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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NZAMBIMANA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Faith in the United Nations and in the principles and ideals it personifies, the search for dialogue and co-operation, and constant concern for peaceful settlement of disputes among nations rather than confrontation—these are the reasons why we are gathered here to consider ways of promoting a more just, more equitable and more humane world.

2. From the very inception of the Organization, various problems have revealed to us the difficult path that lies ahead and the efforts needed to arrive at a world viable for all. The solutions proposed since then for strengthening the activities of our Organization and adapting them to those objectives have only partially fulfilled our hopes.

3. The fact that a number of organs of the United Nations system have taken economic imperatives into account provides useful support for the political function of the Organization in view of the complicated way in which political organs seek to achieve international harmony. The continuing task of adapting our institution to its objectives is performed under the impulse of devoted and competent individuals such as you, Mr. President.

4. The fact that our deliberations are taking place under the presidency of a man whose probity and vast political experience we have had the privilege of appreciating for a number of years reassures us and gives us confidence in the success of our endeavours. We are particularly confident that your mastery of the questions before us and your deep commitment to find solutions will imbue these deliberations with the dynamism and forcefulness that their seriousness requires.

5. Allow me also to pay a heartfelt tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, for the remarkable work he accomplished during his term of office. During that time he showed himself to be fully deserving of the confidence placed in him by the international community.

6. Finally, we wish to thank the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts throughout the past year in helping the international community to attain its objectives. The dedication and willingness to act that he has demonstrated should be particularly emphasized.

7. The international community has just admitted two new Members, Belize and Vanuatu, two peoples rich in history and remarkable for their tenacity and their culture. We congratulate them on their accession to independence and their admission to the United Nations. We are convinced that they will bring a breath of fresh air which will be beneficial to the Organization.

8. The building of a viable world for mankind is the task of the international community and the responsibility of each of its members. Our philosophy in Burundi is that by strengthening peace and justice within our borders we shall be contributing effectively to the harmonious development of mankind.

9. The present international situation presents a very grim picture. Basically it is characterized by a worsening of the international political climate, a deterioration in most of our economies which are suffering from the burden of colossal indebtedness, a revival of the arms race, a hardening of the bloc policy and therefore a progressive breakdown of détente. The maintenance of dependence, exploitation, the denial of rights and of justice still characterizing colonial domination and *apartheid* in South Africa, plundering by the powerful of the resources of the poor, the easy temptation for some to impose their political models on others by force—all these factors together lead my delegation to wonder about the future of our community.

10. Therefore it is essential that the General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, carefully examine the ills our community is suffering and administer the necessary remedies.

11. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization during the past year [A/36/1] describes the problems confronting the world, places them in their proper context and outlines possible solutions. While no continent seems to have been spared the effects of the present economic crisis or political upheavals of various kinds, Africa still remains the most afflicted continent and will be so until it has rid itself of the infectious germs of *apartheid* in its southern region and put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

12. The General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, will hear once again, through the debates on *apartheid* and on the question of Namibia, about the ignominious Pretoria régime. In spite of the numerous appeals by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement calling on Pretoria to put an end to *apartheid*, South Africa, in defiance of the universal consensus, is refining still further its

system of racial oppression, maintaining the region in a constant state of tension and conducting acts of armed aggression against neighbouring countries, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic tenets of international law governing the behaviour of States.

13. South Africa's continued refusal to comply with the decisions of our Assembly becomes understandable only if analysed from the standpoint of the multifaceted support it receives from its allies. These latter, speculating on their strategic interests and the benefits that they derive from maintaining the reign of *apartheid*, not only endeavour to break the political isolation in which the rejection of *apartheid* by the international community has confined Pretoria, but also contrive, to the detriment of all the rest of humanity, to strengthen their close collaboration in the military and financial fields.

14. Instead of beginning constructive dialogue with the black population, which it oppresses today, and recognizing its universally acknowledged rights, Pretoria believes it can prolong its reign by oppression, Bantustanization, the exile of leaders and the assassination of the freedom fighters in southern Africa.

15. The thirst of a people for freedom is irrepressible, irreversible and unassailable. Pretoria and its allies would be showing a fatal lack of perception if they believed for a single moment that the policy of *apartheid* could be viable in the long term. The temporary military superiority of South Africa, the formidable oppression of which the black population is the victim, the punitive raids constantly launched against Angola, do not in any way change the above-mentioned principle. Rather, they increase the fighting spirit of the liberation movements concerned, strengthen their tenacity and reaffirm their faith in victory.

16. Through their obstinacy, their blind refusal to enter into dialogue and their inability to draw from the lessons of history, even recent ones such as that of the decolonization of Zimbabwe, the Pretoria authorities are forging the weapons of their own destruction. We reiterate today our firm and constant support for the liberation movements in southern Africa.

17. The end of the present year should have been crowned by the entry of Namibia into the United Nations family as a free and independent nation. South Africa, however, has ruined by its inconstancy and arrogance the hopes that had been aroused by the efforts of the international community to see Namibia accede peacefully to independence.

18. The time has now come, following the failure of the pre-implementation meeting held at Geneva in January 1981 on Namibia and the paralysis and inability of the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa in keeping with Chapter VII of the Charter, to ask ourselves what strategy must be followed to put an end to the impasse in the process of decolonizing Namibia.

19. The eighth emergency special session, on Namibia, which closed on the eve of the thirty-sixth session, depicted clearly enough the dramas which afflict the Namibian people and stressed the explosive nature of the situation in which South Africa, by its illegal occupation of Namibia, maintains the southern part of our continent. We participated actively in that debate. Therefore, we shall today

confine ourselves to stating the position of our delegation concerning the Namibian question.

20. First of all, we reiterate our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole representative of the Namibian people. The Namibian question is, in the last analysis, a question of decolonization under the full and sole responsibility of the United Nations. We therefore reject any attempt to distort its nature or deflect its course.

21. We believe that no country or group of countries has any right to link the independence of Namibia to events or situations that take place or might take place outside its borders.

22. The decolonization plan for Namibia, as approved by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), must be fully implemented. We see no reason to dilute its substance or delay its implementation.

23. Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974,<sup>1</sup> must be strictly respected. Those who indulge directly or indirectly in the exploitation of Namibian resources, regardless of their origin, must immediately put an end to that outrageous pillage.

24. We ask the five Western countries, members of the contact group, no longer to tolerate Pretoria's sabotaging the decolonization plan for Namibia, which is provided for in resolution 435 (1978) and of which they claim to be the authors.

25. The right to self-determination has become the cardinal principle of contemporary international law. Without it, the Organization would once again be reduced to a closed club of nations. Without it, the United Nations would never have acquired the dimensions conferred upon it by its present universality. This is why the United Nations has never ceased to defend staunchly and consistently the right to self-determination and independence.

26. For more than a decade, the United Nations has supported with rare firmness the right of the Sahraoui people to independence. No fait accompli has been able to alter that truth, or erode the convictions of the international community on this point.

27. For our part, we remain convinced that the question of Western Sahara is simply a question of decolonization, although some, for reasons of their own which are hardly convincing, attempt to distort the situation through a series of arguments to which they alone lend an ear.

28. The United Nations and the OAU have, over the years, determined in a clear and consistent manner the framework and procedures for the decolonization of Western Sahara. It is now a matter of leaving it to the inhabitants of that Territory to decide for themselves what their future is to be, freely and directly, without threats or intimidation.

29. To refuse, by means of subterfuge and delaying tactics, which are all equally suspect, to establish the necessary conditions for a free and genuine consultation of the inhabitants of Western Sahara indicates in the last analysis fear of the verdict of that people.

