policies and its brutal militarism are both abhorrent and have been rightly condemned in the Assembly. The international community must now decide whether continued condemnation alone is sufficient to free the people of Namibia from illegal domination, and to liberate the people of South Africa from racism. If condemnation is inadequate, all measures required to bring South Africa to its senses must be diligently sought and applied. At the eighth emergency special session, on Namibia, recently concluded, the Assembly addressed itself to the various options before the international community.

62. In Asia, the region to which Sri Lanka belongs, several unhappy trends exist. The increasing military build-up by the great Powers in the Indian Ocean is a source of grave concern to all littoral and hinterland States. Throughout history the region has been the hunting ground of contending Powers. We do not want to be embroiled in such Power rivalry or to be the scene of such rivalry. Sri Lanka urges, therefore, that all States, including the permanent members of the Security Council, should co-operate with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo not later than the first half of 1983. That Conference is, in our view, the next logical major step towards the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

63. We are equally concerned about the entrenchment of interventionist forces in two Asian States, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, both members of the group of non-aligned countries. The situation in both countries has been exhaustively examined here and we have made our views very clear. We believe that the people of every State must enjoy the right to determine their own destiny free from any foreign interference. We believe that the continued presence of interventionist forces in the territory of sovereign States is contrary to the accepted norms of international conduct. We fear too that their continued presence increases domestic instability and sharpens re-

gional tensions. Therefore, we hope that all interventionist forces will be withdrawn from both countries.

64. The arms race dominates all other issues. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, convened on the initiative of the non-aligned countries, gave some impetus to moves towards disarmament, but that movement has been so slow as to be all but unrecognizable. Despite the repeatedly stated desire of the international community for genuine progress towards disarmament, much of the world seems to be progressing in the opposite direction. Can we not reverse that trend? We will be presented with the opportunity to do so at next year's special session devoted to disarmament. In this connection, we are hopeful that the proposal made at the tenth special session by President J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka for the establishment of a world disarmament authority [4th meeting, paras. 17-19] will be considered favourably. The proposed authority could serve as a much-needed catalyst for slowing down the arms race.

65. We would also like to see all matters pertaining to the law of the sea resolved next year. As an island State, we are particularly concerned about orderly, equitable and legitimate access to the sea's resources. The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has passed through the complicated phase of detailed negotiation. Only a formal adoption of negotiated agreements is required. We hope that all countries will join in working towards this end at the session of the Conference to be held in March 1982.

66. The agenda before us is heavy. It contains a fair mix of political and economic issues. This is inevitable, because politics and economics are so closely related. When political issues are unresolved, they create social and economic repercussions. Where economic disparities persist, political upheaval follows. The real guarantee of international security, therefore, lies in a balance of political and economic justice, domestically, regionally and internationally. Let us pledge ourselves to securing that balance.

67. Mr. VALDÉS OTERO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you my congratulations on your election. We are sure that under your able leadership this session of the General Assembly will achieve favourable results for the international community. I should also like to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, our gratitude for the splendid way in which he carried out his duties during the last session of the General Assembly.

68. I should like also to express the satisfaction and warmth with which we welcome to this Hall the delegation of the Republic of Vanuatu, which has recently joined the United Nations.

69. Uruguay is participating in this session in the same spirit as has always inspired the international life of our Republic. We have come here to build and to consolidate, to discuss and to understand, to add our efforts to the work and the significance of the Organization, in which all members of the community of nations are represented.

70. We feel that this is an opportunity for us, the Member States, to renew our commitment to the Charter, so that the essential purposes for which it was created may

once again be clearly before us and guide and direct our debates. We are here to promote international peace and security, to establish friendly relations among States based on equality of rights and the self-determination of peoples, to foster international co-operation and to co-ordinate the efforts of all nations in order to give priority attention to those most in need.

71. Every day we are moving closer to becoming a world-wide community, and every day the possibility of isolated incidents opposing that end becomes more remote. We must understand that the community of nations will find increasingly intolerable actions that run counter to these principles which must ultimately inspire us all.

72. Over and above the specific matters that are being debated, the nations represented here are by their very presence demonstrating their determination to live in peace under the rule of law. It is our hope that that determination will be translated without delay into practical and concrete action.

73. My country here and now reaffirms that hope, which is a demonstration of faith as well as a restatement of commitment, and we appeal to all nations to unite in the faithful carrying out of those principles, which is an historical imperative demanded by international public opinion.

74. I should like to refer to some of the aspects of international reality related to the work of the Assembly. This review of various matters will be carried out from the viewpoint of my country, which participates actively in world affairs within the group of medium-sized and small States, which constitutes the great majority of the nations of the world, upon whom mankind is placing its highest hopes for moderation, balance and sensibility in the service of international peace.

75. As in previous years, we are today facing serious problems and political tension, which unfortunately have been impossible to overcome. The Middle East continues to be a cause for special concern and anguish. Several proposals have been submitted to resolve that situation of conflict and initiate a move towards peace. The complexity of the problems of the region does not lend itself to easy solutions, and everything points to the imperative need to try out all the options that promise any reasonable hope of success. With that understanding, and in order to prove factually the peaceful vocation and internationalist attitude that have always been typical of my country, we are now considering effective participation in a joint effort in the Sinai area, which could be the beginning of a greater understanding leading to the achievement of a broad and general peace for the benefit of the whole region.

76. The position of Uruguay is in accordance with its tradition as a peace-loving nation and gives it the opportunity to play a leading role in one of the fundamental stages in the hard struggle waged by mankind in its search for unity among peoples.

77. We must state our conviction that the State of Israel has the right to exist within safe and recognized borders, in the framework of a just and lasting peace with its neighbours, consistent with the legitimate rights of the

people of Palestine to establish and settle in a free and sovereign State.

78. We are similarly concerned about the situation in Lebanon, a model nation which was able to become an exemplary country, and which continues to suffer the consequences of a conflict which should have been largely concluded by now if passions had been cast aside so that the spirit of agreement could bear fruit. We are making a new appeal that Lebanon be allowed to live again in the peace that it deserves, as my country declared in its public statement issued last May, expressing our deep concern about the seriousness of the situation in Lebanon and demanding that the international community of the United Nations shoulder its responsibility in order to solve that crisis through just arrangements that respect Lebanon's territorial integrity and the right of its people to decide its own destiny.

79. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, we have strongly condemned the invasion of its territory and emphasize that it creates a dangerous point of friction and conflict which must be solved as soon as possible. Within that context, we supported the proposal submitted by Lord Carrington [8th meeting] on behalf of the European Community, which deserves to be given the fullest consideration and to be implemented promptly, overcoming the obstacles which are basically due to the political interests directly involved in the situation.

80. In the same context, we should stress the importance we attach to the achievement of a peaceful and independent solution to the reunification of Korea, by means of an inter-Korean dialogue which should contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for a mutual understanding, as well as for general stability in that area. The role of intermediary played by the Secretary-General and his good offices made available to South and North Korea deserve to be encouraged.

81. In defence of the principle of self-determination of peoples, Uruguay supports the right of the people of Namibia to achieve its independence and its own political system, without external intervention and within the framework guaranteed by the United Nations. We reiterate our wish for a prompt solution with participation of the Organization. The events which have taken place in that area should be condemned and make more urgent the need for the solution we have just called for.

82. In this connection, as we stress the importance of complying with the principles of the Charter, we should also mention the situation in our sister region of Central America. Here again, we must demand non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and the recognition of the right of self-determination of the nations involved.

83. Our country, which has a clear and unmistakable tradition of respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, has felt deeply concerned, and has said so publicly, at the acts of unjustified intervention originating in a statement which has caused a well-grounded reaction from a large number of Latin American countries, among them our own.

84. We similarly reject the continuous intervention in the internal affairs of States on the part of the authorities and the official media of other countries, which im-

properly express their support or understanding for persons and groups who are attacking or have attacked their own homelands.

85. We have mentioned those situations first because those are problems that urgently need to be solved. Their solution is urgent because of the suffering of the peoples involved and because the world public refuses to remain indifferent to those sufferings and is becoming increasingly sceptical due to the apparent inability of the machinery of the United Nations system to solve those problems.

86. In conjunction with the aforementioned situations, we have also to consider an ever-increasing number of serious problems which involve and affect all mankind. We are referring to hunger and poverty, violence and terrorism, the existence of large masses of displaced persons, the arms race and the trade in armaments and human rights, capriciously interpreted and systematically violated in large areas of the world.

87. We may therefore ask which are the gravest violations of the principles of the Organization: the insolence of a merciless invader, or the lack of tolerance which leads to the cruelest forms of blind and indiscriminate destruction carried out by elements which attack society. Both are expressions of the same phenomenon: the insanity of man inspired by violence. The most dramatic example this year was the criminal attack on the Holy Father, who is perhaps the noblest symbol of the values of our contemporary culture.

88. The insanity of entire peoples inspired by violence strikes at the conscience of mankind every time a group of persons arrogates the right to execute a human being, to displace a people or to attempt genocide. The large and ever-increasing number of victims of those actions constitutes the most serious charge that can be made concerning the state of development and progress of the international community and compels us to consider how that community could most strongly and effectively express its outright rejection of situations that are distorting man's true nature. We wonder whether rivalry among nations is eradicating the basic need for unity which will prevent us from fighting each other. We ask ourselves what we should do in order to fight successfully against poverty and hunger and for health and education, to enhance the dignity of life and ennoble mankind.

89. It is worthwhile at this stage to consider these matters in their full dimension. The international community must rearrange its bonds of interdependence or else face a catastrophe in which a large part of mankind may perish and the rest will surely experience great suffering. The dangers are enormous; paradoxically, they are as great as the greatest progress of mankind. We are going through a period in the history of the world when we can no longer be blinded by the unlimited power and technological skill of the dominant forces. Everything indicates that action for peace and the survival of man with dignity is a task for all of us, a daily task which cannot be postponed, and which is a challenge to the intelligence and perspicacity of mankind.

90. The scourge of famine and poverty demands that the Assembly direct its attention to the report recently published by the World Bank⁴ on the desperate plight of

some 800 million people living in conditions of absolute poverty. This report is fundamentally addressed to the industrialized countries and warns them that the health of their economies is directly linked to that of the developing countries, adding that it is an illusion for the industrialized countries to believe that they are immune from the problems faced by the developing world.

91. That document, coming from such an impeccable source, presents with objectivity and candour a situation which affects all mankind and which we cannot ignore.

92. Our country is deeply involved in this matter, as a developing nation that fortunately does not suffer from famine and has large resources to contribute to the world's food supply, but which, thanks to the action of third parties, is faced with serious trade problems with regard to our products. We shall consider these matters in a moment.

93. In our opinion, these are the great problems of the organized international community. They call for our attention, put our system to the test and show decisively the primary responsibility of the great Powers and their leaders.

94. As opposed to these problems, which are a source of shame, there are on the other hand new conquests and new frontiers in the continuous progress of man's adventures in the universe. Thus today we envisage with optimism and hope the exploitation of the resources of the sea and the sea-bed, the environment and the ecological balance, and outer space and its use for peaceful purposes.

95. We wish to make a few brief observations on the work being done in the United Nations in these fields. With respect to international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, our country has co-operated directly in the elaboration of the legal instruments which are being prepared on this matter and advocates the establishment of an international authority for the rational administration of the various aspects of such a complex matter.

96. Concerning the environment and environmental protection, it should be recalled that the survival of man depends upon the preservation of the productive resources of the earth—hence the fundamental importance of a sound environmental policy which will ensure its preservation, since the environment is the infrastructure for development as well as for life itself. These concepts, far from being in opposition, are complementary and reinforce each other.

97. Our country has been deeply aware from the beginning of this drama of our century and has contributed to the development of an effective environmental policy in all the international forums in which it takes part. For example, Uruguay was not only a sponsor of a Swedish-Canadian proposal to convene a high-level world meeting on environmental law, but has the honour of being the host country for that meeting. The essential idea underlying this international event is that, without suitable legal instruments both functional and institutional, all the recommendations and measures recommended by scientific research on the environment and approved by experts and diplomats will be of no avail. Uruguay is honoured to be the host country of a meeting which will surely be one of the most important meetings of the decade following the

Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972.

98. With respect to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the work done by the Third Conference, which after long and hard negotiations produced an official draft convention, should without fail end next year.

99. During the second part of the tenth session some very effective measures were adopted to solve some of the few matters still outstanding, and the programme of work which was adopted provides for the approval of the draft convention and its opening for signature in 1982. There can no longer be any alteration or postponement of this goal.

