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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning the Assembly will hear an address by Mr. José Napoleón Duarte, President of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. DUARTE (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are familiar with your reputation as a skilful and experienced diplomat, and that will surely guarantee success in the conduct of these meetings.

3. I am also pleased to congratulate your worthy predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the efficient manner in which he discharged his task during his presidency.

4. It is fitting and proper to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his diplomatic tact and for the outstanding and balanced manner in which he has directed the sensitive tasks of the Secretariat.

5. America is in mourning. Rómulo Betancourt has achieved immortality. This man, a champion of democracy in Venezuela, overcame party differences to rescue the democratic and social values of his country from the clutches of totalitarianism. Today in their hearts the Salvadorians feel they have lost a friend. The strengthening of democracy in America is a source of solace to us and inspires us to continue his fight. We ask our Venezuelan brothers to permit us to share their grief.

6. We wish to reaffirm from this rostrum the line that we have followed in fighting for our own national sovereignty and political independence. Consequently, we reject all attitudes of expansionism, hegemony and subjugation.

tion. Thus we take note of this twentieth anniversary of the founding of the doctrine and practice of non-alignment, with the authentic and genuine philosophy of which the Government of El Salvador agrees.

7. In taking stock of international events over the past few months, it is obvious that there is a deficit for world peace. Sources of international tension have multiplied. If we add to this that relations between the super-Powers have worsened, we can conclude that the world is taking steps backwards. The struggle between the super-Powers to win new areas of influence and to win supporters of a given political plan in areas far from their countries with different cultural values is largely responsible for the deterioration of the international situation.

8. On the pretext of giving assistance to nationalist positions, there are attempts to inject ideas or to impose models, covertly at first and openly later, which are not in keeping with the special features of the peoples concerned, using propaganda and subversion, trying to divide society, fomenting class hatred and promoting existing disparities in order then to pose as redeemers of situations in which, as if by magic, underdevelopment disappears and peace arrives. We believe that genuine nationalism—which responds to the conditions of its own environment and therefore rejects any transplant of foreign models, as they are not the product of the needs and desires of a country's nationals—must assert itself.

9. Conflicts in sensitive areas such as the Middle East seem not only to be becoming permanent but at times to threaten to spread dangerously close to a conflagration of major proportions. When speaking of the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict comes to the foreground. New initiatives in the search for peace are welcome. In this context we support the efforts of Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia as set forth in his proposal of last August. We must not lose sight of the fact that the formula for understanding lies in adequate treatment between the solution of the Palestinian problem, which is the kernel of the matter, and recognition of the security and survival of the State of Israel. El Salvador cannot condone the acquisition of territory by the use of force, nor can it accept threats against the existence of a State.

10. The development of events in Lebanon, with the violations of territory and the bombings staged there, is one more ingredient in this explosive situation. We can only deplore these acts.

11. In the same context, we condemn the air attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor.

12. The Mediterranean area, with its long tradition of culture, is an area that has been a theatre of conflicts. However, there is good reason to hope that, thanks to the diplomatic tact demonstrated throughout these many years

by the United Nations Secretariat, a lasting settlement can be found through intercommunal talks, with the aim of preserving the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Cyprus, its desire to adhere to non-alignment, and the harmonious life of its two communities.

13. While many local conflicts are becoming more serious, the nuclear disarmament outlook is not promising. The possibility of an atomic world holocaust is present every day, while new arms of mass destruction are developed in a competition between the super-Powers to achieve the most sophisticated techniques for annihilation. It has been repeated *ad nauseam* by many countries in this forum that if a small percentage of the amounts spent on the nuclear arms race were spent instead to finance development, the world would have higher living standards than it has now. If we cannot reverse the nuclear arms race, then we can only hope that common sense will prevail for the benefit of mankind. The last quarter of a century could be characterized by the fostering of such international scourges as terrorism, but this folly cannot extend to the point at which civilization is destroyed by a world conflagration.

14. One of the fundamental principles of international law is the repudiation of invasion of national territory by foreign forces. This is a violation of the very essence of the concept of sovereignty. El Salvador could never tolerate the occupation of its territory, whatever the motive or supposed justification, and it is this principle on which it bases its attitude to events elsewhere. For this reason we view with sympathy all recommendations coming from the United Nations or from any other State, without any ideological distinctions, which are aimed at upholding this principle when it is violated. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that when this basic tenet of the Charter of the United Nations is violated, it unfortunately leads to the human tragedy of refugees fleeing from armed invasions by foreign troops, which constitutes a major human disaster. In accordance with the foregoing observations, we shall support any draft resolution aimed at the cessation of foreign occupation, such as has occurred in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

15. The recently held eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, demonstrated once more the dangerous situation for international peace and security created by the conduct of South Africa. Its refusal to comply with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions aimed at the independence of Namibia, together with recent events involving punitive expeditions into the territory of neighbouring countries, are a check to the continuing hopes and efforts towards the proposed settlement. Indeed these acts mean an increase in armed conflict and an expansion of the conflict. El Salvador, for reasons of principle, vigorously condemns South Africa's armed incursions, and we urge acceptance of the concept of a demilitarized zone along all these borders.

16. Regrettably, when speaking of South Africa, we must at the same time speak of *apartheid*, an odious system which persists to this day and is the cause of continuing violence. Consequently, until institutionalized discrimination is eliminated, as a cause of frustration and weakness, bloodshed will continue.

17. Peace and development as abstractions are separate ideas, but in practice they become interdependent in that one cannot exist without the other. Our commitment then must be to make tireless efforts in both directions.

18. As regards the question of global negotiations, my Government views with sympathy the recent momentum that has been given to initiate the North-South dialogue, and we hope that the proposed meetings will yield promising results.

19. Our country favours economic co-operation among developing countries. This is a valuable instrument in the South-South dialogue, and we are convinced it will lead to the economic development of our peoples. The agreements reached by the Group of 77 at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May this year, deserve our support.

20. After arduous and delicate negotiations, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, having made praiseworthy progress in many areas, lost the momentum that it had gained. There is a threat to reconsider the philosophical concept of the common heritage of mankind as regards the sea-bed, with all the consequences that would ensue. El Salvador, which has made substantial contributions to the negotiations, is very concerned by the line which has been taken, but it is our hope that negotiations will conclude in 1982.

21. The United Nations, one of whose objectives is to create a system of international peace and security and vast economic, social, cultural and humanitarian programmes, must not become a sounding board for propaganda about purely domestic conflicts. This would distort the purposes of the Organization and harm its reputation. Resolutions having no ethical basis, realism or good faith would be mere pieces of paper with no practical content. The road to the revitalization of the world Organization is not through intervention in the internal affairs of a State, or whatever pretext, because what is not permissible for any individual State is also prohibited for several or many States together, in accordance with the rule universally accepted in any code of international conduct that what concerns the institutional structure of a State or its future must be resolved exclusively by that State. The best service that can be rendered to the cause of peace is not to intervene in the internal affairs of another State. Here I would recall Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which says:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter.”

22. If we wish to strengthen the Organization, we must not yield to demagoguery or extremism. We must not select or exclude topics for ideological reasons. Finally, we must avoid the absurdity of irrational resolutions whose sole purpose is to encourage violent attitudes.

23. Thanks to the unremitting efforts and good will of the Government of Honduras and the present Government of El Salvador, on 30 October 1980 we signed a general peace treaty between the two countries. By virtue of this

agreement, relations of friendship and mutual respect are at the highest possible level for the benefit of our peoples. El Salvador is at present involved in no dispute—to use the term in the Charter—with the countries with which we share territorial borders, much less with more distant countries. We have made reciprocal efforts with our Central American brothers to promote plans for co-operation in the isthmus. It must be recognized that in the signing of this international instrument the Organization of American States played an important role.

24. The regional organizations, which by their very nature, their proximity and the cultural roots of their members can understand more clearly the interpretation of what happens in their respective regions, are called to play a leading role in matters of international peace and security. Political logic requires that they play a primary part, as is recognized by the Charter of the United Nations. Only States with no faith in the moral and legal strength of their arguments will try to repudiate, because of the localization and gravity of a conflict, an international system which is structured from the regional to the global scale. One result of such mad action could be to disrupt the harmony between regional organizations and the world Organization, with all the dangers that that would involve.

25. To strengthen international law *in toto*, we must not weaken the parts that make up the whole. Only in this way can an integrated system function. It has been the constant practice in this world Organization not to deal with situations which have been dealt with in regional organizations. The Organization of American States [OAS] and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have carried out exemplary and praiseworthy work in co-ordination between both spheres.

26. In the sociological dynamics of a political process, no State, no countries bound by ideological ties or for reasons of opportunism, no international political group has the capability to impose stubbornly its will on another country through control of events there, contrary to the wishes of the majority of its people.