30. It is possible to close the dossier on Western Sahara only by leaving it to the Sahraoui people to decide its own future. We invite the parties directly concerned, that is the POLISARIO Front<sup>2</sup> and Morocco, to engage in sincere, direct negotiations in order to arrive at a final settlement of the question of Western Sahara. Any other effort aimed at regionalizing the conflict that exists between the parties could only lead to useless bloodshed of innocent people and the wasting of resources which could have been used for other purposes.

31. The escalation of the violence ravaging the Middle East stems from Israel's denial of the universally recognized right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Only the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination, including its right to establish its own State, can today put an end to the tragedy affecting the peoples of the region. Any attempt which does not take into account these premises and which would deny to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] exclusive representation of the Palestinian people can in our view only prolong the bloody *status quo* in the region.

32. Israel cannot guarantee its own security by violence or by the aggression that it commits against neighbouring countries.

33. We have in the past condemned the establishment of settlements by the Israeli Government in occupied Palestinian territories. The persistence of that Israeli policy forces us today to reiterate our disapproval. We cannot agree to the Palestinian people being reduced to the state of refugees. We therefore refuse to endorse the annexation by Israel of the eastern part of the city of Jerusalem.

34. Weak States owe their survival to strict respect by the most powerful States of the norms governing international relations. The founding fathers of this Organization were so aware of this that they made respect for the principle of non-use of force in international relations an essential rule governing the behaviour of all States.

35. It is, then, out of faithfulness to that principle that we reject any excuse that might be devised for invading the territories of others. It is up to each country, regardless of size and economic potential, to choose, in the exercise of full sovereignty, free of all foreign interference, the lines of its policy based on the priorities it has chosen. This principle, in our view, is of universal application.

36. The conflicts that we have witnessed in certain parts of the world derive from failure to respect the aforementioned principle. We cannot put an end to such conflicts except through political solutions, leaving it to the countries concerned to determine the type of government that responds to the aspirations of their peoples.

37. Therefore, we cannot in any circumstances support the invasion of any country by foreign troops. Whether it be in Afghanistan or Kampuchea, the peoples must be allowed freely to choose their own leaders.

38. With respect to Korea, Burundi deplores the fact that a people sharing one culture is artificially divided and that its efforts to achieve reunification are hampered by all types of interference. The Republic of Burundi has always supported and will continue to support without reservation any proposal leading to the peaceful and independent reunification

of the Korean homeland. To that end, we call for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea.

39. The international political situation is in a state of crisis and the economic horizon has darkened. Deficits in balance of payments, the food crisis in the developing countries, the energy crisis, incoherence in the conduct of economic policies, the revival of protectionism, the fall in commodity prices, the reduction in official development assistance, delays in negotiations on the transfer of technology, an impasse in the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, plans to assist the most seriously affected countries still at the stage of pious wishes—that is the present picture of the over-all economic situation of the developing countries.

40. That grim picture is compounded by the specific difficulties of the least advanced countries, the most seriously affected, among which, unfortunately, is my country. For a long time now, in order to stimulate our economy, we have made a wise choice of development priorities by joining regional economic associations and by relying on international assistance, both bilateral and multilateral.

41. At the national level, we are naturally aware that the responsibility to finance our development is first and foremost our own. We also know that we are duty-bound fully to mobilize all the human and financial resources that we possess. Foreign resources, especially official development aid, are only a supplement to that. Our development priorities have been clearly set. Agricultural and rural development is among the primary objectives of our Government. Most of our population is concentrated in the rural areas and that is where we focus most of our efforts.

42. None the less, our economy remains dependent on fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products. The galloping cost of energy, the lack of territorial access to the sea, the high cost of transit and transportation, all impose limitations on us which seriously handicap our economic and social development projects. We therefore regret that the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa proclaimed by the General Assembly [*resolution 32/160*] has not been given the attention it deserves.

43. At the regional level, our membership in regional associations is due to our desire to utilize to the maximum co-operation agreements among developing countries and the need to establish institutions that can help Member States collectively to develop the means and the infrastructures necessary to guarantee economic and social development, institutions which could not be established individually. The establishment of projects by the countries of our subregion will certainly make it possible for us to strengthen our economic potential and speed up our economic growth. In this connection, we request the support and aid of the international community so that we can properly carry out our development programmes.

44. The present economic situation of the least developed countries is worsening because of a series of factors totally beyond their control. These have recently attracted the attention of the United Nations. That is why the fifth session of UNCTAD adopted the Comprehensive New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries.<sup>3</sup>

45. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly*

*resolution 35/56, annex*], in turn, gave priority to the establishment of a substantial programme of sufficient magnitude to make it possible for those countries to put an end to their present stagnation. It was intended that all those action programmes would be established by the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris in September 1981.

46. We are particularly grateful to certain countries, including those of the European Community, for their efforts to lessen the difficulties faced by that category of countries. None the less, we hoped that the spirit of generosity that inspired the action programmes would be translated into concrete form. The assistance that we have received in this connection remains far below the level of our needs. Therefore, we appeal once again to the developed donor countries and those developing countries able to do so to honour the commitments that they have made with respect to the least developed countries.

47. The ever-increasing economic interdependence makes it necessary to adopt positive and constructive policies if we are to guarantee economic stability and establish sound international relations.

48. It is from that standpoint that we envisage the beginning of global negotiations. The profound changes in the world economy in recent years mean that the *status quo* in present international economic relations must be changed. In our view, it is in the interest of the entire international community to revive the global negotiations. Their continued obstruction would cause frustrations the consequences of which are at present unforeseeable. As Luis Echeverria said, "There can be no community of free individuals based indefinitely on exploitation, poverty and the ignorance of the masses. History, both teacher and mother, has revealed this in blood, pain and tears". It is still within our power to prevent the fulfilment of this prophecy.

49. The fact that so many high-level officials have gathered here has made it possible for us to take the pulse of the international political and economic situation. We have seen our weaknesses and our potential. We believe that solutions to the different problems revealed in the course of this debate can be found if there is a minimum of political will.

50. One of the merits of the United Nations is precisely the fact that the diversity of its Members constitutes its wealth. Like any other human endeavour, the United Nations has its weaknesses and its limitations. None the less, we remain convinced that it is still the best instrument to guarantee international peace and security.

51. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the office of President of this session of the General Assembly. I extend to you, as well as to the Secretary-General, best wishes for success in your work. I should also like to pay a tribute to the work of your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar.

52. I welcome the admission of two new States, Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu, to membership in the United Nations. I extend to them sincere congratulations on the attainment of their independence.

53. Every year the Assembly meets to discuss the most important issues relating to the state of the world. Every year from this rostrum important appeals are made for an arrangement of world affairs that would rid mankind of fear and mutual mistrust, so that it could advance along the road on which the ideals of the Charter could find general application, in keeping with the greatness of man and his ceaseless creative activity.

54. However, never before have we had to face such a contradictory and peculiar dilemma. Efforts to continue the process of détente exist side by side with feverish efforts to return to the "cold war". The endeavours of the peace-loving forces—in the vanguard of which Czechoslovakia is actively struggling—to avert confrontation are at the same time being opposed by attempts to achieve military superiority and world economic hegemony. The general awareness of the inadmissibility of nuclear war is being opposed by plans and preparations for the waging of a supposedly limited version of such a war.