100. Within the framework for the completion of the draft convention, the United States will have the opportunity to submit its points of view specifically and precisely, on the understanding that the bases that have already been negotiated in good faith and in a conciliatory spirit must be respected. The work carried out after so many sacrifices and so much effort may be adjusted but cannot be disregarded, and in any case we shall have a convention on the law of the sea.

101. We are open to dialogue, but in the sphere of principles there can be no hesitation. It is our firm hope that this will be understood by all, and that we shall all be ready to adopt a convention of universal scope, firmly undertaking the historic responsibility of establishing a balanced legal order which will lay the groundwork for a comprehensive system of international co-operation and organize the rational exploitation of the resources of the sea, the sea-bed and its subsoil in accordance with the principle of international justice, thus ensuring peace in the oceans.

102. In the field of international economic affairs our country has been taking part in the various specialized forums, contributing actively to the establishment of the courses of action espoused by the developing countries. As part of that active participation, Uruguay had the honour to be the host country for the nineteenth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLA], held in Montevideo from 4 to 15 May 1981. At that meeting the Regional Programme of Action was adopted⁵ with the aim of complementing the national and regional efforts by international co-operation in the context of the International Development Strategy.

103. A resolution on energy⁶ was adopted in Montevideo, by which it was decided that the Secretariat of ECLA should carry out studies so that the region could have timely and updated information on available energy resources and on regional and world supply and demand in the energy market.

104. I would make some remarks of a general nature to emphasize the difficulties that confront nations with limited economic potential in a world that allegedly is interdependent but in fact is ruled by the concept of pre-dominance, contrary to the solidarity that should prevail in relations among nations.

105. With respect to international trade, we have in recent years been constantly concerned about all the forms

of increasing and senseless protectionism applied by the industrialized countries, with total indifference to the fate of those countries that, depending as they do on their external trade, are continually finding closed their opportunities for access to the markets of the developed nations. It has repeatedly been pointed out, so far to no avail, that it is necessary to carry out a structural re-adjustment on the part of the developed countries so as to allow for the growth of industries, most often primary industries, in the developing countries.

106. There is a particularly annoying situation which occurs when traditional exports from developing countries are displaced from new markets, opened up at a cost of immense sacrifices, by exports which enjoy large subsidies from industrialized countries. The incongruity of this situation is even greater when the products being exported on a subsidized basis are produced by the industrialized countries under policies directed towards the maintenance of totally anti-economic or even artificial activities.

107. These examples are not theoretical cases, as far as my country is concerned. They reflect situations which regularly confront the basic exports of our national economic activity. Such conditions produce a most harmful effect on the domestic situation and since they are the result of decisions adopted elsewhere, beyond our reach, they impose an unfair burden on countries with limited potential.

108. The developing countries are not prepared to resign themselves to this situation. They have unsuccessfully demanded that the decisions of international institutions be taken in a more open manner, and have demanded a larger participation in their adoption.

109. The effects of the aforementioned subsidies on the development process are so serious that our country must advance new strong statements in the relevant organizations with a view to rectifying such unfair procedures once and for all.

110. We consider that a specific comment should be made on the tasks now being carried out in the field of economic co-operation among developing countries. Since the beginning of this programme there has been a lack of understanding and perspective on the part of the developed countries, who have not realized the importance of generous co-operation in this effort. This fact, on the one hand, and the difficulties in launching the global negotiations on the other, have driven the developing countries to begin a most significant attempt to establish a South-South dialogue through the implementation of a broad scheme of economic co-operation.

111. Our country is participating with hope and enthusiasm in these initiatives, not only with a view to broadening the basis of its economy, but also in order to demonstrate our solidarity with the other developing countries. In order best to achieve the goals which inspire this effort of the developing countries, all the member countries of the international community have pledged the support of the relevant organizations of the United Nations system. The time has come for this support to be made fully effective, thus proving the will stated by every nation to contribute in an effective manner to action directed towards the raising of the standards of living of our peoples

by their own efforts, an attitude which nobody has ever opposed.

112. It would be difficult for a country which is a net importer of oil not to take this opportunity to mention the matter of energy. We consider that it is our task today seriously and rapidly to contemplate the creation of an economy based on new and renewable sources of energy. In this respect we must realize that the future is today. We do not want proposals so ambitious that they exceed the possibilities of action, but we do intend to stretch our imagination and the circumstances so that the United Nations can give a full response to the challenge implied in this situation. We therefore welcome the work of the Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held recently at Nairobi, and we hope that the Programme of Action adopted there⁷ may soon be implemented through technological and financial means that are in keeping with the establishment of the new international economic order, with a view to meeting as far as possible the future energy needs of the world, and in particular those of the developing countries.

113. Until solutions based on new and renewable sources of energy are found, we shall have to continue to live with our dependence on oil imports, with its political, economic and financial consequences.

114. We venture to hope that, without prejudice to the solutions proposed at the world level, those arising from the decisions taken by the Group of 77 will be fully implemented, thus endowing that Group with the solidarity which should prevail among nations at similar stages of development.

115. A country with a structure fundamentally based on temperate-zone agriculture and livestock cannot avoid mentioning in this debate the questions of food and agriculture. We wish to emphasize the importance of an effective system of world food security, together with adequate financial mechanisms for the promotion of efficient food production in the developing countries. The system to be set up should include food aid and emergency reserves. But none of this makes sense unless problems related to international food trade are resolved, with prohibition of the unfair and restrictive practices used by regional communities which sacrifice their own consumers and discourage our countries.

116. Here we come to a new and dramatic paradox: developing countries, like Uruguay, where nature and human effort have created ideal conditions for increasing food production, and which strive to make the best use of that source of wealth to build up their prosperity, find to their consternation and annoyance that they are being displaced from their markets by exports that are heavily subsidized. And this is being done by those same countries that for many years have been telling us how desirable it was for us to benefit from our relative advantages by devoting ourselves to agro-industrial activities. To make matters worse, and what is a clear demonstration of the need to reach a new and equitable order in international economic relations, this is happening in a world where the artificial distortion of trade flows goes hand in hand with a vast increase in hunger and poverty, where profits are being reaped by those who are not entitled to them and where exports from the developing countries are facing obstacles of all kinds, including the denial to them of

access to markets on the grounds of alleged subsidies, to the detriment of countries which are acting in accordance with agreed international rules governing free and fair competition. All of this should be reviewed in the relevant inter-governmental forums in order to restore on a solid basis the equity and balance that have been lost.

117. In the field of natural resources, we regard as unquestionable the right of all States to share the natural resources of the planet to the extent of their needs and within a framework of a just balance, without discrimination, intervention or constraint of any kind. This implies a methodical and systematic evaluation of those resources, their best possible use and their exploitation according to suitable environmental policies.

118. Lastly, we realize that these and other matters pertaining to the economic aspects of international relations are being considered with a view to re-opening global negotiations. We firmly request that such discussions should be transferred as soon as possible to the Assembly, not only for reasons of equity but also because most of the developing countries urgently require adoption by the international community of a harmonious set of actions, duly negotiated in such a way that the injustices resulting from unilateral decisions may be overcome. The global negotiations must give security to international economic relations and, on the basis of interdependence, establish a balanced framework that will provide opportunities for all.

119. The disappointment of the developing countries at the failure of the work of the committee of the whole on global negotiations is well known, as are their efforts to overcome that situation. The work being done to prepare for the early consideration of the essential elements of an international economic understanding is also well known. Our country cannot but reiterate that the discussions taking place on this matter are of interest to all the members of the international community on a fully equal footing, and that it will be most difficult in the present world to reach any agreement on energy and financing, international trade, protectionism and readjustment, raw materials and food, industrialization and technology, unless the voices and interests of all the countries of the world are represented. We therefore request that these matters be referred back as soon as possible to the United Nations, that formal global negotiations begin promptly on a sound basis, and that exceptions be ended once and for all.

120. We also wish to mention briefly an aspect of our work that is of fundamental importance. We have examined with keen interest the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which realistically reflects the international panorama and the work done by the United Nations. Consideration of that report reinforces our belief that it is necessary to strengthen the system and to make more equitable the representation of Member States in the Security Council. As we see it, the time has come to take up the matter of the increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council, with a view to achieving an equitable geographical distribution between the different areas and regions. The circumstances that prevailed when the Charter was drafted in San Francisco have changed substantially.

121. In another field, we attach the greatest importance to the work being done to strengthen the United Nations in its task of maintaining and consolidating international

peace and security, developing co-operation among nations and promoting the rules of international law in relations between States. Likewise, we consider that the work on procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the revision of the unanimity rule laid down for the benefit of the permanent members of the Security Council are of particular significance. We believe that in these matters we should advance steadily and gradually, proceeding without political considerations to the adoption of rules aimed at securing the full participation in the United Nations system of all its members, as a direct and sure way to achieve the necessary strengthening of the Organization.

122. Finally, I wish to express the unwavering faith of my country in harmonious relations among nations and in understanding among peoples.

123. In recent years, Uruguay has been through a unique experience. We were, almost before any other country, subjected to the onslaught of international terrorism, which we confronted and defeated by our own means. Today we are marching forward along the path of progress towards the full implementation of the highest national ideals, fully aware of the meaning of our example for other nations.

124. We were able to come through this difficult experience, which could have meant our destruction, and Uruguay emerged a strong nation, convinced that the best kind of help is self-help. When faced with our own problems we were able to respond with a vote of self-confidence, but to face international problems we all need one another.

125. Consequently, our hope and our message is that in this decade we should all come closer to a comprehensive peace, in a spirit of solidarity and brotherhood, so that the development and stability of all nations may foster the ideal of the United Nations as we move towards the new phases awaiting mankind.

126. Mr. ZHANG Wenjin (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Allow me, first of all, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I should also like to take this opportunity to express warm congratulations to the people of Belize, who have attained independence after a long period of efforts, and to extend a cordial welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu, which has been admitted to membership in the United Nations.

127. In the past year, the people of various countries have waged effective struggles against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism and have increased their mutual support and assistance, thus contributing significantly to the maintenance of world peace. However, the world is still fraught with tension and turbulence. While old issues remain unsettled, new problems keep cropping up. Outrageous violations of the norms of international relations have not been stopped and the third-world countries have been the major victims. The world is still faced with the danger of war.

128. We cannot ignore the fact that the Soviet Union is trying hard to consolidate and increase its military strength and is stepping up its global deployment for war. On the one hand, it continues to occupy foreign territories

and massacre the local inhabitants by the use of force and to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries by the threat of force. On the other hand, it has been paving the way for further expansions by carrying out political and economic infiltrations and stirring up troubles wherever possible. All this shows that the Soviet Union has not given up its bid for world hegemony and that the corollary strategy of a southward drive remains unchanged.

129. However, because of repeated setbacks and its own vulnerabilities, the Soviet Union, while adhering to a policy of aggression and expansion, has increasingly resorted to political tricks. It has launched a new peace offensive by putting forward so-called proposals regarding disarmament, political solutions and so on in order to confuse public opinion, to disguise its own hegemonism and to deceive or lull the people of the world. In these circumstances, it would be contrary to the objective realities of the international scene to suggest that the Soviet Union is harmless and on the defensive or that its deep predicament is forcing it to consider a retreat. Aggression and expansion by Soviet hegemonism continue to be the major threat to world peace. Hence, the struggle against hegemonism remains the primary task for the maintenance of world peace.

130. The events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are two major instances which threaten the peace and security of the world and grossly violate the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations.

131. The Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea with Soviet support are both aimed at totally subjugating and occupying a neighbouring country by force. If such lawlessness is not firmly stopped, but instead accepted as a fait accompli, it will only whet the appetite of the aggressors and convince them that they can go on practising the law of the jungle unimpeded. In that case, what would be left of justice and the code of conduct for the international community? How, then, can there be any security for the States Members of the United Nations, particularly the weaker third-world countries?

132. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea are not only aimed at subjugating the two countries, but also at using them as springboards for further expansion, so as to close the ring around the oil-rich region of the Middle East, push towards the Strait of Malacca and increase the threat to the surrounding countries and to the peace and security of the rest of the world. Many more countries will come to grief if the aggression against Afghanistan and Kampuchea is not checked and if the Soviet Union is allowed to press forward with its strategy of a southward drive.

133. Meanwhile, as the Soviet Union is going ahead steadily with its global strategic deployment, the risk of war will increase. Only by firmly putting an end to the aggression against Afghanistan and Kampuchea will it be possible to salvage the independence of these two nations, and to blunt or check the momentum of the Soviet Union's southward drive, curb its expansion in other parts of the world and upset its global strategic plan. The heroic struggles in the past three years of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the widespread resistance movement of the Afghan people have made brilliant contribu-

tions not only to the defence of their own independence and sovereignty but also to the maintenance of world peace and the security of all countries.