27. Furthermore, full support for the basic norms of international law—including, of course, the principle of good faith—is a *sine qua non* for any peace initiatives.

28. If, because of circumstances in any part of the world, there are events which have given the advantage to certain philosophical or political currents, this does not necessarily mean that neighbouring countries must adopt the same course of action, because what might be right for one country might well be a disaster for others. To resist the apparent advantages of immediate political gains, which are merely illusory compared with the legitimate, stable, proper national interests, is a choice requiring a pragmatic, intelligent decision. The long term must be thought about, and not the emotional attitudes of the present. In this choice one must resist those who take advantage of juvenile passions and incite the social hatred of the dispossessed, pushing them towards irredentist violence, like those who wish to return at all costs, using violent means, to a *status quo* which is no longer relevant because it is unjust. Both forms of conduct are worthy of condemnation because they lead to the destruction of human lives in a fratricidal struggle.

29. It is never too late to learn the lessons of bitter experience, to turn one's back on irrationality and to move in the direction of concord.

30. El Salvador is ready to continue to co-operate in a resolute manner to promote an atmosphere of confidence among the brother States of the region, for our international conduct will always show our attachment to the principles of the Charter, principally those that promote mutual respect and respect for the sovereignty of other States and for the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. No one can legitimately say that my country has violated those principles or provoked conflicts with other countries in the area. We have been tolerant about the attitudes of others when those attitudes were at variance with international law and with the requirements of harmony among sovereign nations, because it is our hope that such behaviour will be corrected as a sign of political maturity and respect for international law. It cannot validly be claimed from the ethical, juridical or political point of view that so-called solidarity of organizations or movements which share an ideology is enough to discard the entire framework of fundamental principles of international law which were accepted and agreed to by all the States here when they signed the Charter of the Organization.

31. El Salvador has endeavoured, and will continue to endeavour, to promote genuine co-operation for reciprocal benefits in Central America. My country is aware that in Central America certain political events have occurred which have created different models for economic and social development. In accordance with this philosophy, on 15 August this year, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of El Salvador and the countries of the Central American isthmus signed the Declaration of Tegucigalpa.¹ I wish to quote certain preambular and operative paragraphs from that Declaration, relating to international co-operation:

“Considering that those initiatives offer the countries of the Central American Isthmus opportunities that should be exploited, in the understanding that such co-operation is not to interfere with national objectives of any kind or with the manner in which each country proposes to achieve those objectives;

“ . . .

“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;

“ . . .

“3. *Call upon* the international community to co-operate with the countries of the Central American Isthmus in internal and intraregional efforts they make to eliminate the obstacles to their development, through concerted and determined action which takes account of the priorities that each of those countries has established, independently of the manner elected to achieve them, and which reinforces the existing co-ordination and complementation of economic development among the countries in the region.”

32. Our philosophy of regional international relations is one of co-operation and mutual respect.

33. Central America is more than a region made up of countries; it is a symbol of historic brotherhood and unity.

34. May I here extend to Belize a warm welcome to the Organization. El Salvador has always believed that Belize—because of its special position, the product of history and geography—can be the integrating bridge between Central America and the Caribbean. It is our hope that the matters awaiting settlement with the sister and neighbouring Republic of Guatemala will be resolved satisfactorily for both parties on the bases of understanding previously negotiated. We hope that they will renew their talks in the spirit of concord and understanding set out in that document.

35. We wish also to welcome Vanuatu, the other independent State that has recently joined the international community.

36. El Salvador does not wish to be the subject of a dispute nor shall we allow that to happen. Neither do we wish to be prey to the hegemonistic ambitions of the great Powers, nor do we consider ourselves the natural zone of influence of any State. Our people, proud by heritage and vocation, the product of a miraculous melting-pot of mixed races, insists upon being master of its own destiny. We are convinced of the sureness of our people's judgement, and we know that the path of hope lies before us, leading to a more just and more humanitarian society imbued with true social content.

37. We have emphasized time and again that El Salvador's problems must concern Salvadorians alone. Consequently, solutions must be sought on a national basis, taking into account the idiosyncrasies of the people, democracy as we know it in our country and our search for social justice, essential elements in the consolidation of peace and national harmony.

38. Nevertheless, we wish to explain from this rostrum certain aspects of these complicated problems, not to invite any country to meddle in our domestic affairs and thus violate the principle of non-intervention, but that there may be a proper appreciation of what is happening in El Salvador and the path to solution which we Salvadorians consider best.

39. My Government, in spite of the prevailing violence, has persisted in its determination to build a democratic, participatory and pluralistic society, where man can enjoy a more just and more humane and interdependent life in peace. We have not been deterred by the impetuous attacks of extremists, whose terrorist activities have increased because of the external support they receive from those who want El Salvador to have a totalitarian system.

40. Thus we have continued to strengthen the structural changes proven over time, basically consisting of nationalization of the banks and of foreign trade and the most thorough agrarian reform in Latin America, in the firm conviction that with their development and in a climate of peace, they will overcome poverty and the backwardness from which our country has suffered for so long.

41. Politically, we are already coming to the decisive stage of implementing the electoral process which our Foreign Minister announced barely a year ago in this forum as a means of allowing our people to determine their own destiny in a democratic way for the first time. Not only has the timetable been strictly adhered to, but measures for internal détente have been advanced, the most important being the political draft which, as President of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government, I announced on 15 September last, the date on which we commemorate our independence.

42. The Government of El Salvador considers that the solution of the present crisis in the country must essentially be political and democratic in nature. We feel that the electoral process, representing as it does a beginning, is the right way to bring about that democratic settlement, whose fundamental element is dialogue. It must be an interparty dialogue open to every political party regardless of its ideology.

43. From that interparty dialogue the necessary conditions and machinery will be created to ensure the smooth functioning of the democratic process and the proper results of elections. My Government has appealed to every political party and other political groups interested in participating to join in that electoral dialogue. At the same time, an appeal has been made to the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario and Unión Democrática Nacionalista political parties—which are recognized as such by the law and are part of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario—to set aside their hostile attitudes and take part in the interparty dialogue, to debate, study and implement all aspects relating to the electoral process, as the sole democratic solution open to the Salvadorians.

44. The Frente Democrático Revolucionario has also been invited to cease its armed struggle, become a political party and take part in the electoral process, setting aside its attempt to sabotage, by continued recourse to violence, the results of elections which will be fair, free and legitimate. Consequently, it must choose between the road of peace and the tortuous path of terrorist violence.

45. My Government's expressed desire for peace and concord completely excludes any negotiations or dialogue with organized armed sectors. Of course, any group of that kind which lays down its weapons could participate in the electoral process.

46. It is that proposal for peace, concord and national harmony that I am placing before all the peoples of the world represented here in this great forum. To all of you, representatives of all countries, I solemnly state that in this great democratic crusade to bring about peace and national unity, we are prepared to devote all our energy, all our goodwill and all our soul to establishing the best possible conditions under which the Salvadorians can determine freely, at the ballot box, the fundamental characteristics of our new homeland, elect a constituent assembly which will have to determine, in a new political constitution, the basic foundations of a democratic, egalitarian, interdependent and just society.

47. The internal economic, social, cultural and political causes of domestic violence and the present crisis are being overcome by the necessary structural reforms. We

now have a political timetable leading to free elections, which should allow a truly objective solution of the crisis.

48. These efforts being made by Salvadorians must be accompanied by efforts to eliminate external factors which serve to complicate the problem.

49. May I express a final thought. The conflicts and differences among the great do not help democracy, but the clamour of the small is necessary for the survival of the ideal of mankind, an ideal that has been muffled by the noises of a materialist civilization which has wilfully deprived itself of its eyes and ears.

50. In this world any clamour may seem useless. I am saying this because I know about the hundreds of millions of men, women and children who gnaw at their despair and struggle in discouragement in so many parts of the world, because the sun never seems to set on the kingdom of injustice.

51. If God listens to the clamour of the small, why should not the leaders of the great nations, the powerful nations, the developed nations, do likewise? Let them not rely on the fear caused by their weapons and their actions because it is precisely that fear that they should fear.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. José Napoleon Duarte, President of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador, for the important statement he has just made.

53. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Please accept my congratulations, Sir, on your election to the high position of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that your great personal experience of the work of the United Nations will ensure the success of this session.

54. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the admission to membership in the United Nations of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu and wishes the peoples of these countries every success in strengthening their freedom, independence and economic development.

55. The world has entered the penultimate decade of the twentieth century, which is characterized by the steady growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The year 1981 is rich in events of special significance for our country. The Mongolian people has solemnly celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the sixtieth anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution, which ushered in an era of national renaissance, progress and prosperity in its history. In March of this memorable year a citizen of the Mongolian People's Republic, J. Guragcha, took part as a member of the Soviet-Mongolian crew in the flight into outer space of the spacecraft Soyuz-39.