55. This state of affairs prevails only because the policy of détente does not suit the bellicose forces of imperialism and hegemonism. Thus, while intimidating people through imputing a non-existent threat from the East, they initiate new rounds of the arms race. Thus, while hypocritically labelling others as "international terrorists", they themselves terrorize entire continents. While demagogically accusing socialist countries of alleged violations of human rights, they themselves allow political prisoners to die of hunger and are unjustly condemning millions of people to the iniquity of unemployment. While groundlessly condemning others, they are shedding the blood of innocent persons in El Salvador, southern Africa and elsewhere. Thus, in representing the question, for example, of free trade or of stimulating investment as practically the only key problems of the world today, they are distracting attention from what are in fact the most important problems of the day—the preservation of peace and security, disarmament and the struggle against the exploitation of the developing countries by transnational corporations, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and *apartheid*. There is no doubt that it is those forces which are to blame for the complication of international developments.

56. As is always the case in such complex circumstances, increased responsibility falls on all those who are concerned for the fate of mankind, as increased responsibility falls on the Organization to put an end to these adventures. The flight of an arrow must not be halted after it has been shot from the bow. Not a single resolution on the maintenance of peace and disarmament should be allowed to become nothing more than a stock number in the archives of unresolved problems. Every politician and every diplomat must be consistently committed to the implementation of these resolutions.

57. The unending armament programmes of imperialism aimed at achieving military superiority should serve as a warning to everyone. Although they remind one of the futile attempts to square a circle, their objective and actual results are ever more modern, more sophisticated, more destructive and more fearsome types of weapons. How timely once again today are Friedrich Engels' remarks that "new technology daily discards as scrap all inventions which have just been introduced, and ever new explosive substances of unprecedented scope and effectiveness constantly emerge. At the same time, however, it is not entirely clear who exactly,

in the final analysis, is going to suffer from the effects of these weapons—those who fire them or those at whom they are aimed.”

58. It is therefore in the interest of all of us that we, in time and effectively, erect a barrier to war and to material preparations for it. Let us expose the sophisms that are being used to justify war and armaments: all the lies about the “compatibility between closing the armaments gap and disarmament”; all those fallacious arguments about the so-called humane manner of waging a nuclear war; and all those attempts to have war in Europe waged by Europeans, in Asia by Asians and in Africa by Africans and thereby to transform our continents into theatres of limited nuclear war; all steps which, in the final analysis, have led to the production of the neutron bomb, which the Czechoslovak people together with peace-loving people throughout the world categorically condemn, and which warrants the condemnation of the Organization. Does it not make a mockery of the peaceful, peace-making Organization when the representative of one of the permanent members of the Security Council asserts that there are more important matters than peace, while another states that each generation must have its own war? Is this naiveté, or is it in fact actual preparation for war?

59. It is only by means of dialogue and co-operation that tangible and realistic solutions can be found for all the controversial issues of international relations. There is no problem that we would not be willing to try to resolve by means of negotiations.

60. The time when one country could conduct the world with a nuclear baton has ended irrevocably. What we must do now is come to terms with this fact once and for all. Similarly, it is impossible to be a part of the existing system of international relations and at the same time to disregard the appeal for peace of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Look how tenaciously the European nations are resisting American military plans. Thus what we are presented with is a proved and time-tested realistic solution, which is to resume the co-operation of the 1970s and to continue the implementation of both the spirit and the letter of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki in 1975.

61. That appears to us to be precisely the reason why, listening carefully to this debate, we hear a strong appeal from all continents for a continuation of the policy of détente, which reflects the swelling wave of anti-missile and anti-neutron bomb protests on the part of the broad mass of people in Western Europe and elsewhere.

62. It is certainly true, as was stated a few days ago, that when a bureaucrat who has only recently assumed his new post has fabricated a new doctrine, not everyone has to dance to his tune; such times have gone forever.

63. What means can we seek to restore the current complicated international climate to a healthy state? What method of effective action is to be used to further develop the process of détente? In our view, both the means and the method are contained in the broad range of peace proposals put forward at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Leonid Brezhnev. As President Gustáv Husák stated at the sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, this peace programme for

the 1980s represents a concentrated reflection of our own vital interests.

64. Therefore, it would be unforgivable to disregard the most vital interests of nations if those to whom the peace message of the Soviet people was addressed did not proceed beyond mere examination of it, or indeed if they were to go so far as to reject it. After all, the mere discussion of any of these proposals, not to mention their actual implementation, would allow mankind to breathe more freely.

65. The main proposals are as follows: the Soviet Union calls for the immediate resumption of a comprehensive dialogue with the United States at the highest level and, in particular, talks on the limitation of strategic arms with the preservation of everything that has already been achieved; it proposes the convening of a carefully prepared special session of the Security Council at the highest level in order to improve the international situation and to prevent war; it proposes a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear weapons; it proposes the expansion of regional security measures, which would represent an immensely valuable impetus to the solution of the key problem of the Madrid meeting, namely, the long-prepared and universally expected decision on convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. We hope that the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] will be aware of their political responsibility and will contribute, in the second stage of that meeting, to its successful conclusion. Finally, the Soviet Union proposes consideration at this session of the question of concluding a treaty prohibiting the stationing of any weapons in outer space. Like all peace-loving countries, we are keenly interested in ensuring that outer space never becomes another arena of the arms race. This desire is strengthened by the fact that three years ago Czechoslovakia, thanks to its co-operation with the Soviet Union, became the third country—after the Soviet Union and the United States—to send one of its citizens into space.

66. Special emphasis must be placed on the appeal made at the seventh meeting by the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Gromyko, that the United Nations should adopt a new political document of fundamental importance, namely, a declaration on preventing a nuclear catastrophe and condemning the first use of nuclear weapons as the gravest crime against humanity.

67. We wish to express our conviction that the current session will also prove to be an important stage in the preparation for the forthcoming second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which can serve as a bridge-head for the convening of a world disarmament conference. In this context, we are prepared to co-operate actively with all delegations, as we have in the Committee on Disarmament and in the Preparatory Committee.

68. We advocate a speedy and specific solution of the broad range of disarmament problems, ranging from questions of nuclear disarmament to partial measures, such as a complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons and the strengthening of security safeguards for non-nuclear countries, and including the creation of zones of peace in various parts of the world and the reduction of military budgets. All of that would be on the basis of the principles of equality and security.

69. However, these goals can be achieved only if there is a sincere interest and political will on the part of all States. It is these States that form the supporting pillars of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament [*General Assembly resolution 34/88*], which was adopted, on our initiative, in 1979. We believe it to be necessary for the world forum, especially in the current international situation, to reaffirm the importance of the Declaration as a basic code of conduct for States in disarmament negotiations. It would be useful if the General Assembly appealed for the consistent observance and implementation of that Declaration and once again mobilized the political will of States to develop international co-operation in disarmament talks, unrestricted by any preconditions or questions not directly related to them. The General Assembly should also appeal to all States to refrain from any actions that would make more difficult or impossible the achievement of specific disarmament results. In this regard we intend to submit an appropriate draft resolution to the Assembly at its current session.

70. We have a vital interest in seeing Europe become permanently a region of stable peace and constructive co-operation. As a country in the very heart of Europe, we feel vitally threatened by the plans of NATO to deploy new United States medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries. The implementation of that decision, motivated by the endeavours of the West to achieve strategic military superiority, is fraught with far-reaching harmful consequences for peace and security, and not only on our continent.

71. We therefore repose great hopes in the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of the nuclear weapons in Europe, agreed upon, virtually a few steps from this hall, at the recent meeting between Foreign Minister Gromyko and Secretary of State Haig. The talks will concentrate on the conclusion of an agreement on the limitation or, what is even better, the reduction, of medium-range nuclear weapons, an agreement that should at the same time be concluded in close relation with the corresponding forward-based nuclear system of the United States, with due account being taken of all the factors affecting the strategic situation in Europe. That is, in fact, the only way to maintain the existing approximate parity.