134. It is obvious that Afghanistan and Kampuchea are the priority issues in the over-all world situation and that a fair and reasonable settlement can only be achieved by waging unremitting struggles. We trust that all justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples will continue to be deeply concerned with these issues and will strengthen their fighting will in view of the protracted nature of the struggle.

135. It is understandable that quite a few countries have called for a political settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean issues. But the question is: on what principles should the political settlement be based? The resolutions on Afghanistan and Kampuchea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the declarations adopted by the Third Islamic Conference, held last January, by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held last February, and by the International Conference on Kampuchea, last July, have all stressed that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from both countries and that any settlement of these issues must be based on the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States and the right of all peoples to determine their own destiny free from any foreign interference.

136. China is in favour of such a political settlement and is ready to work with other Member States towards this end. However, the withdrawal of all foreign troops is the primary condition for any political settlement. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam backed by the Soviet Union adamantly refuse to leave Afghanistan and Kampuchea, respectively. This is the basic reason why the Afghan and Kampuchean issues have remained unresolved till now. Under these circumstances, the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples are bound to carry on their sacred war in defence of their own countries. Lately, the patriotic forces of both countries have been closing their ranks in order to fight more effectively against the aggressors. For its part, the international community is duty-bound to continue to support and assist in various ways the just struggles of the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples.

137. Only when the aggressors have suffered heavier and heavier blows on the battlefield and have been subjected to mounting pressure from the international community will they be forced to consider pulling out their troops. Therefore, to increase the pressure on the aggressors from all sides is precisely the way towards creating conditions for a political settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean issues. Conversely, any attempt to weaken or break up the armed struggle against aggression or to strike a deal at the expense of the victimized peoples in exchange for concessions from the aggressors would only embolden the hegemonists and hurt the chance of a genuine settlement.

138. The recent proposals offered by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam for settling the Afghan and Kampuchean questions are all based on the acceptance of the fait accompli created by their armed aggression. A compromise on such a basis would be tantamount to accepting a new Munich agreement by allowing the aggressors to gain easily at the negotiating table what they have failed to get on the battlefield. That is obviously impermissible. The

Chinese Government maintains that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Afghanistan and Kampuchea immediately and unconditionally, that these two countries must be restored to their independent and non-aligned status, and that the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples must be free to choose their own political systems and governments.

139. The Chinese Government reiterates its position that following the settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean questions in accordance with the aforementioned principles, the countries concerned should join in an international guarantee that there shall be no interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and that their territory shall not be occupied or used for encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of other countries in either region. We hope that the General Assembly will adhere to the principles set forth in the resolutions adopted at its previous sessions and make renewed efforts towards a settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean issues.

140. In the past year the situation in the Middle East, rather than improving, has become more tense. Israel is still clinging obstinately to an expansionist position. It has not only continued to obstruct a reasonable settlement of the Middle East question, but has become more reckless by committing fresh atrocities against the Arab countries and peoples in violation of the Charter and the norms of international relations. It flagrantly raided Iraq's nuclear reactor, repeatedly invaded Lebanon and frequently bombed Palestinian refugee camps in open defiance of the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Israel's lawlessness is intolerable and must be stopped. The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn these Israeli acts of aggression and firmly support the just struggles of the Arab people. We maintain that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; that the Palestinian people must regain their national rights, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination and establishment of a state; that the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is entitled to participate on an equal footing in a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question; and that all countries in the Middle East have the right to independence and existence. We are pleased to note that many Arab countries, the European Community and others, have been making positive efforts to bring about a settlement of the Middle East question. Our attitude is that we welcome all initiatives that are conducive to a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East question and to peace and stability in the region.

141. In southern Africa, the white racist régime is becoming more and more unbridled in trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations. Not only does it continue to occupy Namibia illegally in defiance of United Nations resolutions and to strengthen the system of *apartheid* in South Africa, but it has launched repeated armed attacks against the front-line States. Not long ago it even carried out a large-scale invasion of Angola. These outrages constitute a flagrant provocation to the African people and to the people of the entire world. In our view, Namibia should attain genuine national independence immediately on the basis of territorial integrity and national unity and in conformity with the aspirations of the Namibian people and

the relevant United Nations resolutions; the system of *apartheid* in South Africa must be completely abolished; and the international community should apply, without reservation, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. We firmly support the solemn resolution adopted at the emergency special session on the question of Namibia [ES-8/2]. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be fully implemented without further delay.

142. The Middle East and southern Africa are two important regions rich in strategic resources. The Soviet Union has always regarded them as important targets for its aggression and expansion. Masquerading as a supporter of national liberation movements, it has long since infiltrated these regions in an attempt to expand its influence there. The crimes committed by Israel and South Africa have not only brought untold sufferings to the countries and peoples of those regions, but have also provided the hegemonists with more opportunities and pretexts for infiltration, thereby posing a greater threat to peace in the Middle East, southern Africa and the rest of the world.

143. It must be pointed out that the arrogance and defiance of Israel and South Africa are attributable, in large measure, to United States support and protection. The United States has repeatedly expressed its willingness to improve its relations with the third-world countries and to join them in safeguarding world peace. But what is the sense of expressing such sentiments when Israel and South Africa are being condoned and given support instead of being denounced for their flagrant breaches of the norms of international relations? This only antagonizes the hundreds of millions of Arab and African peoples and a large number of third-world countries.

144. The situation in the Caribbean region merits our attention. The peoples in some of the countries there have long been subjected to imperialist and colonialist exploitation and oppression and unbearable domestic, political and economic conditions. It is their inalienable right to uphold their national independence and State sovereignty, develop their national economy and carry out democratic reforms. This should be recognized in the first place. On the other hand, it must be noted that another super-Power of those countries and trying hard to infiltrate the region under the guise of supporting the progressive movements. In our opinion, the people of the region should be left alone to solve their own problems. We are opposed to all outside interferences no matter where they come from.

145. The situation in North-East Asia is also not tranquil. The United States has thus far failed to withdraw its troops from South Korea. The peaceful reunification of Korea continues to meet with obstructions from the authorities in South Korea. In October 1980, President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forward a new formula for the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, which would incorporate both North and South Korea. This reflects the fervent hope of the broad masses of the Korean people for the reunification of their fatherland and provides a practical way for its realization. We maintain that resolution 3390 B (XXX) on the question of Korea, sponsored by 43 countries and adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session, should be implemented expeditiously so as

to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

146. Over the past year, the world has not only witnessed a series of major political events, but has also been faced with serious economic problems. The economic conditions of many developing countries have further deteriorated and the economic contradictions between the North and South have become more acute. Faced with worsening terms of trade, the developing countries are plagued with greater deficits in their international balance of payments and heavier burdens of foreign debts. They basically remain powerless in international economic relations. Certain developed countries are clinging to the old international economic order and trying to shift the consequences of their economic crises onto others, thus creating greater obstacles for the developing countries to build independent economies and making it more difficult for them to achieve the objectives of their development strategies.

147. The efforts of the developing countries to achieve economic independence after winning political independence represent an irresistible trend of our time. The major developed countries, however, refuse to go along with this trend by changing their unequal and unfair relationship with the developing countries. This is the root cause for the ever-sharpening economic contradictions between the North and South.

148. The economies of nations are closely interrelated. The developed countries are increasingly dependent on the developing countries for their economic growth. From the long-term point of view, the prolonged impoverishment of the latter will not be in the economic interests of the former. A number of developed countries have come to realize that their own economic "stagflation" may be alleviated as a result of the economic growth of the developing countries. We are of the view that the principle of equality and mutual benefit, which is the norm of international relations, should also apply to the economic field.

149. Moreover, one must not lose sight of the fact that the economic difficulties of the developing countries and the resultant domestic political turmoil, as well as the worsening North-South contradictions, will provide the hegemonists with opportunities to stir up troubles. To support the developing countries in building their independent economies and to promote appropriate reforms in the international economic order so as to establish step by step a new international economic order is therefore not a purely economic matter but a vital political question that affects the maintenance of world peace and stability.

150. It is our hope that the major developed countries, proceeding from the over-all situation of the world, will give serious consideration to the legitimate desires and demands of the developing countries, promptly come to an agreement at the current session or at the forthcoming Cancún summit to launch the global negotiations, and take practical and feasible measures to meet the urgent needs of the developing countries and improve North-South relations.

151. The political and economic situation of the world today is grim indeed. The maintenance of peace is the common aspiration of the people of the world. However, we have to struggle for peace; we cannot beg for it. To

defend world peace it is imperative to oppose hegemonism. To this end, the peoples of all countries should unite and co-ordinate their actions, taking into account their respective situations. In order to achieve greater unity against hegemonism it is necessary for all parties to respect each other's sovereign rights and interests and to treat each other as equals. On the eve of the Second World War certain countries failed to discern in time the source of the threat and failed to unite effectively to oppose it. The people of the world ended up paying a heavy price and the world learned a bitter lesson.

152. China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace. Having suffered enormously from foreign aggressions and wars in the past, the Chinese people know only too well how precious peace is. Today, as the Chinese people are engaged in building China into a modernized socialist country, they need all the more a lasting peaceful international environment. However, in pursuing the policy of safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism, China is motivated not simply by its own interests, but also takes into account the interests of the people of the whole world.

153. China is a developing socialist country; it belongs and will always belong to the third world. China is ready to work together with other third-world countries as well as all countries that uphold justice and love peace and to contribute all it can to the defence of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations and to the cause of opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace.

154. Mr. ELVIR SIERRA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to extend the most sincere congratulations to you on your fitting choice to preside over the present session of the General Assembly. Your lengthy career in the field of international relations, as Secretary-General of the Ministry of External Affairs of your country, as representative of Iraq at many sessions of the General Assembly, as representative of your country and as a senior official of the Organization, provides ample assurance that your skill and experience, acquired over many years of praiseworthy service, will enable you to obtain successful results in the exercise of your important function.

155. I likewise wish to express our appreciation to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, a most worthy representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who carried out his important functions with forthrightness and tact and with the spirit and devotion of one who is imbued with the ideals of the United Nations.

156. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General, who has unceasingly pursued the path of peace and whose report to the General Assembly at this session is a document which illustrates very well not only the grave problems which the international community faces, but also possible alternative solutions. Above all, it is an urgent and clear appeal for negotiation and understanding to preserve peace and promote development.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

157. We cordially welcome the new Member State of Vanuatu, which will undoubtedly make an excellent contribution to our endeavours.

158. The situation in 1981 has been characterized by the persistence of tensions between the great Powers, the renewal of armed hostilities in several regions and a highly discouraging stagnation in the global economic negotiations which are necessary to restructure the world economy and thereby promote a universal solidarity which will ensure international peace and security.

159. Tensions are basically due to distrust, attempts at hegemony and the persistence of unjust situations which are contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and make it difficult to apply the mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes, to which all Member States are bound and to which Honduras has always adhered.

160. The arms race makes the world we live in increasingly dangerous. A tendency daily to improve on or invent new weapons of destruction does nothing but heighten insecurity to the same degree, and thereby distrust, thus giving permanence to the spiral of terror. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that every nation has a legitimate right to provide itself with appropriate means of defence. From that standpoint, it should be to the search for regional balances and effective negotiation of multilateral disarmament measures that we should direct the efforts of the United Nations.

161. Accordingly, Honduras supports a careful and appropriate preparation for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982, and we welcome the submission of new proposals at the session of the Preparatory Committee which has recently concluded.

162. Nevertheless, one cannot expect progress in the various disarmament areas, nor will guarantees of fulfilment of the programme for disarmament be achieved unless at the same time the safeguard mechanisms for the peaceful uses of atomic energy are improved.

163. Honduras, which has at all times supported the peace scheme for the Middle East, laid down by the Camp David accords, once again reiterates its conviction that all efforts fully to carry out those accords with due thoroughness and promptness should be supported.

164. We believe that since the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai is about to be carried out, we should proceed to the next stages of withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab territories and with drawal on the process of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

165. We must be aware that the treaties between Israel and Egypt are in jeopardy, not only because of the delay in their implementation, but also because of the dangerous climate of open hostility which has prevailed in Lebanon for several years.

166. In this very forum Honduras has on several occasions reiterated its solidarity with the Lebanese people and the urgent need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. We therefore sincerely be-

lieve that all the parties directly involved should meet together as soon as possible to arrive at a broad understanding which will consolidate the precarious cease-fire negotiated last July.