56. Fundamental transformations have taken place in Mongolia in this historically short span. Our society has traversed from medieval feudalism to socialism, bypassing a whole stage of social development—capitalism. Today, the Mongolian People's Republic has become a socialist State with a dynamically developing economy, a flourish-

ing culture and a steadily rising standard of living of the population.

57. Today our people, relying on the disinterested aid and close co-operation with the countries of the socialist community, is striving to achieve the objective of completing the construction of the material and technical base of socialism.

58. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, President of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Yu Tsendenbal, in his report to the eighteenth Congress of the Party set forth the following tasks for foreign policy activities in the strengthening of peace:

“Actively and consistently to pursue the policy of consolidating détente and improving the international situation; to promote in every way the implementation of the peace initiatives advanced by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a follow-up to the Peace Programme; to support the efforts of peace-loving States to curb the arms race and to adopt effective measures in the field of military détente and disarmament; to contribute within the framework of the United Nations and other international organizations to efforts aimed at finding constructive solutions to the pressing problems of today; to contribute in every way to strengthening peace and security in Asia through the joint efforts of Asian States; to work for a further expansion of political dialogue and equal co-operation in various fields with the countries of Asia.”

59. The present international situation makes it incumbent upon all peace-loving States to set as their main objective the strengthening of peace and universal security. In 1981 the world community is witnessing growing international tension. The reason for such a negative turn of events lies in the intensifying intrigues of those in the most aggressive circles of imperialism, with the direct connivance of the Maoist leadership of China. These forces pursue the adventurist objective of checking the world's social progress. Such a course represents an attempt to deny the right of nations to peace, national independence and social progress. It also represents a flagrant infringement of the right of newly independent countries to equitable and just international co-operation and to dispose freely of their national wealth and resources.

60. The ever-intensifying campaigns in the West against the mythical “Soviet military threat” or “international terrorism” are intended to justify aggressive actions not only against real socialism and the forces of national and social liberation, but they also serve as a cover for an offensive against all that is just, democratic and progressive, a cover for attempts to export counterrevolution. This policy, which is utterly divorced from reality and aspires to achieve the unattainable, is fraught with adventurism. The international community should be well aware of all this.

61. That militarist and expansionist policy finds its material expression in the measures undertaken by the United States Administration and in the ruling circles of leading members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to secure military and strategic superiority over the world socialist community. Today the world is

witnessing an unprecedented arms race and the implementation of a wide-ranging programme to create new generations of strategic weapons as well as a whole system of nuclear and conventional weapons. New types of chemical and bacteriological weapons have been developed. A decision has been taken to deploy American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The United States has announced a decision to proceed to full-scale production of the neutron weapon. In that country too a scheme for the militarization of outer space is being hatched.

62. Imperialist military bases are being expanded and, in addition, "rapid deployment forces" are being created for the purpose of intervening in various parts of the world.

63. The United States refuses to ratify the SALT II treaty and evades negotiations on the vital issues of curbing the arms race and disarmament, particularly in the field of limiting nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction. The danger to mankind of such war preparations is further aggravated by the United States campaign to brainwash public opinion so as to make it susceptible to the idea of the admissibility of so-called limited nuclear war and the possibility of surviving such a war. In aspiring to world leadership, the United States has taken to arbitrarily declaring various regions of the world as spheres of its "vital interest", that is, turning them into targets of direct interference and armed intervention. Intrinsicly connected with this is the United States military and economic support for reactionary régimes in the Middle East, South and South-East Asia, Latin America, southern Africa and so on. The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the bellicose intrigues against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, carried out jointly by Washington and Peking, are part and parcel of the same policy.

64. In the face of the policy of *diktat* and aggression, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries advance their peaceful initiatives worked out at the congresses of the communist and workers' parties of these countries recently. In particular, the Peace Programme for the 1980s put forward by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union² contains a whole set of constructive and realistic proposals on the key issues of improving the international situation and preventing the threat of war.

65. The socialist countries propose peaceful dialogue and constructive negotiations on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security as the only sensible way of settling international problems. Dialogue helps to strengthen trust and mutual understanding among States, ease tensions, preserve détente and eliminate conflict and crisis situations.

66. In this connection, the Mongolian delegation underscores the special significance of an improvement in the relations between the two major Powers with differing social systems—the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe that constructive meetings of representatives of these countries at all levels, including the highest, as was proposed by the Soviet Union, will have a decisive impact on improving the international climate and will serve the long-term interests of strengthening universal peace and security. It is in this light that the delegation of the

Mongolian People's Republic views the significance of the meetings recently held between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and the Secretary of State of the United States. The agreement to begin negotiations this 30 November on the problems of limiting medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Europe cannot but meet with the approval of the international community.

67. Implementation of the proposal by the Soviet Union to hold meetings of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of the States members of the Council² and other interested countries would in fact represent multilateral negotiations at the highest level on vital issues concerning the strengthening of universal peace and security. Given a positive stand on all sides, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, such meetings could yield far-reaching favourable results.

68. Naturally, the main thrust of the initiatives of the socialist countries is aimed at the adoption of measures to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The approach of the socialist countries in this field is based on maintaining the existing global military and strategic parity and then lowering the levels of arsenals of States in strict compliance with the security interests of all countries. Regrettably, because of the negative position of the United States and some other nuclear-weapon Powers, up to now there has been a conspicuous lack of proper consideration of such important proposals of the socialist countries as the cessation of production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed, prohibition of the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, and so on.

69. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers particularly important the resumption of the negotiations on limiting strategic armaments together with the preservation of what has been achieved so far. In connection with the forthcoming negotiations on medium-range nuclear-missile weapons, my delegation reiterates its Government's high appreciation of the proposal by the Soviet Union to reach an agreement on setting a moratorium—both quantitative and qualitative—on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear-missile weapons by the NATO countries and the Soviet Union, including the United States forward-based nuclear weapons in that region. Such an agreement would create conditions favourable to negotiations on lessening military confrontations in Europe, which has a direct bearing on the world situation in general. It would also facilitate settlement of the question of convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe and the achievement of tangible results in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

70. The Mongolian People's Republic, as one of the sponsors of the draft convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons,³ submitted for the consideration of the Committee on Disarmament as far back as 1978, favours the immediate resumption of negotiations on this urgent problem. In its statement to the Committee on 20 August 1981⁴ it condemned the decision of the United States on the full-scale production of neutron weapons and demanded that Washington stop production of this most inhumane type of weapon of mass destruction.

71. Mongolia advocates completion, prior to the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, of the work on drafting a convention on the prohibition of radiological weapons.

72. Success in the work of the second special session on disarmament, to be held in the first half of 1982, would be particularly significant, as it would give further impetus to the talks on vital issues concerning ending the arms race and on disarmament. At that session the Assembly is called upon to reaffirm and develop the achievements of the first special session on disarmament, held in 1978, and to become an important step towards the convening of a world disarmament conference which could adopt binding decisions on urgent disarmament issues. The Mongolian People's Republic, as a member of the preparatory committee for the second special session, will continue actively to promote the success of its work.

73. In view of the fact that the danger of the militarization of outer space is at present becoming evident, the proposal by the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of stationing weapons of any kind in this new area of human activity [A/36/192, annex] is most timely. Implementation of that proposal would strengthen the existing international legal instruments aimed at safeguarding outer space from becoming an arena of the arms race. In our view, it would be appropriate for the General Assembly to recommend to the Committee on Disarmament that it embark as soon as possible on the drafting of a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space, on the basis of the draft submitted by the Soviet Union.

74. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the highly important proposal of the Soviet Union on the adoption by the General Assembly at the present session of a declaration on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. The requirements of the present moment are aptly met by the proposal [A/36/241], which condemns the first use of nuclear weapons as the gravest crime against humanity, and any doctrines allowing the first use of nuclear weapons as incompatible with human moral standards and the lofty ideals of the United Nations. My delegation considers highly relevant the provisions of the draft declaration on the supreme duty and direct responsibility of the leaders of nuclear-weapon States to act in such a way as to eliminate the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear conflict. The adoption by the General Assembly of the declaration would be the most important measure meeting the aspirations of the people of the world to prevent the threat of nuclear war and would considerably strengthen the security of all countries, particularly the non-nuclear States. My delegation considers that it is the duty of the General Assembly—in accordance with its obligations flowing from the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter—to adopt the proposed declaration.