72. The strengthening of détente and security in Europe would also promote progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, talks that for several years now, through no fault of ours, have been deadlocked.

73. We are very interested in the efforts to establish a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

74. We believe that the Mediterranean also should be transformed into a region of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation. The need for this has been underscored by the recent attack by United States armed forces against Libya.

75. Socialist Czechoslovakia, as a firm link in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, is consistently pursuing the co-ordinated policy of the socialist countries aimed at securing world peace and the development of détente. That policy, worked out by the congresses of our parties and given valuable impetus by the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, the Crimea meetings at the highest level and the meetings of the

Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty, is our long-term as well as our everyday programme.

76. Thus we are all the more deeply concerned over the situation in the Polish People's Republic, our immediate neighbour with which we are connected by thousands of years of history, a long common border and—what is most important—a common path to socialist construction. We wish to express our conviction that the Polish leadership will rebuff the attacks of both external and internal enemies of socialism. We fully share its view that only a socialist Poland, the class ally of its friends, can constructively promote the cause of peaceful relations in Europe and be a factor in a stable Europe.

77. Equally, we cannot remain indifferent to the imperialist intrigues around socialist Cuba; we most emphatically denounce those intrigues and resolutely demand that an end be put to them without delay.

78. In order to pursue our policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, we believe it to be extremely valuable and virtually indispensable to maintain vigorous and continuous political contacts with the participants in the Helsinki conference. That is why we are developing such contacts systematically and on a long-term basis. We unswervingly observe the treaties by means of which we have normalized our relations with a number of those countries, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, and we are striving for good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with them. We maintain an effectively operating system of political consultations with Finland, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Luxembourg. We are constantly developing a broad, unprecedented economic co-operation, as well as vigorous cultural contacts. In that context, we also expect that our constructive approach to the settlement of outstanding financial property claims in our relations with the United States will lead to the return of our gold treasure stolen by the Nazis and thus to the removal of the obstacles that still burden our relations. We take an analogous position concerning similar negotiations with the United Kingdom, and in our turn we expect the same approach from the other side.

79. At the same time, Czechoslovakia is developing all-round, mutually beneficial relations with the overwhelming majority of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The results of the recent official visit by the President of Czechoslovakia, Gustáv Husák, to Libya, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen are further proof of this. We intend to continue our traditionally good relations with India and to develop our relations with other countries too.

80. At the thirty-fifth session [*18th meeting*], I stated that a settlement of the situation in the Middle East had not come any closer. This year, regrettably, I can only add that it has become even further removed. The reason for this, as in the past, has been the aggressive policy of Tel Aviv and the support it receives from imperialists as the guarantors of its unprecedented piratical raids. What else can we call the barbarous raids carried out by Israel on Beirut, Saida, Nabatiyah—those Coventries of Lebanon? How else can we view their unprecedented attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad? How can one reconcile oneself to the fact

that the sovereign territory of neighbouring Lebanon is penetrated by Israeli commandos? How else can one judge the efforts by the United States to gain a military foothold there?

81. It is becoming increasingly apparent, as we have been saying from the beginning, that no deals of the Camp David type will lead to the settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. A comprehensive political settlement must be based on respect for the legitimate interests of all the States and peoples in that region. This requires an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, full respect for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of their own independent State, and the safeguarding of the security and sovereignty of all the States of the Middle East. We further advocate the convening of an international conference to eliminate that dangerous hotbed of tension, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.

82. We also fully support the just endeavours of the Afghan people to develop and defend the achievements of the April 1978 revolution and their national independence in the face of attacks by counter-revolutionary forces supported by imperialism and hegemonism. As we stressed during the recent visit to Czechoslovakia by a delegation from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan headed by Babrak Karmal, we resolutely support the concrete and realistic proposals put forward by the Government of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980 for the normalization of relations with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran, proposals which were further amplified in the statement of 24 August 1981 [A/36/457, annex]. It is our view that the cause of peace in the region would be well served if both those countries accepted the constructive appeal that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, who is present here, made from this rostrum [8th meeting] for the consideration of those proposals, on a bilateral or trilateral basis, during this very session. However, no negotiations can be held without the participation of the sole legitimate Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Deliberations on the internal situation in that country are completely unacceptable.

83. We fully associate ourselves with those who support the initiatives and constructive proposals of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, of Laos and of Kampuchea aimed at strengthening confidence and transforming South-East Asia into a region of peace and stability, including the proposal to hold a regional conference with the participation of the countries of Indo-China and the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] [see A/36/86, annex I]. At the same time, we most emphatically denounce the hostile manoeuvres connected with the artificially created question of Kampuchea. That fully applies also to the so-called international conference on Kampuchea, which constituted a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and an interference in the internal affairs of that country. We hope that no one will again succeed in misusing the name of the United Nations for the selfish and dubious designs pursued by certain countries.

84. It is our irreversible position that an end should be put to a situation in which persons representing nobody and responsible for the genocide of millions of their fellow citizens should occupy a seat that should long since have

belonged to the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

85. The policy of stirring up unrest, instability and conflict in South-East Asia and other regions, which is the product of the collusion between imperialism and the current Chinese leadership, is sharply at variance with the interests of world peace and with the vital needs of all nations. Nor can Peking's hegemonistic and aggressive policy bring anything good to China itself or to its people. As for ourselves, Czechoslovakia is ready, as we have repeatedly stressed, to improve its relations with the People's Republic of China, while consistently preserving the fundamental principles of our foreign policy.

86. The strengthening of security and peace in that area and throughout the continent of Asia would also be significantly enhanced by concrete talks on confidence-building measures in the regions of the Indian Ocean and the Far East, as proposed by the Soviet Union.<sup>4</sup> We also regard as highly valuable the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force among the States in Asia and the Pacific region [see A/36/388].

87. As for the question of Korea, we believe that it must be resolved by peaceful means. We, too, are of the opinion that the corresponding proposals of President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea constitute a suitable basis for such a solution, as presented at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

88. We continue to stand for the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We trust that the continuing contacts between representatives of both Cypriot communities will lead precisely in that direction.

89. The racist Pretoria régime, with the continuous, comprehensive and overt support of the West, continues its flagrant violation of the fundamental human rights of the African population. In contravention of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it illegally occupies Namibia in an attempt to transform it, with the assistance of the so-called group of five, into a neo-colonial State and to paralyse SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Czechoslovakia maintains complete solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, for the achievement of full independence. We equally support the efforts of the people of South Africa to eliminate the régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

90. We categorically condemn the overt and arrogant aggression of the South African racists against Angola, which is a crude affront to our Organization and a threat to international peace and security.

91. We resolutely support the implementation of the decisions of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981,<sup>5</sup> and of the recent eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia [resolution ES-8/2]. We favour the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

92. We attach the greatest importance to the struggle of the non-aligned movement against imperialism, colonialism

and racism and for peace and social progress. In the 20 years of its existence, the movement has proved beyond doubt that it is an important—indeed, indispensable—positive factor in international life. While maintaining the peaceful and anti-imperialist principles on which it was built, the movement can, particularly at this time, make a significant contribution to improving the complicated international situation.

93. We continue to support the demands of the developing countries for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just, equal and democratic basis. In so doing we proceed from our position of principle with regard to the solution of that problem.

94. The whole history of mankind proves that the wisdom and responsibility of statesmen are put to the test particularly in complicated international conditions. After all, it is not difficult to make the international political situation worse. It is much more difficult to ease tension and to prevent the worst from happening, which must be the primary concern of us all.