167. Honduras has viewed with concern the continuing conflict between Iraq and Iran and sincerely deplores the fact that this conflict is causing untold human and material losses. We therefore hope that, in accordance with the premises of international law and the principles which govern peaceful coexistence among States, the parties to the conflict will promptly find a solution so that normality will once again prevail in that part of the world.

168. As regards Afghanistan, Honduras, in conformity with the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, wishes to support the initiatives which the Secretary-General may take in seeking a negotiating context for the Afghan question which will in the first place eliminate the causes of insecurity for the neighbouring countries and subsequently assure Afghanistan's genuine independence.

169. As regards Kampuchea, our country actively participated in the International Conference convened by the Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 35/6. Although we regretted the absence of Viet Nam and of the socialist countries, attendance by more than 90 countries and the attention given to the Conference by the international community confirm its importance as an adequate instrument through which to find a just solution to the delicate situation created in the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

170. The Conference remains open; its first stage was concluded by the setting up of the necessary machinery to bring positions closer together, on which reports will be submitted to the Conference, and by the adoption of an important Declaration,¹ of which we emphasize the following: first, Kampuchea has the right to be independent and sovereign, free from any external threat or armed aggression, free to pursue its own development and a better life for its people in an environment of peace, stability and full respect for human rights; secondly, with a view to reaching a comprehensive political settlement, negotiations between the parties must include a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea under the supervision of the United Nations, appropriate arrangements to ensure that armed Kampuchean factions will not be able to disrupt law and order, and the holding of free elections which, also under the supervision of the United Nations, will ensure the establishment of a new government.

171. In Latin America we suffered in 1981 the painful loss of the head of State of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, a statesman of outstanding personality, who led his country in crucial moments of its history. He was the driving force in the struggle by the Panamanian people for full recognition of its sovereignty over the Panama Canal, which he admirably achieved, after an intelligent and patient effort, through the 1977 Treaty and the Protocol thereto, signed with the United States of America and entered into force in 1979,² which, as is known, constitute one of the corner-stones of the renewed and growing relations of friendship and co-operation between the United States of America and the countries of Latin America.

172. As is well known, there is at present in Central America a serious situation of political, economic and social crisis which in recent years has erupted into armed explosions which have caused and are causing the loss of countless human lives and property in brother countries. This grave crisis situation, with its origins in the present order, requires determination to find solutions to bring about the transformation of the present societies into dynamic economic communities in the full exercise of a living and effective social justice.

173. The Government of Honduras, in the midst of these internal convulsions in brother countries with their possible repercussions for the international order, urges a return to peace and harmony among the parties to the conflicts, who should strive to find solutions to their problems as soon as possible.

174. At present, our country enjoys internal stability, not as a result of repressive attitudes but because of the Honduran people's appreciation of its Government's measures with their emphasis on social welfare, such as advanced labour legislation and an agrarian reform law, the diligent and effective application of which has already benefited—and will continue to benefit in the future—a high percentage of our rural population. Furthermore, the people of Honduras enjoy unrestricted freedom of the press, which has been internationally recognized and praised. All the inhabitants of our nation enjoy the right publicly to express, through the mass media, their ideas, thoughts and criticisms, without any censorship or fear whatever.

175. For more than a year efforts were made with a view to convening a meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and Honduras aimed at reactivating regional dialogue and establishing the basis for the setting forth of common Central American positions in the face of international economic problems, thus promoting not only the development of each country but also effective co-operation among them. Those efforts were crowned by the holding of the meeting of the ministers of Central American countries at Tegucigalpa on 15 and 16 August 1981. The results of that meeting are recorded in an important document known as the "Declaration of Tegucigalpa",⁹ in which, *inter alia*, the ministers:

"(1) *Reaffirm* the intention to work toward integral development of their countries so as to improve the spiritual and material well-being of all the inhabitants, within the framework of the development strategy that each of the countries sovereignly adopts;

"(2) *Decide* to take maximum advantage of intra-regional co-operation to benefit the various internal development efforts, to facilitate and encourage equitable trade, to undertake new development projects whose execution can be facilitated by dealing with them collectively, and to readapt the formal instruments of Central American integration to current needs;

"(3) *Call upon* the international community to co-operate with the countries of the Central American isthmus in the internal and intraregional efforts they make to eliminate the obstacles to their development, through concerted and determined action which takes into account the priorities that each of those countries has es-

tablished, independently of the manner elected to achieve them, and which reinforces the existing co-ordination and complementarity of economic development among the countries of the region;

"(4) *Agree*, so that the aforementioned external co-operation can be implemented as soon as possible, to establish a forum where the countries of the Central American isthmus, either individually or collectively, may explain their international co-operation needs to the sources that might provide them that co-operation, without prejudice to the arrangements that each country initiates, maintains or continues to maintain with those sources."

176. In accordance with what was established by the Declaration of Tegucigalpa, a working group met in the Honduran capital on 24 and 25 August this year. It included representatives of Central American Governments and the Government of Panama and prepared a proposal for the establishment of a group on co-operation for the economic and social development of the Central American isthmus.

177. Following the course agreed upon at the meeting of the ministers of the Central American countries and of Panama, the Government of the Republic of Costa Rica informed the States participating in the meeting held at Nassau on 11 and 12 July 1981 of the contents of the Declaration of Tegucigalpa and invited them to participate in a preparatory technical meeting with the Central American countries. That meeting took place on 7 and 8 September at San José, with the objective of requesting the countries that signed the Nassau Declaration to join the countries of the Central American isthmus in their joint proposal to increase the volume of international technical and financial co-operation sufficiently to enable the Governments of the isthmus to face the adverse economic situation in which, for various reasons, they find themselves, to obtain resources granted on concessionary terms so as to be consistent with the debt capacity of the recipient countries, to adjust the acquisition of technology to be used as a result of the financing obtained, and to see to it that all this forms part of a plan for external co-operation directed to the countries of the Central American isthmus which would contribute to reactivating the process of economic and social development in all those countries.

178. The representatives of the countries of the isthmus welcomed the participation in the meeting of representatives of the Governments of Canada, the United States, Mexico and Venezuela, who expressed their firm and determined support for what they described as the praiseworthy initiatives adopted by the States of the region for the development of greater co-operation and economic integration with a view to the establishment of the appropriate institutional machinery and the mobilization of resources from outside the region in order to achieve faster and more effective economic and social development in Central America.

179. The people of Honduras are at present engaged in a democratic electoral process. The freely elected Constituent National Assembly is drafting a new constitution for the Republic and has already handed down the legal instrument creating the electoral organization and the rules governing the civic campaign which will result in the

election of members of the municipal corporations of the Republic, deputies to the National Congress, the President of the Republic and officials attached to the office of the President.

180. Four political parties are participating in the present electoral campaign, together with independent candidates. This gives our citizens the greatest possible freedom to select those who in their view would best serve the interests of the country as members of the Government. The Government and people of Honduras are thus showing their faith in democratic institutional solutions and their conviction that the power of the vote is greater and better than violence for the transformation of societies. The armed forces are fully discharging their constitutional duty to guarantee the citizens their right to express their will by voting.

181. I am pleased to inform the General Assembly that on 30 October 1980 Honduras and El Salvador, in the city of Lima, signed a general peace treaty which put an end to the conflict which for more than 11 years had kept the two brother peoples apart, and that on 10 December of the same year, in Tegucigalpa, there was an exchange of the instruments of ratification of that legal document at a solemn ceremony which was honoured by the presence of the Presidents and heads of State of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela, who, with delegations from other countries of the continent and of Spain, accompanied the President of Honduras, General Policarpo Paz García, and two members of the civilian-military junta of El Salvador, Mr. Napoleón Duarte and Colonel Abdul Gutiérrez, in that historic event that demonstrated to the world that a frank and sincere dialogue and the rules and principles of international law are the best means of settling disputes among States.

182. With other countries of the isthmus, Honduras maintains cordial relations of co-operation and coexistence within the legal framework which has always governed its international life. The meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and of representatives of the Central American Governments, to which I referred earlier, bear witness to the fact that understanding and the desire for unity are the bases of the course chosen by the Central American States.

183. As a consequence of various resolutions adopted by the United Nations and by the Organization of American States [OAS], a few days ago Belize emerged into independent life. Honduras hopes that the new Central American entity will base its actions on the patterns of democracy and extends its best wishes to that people.

184. During one of the various stages of the search for a solution to the dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala over the territory of Belize, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those two countries and the Prime Minister of Belize signed a document entitled "Heads of Agreement". In one of those Heads, Guatemala is granted the use and enjoyment of the Cayos Zapotillos. The Cayos Zapotillos historically, geographically and legally belong to Honduras.

185. For this reason, Honduras submitted to the Government of the United Kingdom, with which we maintain very cordial and friendly relations, a note of protest at the alleged cession of a sovereignty which belongs to Hon-

duras. Honduras hopes and trusts that by means of direct negotiations, or by any other means open to us under international law and international institutions, a just solution to that problem will be found.

186. Our country continues to give humanitarian assistance to close to 35,000 refugees who have arrived from neighbouring countries because of the situations prevailing in those countries.

187. Honduras will continue its humanitarian policy as far as that is possible and wishes to express its sincere gratitude for the co-operation it has received from the UNHCR, the World Food Programme, UNICEF, the Evangelical Committee, World Relief, OAS and some friendly Governments, both on the American continent and on other continents, which have made generous contributions.

188. Honduras strives to overcome the economic and social problems which afflict our country, but our efforts need to be complemented internationally. Accordingly, Honduras, represented by a delegation which I had the honour of presiding over, participated in the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Caracas from 13 to 19 May under the auspices of the Group of 77. Horizontal co-operation among the nations of the developing world opens new and broader perspectives for the adoption of co-ordinated regional and international economic policies and facilitates the introduction and implementation of specific co-operation projects in areas of priority importance for the developing countries. In this respect, Honduras continues to benefit from the agreement on energy co-operation for Central America and the Caribbean established by Mexico and Venezuela.

189. The forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held next October at Cancún, is of great importance and we hope that the dialogue of the heads of State and Government who will be attending will take further indispensable decisions to carry out vigorous co-operative action for development. We believe that in the global discussions the united voice of the countries of the Central American isthmus should be heard, as a reflection of both the spirit that prompts them and their needs and objectives.

190. We are concerned about a possible reduction or freeze in the forthcoming years in the supply of funds for multilateral financing institutions, because that would immediately affect the viability of the many projects scheduled for the next five-year period at a historic time when tension and insecurity might lead developing countries to greater levels of poverty, unemployment and disorder.

191. As regards the law of the sea, regrettably, despite the advances achieved after protracted negotiations, in which Honduras participated whole-heartedly, on the signing of a universal treaty on the law of the sea, when we were already very close to concluding that process and were about to sign the draft convention, there emerged difficulties and positions so far removed from the very premises of the negotiations that today we must contemplate the possibility of having to conclude a convention in 1982 without some of the most important maritime Powers being party to it.

192. The Government of Honduras a few days ago associated itself with the decisions taken at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, which dealt with the question of Namibia. We are following with grave concern the setback in the negotiations between the five Western Powers and the Pretoria régime to implement the plan for free elections and the accession of Namibia to independence recommended by the United Nations, in particular in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

193. As we see it, the question of the deployment of forces within the Territory and the question of security for Namibia's neighbours continue to be of singular importance if a peaceful and complete solution to this problem is to be found. At this stage Honduras believes it is indispensable to renew the political will so as not to prolong further the paralysis of the independence plan. On the contrary, and with the full support of the international community, there should be prompt negotiation of practical arrangements that will facilitate the holding of truly free elections in the Territory in 1982.

194. The foreign policy of Honduras continues to conform to the basic principles which confer fundamental value on respect for human beings, the practice of democracy and the quest for the economic and spiritual progress of the population of the country. On this special occasion I wish to place on record our consistent adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and again appeal for the strengthening of the peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes as the most appropriate way to achieve the purposes of the Organization, in particular the maintenance of peace.

195. Mr. Muhammad GHAZALI (Malaysia): I am indeed gratified to see an illustrious son of Iraq, with which my country enjoys the most cordial relations, assuming the high office of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I offer to Mr. Kittani my Government's warmest congratulations. His election is a testimony to the special position and respect that he enjoys in the international community and a tribute to him as an outstanding diplomat.

196. In welcoming his election, may I express at the same time our heartfelt thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and the emergency-special session on Namibia to a successful conclusion.

197. I should also like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government of Malaysia, to congratulate warmly General Carlos Rómulo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, who earlier this month was bestowed the highly honoured and much-coveted United Nations Peace Award. It is indeed most fitting. As a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], my Government considers this a matter of pride and glory.