75. The situation in the Asian continent gives rise to serious anxiety. The forces of imperialism, hegemonism and militarism are intensifying their intrigues against the peace and independence of the peoples of Asia. The expansion of the military-political collaboration between the United States and China and the decision of the United States Administration to supply the latter with modern weapons, military techniques and technology constitute a particularly dangerous development. The increasingly obvious involvement of Japan in the military-political part-

nership of the United States and China adversely affects the international situation.

76. The situation in South-East Asia has deteriorated as a result of the intrigues of the aggressive and expansionist forces unwilling to recognize new realities and the steady consolidation of the people's democratic system in Kampuchea. Attempts are being unceasingly made to restore the régime rejected by the people of Kampuchea and to this end to bring together various groupings of traitors to the interests of their own people. The convening of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea despite the objections of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and broad international public opinion can only be qualified as a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of that sovereign State. The decisions of the so-called Conference have no legal force. They only play into the hands of those who obstruct the efforts to normalize the situation in South-East Asia and run counter to the genuine interests of peace and stability of all countries in the region without exception. Assigning the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations to persons who have on their conscience the lives of millions of Kampuchean undermines the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

77. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the well-known proposals put forward by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. The Mongolian delegation holds that the new initiatives set forth in the memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic of 28 September 1981 [A/36/561] represent a further development of the proposals of the three countries of Indo-China on the normalization of the situation in the region and can serve as a constructive basis for the achievement of that important objective.

78. The intensification on the aggressive designs and bellicose intrigues by the hegemonist forces and their accomplices against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the unbridled campaign waged around the non-existent "Afghan problem" increasingly aggravate the situation in this region of Asia.

79. The Mongolian People's Republic favours a political settlement of the situation arising around Afghanistan. The constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan set forth in its statement of 24 August 1981 [A/36/457] open up the possibility of a positive solution of the problem and the establishment of peace and good-neighbourly relations in that region. The new initiatives of the Soviet Union on ways to ensure peace and security in the Persian Gulf area are making a contribution along the same lines. The Mongolian People's Republic rejects the proposal of some Western Powers to convene an international conference on Afghanistan, without its participation, as a manoeuvre designed to make possible interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.

80. Of grave concern is the situation in the Middle East, where the Camp David deals have led to a further escalation of tension, which is fraught with danger to peace in the region.

81. The barbaric raid by Israel on the nuclear research centre in Iraq and its ceaseless aggressive actions in southern Lebanon have demonstrated anew the unruliness of Israel in its acts of aggression, which find full encouragement from the United States.

82. An international conference as proposed by the Soviet Union could serve as a most suitable forum in the search for ways and means to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. A lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be ensured only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of their own State.

83. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic favours the speediest possible peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Further perpetuation of the conflict plays into the hands of imperialist forces which seek to restore their lost positions in the region.

84. My Government consistently supports the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and stands for the elimination of the military presence of imperialist Powers in this region. It advocates the convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean without delay. The Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that zones of peace would serve as an effective means of strengthening international security and limiting the arms race in the respective regions of the world.

85. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic continues to support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country without outside interference. This requires above all the early implementation of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3390 A (XXX), which anticipates the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the south of Korea.

86. The present complex situation in Asia urgently calls for concerted efforts to eliminate focal points of tension and to strengthen trust, mutual understanding and co-operation among the States of the continent. Guided by a sincere desire to facilitate the attainment of this vitally important objective, the Mongolian People's Republic has put forward a proposal [see A/36/388] for the elaboration and signature of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific, and for the convening to this end of a conference of States of those regions, to which the States permanent members of the Security Council would be invited.

87. In connection with that initiative, the Parliament of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Great People's Khural, made an appeal to the parliaments of Asian and Pacific countries which has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly [*ibid.*]. The President of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, Yu Tsedenbal, has sent a message to 50 heads of State or Government of the countries of those regions and to the States permanent members of the Security Council. These documents contain the reasons for our proposal, as well as some considerations on its practical implementation. The message from Comrade Yu Tsedenbal expresses our

readiness to exchange views with interested countries at any level. We are confident that the elaboration and signing of a convention which proscribes the use of force in international relations would eliminate one of the major sources of tension and conflicts in a vast area of the earth—Asia and the Pacific. We express the hope that the proposal will find support and understanding from the States of those regions and from all countries which cherish peace and security.

88. I need hardly stress here that the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic is fully in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and has as its aim to contribute to the implementation of the provisions of a number of General Assembly resolutions on problems of strengthening international security and developing friendly relations among States. The initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic is intrinsically linked to the question of the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which is now under active consideration in the United Nations. It runs along the same lines as the Soviet initiative on the elaboration and application of confidence-building measures in the Far East.

89. The attempts in imperialist circles to preserve the last vestiges of colonialism as their stronghold and to intensify their actions against the cause of national and social liberation under the pretext of combating "international terrorism" poison the international climate and impede full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*].

90. The eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia, held at the beginning of this month emphasized anew the urgency of the question of granting independence to the people of that country.

91. The Mongolian People's Republic strongly supports the struggle of the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], and favours the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria, which is occupying Namibia illegally. Having vetoed a decision of the Security Council on the application of sanctions, the United States has openly defied the peoples of Africa and the entire world community and has once more proved to be a supporter of the racist régime of South Africa.

92. The large-scale armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola committed by Pretoria has clearly demonstrated the grave danger to the cause of peace and the national independence of the peoples of southern Africa represented by the collusion of imperialist and racist forces. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Mongolian people add their strong voice to the demands for immediate withdrawal of the troops of the racist régime from those parts of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola occupied by them.

93. The Mongolian delegation shares the opinion of the Secretary-General that "in our time, international economic problems are inextricably linked with the maintenance of peace and stability . . ." [*see A/36/1, sect. VI*].

94. The policy of imperialist circles, seeking to perpetuate the old system of exploitation and *diktat*, adversely affects the world political climate and hampers the development of international co-operation directed at solving the global economic problems facing mankind. The socio-economic situation of the developing countries, according to their main indices, is deteriorating from year to year.

95. The struggle to establish a new international economic order free from exploitation and discrimination is an objective process. For the success of this struggle it is important to take properly into account the realities of the whole system of world economic relationships, in particular the increasing weight and progressive impact of the economic relations of the socialist countries. It is also necessary to consolidate the progressive provisions of the well-known General Assembly documents concerning the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. It should be added that lack of progress in reshaping international economic relations is rooted not in the forms or levels of negotiations but rather in the policy of the industrially developed capitalist countries.

96. However complicated the present international situation may be, peace can be preserved. The increasing economic and defence potential of the socialist community—above all, that of the Soviet Union—erects an insurmountable barrier to the adventurist actions of the enemies of peace and the national independence and social progress of peoples.

97. The role of the non-aligned movement, which recently marked its twentieth anniversary, has significantly increased as an important factor in the struggle for peace and international co-operation and against imperialist policies. The struggle of world public opinion to prevent the threat of war and for disarmament embraces the widest strata of people throughout the world.

98. The Mongolian delegation once again wishes to stress the need to combine the efforts of the United Nations with the struggle of world public opinion for peace and international co-operation. This serves as an important guarantee of effective action by the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining peace and international security.

99. In about a month it will be 20 years since the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations. The foreign policy of my Government during that period has been, as before, in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. My Government actively advocates the enhancing of the role and effectiveness of the world Organization as an important instrument for strengthening peace and developing equitable co-operation among nations.

100. The Mongolian delegation will, as before, spare no effort in contributing to the constructive work of the present session of the General Assembly in the interests of reducing international tensions and consolidating the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation.

101. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the

thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to wish you every success in carrying out your task.

102. I also congratulate Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, the outgoing President, whose efforts were instrumental in ensuring the significant results achieved by the General Assembly.

103. I take this opportunity of welcoming the admission of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu as Members of the United Nations. We look forward to the independence of peoples still suffering under racist and colonialist régimes and to their admission to this international Organization.

104. Despite all the efforts exerted by the various United Nations organs and conferences to consolidate the pillars of peace and security in the world, to ease world tension, to contain and defuse difficult crises and hotbeds of tension, the world is still witnessing an escalation of tension and a persistent endeavour to create problems and crises. That is mainly due to the wish of world imperialism to return to the cold war in a new form, to extend its domination as far as possible, to create spheres of influence, to acquire military bases and facilities, to amass armed forces in specific areas and to deploy destructive nuclear missile networks. All those acts have pushed the world again into an atmosphere of cold war, besides creating hotbeds of conflict that may explode at any moment and the effects and extent of which would go far beyond their regional limits.

105. In that context, for example, the United States has set up a rapid deployment force designed for action in the Arabian Gulf region. We have also noticed the expansion of United States military bases in third-world countries and an increase in military fleets in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The United States, after having tried to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe, has started to manufacture and store the neutron bomb, thus increasing the factors of horror and terrorism and the risks of destroying the world and annihilating mankind.