95. Since the very first days of the existence of the United Nations, at whose birth in San Francisco we were present, we have always held the view that the Organization should hold a place of honour in mankind's endeavours to safeguard a secure peace both for the present and for the future. That is what the people of Czechoslovakia believe. We have striven consistently for support by all Member States for the Charter, the content of which is outside any time-frame and therefore requires no change.

96. We trust that this session will place at the service of the most noble ideal of human society, the ideal of peace and co-operation, all the potential, influence and authority of this body as a world Organization.

97. Socialist Czechoslovakia will commit all its endeavours to the success of that cause.

98. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to wish you every success in carrying out your tasks.

99. I also congratulate Vanuatu and Belize on their admission to the Organization and wish the peoples of those countries success in their free and independent development.

100. A survey of the events that have taken place since the previous session of the General Assembly shows that the situation in the world has become in general more complicated and explosive. The dangers that threaten peace and the sovereign peoples and countries that wish to enjoy and safeguard their legitimate rights and interests have become greater and more serious during the past year. In many regions of the world new elements have further endangered international peace and security. Many important and acute political problems which have rightly preoccupied progressive peoples and countries for a long time, far from having moved towards a solution, have become more difficult and complex day by day.

101. On the European continent, tension and political and military confrontation have mounted this year, and dif-

ferences have become more acute. Hotbeds of tension and conflict have increased and spread in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. The whole region from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, right to the very centre of Asia, has become an arena of aggressive war or preparations for war. The Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab peoples and countries is continuing with increasing ferocity. Many hotbeds of tension also exist in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

102. The growing aggressiveness of the imperialist super-Powers, and in particular the intensification of the arms race and preparations for war, have during the current year aroused greater concern than ever everywhere in the world. The super-Powers are increasing their war budgets at colossal rates. Arms sales and supplies have assumed new and greater proportions. The production of new systems of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb, has been given a new impetus. The United States of America and the Soviet Union and their aggressive military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, have increased their military exercises both in number and in intensity. They have used them even more openly and directly than in the past as a means of applying pressure and blackmail, whether in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East or the Indian Ocean.

103. These hazardous developments are occurring at a time when the general crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world is constantly worsening and deepening. The serious economic and financial crisis which is shaking the foundations of the structure and the superstructure of the capitalist and revisionist countries has led to a further sharpening of all the inter-imperialist contradictions. In particular, the energy crisis has driven the imperialist Powers and monopolies to fierce competition and numerous disputes in their attempts to grab the reserves and markets of oil as well as of other raw materials, to supplant each other and to divide up spheres of influence. By resorting to violence and blackmail, demagoguery and subversion, the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers are trying to overcome the grave consequences of their economic and financial crisis—growing inflation, unemployment and recession—by intensifying their plunder and exploitation of other countries.

104. Numerous facts and events show that the process of confrontation between democratic and progressive sovereign peoples and countries, on the one hand, and imperialism, social-imperialism and other forces of world reaction, on the other, is deepening more and more. This confrontation is reflected daily by the development of events in the world and by international relations in general. The true culprits responsible for the grave situation in the world today, for the hotbeds of aggression and war, for tension and insecurity and, indeed, for all present dangers and injustices are, first and foremost, the United States and the Soviet Union, who pursue an aggressive, neo-colonialist policy and try to dominate the world and subordinate the whole system of international relations to their own interests.

105. The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have been and remain the greatest and most ferocious enemies of the peoples, the main source of war and aggression. In spite of the grave defeats they have suffered, they have become more unrestrained in their aggressive policies and activities; they have intensified their economic, political and military threats, blackmail and pressure, along with their plots and acts of subversion in differ-

ent parts of the world, in order to establish their hegemony everywhere and divide the world into spheres of influence. As the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has stated:

“The great imperialist Powers are resorting to means of all kinds to preserve their markets and spheres of influence in the world today. When one loses a market in a certain region, it tries to win one in another region, to the detriment of its rival or rivals. That is the cause of imbalance, the source of deepening differences and disagreements, which reach the point of armed conflict; it gives rise to the arms race, to partial, localized wars which lead mankind into all-out, predatory, imperialist war.”

106. The United States and the Soviet Union also raise a demagogic hue and cry about “détente” and their “efforts” to safeguard peace and security in the world, particularly in Europe. Inter-imperialist conflicts and the rivalry for hegemony in Europe have sharpened; the dangers that beset European peoples and countries have increased. Hence, the European peoples now see more clearly what lies behind the smokescreen of détente and the Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid conferences on European security, or the farce of the Vienna talks. In this grave situation of tension and threat created in Europe by the United States and the Soviet Union, people cannot fail to see that, in spite of the fuss over the Final Act of Helsinki, adopted in 1975, the stockpiles of strategic nuclear weapons and the number of United States and Soviet tanks and aircraft on our continent have increased, as has the threat to genuine peace and security in Europe and in the world at large. In the light of the present dangerous developments in Europe, it clearly follows that the Final Act of Helsinki was formulated not to protect the sovereignty or the borders of the European States, but rather to preserve the spheres of influence of the two imperialist super-Powers and to cause the European peoples to relax their vigilance. It was precisely for these reasons that the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania opposed that demagogic Conference. The world has been well aware of this for some time, and experience has now proved our position correct.

107. Similarly, the situation in Europe keeps deteriorating, because of the fact that the two super-Powers seek at all costs to strengthen their control and *diktat* over their allies, to patch up the cracks that appear in their political-military groupings and alliances and to compel the members of those alliances to increase their military expenditures and their financial contributions for the upkeep of foreign troops on their territories and, in general, to take upon themselves a heavier burden in all spheres of the preparations for war. The ever-growing proportions which the frenzied United States and Soviet conventional and nuclear arms races is assuming in Europe, apart from the great dangers that race poses for the sovereign peoples and countries of that continent, have also caused nervousness among the respective allies of the two super-Powers. Last year a great deal was said and written about the stationing of the Soviet SS-20 missiles and the United States cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. Each super-Power tries to justify itself and blame the other for this escalation of the arms race, so fraught with grave consequences for Europe. But the truth is that both the United States and the Soviet Union pursue the same course and have the same aims. They want to turn Europe into an ammunition depot; they want to impose their *diktat* on the

whole continent and, indeed, on their allies, through fear and blackmail.

108. Throughout this complicated game for domination and hegemony played by the United States and the Soviet Union, alongside the agreement to preserve a certain beneficial *status quo* for themselves in Europe, they have never relaxed their efforts to challenge each other within their respective spheres of influence. The grave and chaotic situation created in Poland, as a result of a process of general deterioration dating back to the revisionist twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is being utilized by the American imperialists and their allies to shake and weaken the dominant position of the soviet hegemonists in their sphere of influence. On their part, the Soviet social-imperialists spare neither threats nor flattery in dealing with the countries of Western Europe in order to turn them against Washington, especially concerning such problems as “disarmament”, “détente”, East-West relations and so on. Similarly, Moscow tries to counterbalance the challenges of Washington in Poland with open demonstrations of strength; that is why it is keeping that country in a state of real military siege and is ceaselessly organizing large-scale military exercises in and around its territory.