198. We have at this thirty-sixth session one new Member of the Organization. It is a great privilege for me to welcome on behalf of my delegation the Republic of Vanuatu, and Malaysia looks forward in delightful anticipation to the admission of Belize. By joining us in this august body as a full-fledged Member, Vanuatu has, like all new Members, made an important contribution towards

the universality of the United Nations. Malaysia pledges its commitment to work together with our new friends in everything to which the Organization is dedicated.

199. Nearly four decades ago, following the deliberations in Dumbarton Oaks, 50 countries gathered in San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations. Having just witnessed the ravages of the Second World War and the suffering that mankind had undergone, they manifested in the Dumbarton Oaks deliberations a new spirit infused with the ideal that they should be united in their determination to ensure positive co-operation in the cause of peace and social justice.

200. Since then the world has undergone major changes. While the ranks of independent developing nations grow each year, we do not see a corresponding advance in development and social justice. Hence the just demands of developing countries for an equitable share of the wealth of the world, access to the benefits of modern technology and scientific know-how and participation in decision-making on global issues that affect the general well-being of mankind. Unfortunately, the realization of those demands has been entwined with the complexities of East-West relations. Herein lies the challenge of our times: the solution of the North-South dichotomy must be isolated from the vicissitudes of East-West relations.

201. In the complexity of the situation, should we not now ask ourselves, where is the spirit of Dumbarton Oaks, which inspired the authors of the Charter? It would seem to me that the progress, wealth and power acquired during the post-war years by the industrialized nations of the East and the West alike have neutralized the moral and ethical values which the authors of the Charter tried to espouse. Even now, this Hall echoes with the reiteration of their commitments which, however, stand in sharp contrast to the reality in the world today.

202. Instead, there is the increasing tendency to use force in international relations. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea, the Chinese incursion into Viet Nam, that of South Africa into Namibia and of Israel into Iraq and Lebanon provide only a few, but nevertheless glaring, examples of this, though more subtle interventions have taken place in other parts of the world. Only yesterday we witnessed the violent overflow of the Afghanistan problem into the streets of New York, in front of this building, this magnificent edifice. This is a clear testimony of one of our failures.

203. These developments, amidst long-standing conflicts in West Asia and southern Africa, further heighten international tension. Indeed, the breakdown of détente and the revival of the cold war will certainly have destabilizing effects in the global context. This could well increase the danger of the developing nations being sucked into the vortex of super-Power conflict, with grave ramifications for their peace, their security and their economic well-being. These are our fears and our concerns. Are these not issues that we, States Members of the United Nations, must continue to reflect upon and must continue to face squarely?

204. Bold solutions are called for. Suggestions have been made for a return to détente. But the détente of the 1960s and the 1970s, which essentially sought to stabilize East-West relations in Europe through a policy of mu-

tual restraint and accommodation, failed to regulate the behaviour of major Powers in the third-world countries. Herein lies the weakness of *détente*, a concept so different in meaning and so different in objectives as held by one or the other Power, which limited its applicability to a narrow part of the globe, leaving the other parts open to unrestrained political and ideological pressure. *Détente* or peaceful co-existence as a method is continuously being deployed to further ideological aims, creating disaffection and rebellion in order to overthrow legitimate governments. This is being done surreptitiously. Not only do we in South-East Asia have to reckon with such problems, which drain our resources and energy, but we also face a rather bizarre situation, wherein our hands are being shaken by a Government in the name of friendship, yet the political party from which that Government is formed—as if there were a real dichotomy—declares to us openly to our faces its commitments to continue to support, albeit morally and politically, illegal and terrorist groups that are striving daily to overthrow by violent means our respective Governments. Such a blatant declaration and unashamed admission is made in the name of honesty and ideological rivalry as if we were all nincompoops. We in Malaysia regard this as a policy of serving rotten fish in the specialized recipe of a sweet and sour dish. O spirit of Dumbarton Oaks, hast thou become a ghost?

205. The failure of *détente* also drove home the point that besides needing common understanding and a common interpretation among its so-called adherents, any formula for long-term global stability must necessarily include the participation of the third-world countries. Their role in the scheme of global stability can no longer be ignored. Their participation in decision-making is a prerequisite for the solution of all those pressing problems confronting us today. This is all the more relevant in the context of finding solutions to the many economic and political issues besetting the United Nations.

206. On the economic front, in the developing countries the spectre of increased unemployment and little or negative growth in an already difficult situation is more than worrying. But when such difficulties coincide with what is perceived as renewed intransigence on the part of the developed countries in opposing the urgent need of the developing nations for a more equitable economic system, the result can only be a sense of betrayal. A feeling of hopelessness arising out of the lack of progress in the North-South dialogue could breed desperate acts. This dangerous dimension is something which all of us must constantly bear in mind.

207. However, desperate acts are not the solution for the current economic ills of the world. A framework has already been laid with the adoption by the Assembly in 1974 of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. The various plans of action and codes of conduct and the targets envisaged for the International Development Strategy that we have collectively adopted in the last few years would be a good basis for meaningful international economic co-operation. What is needed is the will to translate the programme into reality. This is our collective responsibility. We must have the courage to fulfil that responsibility.

208. Very often the best intentions of Governments to assist developing countries are frustrated by built-in domestic constraints. This must be overcome. As one idea, Governments of developed and capital-surplus countries, as well as other developing nations able to do so, might consider depositing a capital sum, the interest on which should be pledged to the human resources programme of UNDP. The capital sum so deposited anywhere would continue to belong to the donor countries and could be withdrawn for some compelling reason. It is the interest accruing that would be pledged. The focus of the activity would be the development of human resources, which is the essential prerequisite for any long-term development. Malaysia has recently proposed such a scheme and indeed has committed itself to contributing to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. One main advantage of this proposal is that donor countries could contribute to this programme without the need to go through the rigmarole of seeking fresh annual allocations from their respective Parliaments. I should like to suggest most humbly that this thought be studied seriously.

209. While such endeavours must go on, our attention will have to focus also on the other pressing political problems which have eluded solutions year in and year out.

210. The situation in West Asia, of which the question of Palestine forms the core, has long defied solution. Contrary to the spirit of Dumbarton Oaks, the aspirations of the people concerned have not received the recognition to which they are entitled. Any solution that fails to take into account the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence will not succeed in bringing about peace in West Asia. Negotiations to resolve the problem must include the most responsible party, in this case the PLO. We are gratified that, except for a handful of countries, the international community has come to accept and recognize the PLO for what it is—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. As our contribution, my Government has decided to grant full diplomatic status to the representative of the PLO in Malaysia.

211. *Apartheid*, an inhuman system imposed on the people of South Africa, is yet another example of the gross violation of the principles of the Charter. Despite universal condemnation of such a despicable colonialist system at its worst, a handful of Governments still continue to defy the most basic obligation to demonstrate their abhorrence of the system. For instance, their unwillingness to discourage their own citizens from making contacts with the sporting organizations of South Africa is symptomatic of this attitude. Of course, no one is expected to violate the individual constitutional right to play whatever games are allowed by law or to prevent citizens from going abroad to contact South African teams in the field of sport. But if a Government were serious enough about showing its abhorrence of *apartheid*, it could perform a meaningful political act of discouragement by exercising the absolute right of its executive to deny visas to citizens of South Africa as members of visiting teams coming into the country with the advertised aim of making contact with the citizens in sporting activities. Governor Carey of New York aptly said a couple of days ago, as I read in the newspapers, that sport in South Africa is an arm of the system of *apartheid*. Therefore, any Government which provides visas to any individual or sport-

ing team from South Africa is, to say the least, merely paying lip service and standing in the chorus line against *apartheid*.

212. The Charter of the United Nations holds the promise of freedom and independence for all peoples, and yet today we see a conglomerate of interest groups deliberately obstructing the process of decolonization. But the United Nations must be true to its purposes. We must exert greater efforts to hasten the completion of this process so that all peoples still under colonial rule can enjoy their inherent and legitimate rights without further impediments. In this context, Malaysia would be satisfied with any decolonization programme, in certain circumstances, where power was returned to the authority from which it had been wrested.

213. In Namibia, we witness South Africa clinging to the Territory in defiance of the clear ruling of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971¹⁰ and the demands of the international community. Efforts by the United Nations to bring about a peaceful transition to independence for the Territory have so far failed because of the continuing intransigence of South Africa, which continues its policy with impunity only because it feels confident that those Governments or countries in a position to exercise the necessary pressure will not, in the final analysis, do so, as we have just seen in the gambols and frolics of the Springboks.

214. The Indian Ocean is another potential area for big-Power conflict. In their desire to retain the strategic advantages that they possess in the area, the big Powers are unwilling to respond positively to the call of the littoral and hinterland States for the early implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. This must surely be a matter of concern to all peace-loving States.

215. West Asia, South Africa, Namibia and the Indian Ocean are but a few examples where progress in the direction of peace has been hampered because major Powers choose to act in defiance of the principles of the Charter and the expressed will of the international community. This is hardly surprising when solutions to these problems continue to be viewed in the context of East-West global strategy, as opposed to the national and regional interests of the countries concerned.

216. Coming from South-East Asia, where dealing with external pressures has become a fact of life, as I mentioned earlier, we have shown our conviction, by our espousal of the concept of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, that regional peace and security are best assured by recognizing the legitimate interest of all major Powers in maintaining peaceful relations with the countries of the region. It is within this framework that we are pursuing our efforts to ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia.

217. The recent International Conference on Kampuchea, held in this very Hall in July this year on the initiative of the member States of ASEAN, in order to pave the way for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean situation, represents a collective effort by the five South-East Asian States to contribute to regional peace and security within the framework of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and the principles of the

Charter of the United Nations. The Declaration and the resolution adopted by the Conference¹ sought neither to punish nor to ostracize any State. On the contrary, the Conference wished to ensure that the fears and threats, real or imagined, that led to the events in Kampuchea were removed, so that the situation in that country could return to normal. The Declaration and the resolution represent a consensus that Viet Nam cannot ignore and provide a basis for further negotiations that could obviate the concern of all.

218. In the search for an early solution to the problem, we are encouraged by the recent meeting in Singapore of Mr. Son Sann, Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Khieu Samphan, who have declared their intention to form a coalition government. The fact that they have been able to come together is an important development. It represents a vital step towards the early political settlement of the problem. We are gratified to note that the three parties are now seriously discussing the implementation of their Singapore declaration. We are confident that if patience and sincerity are shown by the parties concerned, these efforts will pave the way for a comprehensive political solution.

219. If ASEAN has been taking a strong lead in the search for a solution to the Kampuchean problem, it is because we see the issue, in the context of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, as central to the larger issue of peace and security in the region. The escalation of the conflict in Kampuchea, and in particular its spillover to neighbouring countries, can have grave ramifications for international peace and security. For us, a divided South-East Asia is an unstable South-East Asia, for it will continue to be an open invitation to external interference and manipulations. The removal of the seeds of discord and suspicion is uppermost in our mind.

220. It is in the context of ensuring peace and stability in South-East Asia that we seek a solution to the Indochinese refugee problem, which has burdened neighbouring countries. The "push and pull" factors that have brought about the current boat people problem must be tackled at the source. Countries of first transit that are already burdened with all kinds of difficulties should not be allowed to suffer residual problems by the unwillingness of third countries to absorb refugees for final settlement. We seek concrete measures both at the source and in countries of final settlement.

221. It must be apparent to the source country that it is being drained of its best manpower and therefore should prevent such an exodus instead of driving the people out. On the other hand, other countries and their mass media should do nothing to encourage such an exodus. The pull must be replaced by some measures which could serve as a humane deterrent. In this context, I should like to express, on behalf of my Government, our deep appreciation to UNHCR for doing sterling service in this thankless job. Also I should like to thank countries of final settlement for their understanding and generosity. In this regard the final settlement of refugees has become one of the strong pillars in the relationship between ASEAN and those countries.

222. While Malaysia is concerned with the question of regional peace and security, we are not unmindful of other dangers that sap the energies of nations and threaten their very political, social and security fabric. The wide spec-

trum of issues on the agenda or this session reflects in varying degrees the dimension of the dangers that we face today. An area that is of concern to Malaysia and one that impinges on our general well-being and security is drug abuse. It has become a global problem that no nation can ignore and no nation alone can tackle. It is time the United Nations adopted a new conceptual approach to this problem.

223. In my address at the sixth special session of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, held at Vienna from 11 to 20 February 1980, I emphasized the grave danger of drug abuse to national security, stability and resilience and said that it was not just a neighbourhood problem. The time has come to rethink the approach that the international community must take in dealing with this menace. It must be given a high priority and seen in the right perspective. Such an approach demands that the question of drug abuse be looked at as a security problem that has the potential of destabilizing societies and nations and not merely as a social and humanitarian problem.