106. The world is facing difficult crises which with the passage of time are increasing in number and in complexity, especially since the renewal of neo-colonialist activities, plans for domination, expansion and hegemony, and the qualitative and quantitative expansion of armaments.

107. In the face of that situation it is imperative to struggle persistently to restore détente and expand its framework. This could be achieved by the participation of all States, on an equal footing, in shaping the policy of détente so that it would acquire the necessary international dimensions. The process of détente must be based on justice and the right of peoples to self-determination so that it may become a positive factor in guaranteeing international peace and security and in the establishment of a new order of international relations in various fields.

108. Disarmament remains a complex issue. General Assembly resolutions and United Nations efforts have so far failed to achieve results which would benefit the whole of mankind and safeguard future generations and human civilization. On the contrary, today we notice an escalation of the arms race, particularly in the field of weapons of mass destruction. The most significant example of this is the United States decision to manufacture

the neutron bomb. We are also witnessing a grave expansion by the United States in the establishment of military bases and the concentration of troops and fleets in certain areas. Therefore it is high time for the Assembly to take decisive measures to curb the arms race and the establishment of foreign military bases, as well as to reduce forces and limit their deployment. Thus the world could feel that its international Organization was firmly and sincerely striving to spare it the misery of a destructive world war.

109. It is an established fact that if disarmament is to be carried out and to attain its objectives it must be accompanied, in practical terms, by the elimination of colonialism, racism and zionism and of all aspects of aggression and occupation, hegemony and domination, spheres of influence and foreign exploitation. Peoples must be guaranteed respect for their independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and right to self-determination.

110. It should be pointed out in that connection that racism and racist régimes, especially in occupied Palestine and South Africa, represent an acute and dangerous problem. Those régimes are engrossed in their racist practices and aggressive expansionist policies. They are consolidating collaboration among themselves in various fields, particularly in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the regions dominated by those régimes have become, because of the weakness of the international deterrent, explosive hotbeds which endanger international peace and security and directly threaten the security and independence of the African continent and of the Arab world.

111. In the face of this grave problem, the Assembly must take a firm stand based on the will of the international community. We have persistently confirmed our absolute support and backing for the national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia in their struggle to secure the rights of their peoples to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. We also stand firmly on the side of the African front-line States in facing the brutal racist aggression and the manoeuvres aimed at liquidating the liberation causes of the peoples of southern Africa. We declare our firm support for Angola against the military aggression carried out by the racist régime in South Africa and call on the international Organization to impose the maximum sanctions against the racist aggressors.

112. With regard to Afghanistan, we are of the view that the Afghan Government has the right to defend the independence of Afghanistan against all forms of outside interference in its internal affairs. Afghanistan is of concern to us because of the historic and cultural ties between us and its membership in the non-aligned group, and we are anxious that it should remain non-aligned. Therefore we consider it important and necessary for negotiations to take place between the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its neighbours in order to reach a political settlement that will ensure the security and stability of that region and safeguard Afghanistan's unity, independence and non-aligned status.

113. The problem of Cyprus remains unsolved. The talks between the two Cypriot communities are still stagnating. We earnestly hope that a solution will be found, based on United Nations resolutions, within the frame-

work of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

114. The Korean issue also remains unsolved. The Korean people is still divided into two parts. The solution lies in implementing the joint communiqué signed in 1972.⁵

115. Endeavours by the various United Nations specialized agencies and bodies are still continuing with a view to setting up a new international economic order. They have achieved no tangible result so far, despite the suffering and difficulties facing most countries of the world, particularly the developing nations. In our view, the main cause of the failure is the obstacles that are continually being placed in the way of establishing that new order by the advanced industrial capitalist States and their clinging to the privileges they enjoy under the present unjust economic and monetary system, which is based on exploitation. As a consequence, the will of the international community has been paralysed and all efforts in this regard have so far failed.

116. In the face of that situation it is incumbent upon the Assembly and the various United Nations bodies to multiply their efforts to set up a new international economic order, since it would be a vital factor in ensuring prosperity and stability for the peoples of the world and in safeguarding international peace and security.

117. One of the most dangerous sources of tension in the world today is the Israeli aggression against the Arab nation in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories. Despite the dangers which this issue poses for international peace and security, in view of the unique location of the Middle East region at the junction of three continents and because of the huge energy reserves it contains, the prospects of peace in that region seem to be almost nil.

118. The international Organization has adopted many resolutions since the inception of the Palestine problem and the creation of the Zionist entity in Palestine and its occupation of other Arab territories. Those resolutions, however, have so far remained mere ink on paper as a result of Israel's rejection of them, because of the Zionist expansionist doctrine, and because of the unlimited support given to Israel by the United States.

119. The United Nations has defined the following principles for a just peace in the Middle East: first, a just solution to the Palestine problem based on granting the Palestinian people their right to self-determination, repatriation and the establishment of their own independent state on their national soil; and secondly, Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

120. The United Nations linked its decision to admit Israel to the Organization to Israel's agreement to implement United Nations resolutions on the Palestine question. Nevertheless, all those resolutions and all international efforts to pave the way for peace have collided with the Israeli barrier, because Israel rejects any peace that is not based on Zionist doctrine and that does not recognize as legitimate the occupation practised by the Zionist entity.

121. Several years ago, following the October War of 1973, there appeared to be a possibility of seeking a just peace through the United Nations. Numerous efforts were made to make use of that possibility. However, those efforts soon came to nothing because of the involvement of the Egyptian Government with Israel and the United States in the Camp David agreement, followed by conclusion of the "peace treaty" between the Egyptian and Israeli Governments.

122. The Camp David process led to the following results.

123. First, it resulted in a political and military imbalance in the region in Israel's favour as a result of the defection of the Egyptian Government and its abandonment of its national obligations towards the Arab world in general and towards Syria and the Palestinian people in particular. Obviously a peace process undertaken when there is an imbalance of power means full capitulation by one party to the other, because any conflict that arises as a result of the clash of powers can be resolved only through the restoration of the balance of power or the liquidation of one party by the other.

124. Talk of peace and its possibilities while an imbalance of power exists would mean the imposition of terms of surrender. That is completely unacceptable. The history of conflicts in the world proves that agreements involving injustice to one of the parties constitute a smouldering cause of the eruption of a new conflict when the conditions are ripe.

125. Secondly, the conflict in the Middle East is of a comprehensive nature, between the Israeli aggressor and the Arabs. An agreement between the Israeli aggressor and one Arab Government does not mean a solution has been reached or the conflict ended. Rather, it means a complication of the situation and an increase of tension, as proved by subsequent developments in the region.

126. Prior to the Camp David agreement, the region was the scene of an Arab-Israeli conflict. Nowadays, there is a heightening of tension between the Arabs and the Israeli aggressors, as well as the development of a new hotbed of tension between the Egyptian Government and all other Arab Governments, and also a further series of explosions threatening the security and stability of the region. All developments since the Camp David agreement have indicated that unilateral or partial solutions are an additional cause of tension and further complicate the existing problems.

127. Thirdly, there is the problem of American involvement in the region. In the initial stages of that involvement, the United States played the role of a partner in the negotiations; later, it assumed the role of a partner in the relations between the Egyptian and Israeli Governments, and finally it took on the role of a military and political partner, through the recent strategic alliance with Israel.

128. There is no doubt that one of the gravest consequences of the Camp David agreement is United States military involvement in the area and the establishment of military bases in a number of countries of the region, as well as the increased presence of naval fleets and the formation of the rapid deployment force. All those actions are being carried out to impose United States hegemony

on the region and hence increase the tension between the peoples of the region and the United States Government. There is also a resulting increase in tension between the two super-Powers, which is an additional cause of international tension and a clear threat to world peace and security.

129. Fourthly, the discussion by the Egyptian Government, in negotiations related to the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, of so-called Palestinian autonomy completely contravenes all United Nations resolutions, which recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and consider the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

130. That action has undoubtedly further complicated the problem. It has become evident that the objective is not to realize an Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, but rather to liquidate the cause of the people of Palestine and to form a military alliance in the area built upon the debris of the Palestinian cause and at the expense of the national rights of the Arab nations and of the other occupied Arab territories.

131. The Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty have created a state of tension in the region. The magnitude of American military aid to Israel has exacerbated the situation because it has provided Israel with a huge military arsenal, which tempts Israel constantly to embark on new acts of aggression, of which the following are examples.

132. First, there is the continuous aggression against Lebanon and the bombing and shelling of Lebanese towns and villages and Palestinian camps with a brutality unprecedented in human history. Israel has provided the climax to its brutal acts by bombing the peaceful city of Beirut, killing hundreds of civilians, destroying scores of houses and rendering thousands of citizens homeless.