109. Despite the growing rivalry and sharpened tone of the mutual accusations between Washington and Moscow, it would be a mistake to forget that the two imperialist super-Powers, even at such times, are able to find a common language in order to come to terms with each other, bypassing even their allies, and always to the detriment of sovereign peoples and States. Concern lest the growing American-Soviet rivalry should have grave consequences for international relations is well-founded; it has always been the case. But the dangers and tensions in the world would not be reduced even if the present stage of worsening relations between the two super-Powers were to be replaced by a period of more tranquil relations, more frequent meetings and co-ordination of their activities. The policy, aims and actions of the United States and the Soviet Union continue to threaten and endanger the peoples of Europe and the entire world whether the leaders of those two super-Powers embrace each other and sign treaties or harshly reproach each other.

110. Nor is the situation calm in the Balkan region, where there is a fresh intensification of political and military activity on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union, which exploit the grave socio-economic situation and the turbulent elements that have accumulated in one or the other Balkan country and vie with each other to entrench and strengthen their strategic positions in the region. This aim is also served by their growing presence in and their air and naval military build-up around the Balkans, by their efforts to secure military bases and port facilities there, and by the visits of their warships and the numerous military delegations that travel frequently from one country to another.

111. The Soviet social-imperialists are endeavouring to stir up chauvinist passions and sentiments, to encourage and deepen disagreements, to undermine the friendship among the Balkan peoples and to disturb peace and security in the region. We hold that acceptance of the interference of the imperialist super-Powers in that region is fraught with dangerous consequences for the destinies of the Balkan peoples. Such an attitude runs counter to the lawful interests and aspirations of the Balkan peoples and the establishment of trust and sincere friendship among them.

112. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, always acting on the basis of the policy of good-neighbourliness and safeguarding the interests of the peoples, has fought and is fighting against every attempt and intrigue by the super-Powers in the Balkans. It has always adhered to its public statement that no harm will ever come to its neighbours from Albania or through the territory of Albania. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania always adheres staunchly to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country.

113. The Albanian Government has always displayed goodwill in the normal and fruitful development of relations of good-neighbourliness with bordering States. It has made sincere specific efforts and has responded correctly to all useful initiatives for the development of relations in commercial, cultural and other fields. We have assessed the effects of our exchanges with neighbouring States on the basis of official bilateral agreements and we are of the opinion that these have yielded positive results. In the future also, the Albanian Government will display the same goodwill in the development of such relations, and we hope that the Government of other countries will act similarly and with the same feeling of responsibility, to the advantage of all the peoples and of peace in the Balkan region.

114. Last year we witnessed in the Mediterranean region a further increase in the military and naval build-up and activities of the two imperialist super-Powers, which are trying to extend further the network of their military bases in the Mediterranean countries and are intensifying their military exercises for offensive purposes—quite close, in fact, to the territorial waters of other countries. The grave act of provocation by the naval aircraft of the United States against Libya, like other actions of the American and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean, reveals the danger posed by the presence of the fleets of the super-Powers in this basin. Hence the Albanian delegation is of the opinion that the Mediterranean countries must increase their efforts to compel the fleets of the super-Powers to leave the Mediterranean.

115. The Middle East continues to be one of the most dangerous hotbeds, where the political, economic and military-strategic predatory interests of the imperialist super-Powers clash, which could lead at any time to grave and generalized explosions. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are conducting feverish all-out political and military activities in the region, are provoking and threatening the peoples of those countries with armed attacks and are concentrating more intensively their aggressive fleets, military bases and forces around those countries. Furthermore, they have continued their activities to deepen further the division among the Arab countries and to pit them against one another by stirring up local conflicts and tensions.

116. Making use, as always, of the direct support of the United States and of the turbulent situations created by the anti-Arab activities of the super-Powers in the Middle East, the Israeli Zionists have undertaken other more aggressive acts, such as the criminal military attacks against Lebanon and the air raid against Iraq.

117. Lebanon is suffering a genuine tragedy. The sanguinary hand of the Israeli aggressor is daily dealing blows at the Lebanese people, and also at the Palestinian people, who have been left without a homeland by zionism and imperial-

ism. But the heroic Palestinian people have never laid down their weapons and have not ceased for a single moment the just struggle to win back their freedom and their homeland.

118. The Albanian people and Government, as in the past, stand firmly on the side of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples and firmly support their just cause.

119. The situation in the Gulf area, which is the largest oil-bearing basin in the world, has become increasingly explosive as a result of the intensification of the aggressive activity and the policy of interference, provocation and blackmail pursued by the United States and the Soviet Union against the Iranian people and the other peoples of that region. Resorting to the use of counter-revolutionary forces and their espionage networks, they are trying to cause a wave of terror in Iran so as to prevent the Iranian Government from stabilizing the situation in the country and to bring the Iranian people to their knees. The United States imperialists still nurture the hope of regaining their lost privileges and position, while the Soviet social-imperialists seek to exploit the situation in their own favour. However, the revolutionary Iranian people, through their determined struggle, have overthrown the bloody Fascist régime of the Shah and are now dealing telling blows at the positions of imperialism in the Persian Gulf area. They will strengthen their vigilance and determination to safeguard their victories and cope with the hostile plots of the United States, the Soviet Union and other reactionary forces. The Albanian people have followed with regret the situation created as a result of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, which has inflicted great losses on the peoples of both countries. This conflict has been and is being exploited by imperialism, social-imperialism and zionism, in order to interfere further in that region and to strike at and weaken the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East. In view of the development of events and the grave situations created for these peoples, today it has become more imperative than ever that this conflict be ended, that foreign troops withdraw from Iranian territory and that the problems between the two parties be solved through negotiations.

120. The Albanian people and Government once more express support for and solidarity with the valiant and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan in their struggle for the liberation of their country from the Soviet social-imperialist occupying forces. Without the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Afghanistan there can be no peace in that country or in the region.

121. The growing aggressiveness of social-imperialist China and its political-military alliance with United States imperialism, and the aggressive schemes and activities of the United States and the Soviet Union in Indo-China constitute the main factors in the continued worsening of the situation in South-East Asia. From their own experience the peoples of that region have realized the consequences for their freedom and independence of the "friendship" and "aid" offered by the United States, China or the Soviet Union; therefore they are forcefully opposing any kind of interference. These long-suffering peoples must be left free to settle for themselves their internal questions and their fate, without any foreign interference from any source and with strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country.

122. As always, the Albanian people and Government support the just struggle of the Korean people for the expul-

sion of the United States imperialists from South Korea and the independent unification of the homeland.

123. The rivalry of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers for spheres of influence and markets in Africa has further complicated the situation on that continent and has created hotbeds of conflict and tension in a number of countries and among various States. The United States and the Soviet Union are striving in different ways to bind a number of African countries to the system of imperialist and social-imperialist alliances. The United States and other imperialists are trying to justify their aggressive acts in Africa and the intensification of their political, economic and military support for the racists of South Africa on the ground of the need to counterbalance the interference of the Soviet Union in that continent. For their part, the Soviet social-imperialists like to present their interference as support for the African peoples against imperialism. In fact, whether in South Africa or in other parts of the African continent, the two imperialist super-Powers pursue the same objectives and have become embroiled in a feverish race for spheres of influence and military bases, grossly violating the rights and interests of many African countries.

124. This activity on the part of the super-Powers encourages South Africa's racist régime to persist in its policy of *apartheid*, to keep Namibia under its colonial rule and to carry out provocation and armed aggression against the African countries, as it did recently in Angola. In all their aggressive activity, the racists of South Africa enjoy the full support of the imperialist Powers and, first and foremost, that of the United States. In these conditions it is clear that the path of armed struggle is the only one that will lead the Namibian people to the attainment of its rights and aspirations. The Albanian people has supported and will always support the just liberation struggle being waged by the Namibian people for freedom and national independence.

125. The difficult situation in some Latin American countries shows that the peoples of that part of the world are being confronted more and more by the interference of imperialism and by super-Power plots.