224. In this regard, I welcome the item proposed by Bolivia, entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs" [item 129]. It is our view that while the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Economic and Social Council can continue to look at the humanitarian and social aspects of the problem of drug abuse, the political and security aspects of the problem could best be considered by the Special Political Committee. Let us invite the Assembly to give serious and urgent attention to this problem.

225. With reference to international relations, these are our hopes, our fears and in many ways our disappointments. We, for our part, will continue to be earnest in our approach and serious in our endeavours. Our hope for the future lies not in paying lip service or just standing in the chorus line, but in the honest implementation of practical programmes in the spirit of Dumbarton Oaks, which inspired the Charter of the United Nations that we are all pledged to uphold.

226. Mrs. FLESCH (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): It is a very agreeable duty and indeed a true pleasure for me to be able to associate myself with my colleagues in conveying to Mr. Kittani warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of this session. The task which has been entrusted to him is an onerous one and the responsibilities are heavy. But I am convinced that his distinguished qualities as an experienced diplomat and his extensive knowledge of the workings of the Organization, accompanied by a rare experience in international affairs, will make Mr. Kittani a President who will conduct our proceedings with competence and conviction. Loyal and constructive co-operation is something he can count on from Luxembourg.

227. Within the same context, we should like to thank most sincerely the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. von Wechmar. Throughout his presidency, which was so difficult and arduous on more than one occasion, he displayed rare courage and tenacity which were necessary, indeed indispensable, in the face of the situations with which he was confronted.

228. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General. I hope he will accept our sincere thanks for his tireless devotion to the causes which we all share and for his devoted efforts, not only for the maintenance of peace, but also for his constant commitment to the less spectacular but nonetheless necessary tasks undertaken by the Organization.

229. Although I am new here, I do know that the Organization, if it means to satisfy its role of being a world forum, is gratified each time a new Member takes its place among us. Today it is my pleasure to extend a warm welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu, which only a few days ago became the one hundred and fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations. To these sincere congratulations I should like to add the assurance that we are for our part ready to do everything possible to increase our co-operation with the Republic of Vanuatu, in the United Nations or elsewhere.

230. At each new session the General Assembly gives us an opportunity each year to take stock of the world situation. It is also a time when the attention of our countries and of our citizens is focused, sometimes with anxiety, sometimes with hope, on the debates and problems which we undertake here.

231. My colleague, Lord Carrington, speaking on behalf of the European Community in the eighth meeting, sketched a complete outline of the policies, views and aspirations of the 10 member States. I wholeheartedly endorse those views, and I can thus confine myself to just a few comments which the world situation in 1981 suggests to the representative of a small country which has been a member of the United Nations since the very first hour of its foundation.

232. To say that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds would, at the least, be taken for incorrigible optimism, or rather to be a display of unusual ingenuousness, if not indeed total cynicism. There have been very few years in the 36 years of the existence of the United Nations during which the international situation has been more critical, more dangerous or bristling with more explosive issues than today, as the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is taking place.

233. In the face of this world situation, which is so discouraging, are we to resign ourselves to living in the shadow of danger contrary to the principle of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? I say no. It is true that the challenge is enormous, but it is often crisis situations which have compelled the Organization to give the best of itself, and there is plenty of evidence for this. I would even go so far as to say that it is in cases of extreme tension and imminent crisis that all of us, large and small, become even more keenly aware of the extent to which the Organization is indispensable to the survival of international society. Up to now we have succeeded together in avoiding the worst. Why should we not be able to take this crucial step which will enable us to live in peace in a world free from hatred, envy and threats?

234. I am sure that some will rebuke me for exaggerated optimism and a lack of realism. Nothing of the kind. My optimism, like my realism, is similar to that of the founding fathers of the Organization, neither more nor less.

235. Of course it will be said that among the explosive issues it is difficult to decide which to try to defuse first. I will reply to you that this does not matter very much provided that all of us, including the chief antagonists, agree to undertake dialogue, to forget our grudges, and to recognize that it is in peace and peace alone, and in respect for one's neighbour, that victory lies, and that in war and confrontation there are only losers.

236. From this rostrum we are accustomed to speak as representatives of countries and nations. Let us not forget, however, that ultimately it is the citizens of all our countries who suffer or benefit from our successes or failures.

237. A year ago the Organization welcomed Zimbabwe into membership in the great world family. The negotiations which led this State to independence, thanks to the far-sightedness, courage and tenacity of the United Kingdom, the people of Zimbabwe and the front-line countries, gave us every hope that we would finally see the whole region of southern Africa achieve peace in independence and prosperity.

238. Unfortunately, our hopes were dashed once again. Namibia is still illegally occupied by South Africa in spite of the many injunctions of the Organization. The initiative of the five Western members of the Security Council, endorsed by the Council in resolution 435 (1978), has so far not yielded the results hoped for because of the interminable procrastination and delaying tactics of the South African Government. We regret this very much and we appeal urgently to the Pretoria authorities to seize the opportunity to accept an equitable solution in order to lead Namibia to independence. We continue to lend every support to this initiative because we sincerely believe that it can bring about an equitable transition, free from violence and without rancour, to independence for Namibia. In this context, I must stress that we condemn the recent military incursions by South Africa into Angola.

239. Unfortunately, the illegal occupation of Namibia does not constitute the only distressing problem in this long-suffering part of the world. In spite of increasing pressure on the part of world public opinion, South Africa continues to pursue a racist ideology which is both unnatural and contemptible. *Apartheid* has never enjoyed the slightest sympathy in Luxembourg, and we will continue to urge South Africa, by every means available to us, to give up this racist policy and to engage in the fundamental reforms which will ultimately restore to that country its right to belong to the family of nations which respect fundamental freedoms and human rights.

240. Similarly, my Government will continue to oppose the establishment of bantustans. Ghettos of this kind are not and will never constitute a solution to the serious problems of South Africa.

241. Since we are meeting here to undertake a review of the situation, it should be done fearlessly, even if sometimes the dismal truths are not to everyone's liking.

242. I would have liked to strike a more optimistic note in turning to the problems of the Middle East, but grim reality forces me to give up that idea. How many sincere efforts have been devoted to this part of the world, this long-suffering region? How many failures have aborted

these efforts before they had hardly started? Happily for our world men of goodwill are not lacking, and I would like to take this opportunity to pay a particular tribute to those who continue in spite of reverses to serve the ideals of the mission of peace of the United Nations. I hope that those who are contributing to the operations of the peace-keeping forces will receive this unreserved tribute. Our gratitude is also addressed to the United States and its peerless negotiator, Mr. Philip Habib. Contrary to certain allegations, we believe that the mission of this distinguished diplomat has served everyone's interest, because peace is indivisible and concerns us all.

243. This leads me naturally to the efforts to bring about a settlement in the Middle East on a broader scale. Whether it be the Camp David accords or, more recently, the peace ideas or plans developed by President Sadat or by Saudi Arabia, they are all valid because they are all attempts to bring about settlement of an extremely complex and delicate problem. Of course, the initiative of the European Community, which my British colleague described yesterday, still remains valid as far as we are concerned, since my predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, made an initial tour of world capitals in an attempt to find a solution to this crucial problem.

244. I hope that all those who are now still talking about pre-conditions or exceptions will think again and review their policy. A lasting peace in the Middle East is inconceivable without the following elements: the right to existence and security of all States in the area, including Israel; justice and the right to self-determination for all the peoples of the region; the withdrawal of all foreign troops from territories now occupied; the participation of all parties concerned in the drafting of an equitable peace treaty negotiated under the aegis of the United Nations.

245. Of course, these requirements call for concessions on all sides, but I call upon all the parties concerned to consider whether global peace is not well worth this price.

246. Unfortunately, we have recently witnessed a dangerous hardening of positions on the part of the political leaders of the countries concerned. We very much regret this, because here again, far from benefiting either side, such attitudes only serve to exacerbate a situation which is already all too explosive and to increase the suffering and hardships of the peoples concerned.

247. We deeply regret the new escalation of violence in Lebanon. Luxembourg has always supported international appeals for the preservation of a sovereign Lebanon whose integrity and territorial unity would be guaranteed.

248. As for the conflict in Cyprus, I should like to express the sincere hope that negotiations will lead the two communities towards a harmonious solution to that conflict. We welcome the work being done in Cyprus to achieve this by the representatives of the Secretary-General.

249. South-East Asia is another part of our turbulent world in which situations of armed conflict are continuing, to the detriment not only of détente, but also of the well-being of peoples who, over the past decades, have suffered all too much. Unfortunately, the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea still remain on our agenda.

250. Neither the resolutions of the Assembly nor international conferences have succeeded in easing the situation in any way, although they have done no more than appeal for common sense, for dialogue and for negotiations that will enable all the parties to save face.

251. Why, I wonder, does the USSR persist in occupying an Afghanistan that is hostile to its ideological and expansionist designs? How many human and material resources are needed in the attempt to prove, in defiance of world public opinion, that intervention is ever justified? Apart from the fact that such interventions are contrary to the fundamental principles set forth in the Charter, such acts and interventions—and here I am speaking on behalf of all the people of Luxembourg—are contrary to the most elementary human rights. Why cannot the initiative taken by the 10 member States of the European Communities¹¹ constitute at least a first step towards a solution? That initiative does, in any case, represent an honest attempt, inspired solely by a sincere desire for peace in that region.

252. The same observations apply, perhaps with some qualifications, to the situation in Kampuchea. There Viet Nam has used the pretext of an inhumane and genocidal régime, established in a country deserving of peace and economic and social progress, to attempt to alter the normal course of history. Against the will of the population, it is attempting to impose a puppet régime on a people resistant both to the exactions of the Pol Pot government and to the caprices of neighbours rather too eager to turn it into an earthly paradise.

253. I do not want to overlook here, in the United Nations, a problem that is becoming more serious every day and that is of serious concern to us—the problem of refugees, whether in South-East Asia, Africa or on the Latin American continent. Instead of seeing a lessening of violence and injustice, in accordance with the Charter, we are seeing new outbreaks of blind violence, often accompanied by a total collapse of democratic values.

254. I have mentioned only some of the major problems that have for years been of constant concern to world opinion. Unfortunately, there are others, which have been dealt with by my British colleague, who spoke yesterday on behalf of the 10 members of the European Communities. Yet I would be remiss were I not to touch briefly on some economic problems which at the present time are at the forefront of our leaders' concerns.

255. In the last decade, our world has had to deal with a vicious circle of recessions followed by periods of inflation and social instability which, in turn, have given rise to restrictive policies. Fortunately, we have thus far succeeded in stifling the protectionist impulses that are the inevitable consequence of such economic phenomena. We must persist in this course and overcome our problems, even though insecurity and disorder in the monetary sector have not made our task any easier.

256. All these elements, which are fundamentally unfavourable to any attempt to revive the world economy, and even more unfavourable to a rapid establishment of what we have come to call the new international economic order, have certainly not helped to improve the international atmosphere. We should, however, be gratified that in spite of these disappointments, this lack of pro-

gress, the dialogue between the industrialized and the developing countries has not been interrupted.

257. Two international conferences, one on new and renewable sources of energy, held at Nairobi, and the other on the least developed countries, held in Paris—that have taken place since the unfortunate delay in what has been termed the global negotiations—have amply demonstrated that there are still enough people of goodwill who, far from allowing themselves to be discouraged by temporary set-backs, tirelessly persist in their search for solutions to particular problems for want of finding a global solution.

258. In this connection, I personally prefer to seek specific solutions that will be suited to the interdependence that is inevitable in the world of the future, rather than merely philosophizing on notions such as global negotiations or the new international economic order.

259. I am personally convinced that these actions and ideas are complementary and should ultimately come to mean the same thing. In this belief, I remain convinced that "interdependence" stands for a specific idea, both from the economic and commercial standpoint and from the humanitarian and social standpoint. However, I fear that references to global negotiations and to the new international economic order alone will—quite mistakenly—give rise in some quarters to doubts and misgivings, and consequently to a reluctant attitude. This would be a pity and contrary to our wishes and our commitments.

260. Whatever label is attached to the many economic discussions now under way, they certainly constitute a gigantic undertaking. Much progress has been achieved, but much remains to be done, and ultimate success has so far eluded us. Responsibility for this state of affairs, regrettable in itself, can in no way land at the door of Mr. von Wechmar. I should like to take this opportunity to tell him how much we have appreciated his commitment to such an eminently just cause and how much we have admired his perseverance, his courage and his gifts as an experienced negotiator throughout the long and difficult dealings of the past year.