133. Secondly, the aggressive arrogance of the Israeli Government has even led it as far as to direct continuous threats against Syria, particularly against the Arab deterrent forces in Lebanon, and to fabricate the so-called Syrian missile crisis in Lebanon. Israeli planes have bombarded the positions of the Arab deterrent forces. When those forces resorted to the use of air defence weapons against those planes, Israel began issuing ultimatums to Syria to withdraw the air defence weapons from Lebanon. Israel believes it has the right to enjoy full freedom to commit acts of aggression wherever and whenever it so wishes. At the same time, Israel believes that we are not entitled to exercise our right of legitimate self-defence. We have naturally rejected this aggressive Israeli logic. Israel must bear the consequences of its aggressions.

134. Thirdly, Israel's threats to the other Arab countries and their economic establishments have been carried out with the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor.

135. Fourthly, Israel persists in its policy of annexing the Arab territories, establishing settlements, evicting Arab citizens and altering the features of the occupied Arab territories, thus flouting world public opinion and totally disregarding the dangerous consequences of such a policy for peace and security in the region.

136. While the Arab nations are confronting this situation which threatens their very existence and vital interests and imperils peace and stability in the region, the United States of America—despite the considerable military and economic assistance it extends to Israel, and despite the military bases it has implanted in the region—has resorted to a new move which represents the climax of danger to the Arabs and their vital interests, as well as to the peace and security of the region. This move is the strategic alliance between the United States of America—the super-Power—and the Israeli State.

137. A series of dangerous agreements has emerged from this alliance, namely: first, the establishment of military bases in Palestine; secondly, the storing of weapons, which naturally means stockpiling neutron weapons, after European Governments opposed this American decision; thirdly, setting up military industries in Israel; fourthly, achieving co-operation between the United States and Israeli security bodies, which means that all data collected by United States bodies and services, including those collected through satellites, will be placed at the disposal of the Israeli Government; fifthly, extending huge American military aid to Israel; and finally, linking United States strategic interests with the strategic interests of an aggressor State in the region.

138. These agreements were concluded with the aim of “realizing strategic unanimity in the region against the Soviet Union and its supporters”. What does all this mean?

139. In the first place, these agreements have irrevocably frustrated the possibilities of peace in the region and the possibility of stability, security and tranquillity throughout the whole Middle East. The United States is obliged to confront the Arabs because it agreed to link its strategic interests with those of Israel, completely disregarding the basic vital interests of the Arab people. In this policy, the United States administration has utilized its power in Israel's favour and placed itself in a position of enmity and hostility towards the Arabs.

140. Furthermore, in reaction to this American involvement aimed at harming the Arab countries, the Arab world will be compelled to adopt measures and stands, the responsibility and repercussions of which on the regional and international situation will lie squarely on the United States itself.

141. There still exists for the United States the possibility to reconsider its policy and depart from this dangerous path which is harmful both to the Arabs and to the interests of the American people.

142. Having discussed the general situation in the region and its grave dangers, we call upon all peace-, justice- and freedom-loving nations to stand against the new alliance between the United States and Israel. At the same time the United Nations, by virtue of its responsibilities, is called upon to take measures against the Israeli aggressor. From this rostrum we also appeal to all Governments of the world to apply the maximum sanctions and measures against Israel because of its continued aggression, its refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and its refusal to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories.

143. I can assure the Assembly that our people in Syria and the Arab nation will continue their struggle, irrespective of the sacrifices, for the recovery of their national and historical rights in Palestine and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories.

144. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to extend to you our warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is indeed a matter of deep gratification for my delegation that this honour has been accorded to an Asian country, a founding member of the non-aligned movement with whom my country entertains cordial friendship and fruitful co-operation. We are convinced that with your rich experience at the United Nations and with your personal qualities of a seasoned diplomat you will guide the work of the Assembly to successful results.

145. It is also a great pleasure for me to welcome the delegations of the Republic of Vanuatu and of Belize, whose countries have just been admitted to the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would like to express its desire to have relations of friendship and co-operation with these two new Members of the Organization.

146. This session of the General Assembly is being held at a particularly critical moment, when the gains achieved in international peace and détente and the independence and security of nations are being seriously challenged.

147. Since the end of the 1970s, warmongering circles in the United States have escalated the arms race, revived the cold war and sabotaged the process of international détente. At present, this adventurous policy is being stepped up to an alarming extent, causing legitimate concern throughout the world: seeking military superiority, refusing to ratify SALT II, delaying negotiations on disarmament, increasing the military budgets to a record level, deploying medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, greatly increasing the so-called rapid deployment forces, increasing military aid to Israel, the South African racists and other dictatorial régimes, escalating acts of interference and subversion against national liberation movements and independent countries and, most recently, the decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, notwithstanding the opposition of public opinion, including public opinion in the United States itself.

148. In order to deceive public opinion, the Reagan Administration uses the pretext of “the struggle against international terrorism” to unleash a noisy campaign of slander against the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the national liberation movements. This is the well-known trick of the arsonist calling “Fire”, aimed at discrediting the just struggles of peoples for their independence and the support of the socialist countries for national liberation movements. It is an attempt to exonerate the United States from blame for its acts of terrorism, such as wars of aggression, armed interventions, indiscriminate massacres of civilian populations, acts of subversion and *coups d'état*, the assassination of leaders of sovereign countries and deliberate acts of military provocation, etc.—terrorism the more criminal because it is perpetrated against peoples, against their right to self-determination, independence and international security.

149. The slanderous allegation of the use of chemical weapons in Kampuchea, Laos and Afghanistan is a pure propaganda manoeuvre by the United States to camouflage its frenetic arms race, especially nuclear arms, its decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, its criminal use of bacteriological weapons against the population, crops and livestock of Cuba, and finally the chemical warfare formerly waged by the United States in South Viet Nam, the serious consequences of which still affect several generations of the civilian population of Viet Nam, as well as hundreds of thousands of American veterans and veterans of its allies in the war in Indo-China.

150. The militarist policies of the United States Government are becoming ever more dangerous with the closer collusion between imperialism and hegemonism, the most recent manifestation of which was the decision to sell sophisticated weapons to China, a decision which has given rise to legitimate concern in the countries of Asia, in particular those of South-East Asia. It is obvious that military co-operation and the strategic co-ordination of these two biggest forces of aggression create a direct threat to the peace and security of the peoples, first and foremost those in Asia. The war of attrition on all fronts against the three countries of Indo-China, the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the increased arms deliveries to Pakistan and Thailand, the military provocations and the acts of subversion and destabilization against the legal Governments of the countries of South-East Asia are living proof of that Sino-American strategy.

151. Contrary to the fine-sounding rhetoric of the American Secretary of State at the rostrum of the Assembly about the supposed American development strategy, the United States has practised a policy of obstruction in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, blocked the global economic negotiations and rejected the legitimate demands of the developing countries for a just and equitable new international economic order, thus exacerbating the already very serious economic difficulties of those countries. The international community must firmly condemn the attempt by the United States to use the aid of international organizations within and outside the United Nations system as a political weapon to exert pressure on the developing countries, which is contrary to the purposes and principles of those organizations.

152. Following a policy that is diametrically opposed, the socialist countries persevere in the pursuit of peace, détente and international security, the settling of international differences by negotiation, and of peaceful coexistence.

153. The Vietnamese people highly values the peace programme for this decade put forward by President Leonid Brezhnev at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.² They support the important peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union just before and during this session of the General Assembly, including the draft declaration on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.⁶ These initiatives are imbued with a spirit of responsibility with regard to the destiny of all peoples and are eloquent manifestations of the policy of peace which is a matter of principle for the Soviet Union. They will contribute to improving the international climate and consolidating world peace and security.

154. Likewise, we welcome the tireless efforts made by the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and peace-loving forces to reduce tension, achieve disarmament and promote peaceful coexistence. In particular, we support the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic on the signing of a convention on non-aggression and non-recourse to the use of force in relations among countries in Asia and the Pacific [A/36/388].

155. While persevering in their policies of peace and peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries are just as determined to defend their revolutionary gains and strongly support the struggle of peoples to win and defend their independence and freedom and to build a new life in the way that each has freely chosen.

156. The people of Viet Nam reaffirms its staunch solidarity with and fraternal support for the Polish people in their struggle against internal reactionary forces and imperialist interference and for the defence of socialism in Poland. We are convinced that the Polish people, with the support of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, will emerge victorious from this difficult and complex struggle.