126. Facts and events daily show that the just struggle of freedom-loving peoples throughout the world for freedom and national independence remains powerful. This is a clear reflection of their growing hatred and indignation against the occupiers, oppressors and exploiters, of their determination ever more powerfully to strike out at the imperialist Powers and their tools and to stay the hand of the aggressors who threaten peace and mankind with an imperialist world war.

127. The struggles of peoples and of all oppressed masses are the main force shaking the very foundations of the capitalist-revisionist world and opposing the aggressors and warmongering schemes and actions of world imperialism. The imperialist Powers have been and are being dealt successive and powerful blows by the struggle of peoples throughout the world who cherish peace and freedom. The grave defeat which the Iranian people inflicted on United States imperialism, the blows that the valiant Afghan people are dealing at the Soviet aggressors, the constant intensification of the struggle being waged by peoples against the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the super-Powers enhance the optimism and strengthen the confidence of peoples throughout the world in their invincibility.

128. Today, this struggle is present and evident everywhere in the world. Its results can be clearly seen in the constant weakening of the positions of imperialism, social-imperialism and other reactionary forces.

129. The Albanian people and its Government have supported and will always strongly support the just struggle of peoples for liberation, for the defence of their national independence and sovereignty and for self-determination. They have stood and will always stand on the side of peoples fighting for genuine freedom and equality against oppression, violence and terror; for the rooting out of colonialism, against neo-colonialism and racial discrimination; against the intrigues, plots and brutal interferences of the imperialist Powers and, first and foremost, of the super-Powers.

130. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will, as ever, continue to back the struggle of the sovereign peoples and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America against the political, economic and military aggression of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and other imperialist Powers. Today, the peoples of the world are becoming ever more conscious of the danger posed by the attempts of the imperialist Powers to maintain and intensify their exploitation of them, by implementing neo-colonialist theories and practices of "interdependence", "aids", "credits", "multi-national collaboration and co-operation" and other forms of plunder and exploitation. We support all the efforts and the just struggle of different peoples and countries to attain and strengthen their economic independence and to place all their national assets under their full control, to defend them from neo-colonialist plundering and to utilize them for the benefit of their independent economic and social development.

131. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a fully independent country, is growing and developing with total reliance on its own forces, on the sweat and selfless work of its people, on the material and financial resources which our own country possesses and creates, without receiving credits or aid from abroad. It has developed and is extending its relations with an ever-growing number of States constantly and on a sound basis. In trade, cultural exchanges and other fields, Albania displays correctness, never implicating itself in political machinations, never damaging the interests of others, never falling into autarchy or retiring within itself.

132. In spite of the effects of the grave economic crisis in the world, our country is developing and progressing constantly and is achieving satisfactory rates of economic development and an improvement in the well-being of the working masses. The Albanian people does not know unemployment, price rises or inflation, economic crises, corruption and moral degeneration or other such ills, which are increasingly afflicting the working masses in the bourgeois-revisionist world.

133. The successful completion of the sixth five-year plan, for the period 1976-1980, has led to the improvement and further strengthening of the economic structure of our country, thus further consolidating its economic independence and enabling it to aspire to greater development in the future. This five-year plan was marked by a further increase in the production of electric power, oil and coal. As regards food, we are self-sufficient. All bread is produced locally for the people, as is 85 per cent of its needs in industrial mass consumer goods.

134. Now our people have set themselves to work to carry out the seventh five-year plan for the development of our economy and culture. This new five-year plan will be carried out totally on the basis of our own strength, without any aid or credits from abroad. The average annual production will be approximately 1.5 times higher than the annual production over the past decade. Basic investments will be approximately 1.4 times higher, and export revenues about twice as large. The diversification of our industry will be further strengthened, giving priority to the development of heavy industries. The energy base, in particular the oil industry, will be further strengthened. Investments in agriculture will increase and we will progress towards its further intensification. During the seventh five-year plan, great progress will be achieved in the fields of education, culture, science and the protection of the health of the people. The Albanian people, under the direct leadership of the Labour Party of Albania, which this year will mark its fortieth anniversary and which is so wisely led by its founder, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is advancing proudly towards its future, aware of the fact that, thanks to its unremitting toil, it will carry forward the cause of the construction and the defence of socialism in Albania.

135. At the present time, as we are witnessing a worsening of the international situation and increased dangers and threats to peace and to the peoples of the world, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will not fail to make its modest contribution to the sincere efforts of the peoples and countries which love peace and freedom to stay the hand of the aggressors and ensure true security throughout the world.

136. Mr. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to see you elected as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The trust placed in you testifies to the great appreciation of your prominent role and experience. We take this opportunity to thank your predecessor who so ably presided over the deliberations of the last session of the General Assembly. We should like also to welcome the independence of Belize and Vanuatu and their admission to membership in the United Nations. We also commend the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General for the strengthening of the international organization.

137. Our peoples pin high hopes on the role of the United Nations in enhancing world peace and security. Those hopes encompass all aspects of co-operation aimed at the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the achievement of détente in international relations. However, since the convening of the last session of the General Assembly events have been moving in a direction which threatens those principles. Tension in international relations has increased. Many States and peoples have been subjected to the dangers of aggression and flagrant intervention in their internal affairs. Racist régimes in occupied Palestine and South Africa—encouraged and supported by world imperialism—have challenged the international will and rejected United Nations resolutions. They continue in their policies of occupation and aggression against the Arab and African peoples. The same period has witnessed the reinforcement by the United States of America of its military presence through the addition of new bases of aggression and the creation of new areas of conflict and instability in various regions of the world. Furthermore, it has decided to produce and deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and other new weapons of mass destruction as well as the neu-

tron bomb. It also persists in its refusal to ratify the second treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms [*SALT II*].

138. That aggressive conduct adopted by world imperialism, in undermining the principles of the policy of international détente with a return to the cold war, once again endangers world peace and security. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to endeavour forcefully and relentlessly to preempt those Powers by affirming its continued rejection of such policies, by warning of their dangers and by working towards their elimination. Democratic Yemen is of the view that the initiatives proposed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries represent a realistic basis for the consolidation of détente and the preservation of world peace and security.

139. A number of important political developments are taking place in our region. The United States is trying to impose its control over the area through the establishment of new military bases and through the rapid deployment force. It openly declares its intention to launch an aggressive policy and to occupy the oil sources in open defiance of the will of the governments and peoples in the area who have declared their total rejection of that move and consider it as blatant interference in their internal affairs. Those countries have expressed their readiness to protect their sovereignty and independence against such foreign interference. The United States resorts to the use of its local agents to facilitate its task aimed at total domination of the region, the plundering of its national resources, and picking quarrels with nationalist and progressive régimes in order to halt the achievement of their aspirations for stability and development. We take this opportunity to draw attention to the treacherous role played by the régimes of Oman, Egypt and Somalia, whose lands have been turned into military bases for United States imperialism, thus posing a threat to the security and independence of the area.

140. Democratic Yemen, true to its foreign policy based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, common interest and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and true to its belief in the cause of peace and security in the region, as well as in the independence and sovereignty of its peoples, considers it very important to confront that policy of aggression pursued by the United States and other imperialist Powers.

141. In this vein, the President of Democratic Yemen, Ali Nasser Mohammed, has called for the convening of a summit conference of the States of the Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa, along with the presence of other interested parties, to discuss the total elimination of all foreign military bases. This call by Democratic Yemen is aimed at the consolidation of security and stability in the region and conforms to the special concern we have in making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace in accordance with the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI).

142. Our Yemeni people look forward to permanent peace and stability in our region. They work to consolidate their independence and sovereignty over their own territory, to protect their achievements and to overcome all obstacles caused by imperialist and reactionary conspiracies whose aim is to frustrate the unity of both parts of their country through peaceful and democratic means and by the joint efforts of their authorities. The reunification of the Yemeni

homeland, in so far as it is a great goal of our people, will constitute an important factor in the achievement of security and stability in the region. Those principles and goals were emphasized once again at the last summit meeting between the Presidents of the two parts of Yemen, held in Taizz this month.

143. The results of the recent trilateral summit meeting held in Aden by Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia and Libya and, in particular, the treaty of friendship and co-operation among the three countries concluded in Aden on 19 August 1981, will make a vital contribution towards the strengthening of peace in the region and of solidarity between the Arab and African peoples and will help their joint efforts to face the dangers confronting the Arab and African region caused by imperialism, zionism and racism.

144. The situation in the Middle East will continue to constitute a real threat to international peace and security unless the international community puts an end to Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries and to its continued refusal to implement the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and other international forums. Peace in the Middle East will never be achieved as long as the United States continues to endorse Israel's racist and expansionist policies and to supply it with material and military assistance, thus helping it to continue its aggression against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples.

145. We find it extremely difficult to accept the claim by some that the United States is seeking to establish peace in the Middle East through pressure on Israel. Such claims and illusions have been shattered by the recent agreement to strengthen and broaden the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel. That agreement opened the door wide for eventually bringing America to Israel's side and giving it unlimited support politically, militarily and economically in order to realize the racist Zionist dream of the creation of the so-called greater Israel.

*Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

146. The two Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty have failed to produce a solution to the Middle East problem. Such a solution will be achieved only with full recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return, its right to self-determination and its right to establish its own independent State in Palestine; recognition of the PLO as its sole and legitimate representative; the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories; a commitment by Israel to implement United Nations resolutions and to terminate its policy of expansion and aggression against the Arab peoples.

147. The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen strongly condemns Israel's continued aggression against Lebanon and the role which it plays in conspiring against that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Likewise, we condemn Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and denounce the conspiracies of the imperialist-Zionist reactionary alliance against Syria and the United States aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

148. We support the struggle of the Sahraoui people. We have repeatedly emphasized that this is a question of a people aspiring to its right to self-determination and independence, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front.<sup>2</sup> We hope that the efforts undertaken by the OAU and the United Nations will result in a speedy response to and the achievement of the aspirations of the Sahraoui people.

149. Once again, we appeal to our brothers in Iraq and Iran to solve their dispute through peaceful means in the interests of their peoples and because of the importance of their role in the struggle against the imperialist and Zionist designs in the area. We also support the constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for the settlement of its differences with its neighbours.

150. It is regrettable that some countries are attempting to bring back to life the infamous Pol Pot gang, while at the same time denying recognition to the victorious Kampuchean people and its nationalist Government, which are struggling resolutely to build a new life in peace and freedom. We condemn all imperialist and reactionary schemes and manoeuvres being hatched against the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

151. We also reaffirm the need to respect the neutrality and independence of the island of Cyprus, as well as its sovereignty and territorial integrity. We call for the withdrawal from the island of all foreign troops and the dismantling of all military bases. We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General to arrive at a just solution in accordance with these principles.

152. My country, together with other countries of the world that cherish freedom and peace, supports the proposals of the Government of democratic Korea for the unification of Korea. We call once again for the withdrawal of American forces from South Korea.

153. The peoples of the African continent also suffer from the numerous imperialist and racist schemes that are being hatched against them and which seek to frustrate their national liberation and discourage their efforts to maintain their independence and sovereignty and to work for the eradication of the *apartheid* policy pursued by the white minority régime in South Africa.

154. We support the just struggle being waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative, to achieve its independence. We condemn the policy of South Africa, which has as its aim the continued occupation of Namibia, contrary to the resolutions of the international Organization. We condemn its latest act of aggression and its occupation of Angola's territory. We also condemn the attempts by certain Western Governments to prevent the Security Council from adopting the necessary sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria. The continued pursuit of its *apartheid* policy by the white minority Government in South Africa means that the United Nations must take the necessary steps to isolate that régime and impose sanctions against it in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

155. As regards Latin America, we have always condemned the policy of aggression pursued by the Govern-

ment of the United States against the peoples of Latin America and its interference in the internal affairs of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as the external interference and oppression it carries out against the people of El Salvador. We condemn its blockade of Cuba and call for the elimination of the American military base at Guantánamo.

156. We support the right of the people of Puerto Rico to independence and self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

157. International economic relations are at present experiencing a crisis of serious dimensions which threatens international peace and security. Experience in international economic co-operation for development, especially in recent years, has proved that partial and short-sighted solutions are not adequate. The problems of developing countries are escalating and increasing in intensity, and the economic gap between those countries and the industrial countries is widening steadily. The developing countries do not bear the responsibility for this unfortunate and painful situation. Nor can they by their individual efforts break through the blockade imposed on them by the system of international relations inherited from the period of the Second World War. Through this system, capitalist countries control the international economy and the world sources of finance and reap the benefits, while developing countries remain the victims of the manifestations of neo-colonialism, which is reflected in their dependence, underdevelopment and exploitation. The real values of their incomes are decreasing, while their indebtedness, the prices of their imports and their development requirements are mounting. Their channels for the acquisition of technology and the modern means of development are narrowing and markets are being closed to their exports, or they face protectionist and restrictive measures.

158. Certain capitalist countries, particularly the United States, have no qualms about blocking international consensus on the restructuring of international economic relations by introducing ambiguous concepts of economic and trade relations in an attempt to strengthen and expand their exploitation of the developing countries and to perpetuate the latter's dependence upon them.

159. The world of today has reached a degree of interdependence and complexity that makes necessary collective solutions reached in a spirit of true and fair co-operation, without conditions, discrimination or coercion. The result of the dialogue going on between developing and developed countries is not very promising, nor will it hold out much hope for the future of the world economy

as a whole unless the capitalist countries respond to the call of necessity and common interest and abandon all aspects of their rigid positions, which have as their aim the maintenance of their monopolistic interests and privileged positions. Without the political will embodied in radical and courageous resolutions and practical steps, the dialogue will continue in an endless tunnel and the clouds of doubt and uncertainty will continue to fill the sky. The economic situation of developing countries, especially the least developed among them, will deteriorate because of their urgent and intensified need for real resources and assistance in order to build their infrastructures, utilize their wealth, train their technicians, provide for the basic needs of their populations and cope with natural disasters. It is a tragic irony that resources and more and more billions of dollars are being expended to perpetuate luxurious patterns of consumption and to produce weapons of war and destruction with which to carry out policies of aggression and cold war, while millions of people in poor and underdeveloped countries live at subsistence level, lacking the means for a decent life and daily facing the threat of death.

160. Developing countries collectively have become aware of the substance and core of the crisis and have established the principles of collective self-reliance in view of their similar circumstances and common experience. Within the framework of the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77, they have drawn up a strategy of action for their development and evolution in all fields. They are still at the beginning of the road, but with closer co-operation they will achieve many of their goals and aspirations. This, however, does not constitute an alternative to dialogue and co-operation with developed countries, within the framework of the principles of integration, equality and justice, for the establishment of the new international economic order. We can only hope for an early start on the global negotiations.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

<sup>2</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup>See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. C, resolution 122 (V).

<sup>4</sup>See CD/228, Appendix II/Vol. I, document CD/160.

<sup>5</sup>See A/CONF.107/8, chap. X, sect. A.