261. It is now the task of the new President to take up the torch and to do his very best to conclude the work of giving our world an economic system that would be more just and more productive for everyone.

262. Luxembourg has always encouraged fair and beneficial co-operation. In the association between the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and the European Communities, we have seen an original method of promoting co-operation among nations that share the same ideals and objectives. Ever since the first association between the European Communities and the Associated African and Malagasy States, we have given every support to this undertaking and shall continue to do so. Similarly, we shall not be found wanting when our Organization continues its efforts to settle economic problems at the world level.

263. In reviewing these problems and offering certain reflections on them, we must agree that the world situation is hardly encouraging. Of course there are some encouraging elements in all this. There are also problems in regard to which the Organization can be proud of having, if not finally settled conflicts or disputes, at least em-

barked on processes making it possible to hope for a satisfactory outcome.

264. I do not wish to conclude on too pessimistic a note with regard to the results of the work of the Organization. As in the past, the United Nations is indispensable for the survival of the world and will remain so. Its work, apart from certain major problems, which unfortunately are in the focus of world attention, seems to us to be particularly useful and constructive inasmuch as it is carried out in large measure without any publicity and for the benefit of all our citizens. In this regard it is a pleasure for me to be able to say to the Secretary-General how much we esteem him and how much we appreciate his devotion and his commitment to the principles enshrined in the Charter. That is true also for all those who, under his enlightened leadership, in the Secretariat, devote themselves to championing our common ideals.

265. These considerations lead me quite naturally to share with the Assembly a thought which seems to me to apply to all our problems at the present time, whether they concern political or economic matters.

266. There are in our societies universal laws and imperatives applicable to the whole international community, whatever may be its ideology or religion. Those who believe that they can change these rules with impunity, because at the time they seem to be contrary to their current interests, are seriously mistaken.

267. Our generation created modern civilization with its promises, but also with its threats. It is for us to fulfil the promises, which are immense, and to ward off the threats and dangers, which are no less so. Future generations, believe me, will judge us, and they will judge us severely.

268. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): Permit me, on behalf of the Sierra Leone delegation, to extend to the President our warmest congratulations on his election to preside over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We have every confidence that his long association with the United Nations, both in the capacity of representative of his country and as an official of the Organization over the years, equips him eminently well to discharge the functions of the high office he now occupies with distinction.

269. Let me also pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, who during his tenure made excellent contributions to bringing us still nearer to the goals of the United Nations, particularly in the field of global social and economic justice.

270. The United Nations itself represents a culmination of the evolution of man's historic yearning for peace and his universal desire to promote economic and social well-being, to improve the quality of life and to weave diverse political, ethnic, cultural and religious particularisms into a more harmonious and accommodating system. The General Assembly has come to represent a kind of shrine, as it were, at which nations of the world forgather annually, as we do here today, to express this universal yearning for peace and progress. Notwithstanding numerous frustrations in its path throughout its 36 years of existence, it has persisted in keeping alive its noble and laudable objectives.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

271. Heedless of the cherished hopes which attended the birth of the Organization, we have in recent years become unwilling spectators of a world increasingly rearming itself as if in final preparation for Armageddon. Without doubt, the accelerating arms race continues to be the most serious threat to the human race. In the face of want, deprivation and scarcity in many parts of the world, we are compelled to watch helplessly while scarce resources are frittered away in the accumulation of more deadly, more expensive and more destructive arsenals, resulting today in what for many of us is a frightening disproportion between the means of survival and the means of destruction.

272. Three years ago the United Nations expressed its grave concern over this issue by convening a special session devoted to the question of disarmament. In its Declaration [*resolution S-10/2*], the General Assembly at the tenth special session recognized the widespread, retrogressive and disintegrative effects of the arms race on the fabric of world peace and security and concluded that, not only did it run counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of international tension and the establishment of genuine peace, but it also constituted a considerable drag on the world's social and economic development. It is, therefore, particularly distressing to see that three years later the situation not only has worsened but has in fact been compounded with the accretion of new weapon systems added to an already diabolical collection, which further endangers the future of our world. All this is done under the pretext of defence and security needs.

273. One sure lesson of history throughout the ages has been that there is no security in armament, let alone in its accumulation. The only assurance of peace and survival is justice and tolerance.

274. It is, in our view, as pernicious as it is inhuman to believe that a balance of terror can ensure the peace of the world; for there can be no dividends in a holocaust—we are all losers. Let those, then, who would condemn our world to the uncertainty of a nuclear future, hold a nuclear sword of Damocles over our heads, and hold to ransom the hopes of humanity, search their consciences.

275. It is against this backdrop of anxiety and uncertainty that we have come to witness a depressing deterioration in the world political climate. Indeed, today we face veritable global crises of confidence. There is a crisis of confidence between those who would arrogate to themselves the responsibility of being guardians of world peace. There is also a crisis of confidence in regard to the very survival of our world. Moreover, there is a crisis of confidence among the overwhelming masses of humanity, stemming from uncertainty concerning whether the affluent half of our world has any interest in their well-being and welfare.

276. How could this not be so, when today we observe helplessly the investment of some \$500 billion annually in the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction, instead of these resources being made available for economic development and improving the life of our people? We have within our grasp the economic, scientific and technological capabilities to effect a great improvement in human

prosperity, welfare and advancement, and this Organization owes it to mankind to ensure that we utilize these capabilities for nobler ends.

277. It is in the face of these global crises of confidence that we are setting off on a new decade. We submit, therefore, with all humility that the international agenda for this current decade and beyond should be composed of items and measures to restore faith and confidence in the human will and desire to survive in peace and prosperity. This is the essence and *raison d'être* of the United Nations. Above all, the United Nations must now more than ever before be instrumental in effecting global confidence-building measures to assure us of peace, prosperity and security.

278. We return on our annual pilgrimage to yet another session of the General Assembly, again, as in the immediate past, with an air of gloom over the world economy. The global economic situation, as in the past several years, still offers a familiar and depressing picture.

279. For developed industrialized countries, the post-war era of boom and prosperity seems to be running out of steam and the long period of growth seems to be halted in its track by a general recession, exacerbated by monetary instability, high interest rates and mounting unemployment.

280. For most developing countries, the rising cost of imports of manufactures, oil and food, the deteriorating terms of trade and the worsening balance of payment deficits have all, over the period, set in with particular severity to make life more miserable for their peoples and make more distant and difficult the prospect of realizing their human development.

281. All this demonstrates that the world economy needs today the imagination, the courage and the necessary will not only to restructure it but to give it the necessary momentum to keep it on an even keel. In the meantime, we in the developing countries have experienced and are experiencing great difficulty in obtaining the necessary co-operation in evolving lasting and more responsive solutions to the continuing deterioration in our economic situation. This, we submit, is not a case of special pleading. The object-lesson of the present global economic gloom clearly illustrates that our interdependent world will not brook prosperity in one half while the other half continues to languish in want and deprivation. Global well-being will remain illusory unless and until the aspirations and needs of the developing countries are reflected in the management of the international economy and in the decisions resulting from international negotiations.

282. It is in this context that we believe that the United Nations must now more than ever before address itself seriously to the immediate necessity of launching the global round of negotiations, which would facilitate the implementation of the fundamental restructuring which we all voted for as far back as 1974 in adopting General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI).

283. Now more than ever before it is clear that changes in international economic relationships are necessary, in the interests of both rich and poor nations, in our quest for more equity, both within States and among States, and

everything must now be done to forge a global consensus on a programme of survival and to translate the emergent consensus into action.

284. However, inasmuch as we should welcome measures and initiatives that may help facilitate the process and, indeed, promote and inspire the imperatives of international co-operation, it is our belief that the central role of the United Nations and the necessity for the participation of all States in the process cannot be over-emphasized, for the amalgam of global economic problems we are experiencing today will not admit of parochial or selective solutions. It is in this light, therefore, that we welcome the forthcoming Conference at Cancún.

285. Although the Mexico summit of 22 countries cannot negotiate for the rest of the world, we believe it can nevertheless raise the level of consultations and provide the improved climate necessary for forging that consensus so vital for tackling the ills of the encircling global economic gloom.

286. Ten years ago the Assembly, with dawning appreciation of the magnitude of the problem of international economic development, given the uneven availability and spread of global resources, identified a group of the most disadvantaged members of the world community [*resolution 2768 (XXVI)*]. It was felt that members of this group, the least developed countries, as they are euphemistically called, would have their prospects of self-sustaining development and viability enhanced if they were the object of special care and attention.

287. Global concern for the distressing and deteriorating situation of this group of States came to a head at the recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris. Regrettably, the outcome of this Conference did not, in our view, match the hopes and expectations that inspired it. We can only, therefore, appeal to those members of the international community that can afford it to help; this is a clear case of self-interested altruism because there can be no peace, justice, happiness or stability in this our interdependent world if a significant proportion of its members continue to wallow in poverty, ignorance and disease.

288. Every so often mankind confirms its ability to respond to crises with resilience, imagination and determination. Such adaptation and resilience are no doubt essential for the survival of the human race. Regrettably, however, man has yet to muster his technological capabilities, skill, imagination and dexterity to achieve and ensure an adequate and reliable quantum of energy for his survival. Energy in its diverse manifestations remains one of the most important factors for progress, and its continued availability on a sustained and reliable basis is without doubt indispensable to technological and socio-economic development.

289. We are therefore encouraged by the seriousness, dedication and direction demonstrated at the recent United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. It is the view of my delegation that the Programme of Action adopted at Nairobi⁷ contains the necessary perceptions and policy guidelines for us to initiate practical measures to facilitate the effective and reliable supply of that essential resource in its various forms.

290. I should like at this stage to pay a tribute to the United Nations system and, in particular, its related bodies and agencies, which over the years have provided indispensable yeoman service for international co-operation and development. In particular, these United Nations specialized agencies and bodies have contributed to improving the social and economic circumstances of the disadvantaged members of our world community, contributing thereby to stability and improvement of the human condition and welfare, especially in those countries.

291. It is, therefore, particularly regrettable that a climate of recession in the funding of these agencies seems to be setting in, which in our view will usher in a disconsolate and uncomfortable new ice age for international co-operation. It must be remembered that for many people throughout the world, indeed for the ordinary man in the street, these agencies represent the United Nations in action. Their task is to give practical meaning and purpose to the ideals and goals of international co-operation.

292. We therefore call on all members of the international community to explore new ways of meeting the requirements and expectations of these bodies for the attainment of their goals. We should avoid subjecting the integrity and fabric of these agencies to unnecessary stress and tension for national or parochial ends.

293. The disapproval of certain activities of some of these agencies, expressed in cutbacks in contributions by certain Member States, does not, in our view, do a service to international co-operation; rather, it is a disservice to the spirit of international co-operation and impoverishes us all. We believe that these agencies can have only one ideology, and that is service to humanity, regardless of the world political and ideological divide.

294. It is in this spirit that we want to launch an appeal to the international community, particularly the traditional donor countries and others in a position to do so, to replenish the resource base of these agencies, for indeed they are the flagship of international co-operation and they deserve our support, individually and collectively.

295. After some seven years of consultations and negotiations, the world now stands in sight of the prospect of an agreed text of a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea. The importance of the realization of this prospect can hardly be overemphasized. It would mark the first time ever that the nations of our world—old and new, rich and poor, and from both ends of the global political spectrum—have had the opportunity to sit down together to rationalize the rules that should govern the use and exploitation of the resources of our common heritage in the ocean space. The successful completion of this exercise would, therefore, not only immeasurably enhance the prospect and reality of international co-operation, but also give meaning and vitality to the United Nations as a whole as a necessary instrument for the management of our common heritage and the peaceful solution of problems arising therefrom.

296. It is in this spirit that we want to appeal to the Government of the United States of America and others that may be tempted to contemplate the unilateral path, because of current technological advantage and other considerations, to forgo such temptation. At best, this could only be short-term, but it would in the event prove dis-

ruptive and would irreparably undermine confidence in the international negotiating process. There is too much at stake for the peaceful and orderly exploitation and development of the resources of the ocean space to admit of unilateralism from any quarter.

297. It is therefore vital that the negotiations on this matter be brought soon to safe harbour, for there is a growing feeling of unease abroad that we have been a little too long at sea.

298. Even as the world grapples with its social and economic problems, it must still continue to find solutions to its political problems, some of them as old as, if not older than, the United Nations itself. These all attest to the crises of confidence I referred to earlier. The struggle for freedom and independence in Namibia, the trouble spots around the world, the tensions and tragedies of divided nations, the struggle for internal political power within States, all have as their underlying cause the continuing historical injustice inflicted by man on man.