157. Defying all the hostile manoeuvres of the Washington Government, the Republic of Cuba continues to gain strength in every way and to go forward with dignity and confidence. Its achievements, at the cost of heroic efforts, are an example to all peoples struggling for the ideals of peace, independence, freedom and socialism. Firmly siding with the brother Cuban people, the Vietnamese people demands that the United States keep its hands off Cuba, put an end to the economic blockade, sabotage, blackmail and threats against that brother country and restore to Cuba the Guantanamo base, which has been illegally occupied.

158. In Asia the Vietnamese people fully supports the just struggle of the Afghan people to safeguard its independence and sovereignty and the gains of the April revolution. We strongly condemn the undeclared war of the imperialists, the hegemonists and other reactionaries, whose aim is to interfere in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The recent proposals of the Government of Afghanistan, contained in the declaration of 24 August 1981 [A/36/457], are realistic and constructive and could provide a basis for a political solution leading to the normalization of the situation in that region.

159. With its foreign policy of peace, independence and non-alignment, the Republic of India is making a great contribution to resolving international problems and has become an important factor for peace, development and security in Asia and throughout the world. The decision of the Indian Government to recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the assistance it is giving in the reconstruction of that martyred country are striking illustrations of that wise policy.

160. We support the endeavours of India, Madagascar and other countries to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We are in favour of convening as soon as possible the International Conference on the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The imperialists

must put an end to their military presence and dismantle their existing bases, including that on Diego García.

161. Together with progressive forces of mankind, the Vietnamese people vehemently condemns the bloody escalation of the Israeli Zionists since the Camp David deals against the people of Palestine and the peoples of other Arab countries, in particular the indiscriminate shelling of the civilian population in Lebanon and the bombing of the peaceful nuclear research centre in Iraq. A just and equitable solution to the situation in that region cannot be found without the participation of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, and must be based on the total elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression and the full exercise of the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own independent, sovereign State.

162. Cherishing the cause of peace and the solidarity of peoples confronting imperialism, Viet Nam expresses the wish that the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran can be resolved speedily through negotiation.

163. We express our solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just struggle for the peaceful reunification of Korea without foreign interference.

164. In Africa, the world is now witnessing the seething and victorious struggle of the peoples of that continent to eliminate the last bastions of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* supported by imperialism. The Vietnamese people staunchly supports the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and that of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress, using all means at their disposal to exercise their right to self-determination and true independence. Accordingly, we fully support the recent resolutions of the OAU and the one adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Namibia.

165. The Vietnamese people gives it fraternal support to the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other front-line countries in defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries and vehemently condemns the South African racists and the UNITA⁷ traitors, maintained by the imperialists and international reaction, which are opposing the People's Republic of Angola.

166. The Vietnamese people values highly the firm positions expressed in the tripartite treaty between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Ethiopia to safeguard the sovereignty of each country and the security of the region. It reaffirms its total support for the just struggle of the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front,⁸ for its right to self-determination and independence. Likewise, it supports the struggle of the people of Cyprus to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of their country.

167. The Latin American continent is now the theatre of a vast movement of opposition to the policy of intervention and destabilization by the United States. We resolutely support the people and Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and the people and Government

of Grenada in their work of building and national defence. Our support is likewise accorded to the struggle of the people and Government of Panama to ensure the full sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone. Likewise, the valiant struggle of the peoples of Puerto Rico and Chile, and the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador, led by the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, enjoy the sympathy and active support of our people.

168. The General Assembly is preparing to celebrate solemnly the twentieth anniversary of the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. During these two decades the non-aligned movement, firmly devoted to its goals of anti-imperialist struggle and strengthening solidarity within the movement and with other forces for peace and progress, has overcome all trials, has continued to develop and has become an important political force in the world, making a worthy contribution to the struggle of peoples for their political independence and economic sovereignty and to international peace and security.

169. The present situation in South-East Asia remains a cause for concern among the international community. Some have tried to create confusion about what has been happening in recent years in that region, but the facts suffice to show up any distortion. Facts are more convincing than any rhetoric; they help us distinguish truth from falsehood, good from bad.

170. Public opinion is enlightened daily regarding the primary danger that is threatening the independence and security of the South-East Asian countries as well as peace and stability in the region. A number of experienced observers agree that, after the fiasco of their actions against Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos during 1979 and 1980, the Peking authorities, in collusion with the United States, are now striving to wage a real war of attrition on all fronts against the three countries of Indo-China. There is a concentration of 400,000 troops near the Sino-Vietnamese border; there is a permanent threat of Viet Nam being invaded a second time; there is a proliferation of provocative activities and armed conflicts along the Sino-Vietnamese border and the Laos-China border; traitors are being mustered and mercenaries are being recruited to foment disturbances and to undertake subversive activities in their countries of origin; the psychological war is being intensified and there is a press campaign on a world scale against Viet Nam, as well as an economic blockade, etc. Everything is being done to exert pressure on Viet Nam and the other countries of Indo-China, to weaken and subjugate them. In particular, the Peking authorities have increased their food and arms supplies to the Pol Pot remnants and other reactionary Khmers. They are doing all they can to establish the so-called united front of various groups of Khmer reactionaries, in order to camouflage the maintenance of the genocidal clique of Pol Pot.

171. What should be underscored here is that this policy of Peking, which is hostile to the three countries of Indo-China, is sanctioned and encouraged by Washington. Continuing to play the Chinese card, the warmongers of the United States openly call for maximum pressure on all fronts—political, diplomatic, economic and even military—to bleed Viet Nam. Those who want to use force to

try to subjugate Viet Nam and other countries in Indo-China should remember the lessons of the very recent past.

172. The Peking authorities have not yet abandoned their traditional policy of interference in and sowing discord among the countries of South-East Asia. On the one hand, Peking is bending over backwards to be nice to the countries of the region; on the other hand, it refuses to halt its support for armed groups of pseudo-revolutionaries in their subversive activities and is causing civil war and internal conflicts in a number of countries. It is not abandoning any of its baseless claims on onshore or off-shore territories of most of its neighbours and is continuing its illegal occupation of parts of the territory of those countries, including the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa (the Paracels). For decades China has been arbitrarily including the greater part of the South China Sea within its territorial waters, thus denying the sovereign rights of the other coastal countries of South-East Asia over their exclusive economic zones and the continental shelf.

173. Wide sectors of public opinion and even the leaders of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are realizing more clearly each day that it is the hegemonist and expansionist policy of China which constitutes the greatest danger to peace and stability in the region.

174. The events of these last three years have clearly shown that, contrary to the expectations of its enemies, Viet Nam has not collapsed. On the contrary, thanks to its just policy, its own efforts and the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as the support given by numerous friends throughout the world, Viet Nam is busy gradually overcoming the enormous difficulties bequeathed to it by more than 30 years of wars of foreign aggression and successive natural calamities, and we are concentrating all our efforts to rebuild and defend our homeland.

175. The Lao people, hard-working and creative, united and vigilant, has for its part recorded great achievements in its national reconstruction. It has also caused the failure of various attempts at interference and subversive activities on the part of the Peking expansionists, while staunchly defending its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In foreign policy, while fostering solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and the socialist community, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is playing a growing role in the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in Indo-China and in South-East Asia. Furthermore, it is sparing no effort to transform the border between Laos and Thailand into a border of peace, friendship and co-operation.

176. What arouses world-wide admiration is the rapid renaissance of the Kampuchean people. In less than three years this valiant people, which survived the terrible genocide carried out by the Pol Pot clique, has driven back famine and is now reorganizing its social and family life. The economic, cultural and religious activities of the country are being gradually normalized. The Kampuchean people, master of its destiny, has held truly free and democratic general elections throughout the whole country to elect at all levels its organs of State power and to adopt its constitution. These great achievements have unequivocally demonstrated that the People's Republic of

Kampuchea is an independent and sovereign State and that the Kampuchean people, having fully exercised its right to self-determination, is now resolutely marching along its freely chosen path.

177. The Pol Pot clique, which felled millions of Kampuchians with hoes and axes, which some, at this rostrum, still cynically call "patriots", has no place in any part of the territory of Kampuchea. To continue to recognize those butchers as representatives of the Kampuchean people in the United Nations is an insult to the memory of the 3 million victims of Pol Pot's genocide and to the martyr people that is busy reconstructing its country. It is gross interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, completely contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Such an attitude only encourages Chinese expansionism, worsens tension in South-East Asia and prevents the United Nations from playing its rightful role in trying to resolve the problems of peace and security in the region. Justice and law demand that an end be put to this absurd situation. The Pol Pot clique must be expelled from the Organization and Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations restored to the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legal authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

178. The facts of the last three years prove that if there is a threat to the security of the ASEAN countries and to the peace and stability of the region, it does not come from the countries of Indo-China but from the hegemonistic and expansionist policies of the Peking authorities. Throughout history, Viet Nam has never invaded the ASEAN countries; on the contrary, Thailand has three times invaded Viet Nam and several times committed acts of aggression against Laos and Kampuchea. A number of member countries of ASEAN, in varying degrees, assisted the United States in its war of aggression against the three countries of Indo-China.