299. Let us therefore, in our time and age, have the imagination, the courage and the vision to correct these injustices. We must have the courage to take action to wipe out injustice not only between nations but within States. This, we submit, is the challenge that faces the United Nations in the last half of the twentieth century.

300. A few days ago we witnessed in this Hall the admission to our ranks as a new Member the independent, sovereign State of Vanuatu. We welcome and rejoice with the people of Vanuatu on their assumption of independence. But, alas, in this very Hall, waiting in the wings, are nation-States yet to be free: Namibia, Palestine and many others.

301. I also want to take this opportunity to express the satisfaction of the Government and people of Sierra Leone at the accession to independence of the State of Belize. We look forward to its admission to our ranks.

302. The General Assembly recently concluded its eighth emergency special session, on the question of Namibia. But Namibia is yet to be free. This is without doubt a standing indictment of the political will and, I dare say, the moral commitment of the international community. It is the view of the Government of Sierra Leone that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has all the ingredients necessary to bring Namibia to independence. What is lacking is the will and courage to implement that resolution. We are deeply saddened to note that the *apartheid* South African régime is being aided and comforted in its defiance of the world community's desire to see Namibia free, through extraneous considerations in certain quarters.

303. Paradoxically, the South African régime itself has never rejected Security Council resolution 435 (1978); rather it has made allegations of partiality regarding the means for the implementation of the resolution.

304. Today, however, we hear talk about confidence-building measures to implement that resolution; we hear talk about constitutional guarantees for minorities. We do not quarrel with those; alas, if only they did not serve as an alibi for non-performance by the South African

apartheid régime of its obligations to let go of the people and Territory of Namibia.

305. We notice with regret and apprehension that the independence of Namibia is by a curious process of linkage being translated into a pawn on the chessboard of East-West confrontation. The only wish of the people of Namibia is for freedom and independence, which have long been denied them. It is time those were given them and the United Nations owes a special responsibility to them. It is the view of the Government of Sierra Leone that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) contains the requirements—all the requirements—to ensure the accession of Namibia to independence and sovereignty, and we want to reiterate here our support for that resolution, without qualification or amendment.

306. In South Africa itself, the inhuman system of *apartheid* is still entrenched, in spite of numerous United Nations condemnations of the odious and distasteful policies of that régime.

307. The untold suffering of millions of black people, attested to by the recent recourse to policies of resurgent oppression by that régime, takes the form of wholesale bulldozing of black settlements, separation of families, political assassinations and massive arrests of the leadership of the black consciousness movement and other nationalist leaders who remain exiled. Externally, that resurgent oppression has resulted in a policy of destabilization of the region, manifested in wanton and open aggression and subversion against neighbouring States, the latest victim of which is Angola.

308. Some weeks ago, the whole world watched with incredulity and consternation the naked, wanton and crude invasion of Angola by the troops of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. The Security Council, entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter, could not agree on even a mere condemnation of that manifest and brazen aggression against a State Member of the Organization because of the capricious and ill-considered use of the veto by the United States of America. Inasmuch as we deplore that and other irresponsible uses of the veto, my Government vigorously condemns the racist Pretoria régime's aggression against Angola. We reaffirm our abiding solidarity with the Government and people of Angola and salute them for their heroic stand against fascism and racism.

309. The situation in southern Africa admits of neutrality inasmuch as one can afford to be neutral in a choice between right and wrong, between justice and injustice. The whole edifice of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa represents, in our view—and indeed, in the view of all of the world—a negation of our common humanity. It is therefore our duty, severally and collectively, to bring it to an end.

310. We wish therefore that those who would talk about constitutional guarantees for minorities would exert the same effort in securing for the vast majority of the people of South Africa itself their basic rights as human beings, in conformity with our common human dignity.

311. We also note with regret and dismay that out of a so-called concern for strategic, economic and other se-

curity requirements, a policy of acceptance—almost of respectability—of the *apartheid* régime is being sedulously fostered. That, we stress, is an indefensible and unprofitable line of business. There is no security in doing business with *apartheid* South Africa, nor is there any sportsmanship in playing with it, for the very existence of that régime defiles our common humanity. That is Africa's case, and indeed, the global moral consensus against the *apartheid* régime.

312. The Middle East situation, at its core, exemplifies that historical and continuing injustice by man to man that I referred to earlier. In 1947, in the halls of the Organization, the fateful decision was taken to correct part of that injustice, and this resulted in the creation of the State of Israel. Alas, the story remains incomplete even today, and that is the core of the tragedy of the Middle East. For unless and until the people of Palestine can have their own right of self-determination and independence reaffirmed, recognized and realized, there will be no abiding peace in the region.

313. The continuing inability of the international community to find a just, peaceful and lasting solution to the question of Palestine has given a new, disturbing and dangerous dimension to the conflict in the Middle East, ranging today from the abuse and callous disregard of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon, to the alignment of States in the area with one or the other of the super-Powers, to the possibility of introducing dangerous and inhuman weapons into that area. I want here to express the sympathy and support of the Government and the people of Sierra Leone for Lebanon in its trials and tribulations which have resulted in grievous loss of life and property as a direct sequel to the continuing tragedy in the Middle East.

314. For several years now, an eclectic approach has been taken to the Middle East problem. The present deterioration in the situation is therefore, in our view, clear testimony of the failure of the search for peace through separate negotiations and arrangements, which skirt around the heart of the matter, namely, the imprescriptible right of the Palestinians to self-determination—not to autonomy, but to self-determination—and an independent sovereign State.

315. Peace in the Middle East is one and indivisible; it is either pursued as a whole or not at all. There is not, nor can there be, a halfway house.

316. The right of the Palestinian people to a State of their own, like the right of all States in the area to live in peace, must form the guiding principle and, indeed, the very bedrock of any durable peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

317. The continuation of the Middle East tragedy with all its ramifications is without doubt one of the supreme historical challenges confronting the international community. We believe that with tolerance and justice and with the active participation and co-operation of all the peoples and nations in the region a comprehensive and abiding solution to the problem is achievable.

318. But what is necessary and vital is not a backward-looking historical perspective blurred as it must be by images of past injustice, but rather a forward-looking and

vigorous vision inspired by hope and the courage to face the future. If the nations and peoples of the Middle East can learn to live in peace, then there is hope for peace in our world.

319. To sustain and maintain this peace in our world it is vital and necessary that immediate action be taken to defuse all the trouble spots we have on our hands today which clutter the international agenda. In this connection, it is the firm belief of my Government that the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan should be left, without the heavy hand and overweening presence of foreign interference, to settle their own internal problems without let or hindrance by any other Power.

320. My Government also welcomes the recent profession of intention by the leadership of the two halves of the Korean peninsula to enter into negotiations for the peaceful reunification of that historic and vibrant nation, the united dynamism of the people of which will undoubtedly be a significant asset to the international community. We hope that everything will be done to facilitate and enhance this process and to bring it to fruition.

321. Also, inasmuch as my Government regrets the *de facto* partition of the Republic of Cyprus, we welcome the establishment on a regular basis of the inter-communal talks, through which we hope that the fear, prejudice and bigotry that gave rise to the present unhappy state of affairs on that island will soon be dispelled, leading to the consolidation and preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus. My Government commends the Secretary-General for his efforts in the pursuit of those objectives.

322. Even as the world continues to address itself to global political and economic issues, we must at the same time keep constantly in view respect for the integrity of the human person. The pursuit of global security and international economic and social justice is only meaningful if, in the end, it contributes to the well-being of the individual, the focus of all our preoccupations and exertions at the end of the day.

323. In my delegation's view, the attainment of the welfare of the individual and the observance of and respect for the integrity of his person should be the measure of our conviction and commitment. It is right and proper, therefore, that the United Nations should concern itself with human rights throughout the world, for it was, as an organization, conceived on the premise and the determination, stated in the Preamble to the Charter, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, . . . in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . ."; and, in the daily round of its activities, it is dedicated to the proposition "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

324. It is therefore particularly gratifying to my delegation and my country to note that at the regional level the Organization of African Unity at its last summit meeting at Nairobi adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.¹² This, in our view, represents an advance for human rights and adds to the growing corpus of international provisions for the protection and advancement of those rights.

325. Before concluding this statement, I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Government of Sierra Leone our appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his staff, for their dedication and devotion to duty, even in the face of difficult and trying circumstances.

326. The Secretariat has often, amidst the clangour and clash of interests among States, been reduced to the role of the silent sentinel, but one that faithfully stands guard over the principles and purposes of the Organization. This is as it should be, for in truth the United Nations is the instrument through which we hope to forge together a better future world order. It has, over the years, succeeded in keeping fresh and clear our vision of that future, whether in the difficult field of moderating the political differences among States or trying to forge a consensus on the economic relationship of our increasingly interdependent world, and even in the humanitarian help and relief which must be rendered to the individual.

327. The Secretariat, through all its efforts and untiring devotion to the principles of the Charter, has striven to keep us together in our collective venture for a better world.

328. The United Nations itself represents a kind of vessel in man's odyssey for a better world. In the past three and a half decades the journey has not been smooth; indeed, the vessel has been buffeted by the billows of frustration, sometimes verging on despair. But we must all persevere together in this venture, for it is the only right course, and for now the United Nations is the only vessel we have.

329. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call on the representative of Viet Nam, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

330. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): In his statement this afternoon the representative of China deliberately distorted the reality of the situation currently prevailing in Kampuchea and made slanderous allegations concerning the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, following the tactic of the thief shouting "stop thief!" and attributing to others acts which the reactionary circles among the Chinese leadership intend to carry out themselves. My delegation categorically rejects the mendacious remarks of the Chinese delegation and wishes to state the following.

331. No manoeuvre of the Chinese leaders can absolve them from their crimes of genocide against the Kampuchean people and their crimes of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The Chinese leaders are precisely those who were and who continue to be the protectors of the Pol Pot clique, which is guilty of the massacre of some 3 million innocent Kampuchean and is at present seeking by every means at its disposal to foist the genocidal régime upon that people once again. The Chinese leaders are also those who ordered 600,000 Chinese troops to invade Viet Nam in 1979, committing unspeakable crimes against the civilian population, and who at present have amassed dozens of divisions near the Vietnamese-Chinese and Laotian-Chinese borders, ready to "give Viet Nam a second lesson" and to invade Laos at any moment.

332. At the same time, China is recruiting, arming and training, in special camps situated somewhere in southern China, mercenaries of Indo-Chinese origin, with the aim of infiltrating them into these three countries to carry out criminal activities, sabotage and subversion. This picture would not be complete if we did not mention the territorial claims over land and sea that China maintains over most of its neighbouring countries, as well as the terrorist activities of mini-groups of Chinese pseudo-revolutionaries against the Governments of the countries of South-East Asia.

333. This is what China's foreign peace policy truly represents. This is the policy of which its representative boasted a few moments ago before this very Assembly.

334. The United States of America, having failed in the most atrocious war of aggression of our time in Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea, is at present seeking to take revenge by entering into close complicity with China to attempt to sabotage the task of reconstruction of the three Indo-Chinese countries ravaged by millions of tons of American bombs and toxic chemical weapons.

335. Confronted by these colonial, imperialist and hegemonist aggressors, the peoples of these three Indo-Chinese countries, now as in the past, have as their most efficient tools solidarity and co-operation in every field to enable them to exercise their natural right to legitimate individual and collective defence in strict compliance with the Charter of the United Nations. As long as the Chinese threat persists, the measures taken by the three Indo-Chinese peoples to ensure their collective defence are essential. That is precisely why the enemies of our three peoples are striving to destroy our solidarity and co-operation, as this would enable them to achieve their dream of imposing their control over the Viet Nameese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples once again.

336. Lastly, it is regrettable that some representatives who have spoken in the last few days have, either deliberately or from lack of information on the situation in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia, endorsed China's hostile policy towards the peoples of Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 33*, para. 159.

³ See Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade, 1973, *Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries 1961-1973*, sect. III, paras. 21-23.

⁴ World Bank, *World Development Report 1981*, Washington, D.C., August 1981, pp. 17-18.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1981, Supplement No. 16*, E/1981/56-E/CEPAL/G.1176, chap. IV, resolution 422 (XIX).

⁶ *Ibid.*, resolution 426 (XIX).

⁷ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁸ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII, No. 1999, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), pp. 483-496.

⁹ See document OEA/Ser.G, CP/INF. 1795/81 of the Organization of American States, 9 September 1981.

¹⁰ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

¹¹ See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

¹² See American Society of International Law, *International Legal Materials*, vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1982, p. 59.