179. The peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, through their selfless struggle against external aggression, have contributed to the establishment of a new period favourable to independence, peace and stability in South-East Asia. At the present time, the fact that the Kampuchean people toppled the Pol Pot régime, the Lao people is struggling successfully against interference and subversive activities on the part of Peking and the Vietnamese people is advancing with sure steps in the reconstruction and defence of its homeland after having repelled Chinese aggression means they have made an effective contribution in stemming the danger of hegemony and expansion by Peking in this region. Through its foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and international co-operation, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, together with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, constitutes an important positive factor in preserving peace and stability in this strategic region of the world.

180. Some people attempt to ascribe the lack of peace and stability in South-East Asia to the so-called expansionism of the Soviet Union or to Vietnamese-Soviet relations. The facts have proved that over the last four decades, among the five permanent members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union is the only country

which has never waged wars of aggression against any of the countries of South-East Asia. On the contrary, it has resolutely sided with the peoples of Indo-China in their patriotic struggle against foreign aggression thus contributing to the consolidation of the independence and security of the three countries of Indo-China and to safeguarding peace and stability in South-East Asia. It is also quite clear that Vietnamese-Soviet relations do not threaten any third country.

181. At present, in order to restore peace and stability in South-East Asia it is necessary to put an end to the policy of intervention, aggression, and threats of war pursued by the Chinese hegemonists in collusion with imperialists and other reactionaries in opposition to the independence, sovereignty and security of the countries of the region. The key to the so-called problem of Kampuchea, if there is one, lies in resolving the contradictions that really exist between China and the three countries of Indo-China, and not the fictitious contradiction between these latter countries and those of ASEAN.

182. In the past the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China always acted in solidarity and co-ordinated their struggle for the independence and the freedom of each. History has shown that this solidarity is vital for each of our three peoples, since we have always had to struggle against aggressors which were much stronger than we and which ceaselessly divided us and pitted us against each other in order to weaken us and to annex all three countries.

183. In the present circumstances, confronted with the serious threat to their national independence and security, the three Indo-Chinese countries have no alternative but to unite once more and to help one another in the struggle against the aggressor. The right of legitimate individual and collective self-defence of the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula is one that is expressly recognized for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations. Regrettably, certain speakers at this rostrum have deliberately sown confusion between the aggressor and the victim of aggression and denied the victim's sacred right to self-defence. Likewise, they have ignored the facts of the recent Chinese war of aggression against Viet Nam and passed in silence over the presence of dozens of divisions of Chinese troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, which have daily committed countless crimes against the Vietnamese inhabitants in the border areas, while the Chinese threaten aggression against Viet Nam for a second time.

184. With regard to the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and that of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have repeatedly stated that that presence is only temporary and that it is intended only to counter the threat by China acting in collusion with the imperialists and is not directed against any third country. Once that threat has ceased and on the basis of a common agreement between the two countries, those troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea. At the present time, if peace and stability are secured along the Thai-Kampuchean border, Viet Nam and Kampuchea will agree on a partial withdrawal of those troops. The three Indo-Chinese countries have, furthermore, proposed the establishment of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Thai-Kampuchean border, with some form of international monitoring to be agreed upon by both sides.

185. The position of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea on this subject is explicit: any United Nations resolution with regard to Kampuchea will be null and void if the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has not participated in its elaboration and given its agreement and if the United Nations continues to permit the genocidal Pol Pot clique and its fellow-plotters to usurp Kampuchea's seat in the Organization. The so-called International Conference on Kampuchea, convened on the basis of a fictitious situation, is merely a political intrigue on the part of its authors in an attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent and sovereign State. The Ad Hoc Committee produced by that Conference, the legalization of which is now being attempted by means of a General Assembly resolution, is nothing but a subterfuge for the purpose of misusing United Nations machinery to impose upon this sovereign State a so-called comprehensive political solution, one that the people and Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have firmly rejected.

186. The behaviour of the Chinese delegation at that Conference left no room for doubt in that regard: China is determined at all costs to resolve the matter by military means so as to impose the genocidal Pol Pot clique on the Kampuchean people once again.

187. For their part, the ASEAN countries, while stating that they are in favour of dialogue, in fact show themselves to be accomplices or at least acquiescent in Peking's intrigues. It is clear that this is not the path that will lead to peace and stability in the region but, on the contrary, will lead to tension and crisis and be contrary to the interests of those very countries.

188. The Vietnamese people is determined to fight, shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, to defeat the Peking leaders' policy of intervention and aggression against the three countries of Indo-China. However, we cherish the traditional friendship with the Chinese people and will spare no effort to normalize relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the settlement of disputes through negotiations. It is in this spirit that the Government of Viet Nam has on repeated occasions proposed negotiations with the Chinese Government.

189. Recently—on 31 August last—showing proof of our perseverance, we made another proposal calling for the resumption in September or October this year of the third round of negotiations between Viet Nam and China, which have been interrupted for more than a year by China, in order to discuss matters of mutual interest and to normalize relations between the two countries. For the time being, our proposals concern urgent measures to restore peace and stability along the border between the two countries, including the cessation of hostilities, the separation of the armed forces of the two countries and the creation of a demilitarized zone. Viet Nam likewise reaffirms its readiness to sign with China a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence. It is regrettable that these proposals were rejected by the People's Republic of China.

190. With regard to relations between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN, differences exist be-

tween the two groups of countries concerning the assessment of the causes of the state of tension and instability in South-East Asia and consequently concerning the ways and means to restore peace and stability in the region. Although at present those differences cannot yet be surmounted, the two groups of countries nevertheless have a good basis for making progress towards a settlement of the problems confronting the region, because both have a fundamental interest in common, that is, peace and stability in South-East Asia. In the statements made at the conferences of Foreign Ministers of the three countries, held in Vientiane, Ho Chi Minh City and Phnom Penh, the three countries of Indo-China have repeatedly put forward realistic proposals in that regard. Since the beginning of this year the Foreign Ministers of Laos and Viet Nam have met several times with their counterparts from almost all the ASEAN countries. These meetings have helped to promote the process of regional dialogue and consultations and have improved mutual understanding among the countries of South-East Asia.

191. The countries of Indo-China have never intended to impose their views on the countries of ASEAN. Likewise, the ASEAN countries should not harbour the illusion that they can impose their views on the countries of Indo-China. To be realistic we should set aside our differences and embark on a dialogue on a basis of equality, on the principle that the affairs of South-East Asia must be resolved by the South-East Asian countries themselves, without the imposition of one side's views on the other and without any external interference. That is the correct road leading to peace and stability in the region and to the achievement of peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries, in the interest of the peoples of South-East Asia and world peace and in full conformity with the United Nations Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement. The Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/36/116 and Corr. 1, annex], held at New Delhi in February 1981 did not endorse the idea of convening an international conference on Kampuchea but called on all the States of the region to engage in a dialogue that might lead to a settlement of their differences and to the establishment of lasting peace and stability in the region and to the elimination of interference and the threat of intervention by outside Powers.

192. Application of the principle that the affairs of a region must be settled by the States of that region through negotiations on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country without foreign interference has become common practice in many regions of the world, in Europe, Africa and Latin America.

193. My delegation wishes to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN for the purpose of building a South-East Asia of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation, principles enunciated at this session of the General Assembly by Mr. Sipraseut, Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [see 16th meeting], with the consent of the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. These principles are in accordance with the present reality of South-East Asia and fully meet the interests and profound aspirations of all the peoples of the region and the wishes of all those who cherish peace and stability in South-East Asia—wishes that have been expressed by many representatives in this very Assembly.

194. My delegation would like to believe that these principles will also constitute a useful contribution to the debate of the Assembly when it takes up agenda item 34, entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

195. In conclusion, we are now facing great historic responsibilities with respect to the peace and security of peoples. We are living at a time when peoples are fully aware of their own abilities and are taking the making of history into their own hands. With the continued development of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, our peoples are capable of preserving détente, maintaining peace, consolidating national independence, achieving peaceful coexistence and building a better life according to their own nature and characteristics. The people and Government of Viet Nam are ready to bend every effort to make their modest contribution to this noble common cause.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See document OEA/Ser.G, CP/INF.1795/81 of the Organization of American States, 9 September 1981.

² See CD/228, Appendix II/Vol.I, document CD/160.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 27*, document CCD/559.

⁴ See CD/228, Appendix III/Vol. VII, document CD/PV.148.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex. 1.

⁶ Later adopted as resolution 36/100.

⁷ União Nacional para la Independência Total de Angola.

⁸ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro.