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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PUJÁ (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*):
Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which I am convinced will successfully accomplish its task under your guidance.

2. I also wish to welcome the delegations of the Republic of Vanuatu and Belize, the newly admitted Members of the world Organization.

3. Every session of the General Assembly is a significant event in international political life. This is particularly true now when the process of détente has suffered a set-back and elements of tension in international relations are on the increase. The intensification of negative processes which have been observed in recent years threatens to confront mankind anew with the grave consequences of the cold-war policy that once caused so much damage.

4. The main cause of unfavourable developments in the international situation lies in the attempts to push the world back into the impasse of the policy of force by starting a new surge in the arms race in pursuit of military superiority and by poisoning the international atmosphere. I know very well that other factors are also mentioned as being at the root of international tension, but these are mere pretexts used by extremist imperialist circles to conceal their true intentions.

5. The policy of those circles is aimed at destroying the results of détente. Systematic efforts are being made to undermine relations between socialist and developed capitalist countries. Before our very eyes, military and economic power is being used increasingly against countries pursuing progressive policies and against liberation movements. Efforts are being made to provoke confrontation, to exacerbate the situation and to create new hotbeds of

crisis. Cold war propaganda campaigns have gained further momentum.

6. It is no exaggeration to say that all these ingredients combine to create a serious danger to peace and international security and co-operation among States and peoples which statesmen have, with a proper sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind, made untiring efforts to bring about and strengthen for decades. It is in the common interest of peoples everywhere to call a halt to those processes, jeopardizing as they do international peace and security.

7. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic condemns attacks on détente, the arms race and irresponsible attempts to poison the international climate and revive the cold war. The prime goal of our foreign policy remains that of promoting the cause of averting the danger of war, strengthening peace and international security, achieving disarmament and deepening friendship and co-operation among peoples.

8. In the present situation we believe it to be of particular importance to maintain and reinforce the links which countries with different social systems have forged over the last few years in a spirit of peaceful coexistence. In so far as possible, international co-operation should continue to be developed, efforts to solve outstanding problems should be redoubled and any designs to impede or restrict the achievement of such goals should be resisted.

9. The Hungarian People's Republic is a staunch advocate of disarmament and of arms limitation. My Government participates actively and constructively in the different international disarmament forums and endeavours to promote solutions for the issues involved through bilateral talks as well.

10. In the present-day international situation, all peoples of the world have a particular interest in, and face the most important task of, halting the arms race, which is placing increasingly heavy burdens on mankind. At previous disarmament talks, a considerable number of valuable and constructive proposals were put forward and agreements were concluded. It is important that the results of past efforts should not be wasted and should be drawn upon to achieve practical accords that would lead to a reduction of military confrontation. Renewed and mutual initiatives are necessary for further serious steps to be taken by the world along the road to disarmament. We therefore welcome and support the Soviet disarmament proposals, including that of the addition of the most recent item on the agenda of the current session [A/36/192], relating to the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space.

These proposals are based on sober consideration, taking realities into account. They reflect an earnest desire for peace and consequently coincide with the interests and aspirations of the Hungarian people.

11. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the cause of nuclear disarmament and great significance to the continuation of talks, which are so crucial to the security of all mankind, between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

12. The failure to ratify the SALT II agreement, the slowing down or discontinuance of the disarmament negotiations by the American side and the implementation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] decision to deploy American medium-range strategic nuclear missiles in certain Western European countries, which poses a direct threat to the security of my own country, serves to increase international tension, disturbs the existing balance of power and further escalates the arms race.

13. Not long ago we were shocked to learn the news of the latest American decision to start manufacturing the neutron bomb. The emergence of that particularly inhumane weapon of mass destruction in the military arsenal is a consequence of the fallacious doctrine that proclaims the possibility of a limited nuclear war and brings ever closer the danger of a nuclear holocaust. It is destined to bring about a new wave of nuclear armament and to reduce the chances of success of disarmament talks. We therefore have every basis for demanding that the neutron bomb be outlawed.

14. We warmly welcome the draft declaration submitted to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union [A/36/241, annex], whereby the first use of nuclear weapons would be considered a crime against mankind. We believe that the General Assembly should adopt such a declaration on the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

15. The Hungarian Government wishes to assure the Assembly of its total support for the various proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones. We endorse the idea of converting northern Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean into denuclearized zones. Furthermore we hope that other regions of Europe too will be transformed into nuclear-weapon-free zones.

16. My Government believes that it is necessary to continue efforts to prohibit new types of weapons of mass destruction and chemical weapons and to limit conventional weapons. It is our earnest hope that at this session, with the consent of all interested parties, decisions will be adopted that will help to move the disarmament talks out of deadlock. It is our conviction that, given the necessary political will, progress in that direction is possible.

17. We regret that while the arms race is being stepped up no positive response has been received to any of the disarmament proposals, formulated with due regard for mutual interests, that the socialist countries have presented in various forums. A grave historical responsibility is assumed by those who pay no heed to the proposals of the socialist countries.

18. An important task for the Assembly at the present session is the preparation of the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament scheduled for 1982. We expect that the efforts being exerted towards the intensification of disarmament talks will be encouraged by that session and even by its preparatory phase. In our view the second special session on disarmament should concentrate on the elaboration of concrete measures designed to restrain the arms race and effectively to promote the cause of disarmament; it should prevent problems of secondary significance being pushed into the foreground of the discussion.

19. The Hungarian People's Republic continues to pay particular attention to the promotion of détente. Détente is not a mere expression which can be struck out of dictionaries if it is not liked, but a living process expressing the will of peoples. We believe that détente should continue to play a decisive role in maintaining peace and strengthening security, consolidating peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and expanding mutually beneficial co-operation.

20. As regards the cause of security and co-operation in Europe, the Hungarian Government has consistently striven to develop its international co-operation in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki. Hungarian diplomacy is taking an active part in the Madrid meeting of representatives of States signatories to the Final Act and is tirelessly persevering in its efforts to contain tendencies towards confrontation and to maintain a businesslike spirit in all deliberations. Together with a number of other countries, the States members of the Warsaw Treaty are working towards conducting a constructive dialogue and producing mutually acceptable agreements on the basis of the Helsinki principles.

21. We earnestly hope that the Madrid meeting will conclude its work by adopting a meaningful and balanced final document imbued with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the peoples of the world. We believe it to be of extreme importance that a decision be taken to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe as that would make it possible to seek sensible compromises in adopting certain confidence-building measures and solving disarmament issues.

22. One of the major reasons for the present state of international tension is that in recent years there has been no substantial progress towards removing the hotbeds of tension in different parts of the world. The latest international events have once again placed renewed emphasis on the need to eliminate local conflicts, to eliminate hotbeds of crisis and to prevent the emergence of new ones.

23. In recent years tension and the danger of armed conflict in the Middle East have become chronic. Israel's armed aggression against Lebanon, its threats of war against Syria, its piratical attack on Iraq and the provocations of its air force against Libya are all evidence that the Government of Israel and the imperialist forces backing it are attempting to keep the Middle East crisis alive. It would appear that they want to exploit the complex situation there in order to establish American military bases. All this makes it even more evident that the separate

Canary David deal is totally useless for the settlement of existing problems.

24. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic favours a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis and for the establishment of a lasting peace in the region. It has taken a stand of solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples and considers that complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent State of Palestine and international guarantees for the security and independence of all the States of the region are absolutely indispensable. This is in keeping with the interests of the States and peoples of that area as well as of international peace and security. My Government is of the view that the present session of the General Assembly should contribute towards convening an international conference capable of settling the acute crisis in the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

25. Imperialist circles have created a dangerous situation in the area of the Persian Gulf and, more broadly, throughout the entire Indian Ocean basin. In that region, where a considerable part of the world's oil resources is to be found, peace, security and stability are of particular importance. What is needed is not a show of military force, but agreements that guarantee peace and security. We regret that the leading Western Powers reject the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union concerning a settlement of the situation and are impeding the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [General Assembly resolution 35/150].

26. The improvement of the international situation as a whole and the normal development of inter-State relations and co-operation is being hampered by collaboration between imperialist circles, the hegemonists of Peking and other elements to keep the so-called questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea artificially on the agenda. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the termination of outside intervention in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan is an indispensable prerequisite to the elimination of the dangerous situation around that country. We support the Afghan Government's proposals for a settlement of 24 August 1981 [A/36/457] as providing a good basis for a political solution. Any settlement plan that seeks a decision on Afghanistan without the participation of the legitimate Government of that country and refuses to recognize the sovereign and inalienable right of the Afghan people to settle its own affairs is unrealistic and unacceptable.

27. The policy of China, guided as it is by hegemonic designs, has given rise to serious complications in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The Hungarian Government is in solidarity with the countries of Indo-China and supports their constructive proposals to restore tranquillity in the region and to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability and multilateral co-operation among States. It is desirable that the dialogue which is getting under way among the countries of South-East Asia on the basis of peaceful political initiatives by three

countries of Indo-China should produce positive results. We are convinced that recognition of the existing political realities is the only correct path to follow in securing peace and stability in the area.

28. We take great satisfaction in the fact that the efforts of the Kampuchean people, which has suffered a terrible tragedy, have produced significant results in the reconstruction and consolidation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Keeping the so-called question of Kampuchea on the agenda of various international forums only serves imperialist and reactionary interests. The prestige of the world Organization is not enhanced by the fact that the rightful place of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is still being occupied by the Pol Pot clique, which represents no one.

29. Among the factors preventing any improvement in the international situation, I should mention the long-standing question of Korea. My Government is unwavering in its solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and supports its efforts to bring about the peaceful reunification of that country.

30. My Government shares the justified concern already voiced by several speakers over the mounting economic, political and military pressures being exerted by imperialism and international reaction on the developing countries and the national liberation movements. I should like to declare in this forum that my Government supports the struggle of peoples for social progress, national independence and self-determination, and against colonial oppression and neo-colonialist ambitions. Our position concerning the situation in southern Africa, the policy of apartheid, Western Sahara and the revolutionary processes in Latin America is guided by that same spirit.

31. We believe that the States Members of the United Nations should take much more effective measures than they have done so far with a view to the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and to ensuring the exercise by all peoples of their right to self-determination. One of the most urgent tasks is to ensure Namibia's accession to independence. My Government supports the Namibian people in its struggle for independence waged under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole legitimate representative, against the South African occupiers. My Government maintains that the United Nations should put its earlier resolutions into effect by immediately ending the illegal occupation of Namibia and ensuring the Territory's real independence.

32. We condemn the acts of aggression by the Government of South Africa against neighbouring countries. Those acts pose a threat to international peace and security. We consider it to be particularly outrageous that the army of the racist régime has penetrated deep into Angolan territory, thus trampling underfoot international law and the principle of national sovereignty. The world Organization has a duty to adopt and apply sanctions against the aggressor.

33. Much disquieting news is coming in from Central America. With American assistance the military junta is out to crush the struggle of the patriots who represent the

interests of the Salvadorean people; Imperialist pressures are mounting on democratic Nicaragua also. Cuba has become the target of daily propaganda attacks by the United States. We believe that the right of peoples to self-determination is applicable also to the American continent and no one is entitled to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries or to determine the course of their development.

34. The Hungarian People's Republic continues to maintain a profound interest in the unhindered development of international economic co-operation. My Government seeks to promote the development of international economic relations, the removal of obstacles to co-operation, the elimination of unequal relations and the establishment of a just and democratic international economic order. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic supports and encourages the lawful economic demands of developing countries. The Hungarian People's Republic regards developing countries as important economic partners enjoying equal rights in every respect. We are ready to participate in the vigorous development of economic, commercial, scientific and technological co-operation with them on a mutually advantageous and long-term basis. At the same time, I believe it is important to stress that we are also striving for a universal solution to the problems of the world economy, including the elimination of those factors which hinder the development of East-West economic relations.

35. I have attempted in this way to present the views of my Government on certain questions relating to the current international situation and to indicate our priority concerns in foreign policy. It is true that the processes which are now at work in world politics give little ground for optimism. However, our hopes are based on our conviction that the forces which are interested in maintaining peace and co-operation among States will ultimately prevail over attempts at confrontation. It is our belief that the prevailing situation of tension is temporary in character and that the community of nations will find itself able to return to fruitful relations and international co-operation for the benefit of all. To that end my country is willing to combine its efforts with those of other countries which pursue realistic policies. It is in that spirit that the Hungarian delegation is ready to take an active part in a constructive discussion of the problems on our agenda and to take the necessary initiatives in a search for new solutions.

36. **Mr. MARTYNYENKO** (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*Interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic most warmly congratulates you on your election to the important post of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and wishes you every success in your important task.

37. We note with satisfaction that the family of the international community of nations has been joined by two new Members, the Republic of Vanuatu and Belize. That represents one more step in the task of ensuring the complete universality of the Organization.

38. The most chronic important problem facing mankind and the United Nations today is the preservation of peace on our planet. To ensure the right of people to life and peaceful activity and to protect them from military catastrophe—that is the crucial task which, in the current circumstances of exacerbation of the international situation, must be solved jointly by all peoples.

39. We realize that it is by no means easy to solve that problem. Imperialist and hegemonistic forces are deliberately whipping up political tension and are continuing an unbridled arms race, ensuring supremacy for themselves, destabilizing the world situation and suppressing by force the desire of peoples for national and social liberation. They are attempting to dictate their will to other States and to lord it over their natural resources and use their territories for military and strategic purposes.

40. All that, more than ever before, is leading to an intensification of the danger of war and an increase of the threat of nuclear conflict. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are combating adventurism in international affairs—as well as the desire of belligerent imperialist circles to put at risk the vital interests of mankind for the sake of achieving narrow and selfish aims—with a policy of peace and closer co-operation and mutual understanding among peoples and States.

41. Consistent adherence to the peace-loving course was emphatically reaffirmed at the XXVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where a whole set of initiatives was put forward to limit and reduce nuclear and conventional armaments, eliminate sources of conflict and bring about the peaceful settlement of controversial international problems.

42. The multi-faceted and large-scale nature of those new proposals has amply demonstrated the responsible approach of the USSR to the solution of fundamental problems of our times. The highest legislative organ of the Soviet State, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has solemnly declared in its recent appeal to parliaments and peoples of the world that the Soviet Union threatens no one, nor does it seek confrontation with any State in the West or in the East. The safeguarding of peace, the statement stresses, has been, is and will continue to be the highest goal of Soviet foreign policy.

43. The forces of aggression and reaction are exerting tireless efforts and are doing everything they can to bury the idea of détente, undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence and halt and reverse the process of socio-political renewal in the world. However, today it would not be out of place to recall that even in the most complicated periods, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries displayed optimism and adopted a realistic approach to the solution of pressing international problems. The subsequent development of the international situation confirmed the correctness of that approach. In his statement at Kiev on 9 May last, on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite fascism, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stressed:

“The experience of the post-war years has shown that war can be prevented. All kinds of dangers have

emerged in the last three and a half decades. There has been the cold war. There have been dangerous, even critical, moments. But the imperialists have not succeeded in pushing mankind into the abyss."

44. Now, when the danger of a thermonuclear conflagration capable of destroying civilization on earth is particularly grave, it is the highest duty of the United Nations and of all States and peoples to defuse tensions and remove the threat of nuclear war hanging over the peoples.

45. The United Nations, whose principal objective under the Charter is to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, should strongly and urgently come out in favour of preventing the nuclear threat. An important and specific step in this direction, in accordance with the vital interests of all countries and peoples, would be the adoption of a solemn declaration on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, the draft of which has been submitted by the Soviet Union for the consideration of the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

46. We believe that the General Assembly should solemnly call on the leaders of nuclear Powers to act in such a way as to eliminate the risk of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict and by their joint efforts, through negotiations conducted in good faith and on the basis of equality, to stop and reverse the nuclear arms race, and to use nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful and constructive purposes.

47. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is deeply convinced that the adoption by the General Assembly, in the name of all States Members of the United Nations, of a declaration authoritatively and resolutely proclaiming the first use of nuclear weapons to be the gravest crime against humanity, and condemning as contrary to human moral standards and the noble ideals of the United Nations any doctrine allowing for the first use of such weapons, would exert a restraining influence on the dangerous development of world events and would contribute to the elimination of a nuclear threat and to progress in limiting and reducing nuclear armaments.

48. This Soviet initiative is especially timely now that the NATO countries and above all the United States are pushing the world towards a new spiral in the arms race. Leading circles in Washington have proclaimed as their top priority objective for the next years the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. To this end, astronomical sums are being appropriated for military purposes and qualitatively new types and systems of weapons with huge destructive potential are being developed. Today at 2.00 p.m., the President of the United States announced the decision to re-equip and modernize the strategic nuclear forces of the United States, to deploy the MX rocket system and to build by 1986 100 strategic 'B-1' bombers. This is a truly ominous decision, taken in the interests of the military-industrial complex of the United States. It is planned to deploy on the European continent some 600 additional United States medium-range nuclear missiles. Plans are being overtly developed for a so-called limited

nuclear war, and other militaristic doctrines are being proclaimed. A little earlier, with a cynical disregard for the will and interests of the peoples, it was declared that neutron weapons are being added to the already huge United States nuclear arsenal.

49. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to stress in this connection that the work of the United Nations should serve the purpose of mobilizing peace-loving forces to preclude another dangerous spiral of the arms race.

50. The neutron weapon is a particularly fiendish and cruel means of mass annihilation. This weapon lowers the threshold of nuclear war and consequently increases the danger of its outbreak. Its production and deployment by one group of States would inevitably lead to appropriate countermeasures being adopted by another group of countries and would open up a new path for the nuclear arms race.

51. The attempts of those who try to prove to us that the neutron weapon is defensive in nature are futile. It is an offensive weapon and reference to its combat capabilities to justify the "acceptability" of limited nuclear war is nothing but an attempt to accustom people to the idea of the admissibility of a "limited" nuclear war. The implementation of plans for the neutron weapon may have irreversible consequences for mankind, including medical and biological ones. If we take into account the fact that the neutron weapon is designed for deployment primarily in Western Europe it is not difficult to realize that it would be the people of the European continent, whose destinies are being totally disregarded in United States military and strategic plans, who would be the first to suffer.

52. In accelerating the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, its sponsors and instigators are undermining many of the treaties and agreements concluded earlier on arms control and disarmament. What happened to the SALT II treaty on the limitation of Strategic Arms is, of course, common knowledge. The United States is responsible for torpedoing negotiations on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, the prohibition of chemical weapons, the limitation of sales and transfer of conventional arms, on questions concerning the Indian Ocean and other matters.

53. To justify this aggressive policy, war hysteria is being fanned and that old hackneyed trick of the enemies of socialism—a slanderous campaign about the "Soviet military threat"—is resorted to. This campaign becomes particularly vicious each time another Pentagon budget comes up for approval.

54. It has been repeatedly stated from this rostrum that the USSR and the countries of the socialist community are countering the course pursued by the imperialist circles of the United States and other Western countries—a course which aggravates the international situation—with their readiness to conduct negotiations on all pressing international problems and to approach with understanding all constructive proposals put forward by other countries aimed at achieving specific results in curbing the arms

race, and bringing about a transition to genuine disarmament. The USSR and the other socialist countries strongly favour an immediate constructive dialogue, and the reduction of levels of military confrontation both in specific areas of the world and in the world as a whole. There is not a single type of weapon which they would not be ready, to limit or ban on a mutual basis, by agreement with other States.

55. On more than one occasion the Soviet Union has proposed solutions to various problems concerning the limitation of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and disarmament. What is required for their implementation is that appropriate negotiations should start as soon as possible. Another year has passed, and specific negotiations proposed by the countries of the socialist community on the cessation of production of all types of nuclear weapons, and the gradual reduction and eventual elimination of stockpiles of these weapons have not become a reality. The reason for this is well known. It is to be found in the obstructionist course pursued by the United States and China, who are boycotting these extremely important negotiations.

56. The Administration in Washington cannot be allowed to bury the process of strategic arms control, which today exerts a great political influence on the whole complex of inter-State relations. We are convinced that the United Nations should strive further for the resumption and intensification of talks, which are currently being blocked by the United States and its allies, on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of those States where there are no such weapons at present.

57. Further momentum should be given to the talks on banning other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons. Plans by United States militarists to start the production and deployment of new generations of chemical weapons pose a serious threat to progress in these talks, in particular in the Committee on Disarmament. In whipping up the chemical weapons race they are once again resorting to the threadbare tack of slanderous fabrications against the socialist countries. We express the hope that in this important issue, too, a sober attitude will prevail and that instead of a new spiral in the chemical weapons race we shall see a resumption of the Soviet-American talks on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of such stockpiles. Such talks could contribute to the preparation of an appropriate international convention.

58. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR opposes extending the arms race to outer space and supports the draft treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space submitted by the Soviet Union [see A/36/192]. It is aimed at creating conditions that would rule out the possibility of the use of outer space as a kind of bridgehead for war preparations that are quite definitely aimed at the Earth.

59. We feel that a new impetus to fruitful negotiations on these and other pressing problems of limiting the arms race and disarmament can and should be provided by the

second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which is scheduled to be convened in a little more than six months. To this end, it is important that its preparation and work should from the very start be oriented towards the adoption of specific measures to curtail the arms race.

60. There is general recognition of the idea that the achievement of genuine results in arms control and disarmament and in the overall strengthening of the peace and security of peoples would be considerably facilitated by an atmosphere of confidence in relations between States. The Ukrainian SSR believes the strengthening of security on the European continent to be of extreme importance. Confidence-building measures in the military field adopted through the joint efforts of the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have generally proved to be quite useful. In the interests of strengthening European security, the XXVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed that agreement be reached both on a further expansion of confidence-building measures in the military field and on the zone of application of such measures, and in particular that they should be extended to cover the entire European part of the Soviet Union, provided that Western States take a corresponding step to accommodate the Soviet Union. As yet, however, no such step has been taken.

61. Of particular importance in the present-day world are efforts to settle international conflicts, and to preempt and eliminate tension. There is a legitimate fear that the present situation in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, southern Africa and a number of other areas of the world, for which imperialist forces are to blame, may at any moment get out of control and detonate not only a regional but even a global explosion.

62. The Middle East continues to be one such explosive area. The anti-Arab Camp David deal has reversed the process of the Middle East settlement and untied the hands of the Israeli aggressors. Barbaric bombing attacks on peaceful civilians in Lebanon and the no less barbaric raid by the Israeli air force on the nuclear research centre in Iraq, which is under IAEA supervision, are just some of the recent criminal acts that Tel Aviv has committed with the blessing of Washington, all of which constitute an escalation of its policy of international terrorism.

63. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wholeheartedly shares the view that the cause of a settlement in the Middle East can be moved out of the present position of deadlock only through a collective search for a comprehensive settlement on a just and realistic basis within the framework of a specially convened international conference with the participation of all the States concerned, including the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

64. Recently the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated sharply. The South African racist régime continues to frustrate the decolonization of Namibia and to disregard Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains a specific plan for the solution of the Namibian problem.

65. The Ukrainian SSR favours ensuring the true independence of Namibia as soon as possible, while preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the country and transferring power to SWAPO, which is recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

66. We believe that the aim of the policy of delaying on various pretexts the solution of the Namibian question is to undermine the basis of the political settlement provided for in United Nations decisions, to legalize the puppet groupings in Namibia and to prevent SWAPO from participating in determining the future of the country.

67. The complicity of the United States and other Western Powers in the political, economic and military strengthening of the South African racist régime is tantamount to encouraging that criminal régime to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, prevent a settlement and commit new acts of aggression from Namibian territory against neighbouring African States. It is quite obvious that the Pretoria rulers would not have risked mounting another adventure in Angola had they not been sure of support for their aggressive actions from international imperialists and reactionary forces. It is very illuminating that it was not long before such support was provided by the United States by means of a veto in the Security Council of the draft resolution condemning the racist aggression and demanding the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. We support the appeal by African States for the adoption by the Security Council of international sanctions against South Africa.

68. The Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean areas are becoming ever more dangerous hotbeds of international tension. In stepping up its military presence the United States is expanding its existing military bases in that area and striving to create new ones. The Ukrainian SSR is in favour of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and of convening of an international conference to this end at the earliest possible opportunity.

69. A political settlement is necessary for the situation created around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is the fault of the United States and China that an undeclared war is being waged against this sovereign State and attempts are being made to interfere in its internal affairs. The path towards a political settlement is outlined in the specific and constructive proposals contained in the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August 1981. We are confident that a settlement could be achieved if those proposals were to meet with an appropriate response from other States in that area, particularly Pakistan.

70. Imperialist and hegemonistic circles continue to interfere in the affairs of the countries of Indo-China, particularly the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and to inflame the artificially created Kampuchean question. A realistic programme for establishing stability in the area has been put forward by the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It advocates that negotiations on a regional basis be held on the

subject, in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, and without outside interference. We believe that this end would be served by convening a conference with the participation of the countries of Indo-China and those of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].

71. In the interests of peace in Asia it is necessary also that the situation in the Korean peninsula be normalized. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the Korean question must be resolved by peaceful means. We have consistently favoured the withdrawal of American troops from the territory of South Korea and the unification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis, and we support the relevant proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

72. The proposal by the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic regarding the preparation of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific, and the convening of a conference of States of that region [see A/36/388] would be important steps in the strengthening of peace in Asia. On this question we are guided by the conviction that the formalization in a treaty of the principles of the renunciation of force in relations between the States of the region would serve as a guarantee of the consolidation of the bases of security in Asia.

73. Nowadays in the West, in the United States in particular, much is being said about the struggle against international terrorism, but there is a deliberate distortion of the real state of affairs. Efforts are being made to equate terrorism—which is rightly condemned by world public opinion—with the legitimate struggle of the peoples of the world for their national and social liberation. We are categorically opposed to crude demagoguery about the struggle against international terrorism being used to conceal the activities of those who are breeding the ideology of racial and national hatred, who turn a blind eye to the resurrection of nazism and fascism, who support reactionary dictatorial régimes, who openly patronize the policy and practice of *apartheid*, who flagrantly violate human rights in the occupied Arab territories and who protect criminals from the bloodthirsty Pol-Pot clique.

74. We are profoundly convinced that the legitimate liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as of the peoples of Namibia and other colonial and dependent territories, will be crowned with success.

75. The United Nations must contribute in every possible way to the earliest complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)] and strive for the implementation of all its provisions by all States. In this connection, we cannot but draw attention to the attempts to dismember and annex the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, that is, Micronesia, which are being made by the United States in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, in disregard of the Security Council and contrary to the Declaration. Such unilateral actions cannot be regarded as legitimate or valid. The destiny of the people of Micronesia forms part of the problem of decolonization, and it is the

any of the United Nations not to permit legalization in any form of the *de facto* annexation of that Territory by the United States.

76. The main reason for the continued existence of the vestiges of colonialism is the policy of the major Western Powers designed to preserve and strengthen their political, military and economic positions in the world. This was made very clear at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa held at Paris last May. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to declare once again its full support for the national liberation movements waging a struggle for the independence of their peoples.

77. Two decades have gone by since the foundations were laid for the non-aligned movement. At that time independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America were not very numerous in the international arena. Today the non-aligned movement represents a major factor in international relations. It reflects the natural desire of liberated countries collectively to oppose the forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism, to defend freedom and to strengthen their independence, for which their peoples have paid a high price.

78. We are in favour of all-round fruitful co-operation with the developing and non-aligned countries. The policy of détente has promoted such co-operation, enhanced the economic and political role of newly independent States and made the non-aligned movement more active on an anti-imperialist basis. The trend towards the declaration of certain regions of the globe as zones of peace and the elimination of United States military bases on foreign territories has gained strength. Newly free countries are demanding more and more vigorously that capitalist States and their monopolies pay the bill for inequitable trade and economic exchange and they are more and more insistently demanding that inequality in economic relations be eliminated.

79. It should be noted, at the same time, that the achievement of genuinely complete national independence is impossible without the removal of the neo-colonialist fetters which restrain the development of many developing countries and bind them to the system of world capitalist economy. As is well known, the United Nations in the 1970s adopted a whole series of progressive instruments, in particular the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], the main purpose of which was to eliminate inequality in trade and economic relations between developed capitalist countries and developing countries and to do away with the neo-colonialist exploitation of the labour and natural resources of young States by Western monopolies.

80. The past years, however, have demonstrated that the practical implementation of those instruments and the very idea of a new international economic order have encountered the stubborn opposition of leading Western countries. They pursue a policy aimed at preserving the subordinate situation of developing countries within the

system of capitalist division of labour and at holding back their independent economic development.

81. The discriminatory trade policy and the use of economic ties as a means of exerting political pressure by Western countries are causing great damage not only to economic interests but also to the cause of peace and détente.

82. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is of the opinion that international trade and economic co-operation on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and respect for independence and national sovereignty is one of the safeguards of peace and security. However, it should not be forgotten that a genuine and effective solution of economic, social and other problems facing mankind is possible only in conditions of peace and with the elimination of the threat of war and the curbing of the arms race.

83. The Ukrainian people is involved in peaceful creative activity for the implementation of the plan of social and economic development for 1981-1985 adopted at the XXVth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The plans for economic, social and cultural development in our country are viewed as being inseparably linked to the implementation of the most important international task, preserving and strengthening peace; for peace is the common heritage of mankind and the foremost condition for its existence and it should be ensured by the joint efforts of the peoples.

84. In conclusion, I should like to quote the words of Mr. V. V. Shcherbitsky, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine: "Mankind has suffered enough and deserves the victory of peace over war, trust over suspicion, reason over insanity. We believe that peace on earth will be preserved."

85. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*Interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to express to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, our warm congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

86. We are convinced that, thanks to your great talents as an experienced diplomat and your knowledge of international affairs, the interests of the world community will prevail in the search for just solutions to the problems confronting us. Please be assured of the complete co-operation of the Guinean delegation.

87. We should like also to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who, with dedication and competence, so effectively conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session.

88. We are pleased to welcome Vanuatu and Belize to the United Nations; their admission proves once again the inevitability of the triumph of the ideals of freedom, peace and progress and also the universality of the Organization.

89. Permit me also to express to the Secretary-General the full confidence of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, and particularly that of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, in the effective efforts he is constantly pursuing for the realization of the principles and objectives of the Organization.

90. Today, even more than in the past, the international community is faced with grave crises which remain a source of deep concern. How can peace be safeguarded and strengthened through the just solution of conflicts that risk disturbing the international chessboard? How can we achieve general and complete disarmament and thus avert the danger of possible nuclear confrontation? Lastly, how can the rights of peoples and human rights be preserved in a world where racial discrimination and economic injustice are still upheld as a system of State and government?

91. These questions are of concern to all our peoples. Their solution clearly requires great sacrifice, but it is a necessary one which must be accepted if mankind is to survive.

92. A rapid survey of world events demonstrates that there are many threats to international peace and security. In southern Africa, the practitioners of the odious system of *apartheid* are pursuing and intensifying their policy of racial repression. That inhuman policy obstinately practised by the Fascist Pretoria régime constitutes both a defiance to Africa and a source of shame for the world community and at the same time, a genuine threat to international peace and security.

93. Last May, at Paris, the United Nations discussed that distressing problem. Recognizing that it was time the world community took forceful, urgent measures to eliminate the danger of *apartheid*, the Guinean delegation approved the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa.¹ In this connection, we urgently appeal to all States strictly to observe the oil embargo by effectively implementing the economic sanctions invoked against the Fascist Pretoria régime.

94. Similarly, our delegation calls upon all peace- and justice-loving States to grant effective assistance to the liberation movements: the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and SWAPO as well as to the front-line States, such as the People's Republic of Angola, which are suffering constant acts of aggression and bloody repression on the part of the Pretoria régime.

95. In the face of the Fascist South African régime's repeated acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, our delegation reiterates its unconditional support for and full and active solidarity with the people and Government of Angola. We urgently appeal to the international community to do its utmost to eradicate the unjust war situation created by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. There can be no excuse for the violent act of aggression committed by South African Fascist forces against Angola.

96. It is fitting here to point to the real and constant danger to all mankind and the African continent in partic-

ular posed by the possession of the nuclear weapon by the Fascist Government of Pretoria which, in attempting to impose its retrograde ideology and inhuman policy, is liable to unleash a nuclear war.

97. The Powers that provide South Africa with their material, technical and technological support so that it can set up such a system of weaponry must shoulder full responsibility for it.

98. The overall situation in southern Africa is inseparable from the problem of Namibia. Following the failure of the meeting held at Geneva in January 1981 and the systematic refusal of the Western Powers to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, the General Assembly at its eighth emergency special session has just demanded the immediate implementation of the United States settlement plan endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), which consists in the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, and the severing of all relations with the *apartheid* régime.

99. The delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea fully adheres to the spirit and letter of those decisions and denounces the abstention of the five countries of the contact group on this paramount question.

100. South Africa's occupation of Namibia has no legal justification; therefore, the United Nations, in order to redress the situation, must find a definitive solution to the immediate decolonization of that African Territory by implementing its most recent resolution.

101. In the face of the defiance of the South African racist régime, which obstinately pursues its policy of occupation and exploitation of Namibia, our delegation urgently appeals to the entire international community to provide even greater material and moral support to SWAPO, which is and remains the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

102. Hotbeds of tension persist throughout the world. In Africa, the problem of Western Sahara was the subject of a resolution adopted at the eighteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi in June 1981 [A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)].

103. That resolution, which advocates a cease-fire and the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], with the co-operation of the United Nations, opens the way to a peaceful settlement of this problem. To that end, the *Ad Hoc* Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the OAU established by the Nairobi Assembly, held its first meetings from 24 to 26 August last in the Kenyan capital to consider ways and means of implementing that resolution. The United Nations is in duty bound to place its trust in the OAU and help it in the search for a just and honourable peace in Western Sahara.

104. Similarly, in connection with the situation in Chad, it is essential, in accordance with the relevant resolutions

of the OAU, that neutral African troops be deployed with the logistical support of the United Nations, with a view to maintaining peace and stability in that African country which is in such need of it, following a long fratricidal war.

105. We believe this to be the proper time and place to stress that the United Nations should respect recommendations adopted by regional or subregional organizations in order to find solutions to conflicts prevailing in their regions, taking into account the higher interests of international peace and security.

106. Hence, the partition status of the Comoros must be resolved without further delay by the return of Mayotte to the motherland. Africa wishes to place its trust in a sincere and constructive dialogue between the French Government and the Moroni authorities. It is in this spirit that we feel a successful outcome should now be sought.

107. The presence and maintenance of foreign military bases on the African continent, especially in the Horn of Africa, in the countries bordering on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, is a source of grave concern to us. Therefore, we should like to draw to the attention of the States of the subregion the danger that the establishment of foreign military bases constitutes, not only for the independence and sovereignty of the States on whose territory they are to be found, but for all the neighbouring countries. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea appeals to those countries to respect the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the guiding principles of the non-aligned movement and the OAU, which condemn the establishment of any military base on foreign territory.

108. Of all the areas that have been the subject of debate and have given rise to the largest number of resolutions, we can state without risk of contradiction that the problem of the Middle East is among those with pride of place. Since 1947, the date when the General Assembly adopted a resolution putting an end to the British Mandate and recommending the creation of two States—Arab and Jewish—in Palestine and the internationalization of Jerusalem, the question of the Middle East has remained at the centre of concern of the international community. For 34 years now it has been the key to peace, the detonator of war. It should be remembered that more than three major conflicts in the region have threatened the stability of the world. We affirm that the question of the Middle East is inseparable from the Palestinian problem, and has been for 34 years. It constitutes a potential source of large-scale conflict, a real threat to international peace and security, because it creates an embryonic war situation and a state of chronic, constant violence.

109. In our view, the question of the Middle East cannot be resolved by the use of arms. The region will remain exposed to the dangers of war as long as hostility, doubts and mistrust exist among the peoples inhabiting it. In the view of the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, it is pointless to try to disregard the fact that the PLO has become the sole valid spokesman, without whom no viable solution can be contemplated. We remain deeply convinced that only a real-

istic approach will end the crisis and bring us to the desired peace. In this connection, the Government of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea welcomed most warmly the eight-point proposals for the settlement of the Middle East question recently formulated by Crown Prince Fahd of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.²

110. It is impossible to speak of the Middle East without thinking of the fate of the Holy City of Jerusalem. That sanctuary of the three monotheistic religions is dear to the hearts of Moslems, Christians and Jews alike. That is why we regard as unjust and unacceptable the annexation of the city by Israel, and as even more intolerable the proclamation of the basic law of the Knesset, declaring Jerusalem to be the indivisible and eternal capital of Israel.

111. This is compounded by the actions of the occupation authorities aimed at modifying the legal status of Al-Quds and changing its cultural and religious character.

112. The situation in southern Lebanon is also a cause of concern. The constant acts of aggression by Israel against Lebanon, particularly in its southern part, are a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

113. It is impossible to close this part of what I have to say without deploring and forcefully condemning the unjustified bombing last June of the Tamuz nuclear plant in Iraq by the Israeli air force. By that action Israel has claimed the right to deny a sovereign country the choice of the means for its development, above all by preventing it from using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. That is a dangerous act which must be forcefully condemned by the international community. A severe warning should be given to the State of Israel against the repetition of such a clear act of aggression.

114. As regards the situation in Cyprus, we sincerely hope for the peaceful reconciliation of the two communities and reaffirm our complete support for the cause of the Cypriot people, for the strict respect of their territorial integrity and national independence, free of any foreign interference.

115. The situation in Asia is also a source of tension, which in the long run may degenerate into violent confrontation. We must bear in mind that the continued division of Korea is a potential source of international conflict of unforeseeable dimensions. We believe that the international community must clearly support, firmly and constantly, the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of Korea for peaceful and independent reunification, by transforming the present armistice into a lasting peace agreement, with the withdrawal of troops stationed in South Korea under the banner of the United Nations.

116. The problem of Afghanistan remains deadlocked. We believe that in that country peace and stability require full respect of the will of the Afghan people to make their own choice freely, without interference in their internal affairs.

117. The situation in Kampuchea remains a cause of friction which is of concern to us. Our delegation is aware that the solution to this problem is to be found not in recognition or admission to the United Nations of one faction to the detriment of another, but rather in the ending of all interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, with a view to safeguarding its sovereignty and national independence. This can be achieved only by a return to the legitimacy and legality which the régime of Prince Sihanouk has always embodied.

118. The Iraqi-Iranian conflict also remains unresolved. The many initiatives taken, *inter alia* those of the Goodwill Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference presided over by President Ahmed Sékou Touré of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea and comprising the Heads of State of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Gambia and Senegal, the Prime Ministers of Malaysia and Turkey, the leader of the PLO and the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Habib Chatti, have up to the present not managed to halt military operations and the fratricidal war is continuing and endangering the lives of the two brother peoples of Iran and Iraq and peace throughout the region.

119. In spite of these difficulties, the Chairman of the Goodwill Committee, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, has asked that we reaffirm his determination to continue the action undertaken until peace is established between the two Moslem brother countries.

120. Concerning the struggle for self-determination being waged by the people of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN,³ we reaffirm our full support for that people in its struggle to recover its independence and dignity.

121. Latin America and the Caribbean have not escaped the many provocations and attempts at destabilization that foreign forces have been engaged in with regard to certain States in that region.

122. The Guinean delegation, aware of the fact that any foreign manoeuvre or intervention can always endanger the independence and sovereignty of States, is firmly against any interference in the internal affairs of another State and against the use of force in international relations.

123. A solution to the disarmament problem must be found not only because of the astronomical sums allocated by the major Powers to the unbridled arms race, but also, and above all, because of the clear threat that it constitutes to the destiny of mankind at large.

124. In a world where the primary concern of peoples remains the preservation of peace, the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons is unjustifiable.

125. The development of new weapons of mass destruction will give new momentum to the already spiralling arms race.

126. In a spirit of true reconciliation within the great family of nations, our delegation supports the measures

adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, just as it supports the convening of a world conference on disarmament.

127. Like the many hotbeds of tension, the economic insecurity of developing countries is a real threat to world stability.

128. Need we stress that the quest for peace and economic security for all remains our main concern and is undoubtedly the prerequisite for a more just world?

129. In this respect, it should be recalled that while the right to development is a fundamental right, making it possible for the human personality to develop, it remains a dead letter today for three quarters of the inhabitants of our world.

130. We are convinced that the international community is not unaware that the present international economic system is incompatible with the need of the developing countries to be guaranteed remunerative profits, free access to world markets and greater participation in the management of the world economy. The international economic order that exists today is unjust. The structures established during the colonial era are invariably maintained for the sole benefit of the industrialized countries.

131. Only a more just new international economic order would make it possible for our peoples to be offered the opportunities for full development. To that end, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, recently stated:

"The present economic system is iniquitous; it must be replaced. And it is a fact that the Powers that benefit from it will never be able or want to do that. They must be assisted by the developing countries which possess raw materials."

132. In the face of the lack of political will of the industrialized countries to promote the establishment of a just order, the developing countries have begun a peaceful struggle aimed, on the one hand, at establishing new structures for a more just North-South co-operation and, on the other, at promoting co-operation among themselves—that is, South-South co-operation.

133. It is in this framework that we place the Lagos Plan of Action⁴ which, because it better reflects the aspirations and objectives of our peoples, must be the reference point for the United Nations in implementing the new International Development Strategy, as far as Africa is concerned.

134. Along the same lines, the international community must give sustained support to the efforts already being made to resolve the specific problems of the least-developed countries, of which more than two thirds are in the African continent.

135. Dare we hope that the recent Paris Conference on the Least Developed Countries constitutes a better approach to the problem?

136. We hope that instead of endorsing an inoperative delocalization of the process of production at the international level, which would be a mere redeployment, a surreptitious re-establishment of the old economic order, the international community will decide to revive during this session the global negotiations, which are at an impasse because of the reluctant attitude of certain Member States, especially the industrialized countries. We are of the opinion that the United Nations remains the appropriate framework for those negotiations, which, following the logic of the North-South dialogue, may be endangered in the long run if they are to be fragmented and conducted within certain closed clubs where the developing countries cannot participate effectively on an equal footing with the developed countries.

137. The developing countries, in addition to the situation that we have just mentioned, are for the most part confronted with natural disasters, such as drought, floods and many other catastrophes which heighten their chronic food deficit.

138. The international community, aware of those misfortunes, which seriously affect the fate of a large part of mankind, has so far applied only palliatives by sending food aid to the victim peoples, which become permanent beggars to which the rich give hand-outs.

139. On the basis of these considerations, the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea appeals urgently to the entire international community to undertake substantive action involving massive assistance within the framework of the implementation of pilot projects which UNEP has decided to carry out.

140. A victim of drought, our country attaches great importance to the project for the rehabilitation of the Fouta-Djallon massif planned by UNEP as part of its campaign against desertification under General Assembly resolution 34/185.

141. The present system of international relations is characterized by a climate of distrust that can threaten the neighbourly relations that should harmoniously govern inter-State relations.

142. In the face of the profound changes in international relations and the expressed determination of the great majority of Member States to participate responsibly in the solution of the major problems of our world, it is essential that the United Nations system be made more dynamic and effective.

143. In this context it is today essential to adapt its structures and its method of operation, which at present do not respond to the demands of history—in other words, to the dynamics of the general progress of the United Nations.

144. Hence the revision of the Charter to guarantee the equitable representation of all the regions of our world in the planning and decision-making bodies is a priority objective.

145. To confer upon the United Nations system all the powers it needs to enable it to intervene efficiently to settle conflicts by peaceful means, while favouring a balanced and egalitarian policy of co-operation among nations, is to guarantee international peace and security and to preserve mankind from a possible nuclear holocaust.

146. Aware of the United Nations mandate to safeguard and strengthen international peace and security, the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea reaffirms its readiness to work effectively, in harmony with all States, to improve the climate of crisis and tension that now prevails in international relations and to promote the building of a world of peace, justice and progress.

147. Mrs. de AMORIM (Sao Tome and Principe) (*Interpretation from French*): Once a year the great family of Members of the United Nations meets in these august precincts, out of respect for a rule, to honour a tradition, for some perhaps a ritual. But what they are essentially concerned with is the future of our planet and the progress of mankind. Every year we come here to pay obeisance to the principles, rules and conventions governing international relations. Every year each of us in this very place reaffirms this attachment to the principles of liberty, peace, justice, solidarity and autonomous development in co-operation. Through reflection and exhaustive analysis together we seek solutions for the problems in which the world today has become mired.

148. Nevertheless, in Africa, the People's Republic of Angola, a State of law, of freedom, sovereignty and independence, has been invaded, attacked and occupied by South Africa.

149. Namibia continues its march of liberation on a path strewn with obstacles, arbitrary actions and the denial of the right to true independence. *Apartheid*, the disgrace of our century, enjoys privileges and immunities.

150. Western Sahara is counting its dead and staunching its wounds, awaiting the referendum on self-determination.

151. Some sovereign countries feel threatened. External interference in their internal affairs is unacceptable.

152. In Latin America, the thousands of dead in El Salvador cry out for justice and will ensure victory against oppression and exploitation. Puerto Rico is fighting for recognition of its right to self-determination and independence. Elsewhere, the list of missing persons, of headless and tortured corpses is ever lengthening in the name of hope.

153. In the Middle East, Lebanon is battered and rent asunder, Palestine is being sacrificed, Iraq violated, the Tamuz installations bombed and Syria threatened. Zionist Israel enjoys privileges.

154. In the Mediterranean, the Republic of Cyprus, occupied and divided, is fighting for the preservation of its territorial integrity.

155. In Asia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea is patiently weaving the thread of its peaceful reunification, so long awaited but constantly thwarted and hindered.

156. East Timor, annexed by Indonesia, is the victim of a conspiracy of silence.

157. The new international economic order is not yet at hand. The affluent countries are exporting their own crises and spreading poverty. Disarmament can wait, particularly since the unbridled over-armament race is gathering momentum. The neutron weapon bespeaks longevity for real estate but merely the lifespan of a sigh for the living.

158. What credence can we give to words when facts, in their unendurable cruelty and provocation, mark the frontiers between oppression and freedom, between exploitation and social justice, between compromise and principles and, ultimately, between war and peace?

159. For the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe the incompatibility to which we have just referred stems from a conflict of interests between the aspirations and legitimate rights of peoples, on the one hand, and the grip of domination and exploitation on the part of reactionary and imperialist forces, on the other.

160. The United Nations finds its expression in the fundamental principles upon which it was founded and to which all Member States have voluntarily and deliberately committed themselves, recognizing as highly positive the intrinsic value of those very principles for the preservation of peace and harmony among peoples.

161. The building of peace must be the most vital task of our peoples, governments and institutions. Any complicity, however infinitesimal, with imperialists and reactionary forces in their terrorist, barbarous and criminal activities constitutes a serious threat to the fragile edifice of international peace and security.

162. The United Nations remains, in spite of everything, the hope of oppressed and exploited peoples victims of aggression, whose rights are being violated; they recognize in the Organization a force at the service of peace, justice and progress.

163. We take this opportunity to congratulate the Republic of Vanuatu and Belize on their admission to our midst.

164. Since 12 July 1975, the date of its accession to independence, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, faithful to the principles of non-alignment and to its commitments, has been working consistently and loyally towards the implementation of United Nations decisions whose objectives are to guarantee freedom, peace, progress and social justice.

165. History is recording our individual and collective actions. Are we ready to call a halt to the destructive

madness which has taken possession of the minds of some?

166. Are we ready as well to act together to bring about an era for mankind where there will be no shame for the past, no repugnance or bitterness for the present, and where, men and women, we shall be proud of our humanity and shall live in respect and harmony with our principles? The eyes of history are upon us. Let us take up the challenge.

167. Mr. Al-ALAWI ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish at the outset to express to Mr. Kitani our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

168. His election to that high office is proof of the confidence inspired by his diplomatic ability and his long experience in the work of the Organization. It is also an honour bestowed on his country, Iraq, with which we have fraternal ties and relations and a common heritage. We are fully convinced that his outstanding abilities will permit him to conduct the proceedings of this session to a positive and successful conclusion.

169. Moreover, I wish to congratulate and pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for his skill and great ability in steering the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session. On this occasion I cannot fail to pay a tribute also, on behalf of my country, to the Secretary-General for the constructive and valuable efforts which he has exerted and continues to exert on behalf of the goals of the United Nations and the implementation of its resolutions.

170. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the admission of Vanuatu and Belize to membership in the United Nations.

171. The Middle East question is still the major preoccupation of the world community. That question still poses a grave threat to international peace and security. That menace has worsened still more since we met here last year. This is the natural result of the intransigence and conceit that characterize Israeli policy and conduct, as well as to Israel's persistence in flouting the resolutions and instruments of international bodies and the demands of international public opinion, which each day increases its support for Arab rights, especially the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

172. Israel's flouting of international public opinion is increasing *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*. We cannot sit idly by and condone its behaviour; its intransigent conduct heightens the tension in the area and diminishes the possibility of reaching a durable and just solution to the question. Moreover, Israel's contempt for the numerous resolutions adopted by the Organization and other international forums naturally obstructs those forums from working to better conditions in the area and reduces the possibility that those forums could carry out the role of maintaining peace based on justice, to which we all aspire.

173. The claims of the leaders and officials of Israel are well known, even if they are sometimes disguised as peaceful solutions. In the past, some States believed in these Israeli claims. Then, ample evidence of the falseness of their declared desire for peace was given in the form of expansionist and aggressive Israeli policies and practices, Israel's declaration of its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and its consideration of that place as its eternal capital, as well as its efforts to change the city's character and demography, and its oppressive policies directed against the Palestinian people and the creation of settlements on Palestinian and Arab lands.

174. We have mentioned before, and we wish to repeat here, that there cannot be durable and just peace in the Middle East unless there is a complete withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and unless Israel restores the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights have been affirmed through resolutions of the United Nations and the Islamic Conference, as well as by the non-aligned countries.

175. Proceeding from that premise, my delegation wishes to state its full support for the principles governing a solution of the Middle East problem which are contained in the statement by Crown Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia.³ The elements and details of that statement are identical to the just principles adopted by the Assembly and they therefore offer a sound basis for solving that problem.

176. The repeated acts of aggression by Israel against fraternal Lebanon, which reached their height recently, threaten to make the strained situation there explode and result in the outbreak of a generalized war in the Middle East. My country, condemning the terrorism practised by the Israeli authorities against the fraternal Lebanese people and the Palestinian camps, in spite of numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council calling for the Lebanese Government to be allowed to re-establish its authority and full sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon, calls on the international community to stand firm against those acts of aggression in order that peace and stability may be restored to fraternal Lebanon.

177. Israeli aircraft destroyed the Iraqi nuclear research centre in a flagrant violation of established international legal norms and the Charter of the United Nations. We have to recall here that Iraq is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which stipulates that all nuclear activities should be under the control of IAEA, which has testified that Iraq has implemented all its commitments and guarantees in accordance with the Treaty.

178. That act of Israeli aggression against fraternal Iraq constitutes a serious and new development that can only make the situation in the area worse. In addition, it is a flagrant violation of the legitimate rights of the developing countries to develop their programmes of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, with a view to advancing their economy and industries in accordance with their present and future needs. My delegation calls for the implementation of Security Council resolution 487 (1981),

which stipulated, *inter alia*, the right of Iraq to appropriate compensation for the destruction its nuclear installations suffered as a result of the wanton, criminal Israeli act of aggression.

179. The continuing war in our area between two neighbours, the fraternal countries of Iraq and Iran, constitutes a source of grave concern for us. This is the second year of the war and there has been no success in the efforts, either of the Organization, of the non-aligned countries or of the Islamic Conference, to put an end to it. The Sultanate of Oman supports the efforts that are being exerted and hopes that peace and tranquillity will be restored to those two countries as soon as possible. The continuation of that war, in addition to being a source of great human and economic waste, represents one of the gravest hotbeds of tension threatening security and stability in our area and in the world.

180. This year six Gulf States, among them the Sultanate of Oman, crowned their tireless efforts at co-operation with the creation of a Gulf Co-operation Council, the statutes of which were signed on 26 May 1981, at Abu Dhabi.

181. One of the most important objectives of that Council is to co-ordinate the activities of the countries involved in order to ensure economic welfare and social prosperity, as well as political stability and security for their peoples, in order to work actively and to have a more positive impact on events, whether those directly linked to the States members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, or to those that are interested in those events as Members of the United Nations who do not wish to involve the latter Organization in international strife.

182. The Gulf Co-operation Council is inspired by the collective co-operation called for by the League of Arab States. It is therefore in keeping with the main objectives of the United Nations Charter, which is based on the realization of international peace and security through regional co-operation.

183. The Sultanate of Oman, as a member of that Council, affirms that it is not a military alliance against any quarter, nor is it a new political axis. That Council has been created, as we have mentioned before, to organize the co-ordination and co-operation of peoples with common aspirations. The Council will lend strong support to all the issues defended by States which cherish peace and justice.

184. Since troops from the Soviet Union ravaged the territory of non-aligned Afghanistan at the end of 1979, cries have been heard from the international community daily, denouncing and deploring that armed invasion. United Nations resolutions and those of other international organizations called on the Soviet Union to withdraw immediately from Afghanistan, and reaffirmed the right of the Afghan people to choose its own form of Government and to determine its economic, political and social system without any outside interference, and without any coercion or pressure. However, despite all that, the situation in Afghanistan has remained the same, for the Soviet Union has rejected all these calls and resolutions, the most re-

cent of which was the initiative of the European Community aimed at solving the Afghan problem.³ That initiative also contained positive elements which would have made it possible to put an end to the crisis. My delegation calls on the Organization and on all peace-loving countries to devote their efforts towards ensuring the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and creating the necessary conditions to enabling the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland in security and dignity.

185. The position of principle of my country concerning its support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and its interest in implementing that Declaration, which has been adopted by the Organization, has led it to participate actively in the meetings that were convened for this purpose.

186. My country has noted with regret that the first and second sessions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, held this year to undertake the preparation of the Indian Ocean conference which is scheduled to be held at Colombo, have not thus far led to any positive results. The views of the members of the Committee have not yet been reconciled regarding either the political and security climate in the area or the finalization of the date of the conference. In view of the heightened tension in this area, which is a vitally important one, my country attaches paramount importance to the convening of the Colombo conference at the earliest possible moment. In the mean time, Oman hopes that the obstacles that have obstructed holding the conference will soon be eliminated.

187. There are other areas of our troubled world where the situation is still very serious, and where all our attention will be required to solve problems involved. If we look for the root causes of the strained and deteriorating conditions prevailing in these areas, we shall find that most of the causes are linked to non-compliance with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others and respect for the sovereignty and independence of States.

188. The situation in Kampuchea is still the same. The armed foreign intervention still continues, the foreign troops in Kampuchea have not yet been withdrawn and the economic, social and humanitarian problems that have resulted from this situation are becoming even more acute. The situation requires the adoption of urgent measures. Since my delegation supported the initiative of the United Nations to hold an international conference on Kampuchea, it deplores and deeply regrets the refusal of the Government of Viet Nam to attend this important conference. This is a challenge to the resolution of the General Assembly on the subject [resolution 35/6]. My delegation also regrets that one of the five permanent members of the Security Council boycotted that Conference and declined to respond to the United Nations initiative designed to achieve a solution that would eliminate the crisis and put an end to the tragedy of the Kampuchean people.

189. The Sultanate of Oman participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea. This reflected its observance of the resolutions of the United Nations and

its application of them in its foreign policy, which is based on the rejection of any form of interference in the internal affairs of countries and on respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

190. The Sultanate of Oman hopes to see a just solution to the problem of the reunification of Korea by peaceful means, through negotiations. We welcome international efforts, especially those of the United Nations, aimed at solving this problem, and hope that such efforts will continue. We maintain that the participation of the two Korean States in the work of our Organization will no doubt contribute to the attainment of the desired peaceful solution.

191. In the African continent, with which my country has historical links, we note that the situation in its southern part is still tense. The suffering caused by racial discrimination is felt everywhere there. We also observe attempts at foreign intervention in many regions, including the Horn of Africa and Chad, to mention only two. My country denounces racism, neo-colonialism and attempts to interfere in the affairs of the African continent. It calls for intensified efforts in the United Nations to put an end to these tendencies so that the desire of the African peoples for freedom and stability can be realized. We also hope that the initiative of the five Western Powers will be resumed so that a peaceful and just solution for the Namibian problem may be found.

192. The centres of crisis, especially in the Asian and African continents, have resulted in a large number of refugees. The deterioration of this situation constitutes an urgent humanitarian problem which requires the exertion of more international effort in order to find lasting solutions to it. The situation also requires supplementary social and humanitarian efforts to relieve the suffering of the huge numbers of refugees.

193. My country, while appreciating the importance of measures to relieve the plight of refugees, wishes to reaffirm its call for co-operation in order to avoid new flows of refugees. In this connection it is relevant to refer to the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, which was held successfully at Geneva last April. The Sultanate of Oman participated in this Conference and contributed within its means to dealing with the problem posed by the tremendous flow of refugees to certain countries in the African continent.

194. The Third United Nations Development Decade started last January. In resolution 35/56 we adopted, at the thirty-fifth session, the International Development Strategy for the new Development Decade, which is part and parcel of the continuing efforts of the international community to accelerate progress in the developing countries, and to establish a new international economic order that would eliminate all inequity and imbalance prevailing in present international economic relations, which has widened the gap between developed and developing countries. Moreover, this imbalance and inequity represent obstacles to the development efforts of the developing countries, and prejudice international relations and the process of strengthening peace and security in the world.

195. The response of the industrialized world to the requirements of the developing countries is a necessary and urgent matter. If adequate measures are not taken the harmful effects will continue, to the detriment of the development programmes of the developing countries. Furthermore, the developed countries should not surmount their own economic problems at the expense of the developing countries. Such a situation causes imbalance, inequalities and instability in the economies of the developing countries.

196. Constant fluctuations in the prices of raw materials impose strong constraints on the development efforts of the developing countries. As a developing country, Oman is also greatly affected by the negative aspects of the present international economic order. We hope that the ongoing negotiations and efforts will result in fruitful solutions to the economic problems of the developing countries.

197. Despite the problems and constraints caused by the deteriorating economic situation in the world, the efforts of my country in the field of development and of building a modern Oman are still continuing. This year we have started to implement the second five-year plan in the Sultanate of Oman, covering the period from 1981 to 1985, following the successful implementation of the first five-year plan. Those efforts resulted in a large growth in the exploitation of industrial resources and the five-year plan which we have just started is considered as a continuation and expansion of efforts to ensure economic development. That plan is especially concerned with the sectors of irrigation, agriculture and fishing. It will also give a strong momentum to the private sector. In addition, the plan has adopted an expanded programme to provide facilities and services throughout the country, with particular attention to the various regions of the Sultanate of Oman which have special geographical characteristics.

198. We had great hopes that the tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea would be the last session. Instead, we find ourselves today in a situation in which we are asked to review the delicate balance that we had arrived at through arduous efforts lasting more than 10 years.

199. The determination of certain countries who do not want coastal countries to be able to exercise sovereignty over their territorial waters was a source of surprise to my delegation. It is completely illogical that any comprehensive international convention on the law of the sea should neglect one of the most important principles of international law, namely, the sovereignty of a State over its territorial waters, which is considered an extension of its sovereignty over its land.

200. My country firmly adheres to the right of the coastal State to require notification or prior authorization for the passage of military ships through its territorial waters, including through straits used for international navigation.

201. My delegation also hopes that agreement will be reached soon on the outstanding issues. We hope that the spring session, which is scheduled to be held in New

York next year, will be the last and definitive session, and that the States may be able to sign the long awaited convention at Caracas before the end of 1982.

202. In concluding my statement, I wish to confirm that the delegation of Oman will give its co-operation to the President throughout this session. We hope that the goals to which the session aspires will be achieved.

203. Mr. S. M. da LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):* First of all permit me to express to the President, on behalf of the Government of Cape Verde, our heartfelt congratulations on his election to preside over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is a pleasure for us to see the representative of a country with which Cape Verde has excellent relations of co-operation and friendship assuming such an important responsibility. The growing role his country has been playing in the world, as well as within its region, and within the non-aligned movement, confers special importance upon his presidency. His vast experience and recognized talents as a statesman and diplomat make him particularly qualified for the important mission with which he has been entrusted, and we are convinced that under his guidance this session of the General Assembly will accomplish useful work in the furtherance of peace, security and the development of nations.

204. We wish to express to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, our appreciation for the manner in which he carried out the difficult task of guiding the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly in the present international political and economic situation.

205. We should like also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his dedication in the service of the Organization.

206. It is with great pleasure that we welcome the Republic of Vanuatu as a Member of the United Nations. Our sincere congratulations go also to Belize on the success of the struggle of its people for national independence and on its admission as a fully fledged Member of the Organization.

207. In order to contribute in a positive way to our collective thinking on the world situation today, we should like once again to point out the importance of the message that so many countries attempted to bring to the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which concluded its work at Paris two weeks ago. Peace and development should be envisaged globally as complementing each other and as inseparable from the vast task that confronts the Organization: to develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of respect and co-operation. We believe that the time has come to face the fact that economic interests have throughout the years been the origin of wars and that what we today call progress and development have flourished on domination and oppression.

* Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the Delegation.

208. The United Nations since its establishment has set forth principles which should serve to guarantee peace. However, these principles have proved ineffective in the face of a system of world relations in which peace rested on the subjection of the vast majority of peoples to a few powerful States. This peace, defined simply as the absence of war between major Powers, did not guarantee the exercise of the right of all peoples to freedom, progress and development. This situation caused a proliferation of deadly, though localized, conflicts manifesting the determination of the peoples of what is called the third world to struggle against the established system, to resist exploitation and to determine their own economic, social and political history. In the past 30 years we have witnessed failure in regard to peace and development, while the peoples of the third world had, in order to win their right to development, to fight against a system based on values according to which the wealth of some constituted an obstacle to the solution of the problems of the majority.

209. Today we see that the persistent efforts of the greater part of the international community have been beneficial, thus improving the credibility of the United Nations. As a result of the right of peoples to choose their own destiny and the right of all nations to progress and development have become cornerstones of the new international law, in opposition to colonialism, expansionism, the right of the strong and vain efforts to stifle by force of arms or by economic or political pressures the legitimate aspirations of nations. Therefore, there has been a positive evolution whose elements must be preserved and developed.

210. Universalization of and respect for the validity of these rights, their recognition and their application by all States regardless of their strength, their size or their wealth, will give credibility and political content to the principle of peaceful coexistence, the basis and profound hope of the United Nations, and will permit social progress and the establishment of better living conditions for all peoples.

211. The Government of Cape Verde, in keeping with that development, has based its foreign policy on defence of the basic principles of non-alignment, in particular self-determination and independence, non-interference and the establishment of a new and more just and equitable international order. Support for national independence struggles, refusal to participate in military blocs and the establishment of relations of friendship and co-operation with States have been the essential pillars of our foreign policy.

212. We consider that the strengthening of détente and of peaceful coexistence, combined with the global development effort, is a decisive factor for collective world security. We therefore associate ourselves with the struggle waged by the non-aligned countries in this connection, and we believe that the progressive transformation of the principles proclaimed by the United Nations into solidly established political realities should be the responsibility and duty of all States represented here.

213. None the less we have witnessed with concern the revival of tensions, the renewal of the arms race, the

surge of policies of confrontation, and the wide-ranging declared support for régimes considered by the international community to be criminal. In Africa this policy has profoundly violated the legitimate aspirations of our peoples, because it has led to overt support for the political positions of the *apartheid* régime.

214. In Africa, the complete decolonization of the continent still remains beyond reach because of the retrogressive forces working together to maintain the *status quo* against the tide of history. None the less, here and there encouraging signs have emerged, and there remains a hope that lasting solutions to existing situations may be found. Such solutions must be sought by the international community steadfastly, and with renewed political will, putting an end to delaying tactics and the policy of force, which are doomed to failure.

215. The question of Namibia has over the years, but above all since the independence of Zimbabwe, become one of the most important questions at the African as well as the international level. In fact, because of the threats it poses to international peace and security, and because of the fact that in it converge the basic aspirations of peoples that cherish peace, dignity and freedom, the question of Namibia has today become one of the nerve centres of international relations. In this connection, it is regrettable to note that, despite declarations of good intent and the extensive efforts made by the international community to achieve the rapid independence of that Territory, there is still a dangerous marking of time—even a regression—while the untold suffering of the Namibian people is senselessly prolonged.

216. The plan approved by the United Nations is the framework for the historic role of the contact group, which should, particularly after the failure of the Geneva Conference caused by South Africa's intransigence and manoeuvres, redouble its efforts and use every means available to it to induce the racist régime to comply with the demands of the United Nations and, in particular, to enter immediately into serious negotiations with SWAPO. The contact group should take account, in its contacts with South Africa, of the firm position expressed by the African States during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi last June, at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi last February, in favour of the immediate, unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

217. In this context, and in the face of South Africa's intransigence, measures of material and financial assistance for SWAPO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people, are needed to help it in its struggle for Namibia's independence. There can be no doubt that the policy followed by South Africa both towards Namibia and the neighbouring countries is a constant and daily more pronounced danger to international peace and security, and that only firm and concerted action on the part of the entire international community will lead to decisive progress towards a just and lasting solution in southern Africa.

218. Nor can there be any doubt either that the acts of aggression committed against Angola are a sufficient example of the harmful consequences of that policy, and that it is Angola's will for independence, firm anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist determination and consistent action in support of the struggle for the independence of the peoples of southern Africa—a struggle waged in fulfilment of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations—which has brought down upon Angola the hatred of all those who thought they could perpetuate the shameful exploitation of Africans in that part of our continent.

219. The recent act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola is an example of the Pretoria régime's intention not only to thwart any process for a negotiated settlement leading to the genuine independence of Namibia, but also to promote the continued destabilization of those African States which oppose its neo-colonialist designs.

220. The scope of South Africa's act of aggression and of the forces deployed, the magnitude of the destruction, as well as the prolonged occupation of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, all constitute a source of profound concern because of the manifest intentions of the Pretoria régime to impose in a sovereign State a puppet organization supported and armed by it, by creating there conditions conducive to its subversive activities in an obvious attempt to undermine the unity of Angola.

221. Unacceptable in law, this dangerous action by South Africa must be combated most forcefully, as it is not only a negation of the principles that guide the Organization, but it also violates the essential rules governing the international community.

222. The Republic of Cape Verde is pleased at the initiatives already taken by certain countries to help Angola, and wishes to reaffirm here its staunch solidarity with the heroic people of Angola, its Government and the MPLA—the Worker's Party—and solemnly appeals to the international community to come to the aid of the People's Republic of Angola in its struggle and thus guarantee its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Angolan Government is also entitled to demand compensation for the damages caused by the racist act of aggression. It is inadmissible that an aggressor régime can destroy with impunity the fruits of the labour of the Angolan people and spread death among its children.

223. We believe, moreover, that the material financial assistance given to the front-line countries by the international community should be increased substantially and supplemented by a firm guarantee of the security of the countries concerned in an unequivocal demonstration of solidarity and as testimony to a clear condemnation of the policy followed by the racist régime in that region.

224. The question of *apartheid* is the subject each year of a large number of resolutions of the Organization, but we have seen no substantial change in the nature of the racist régime. However, the many different kinds of struggle that have been developing more and more strongly, day by day, against the racist régime show that the peo-

ples of South Africa as a whole know where their genuine interests lie and are gradually discovering the means of making them prevail, under the direction of the national liberation movement.

225. Moreover, at the international level initiatives have constantly been taken by the majority of members of the international community to increase the isolation of the South African régime. While that régime is the object of unanimous condemnation by the international community because of its reactionary policy of *apartheid*, and while it intensifies its policy of intimidation and aggression against States Members of the Organization, it is to us a matter of regret and of deep concern that today South Africa is finding even more allies prepared to help it and to support its initiatives.

226. The support at present enjoyed by the racist régime encourages its intransigence in the search for a negotiated solution to the question of Namibia and encourages it in its stated intentions of perpetuating *apartheid* and destabilizing the southern part of the continent.

227. It is to be hoped that those who still give different kinds of assistance to South Africa, claiming thus to restore a certain credibility to it on the international scene, will realize the inevitability of the downfall of that régime and will restore links of trust with African States in time and demonstrate their commitment to an Africa freed of racism and of the yoke of colonialism.

228. The situation with regard to Western Sahara developed considerably during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi, with the acceptance by Morocco of a referendum on self-determination, promoting the beginning of a process which the whole of Africa hopes will be successful, in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Sahraoui people to live freely in their regained homeland.

229. The meeting last August of the implementation committee entrusted with the organization of the referendum on self-determination in the territory had conclusive results, which are an important step towards the rapid and satisfactory solution of the problem. To ensure the prompt implementation of those decisions, it would be desirable for Morocco to agree to begin negotiations as soon as possible with the POLISARIO Front concerning a ceasefire, thus promoting the proper functioning of a complex operation which will require a high sense of responsibility and political will on the part of the two parties to the conflict.

230. Favourable conditions must be created for true consultations with all those interested—that is, the Sahraoui people—in order to give that people, carrying on the struggle, every opportunity to have their voice heard and freely to decide their own destiny.

231. In connection with the Comorian island of Mayotte, it is pleasing that talks have begun, and are continuing, between the French and Comorian Governments to find a just and lasting solution in accordance with the resolutions on the subject adopted by the United Nations.

232. In the Middle East, the periodic upheavals, including outbreaks of blind violence, such as the latest events in Lebanon, demonstrate—if need there be for that—the vital necessity for a global solution which will really resolve the prolonged crisis in that region.

233. Every year the expansionism and aggressiveness of Israel are vigorously denounced and condemned by the General Assembly. But Israel consolidates its occupation of occupied Arab lands, persists in colonizing them, encourages instability in southern Lebanon and proceeds by its murderous bombings and raids to the slow destruction of that country. More than that, Israel's arrogance led it to bomb the territory of Iraq, destroying the Tamuz nuclear facility under false pretexts, violating Iraq's sovereignty and raising the state of war to an ever more serious level. We may rightly ask how far Israel can go in building up hatred in all its neighbouring States, in running counter to all the peace initiatives of its own friends and in ruining all the patient efforts of the international community and the United Nations.

234. Cape Verde remains convinced that a solution to the Middle East problem necessarily involves a definitive solution of the Palestinian problem—that is, the restoration to those heroic people of their legitimate national rights, including the right to create their own national State, under the leadership of their sole representative, the PLO, and the return of all the Arab territories occupied by Israel, including Jerusalem. That is the price of peace, which is the fervent hope and objective of the international community.

235. The state of war which persists between Iran and Iraq, despite the many attempts at mediation by various organizations and States, in particular the non-aligned movement, is a cause of deep concern to the whole international community.

236. It is the fervent hope of Cape Verde that those two non-aligned States will be able once again to follow the course of fraternity and co-operation, thus greatly contributing to the re-establishment of détente and stability in that region.

237. In South-East Asia decisive steps must be taken towards the establishment of a climate in which dialogue can flourish. Political negotiation must in the end triumph over the policy of confrontation. It is the hope of Cape Verde that the various countries involved will succeed in overcoming opposition and confrontation in favour of understanding and co-operation based on their legitimate interests.

238. The national liberation struggle waged by the people of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN,³ which some would like to stifle, deserves the full admiration and support of the international community. We are convinced that the *faits accomplis* that have been imposed as a political method in opposition to the struggle of the national liberation movements are totally in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The General Assembly at this session must, in the name of human rights, and of the right of peoples to self-determination, assume its responsibilities in that situation and

find the proper means to ensure implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization.

239. Many other situations persist where lack of respect for the principles of contemporary international law block the fulfilment of the aspirations of the people to development and peace. In Cyprus, independence, unity and territorial integrity, as well as the non-aligned status of the country, all continue to be threatened. In Afghanistan, we must once again reaffirm the right of the Afghan people freely to choose the most appropriate means of achieving development, peace and the building up of a prosperous society. In Latin America there still persist situations which are an open challenge to the principles and objectives of the United Nations, through the perpetuation of a policy of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the States of that region.

240. Likewise, the persistent efforts of the heroic people of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of its country without foreign interference are blocked by repeated attempts to impose the establishment of two Koreas. We are convinced that the adoption of specific measures, in keeping with the principles and recommendations of the non-aligned movement and the replacement of the armistice agreement by a final peace treaty will bring about for the Korean people the achievement of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

241. The situation in the Indian Ocean continues to give rise to disquiet on the part of the coastal States because of the constant threat to peace and security it implies. Despite the initiatives of the international community and, in particular, the efforts made by the coastal States to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the situation has hardly changed since the last session of the General Assembly.

242. At the beginning of this Third United Nations Development Decade, at a time when firm support has been declared for the establishment of a system of international relations where peace will be based on the ability to satisfy the basic needs of all nations, the renewed impetus of the arms race constitutes a cause for profound concern.

243. Violence is once again becoming an instrument of international relations. While it is admitted at present that the arms race in all its aspects conflicts with efforts aimed at diminishing international tension in order to establish a viable system of international peace and security—and peace and security must be founded on the most scrupulous respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—the policy of confrontation is being imposed on the world with all the disasters that follow in its train.

244. As one of the Sahel countries, and one of the least-developed countries, Cape Verde views with concern and profoundly deplores the arms race to destroy mankind, which every year swallows up huge sums of money that could be invested to alleviate the innumerable sufferings of the hundreds of millions of destitute men and women throughout the world.

245. When we see that a single week's military expenditure amounts to the annual sum needed to promote the restoration of the economic situation of the least developed countries, we must conclude that it is our pressing duty to put an end to the dangerous paradox of the arms race.

246. We are of the view that the international community, during this Second United Nations Disarmament Decade, must ensure the implementation of the Programme of Action drawn up at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2, section III] and vigorously reject any action that would distort its objectives and jeopardize its outcome.

247. It is necessary to refer once again to the injustice of the existing international economic system, which mercilessly strikes at the developing countries, blocking their every attempt to escape from the tragic situation in which they find themselves.

248. Efforts designed to induce the rich countries to participate in the negotiations dealing with the global evaluation of all existing problems, including raw materials, energy and trade, as well as currency problems, finances, and industrial and agricultural development, have come up against the opposition of certain Western countries. Apart from these unfruitful attempts, I must mention the difficulties met with by the developing countries, in the context of the Group of 77, in discussing international economic problems with their industrialized partners, after the failure of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. Suffice it to mention by way of example the impossibility of discussing the item inscribed on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly under the heading "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development".

249. A global programme to achieve international co-operation with the participation of all countries is an urgent need in the present international economic situation. The intransigence shown by some countries participating in the global negotiations that could bring about the establishment of a new international economic order results from an attitude that ignores the fact, although dependent relationships still predominate, that the existing forms of interdependence are based on the political and moral support of two thirds of mankind.

250. Our situation on the periphery of the international economic system, having been subject to centuries of colonialist and imperialist exploitation, already contains other political elements that would prevent us from passively accepting development models based on assumptions that run counter to our interests and are alien both to our preferences and to our social and cultural world.

251. Furthermore, specific measures should be taken resulting from political will to achieve the creation of a new system that will enable mankind as a whole equitably to enjoy the accumulated wealth and the scientific and technological progress that exists. Negligence or ignorance of those self-evident aspects may well lead to situations whose consequences cannot be foreseen, first because his-

torical relations among peoples have changed qualitatively as a result of the near-eradication of colonial relations and, secondly, because the economic situation of underdeveloped countries objectively does not allow them to continue to tolerate the evils stemming from the grave structural problems created by the present system.

252. The determination of our peoples to improve their standard of living in terms of health, food, training, education, culture and well-being is more than a just aspiration: it is a primary exigence of contemporary civilization. In denouncing the unjust system that condemns a large part of mankind to subhuman conditions, we do not claim to judge or name the guilty parties. Our primary concern is international peace and the future of mankind. That is why responsibility must be collective and why solutions cannot hinge upon the selfish interests of one country or groups of countries.

253. On 1 May 1974 the General Assembly, at its sixth special session, concluded that the system of international economic relations is incompatible with the historic changes that have taken place and the objective need for the economic and social development of the peoples. It then proclaimed the need to work together for the establishment of a new international economic order [see resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202(S-VI)].

254. What has happened since then? For the developing countries, there has been a further deterioration in the terms of trade, a growing inability to achieve self-sufficiency in food, the obvious impossibility of increasing their participation in world industrial production, growing difficulties in obtaining access to technology and an alarming increase in their foreign debt. On the side of the industrialized countries, we witness growing intransigence in the defence of the privileges gained through centuries of exploitation and clear opposition to any initiative that might alter the existing structures.

255. We know that the establishment of a new international economic order requires programmed actions within the developing countries themselves. It is on this basis that, under the auspices of UNCTAD, the developing countries have worked out the Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries' and the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations^a to carry out a thorough examination of their own needs and the resources available for the improvement of their economies through horizontal co-operation. At the regional and subregional level, the developing countries have attempted to promote initiatives that would serve as a basis for the establishment of a new kind of co-operation. On the African continent, for example, the Lagos Plan of Action^a is clear proof that economic and social development problems constitute a constant source of concern for our leaders. However we must continue to face the problem of the lack of progress in the present international economic situation which is hindering any attempts at economic emancipation by the developing countries.

256. There is, however, a group of countries whose situation deserves special attention; this is the group identi-

fied as the "least developed countries", which now numbers 31 countries and a combined population of more than 300 million. The socio-economic facts regarding this group are well known.

257. At the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held at Paris from 1 to 14 September 1981, Mr. Aristides Pereira, the President of the Republic of Cape Verde, on behalf of the 21 least developed African countries, stated:

"Despite the special nature of the problems facing these countries and the need to find specific solutions, it is none the less evident that the definitive solution of the problems of development of the least developed countries, while depending on national efforts, will have to rest definitively on the dismantlement of all the structures of political and economic domination and on the creation of an international climate of peace, concerted effort and mutual respect, in which the desire to arrive at a comprehensive solution of the international economic crisis and the existing disparities between nations and men must take precedence over all other considerations".

258. The Conference concluded its work by adopting the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,⁹ which was subsequently discussed at length in the North-South dialogue. We note with satisfaction the political will expressed in this connection by the majority of members of the international community in favour of participating in restructuring and in making viable the economies of the least developed countries. We should have liked the Programme to be more specific not only as regards its timetable but also the resources available to it. However, we welcome the objectives put forward. If they were to materialize they would represent an important step forward in relations between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, and in the final analysis they would contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order.

259. For some years now the international community has followed with keen attention and expectation the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The Republic of Cape Verde, as an archipelago State, attaches great importance to that Conference, and it has actively participated in the search for a collective solution for the establishment of a new legal order for the oceans that will make it possible to use them peacefully and to exploit their resources wisely.

260. We believe that the adoption of a convention on the Law of the Sea is an urgent and imperative need for all nations truly committed to the prevention of conflict and chaos on the seas. We share the legitimate hopes of the overwhelming majority of countries, as stated quite clearly during the second part of the tenth session of the Conference, which took place at Geneva in August 1981, and we believe that the time has come for all States to shoulder their responsibility of completing that precious legal instrument, on which work has been under way uninterruptedly for almost a decade.

261. We hope that developments in our time will awaken the common sense of all those who believe in a past that is no longer adapted to the present, and we hope that the final session of the Conference, scheduled to take place in New York in April and May 1982 will truly be the last.

262. The economic situation in Cape Verde is sufficiently well known because of the many reports submitted by various national departments as well as by international agencies. It would be redundant to describe it once again here. However, it is never superfluous to underline the difficulty of the situation which existed in 1975, when we acceded to independence. We inherited a country in the Sahel ravaged by advanced desertification, with agriculture constituting the basis of the economy but paradoxically representing less than 20 per cent of the gross national product, poor in natural resources and without a significant industrial sector or any other sizeable productive activity. The economy of Cape Verde was based on trade and services, supplemented by remittances from its emigrants and by the aid given *in extremis* by the colonial Government. On the other hand, the effort that the people and the Government of Cape Verde have made in all areas under the direction of its vanguard party, the PAICV,¹⁰ for the purpose of consolidating our independence and assuring the dignity of the people of Cape Verde is internationally recognized. Our socio-economic policy, basically designed to improve the well-being of our people, has gradually gained recognition from all those who are concerned about our economic life. That policy, based on austerity and wise management of all national resources, has proved to be a most important instrument in overcoming the most difficult moments of our life as an independent nation and in laying down the foundations for building a viable economy.

263. We are pleased to express our gratitude at this time to the international community and the United Nations system as a whole for the aid given to our country.

264. Unfortunately, the continuation of the drought which has caused us to suffer the loss of another agricultural year's harvests has frustrated a great part of our efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in terms of food. We should like to appeal to the international community once again to respond to the needs of our people with the generosity that it has always shown us in the past.

265. Despite all kinds of difficulties, we note some positive progress in the solution of the principal problems affecting our planet.

266. Relations among peoples, based on a new conception of moral, political and juridical factors, are becoming increasingly adapted to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples for peace, progress and social well-being.

267. We are convinced that the United Nations, which has made a positive contribution to that evolution, will, with the perseverance and devotion of its Members, show itself increasingly equal to its responsibilities, thus making an important contribution to the defence of peace, security and international development.

268. We should like to express the hope that the work of this session will result in innovative and courageous initiatives so to ensure that the near future may see the expression of a renewed will for peace and agreement capable of bringing calm and détente where there is now a spirit of confrontation and tension.

269. That is our most ardent hope and, we are sure, the most cherished objective of the international community.

270. Mr. SAKA (Ghana): I should like, on behalf of the Ghana delegation and on my own behalf, to congratulate the President most warmly on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

271. His election signifies a well-deserved international recognition of his vast diplomatic experience, his capacity for hard work and the vitality of his ideas. There is no doubt that his long association with the United Nations will prove to be a major asset in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities as President of the Assembly. In offering him the best wishes of the Government of Ghana, and my delegation, for success in the weeks and months ahead, may I also assure him of our co-operation throughout his term of office.

272. I wish also to place on record the deep appreciation of the Government of Ghana for the brilliant and distinguished manner in which his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, presided over the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are particularly appreciative of the personal efforts exerted by him in the search for a common basis on which to resume the deadlocked talks on the launching of the global negotiations. Although those efforts were not altogether successful, we none the less commend him for the crucial role he played in formulating the necessary understanding on which those negotiations can, in future, be based.

273. The Ghana delegation is also grateful to the Secretary-General and to his staff for the courage and dedication shown by them in their work during the past year.

274. Since all nations must have an equal opportunity of participation in all decisions affecting the world community, it is a source of great delight for us to see new States accede to membership of the Organization. Our delegation is therefore happy to join other speakers in warmly welcoming the new nations of Vanuatu and Belize as the 155th and 156th States Members of the United Nations. Their admission marks a further step towards the total eradication of colonialism and the ultimate goal of universality in the membership of the United Nations. We, for our part, look forward to fruitful and cordial relations with the Governments and the delegations of Vanuatu and Belize, not only within the United Nations itself but in other international forums as well.

275. Since the last session of the General Assembly, the international political scene has been far from encouraging; the political problems facing us have increased in complexity and our capacity to provide respite for an over-weary world continues to be seriously challenged. Critics of the Organization and those who lack faith in it

are being furnished with ammunition to denigrate the efforts of the United Nations and to reinforce their belief that we are doomed to failure.

276. For example, despite several efforts both within and outside the United Nations system, the North-South dialogue has so far not resulted in any decisive breakthrough in our endeavours towards the establishment of a new international economic order. The serious attempts to launch the global negotiations have similarly been rendered moribund. The plight of the developing countries continues to worsen from day to day as their development efforts are bedevilled by high payments imbalances, unemployment, under-employment, inflation and increasing debt burdens.

277. Meanwhile, the arms race is speeding up at an alarming rate, resulting in the diversion of resources which, given political will and political courage, could have been utilized to improve the economic and social conditions of the majority of mankind.

278. It is therefore self-evident that the Assembly is again convened in the midst of growing challenges for the international community. Whatever successes have been achieved during the last 12 months can only be described as limited. But that fact should not dampen our resolve to continue searching for meaningful but no less urgent solutions. On the contrary, the failures of the past year should increase our awareness of and sensitivity to the precarious plight of mankind.

279. Since the inception of the United Nations, and especially over the last 10 years, many calls have been made in this Assembly for urgent steps to be taken by the international community to grapple with the problems of development in such a way that all of us, whether rich or poor, large or small, could take a meaningful part in the international development process and act in concert to eliminate poverty, hunger, malnutrition and all the other attendant ills which continue to afflict mankind.

280. In spite of those perennial expressions of concern for the lot of humanity throughout the 36-year history of the Organization, there are more people today who are hungry, unsheltered and unclothed the world over than when our international quest for solutions began in earnest. The rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer and the gap between the have and the have-not nations is widening into an unbridgeable abyss.

281. If we have awakened to the need for tackling this explosive state of affairs in a realistic manner, it is not necessarily out of a feeling of altruism on the part of the fortunate towards the unfortunate. It seems true to observe that any real determination to apply permanent solutions to this problem stems more out of self-interest. Genuine interdependence among all nations—a concept which may have been misconstrued in the past—has become an imperative factor in international economic relations. Policies pursued in one country or group of countries have a direct effect on the lives of millions in other parts of the world. Self-interest, therefore, dictates that the well-being of the international community should be the primary concern of all.

282. With such aspirations in mind, my country is watching with keen interest the personal involvement of leaders of the most powerful industrial countries of the West in attempts to restore the health of the international economy. Our assessment of the situation leads us to conclude that such direct involvement signifies that those nations rightly believe in the capacity of the international community to solve the problems currently besetting the world's economy and that they, like ourselves, refuse to accept failure. We should caution, however, that there is a great danger in seeing solutions in a self-centred perspective which undermines the United Nations in the formulation and application of global solutions. The initiative of those industrialized countries should be structured in such a manner as would provide valuable inputs by the most privileged to the search for global solutions. Against that background may I be permitted to touch on one or two issues of special importance to my country.

283. Because of its relevance to all aspects of development, the question of energy rightly dominates the political and economic thinking of all countries today. The international community has awakened to the fact that the major conventional forces of energy, which have been the basis of the energy balance of the modern world, may be depleted in the not too distant future and may henceforth be available only at higher prices. Yet the most important element, which should be given very serious consideration, is that the debilitating impact of the energy crisis on the economies of the developing countries is massively out of all proportion to their share of total world energy consumption. That crisis has exacerbated general poverty and caused serious disruptions of unprecedented severity in developing countries whose developmental needs coincidentally involve increasing dependence on energy.

284. The food and agriculture situation in the world today gives cause for apprehension and anxiety. In 1974 the World Food Conference, held at Rome, targeted 1980 as the year by which the international community would have taken such steps as would lead to the complete elimination of hunger and malnutrition,¹¹ in order that no child, wherever he might be, would go to bed hungry. It is a sad commentary on the efforts of the international community in that regard that today, when the technical ability of the international community to tackle the food problem has increased many times over what it was in 1974, in real terms more people are hungry than when the Conference made that historic resolve. In Africa, where the problems of development are present in their harrowing features, many millions of otherwise able men, women and children continue to face a real threat to their lives merely as a result of hunger and malnutrition in a world of exceptional scientific and technological progress.

285. Viewed against that disturbing backdrop, the Ghana delegation welcomes the decision of the IMF to broaden the existing compensatory financing facility to help cater for the needs of food-deficit developing countries. We hope that that facility will be greatly improved and expanded as the years go by. In the same vein, we recognize and appreciate the role which the International Fund for Agricultural Development has played in recent years in seeking to increase food production in developing countries.

286. Much as we appreciate the steps being taken in the direction of general investment in agriculture, we are of the view that the initiatives to date, laudable as they are when considered in isolation, constitute a mere drop in the ocean when viewed in comparison with the immensity of actual needs. I am led to believe that the level of investment required effectively to tackle the situation will amount to something of the order of \$600 billion over the next 10 years. That figure sounds really frightening in absolute terms, but it should not be beyond the capacity of the international community when we are investing \$500 billion each year in the production and refinement of instruments of war and destruction. It should also be possible, given the necessary political will, to divert into agriculture, for the edification of human life, a mere 12.5 per cent of the resources which we now devote, perhaps senselessly, to preparations for the final destruction of our own species. My Government continues to believe that only a speedy implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the 1974 Rome Conference could avert a world food crisis in the immediate future.

287. The current economic climate demands of all of us an unequivocal determination to take concerted action designed to apply long-term remedies to the ills that beset the international economic system and to create conditions which favour the equal and effective participation of all its members in the development process. My Government, therefore, supports all the efforts still being made to launch the global negotiations. The tribulations which afflict the world should convince all and sundry that these negotiations should not be approached in a spirit of confrontation. They should, rather, be handled in the spirit of a mutual search for meaningful global solutions. In this connection, we are encouraged by recent developments in the preparations for the forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún, which we hope will put an end to the hesitations of the recent past and cause them to give way to the wholehearted support of all countries for successful global negotiations.

288. I now turn to some of the unsettled political issues of concern to the Government of Ghana. There is very little justification for the problem of Namibia remaining unresolved, especially as the principle of freedom involved in the independence of the Territory and close United Nations involvement in the final processes towards independence have been accepted and endorsed. What was outstanding as we faced the Geneva Conference in January this year was the determination of the ways and means of taking care of residual but none the less important problems. But the entire world was witness to the dismal failure engineered by the racist Pretoria régime. Worse still was the reluctance subsequently exhibited by some members of the Security Council when it came to giving the United Nations unequivocal support in its final efforts to restore legality and independence to Namibia. History will faithfully record that some delegations, which only a year ago hailed the United Nations independence plan, have today launched initiatives to modify Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and, it seems to us, even the independence plan. This sudden turn-about, unless properly handled, may very well result in the loss of the valuable gains made through that resolution.

289. Under the guise of a willingness to negotiate, the racist Pretoria régime has openly engaged in delaying tactics, if not a rejection of its earlier commitment to the independence plan for Namibia, in a desperate effort to perpetuate its illegal occupation of that Territory. It is for this reason that we are naturally sceptical of the efforts to modify the basic elements of resolution 435 (1978). It has been obvious over the past months that, instead of bringing us closer to a solution, these new attempts to alter the consensus embodied in resolution 435 (1978) have rather encouraged Pretoria to be more defiant and to resort to ever more desperate and repressive measures to defend and preserve its *apartheid* system, to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to dominate the entire southern region of Africa. It has stepped up its reign of terror, designed to suppress the massive upsurge of nationalist feelings, by killing and maiming schoolchildren and detaining trade union leaders and workers. A measure of its confidence, derived from the moral and material support it continues to receive from the most powerful and influential countries of the West, is the unprovoked and frequent attacks which it launches against neighbouring independent African States.

290. In the context of our common search for international peace and security and the establishment of harmonious relations among States, we are compelled to condemn most vehemently the armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by the armed forces of the racist Pretoria régime on 23 August 1981. We expect South Africa to make amends in due course by paying Angola full and fair compensation for the damage to lives and property it has thus sustained.

291. In this regard, the Ghana delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its pleasure at and support for the outcome of the eighth emergency special session on Namibia, which adopted a progressive resolution [resolution ES-8/2] to deal with the problem. The overwhelming support enjoyed by that resolution should persuade even the most hesitant of States Members of the United Nations to rally to the international effort to discipline the racist régime, to bring the Territory of Namibia to legality and independence, and completely to eradicate the system of *apartheid*.

292. The impasse over Namibia underscores the view of the overwhelming majority of the international community that sterile negotiations with the racist régime have gone on for far too long and that the time has come for the international community to isolate South Africa politically and economically.

293. It is against this stern background that my Government and delegation have noted with considerable interest the joint statement issued on 25 September 1981 by the five Western countries associated with the quest for a speedy solution to the Namibia question. We note with a high sense of anticipation that, in the words of the joint statement, "It is therefore now possible to identify more clearly the issues involved and a process for their resolution which would lead to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)".

294. The recent incidents in the Middle East, especially the Israeli bombing raids on Iraq and the Lebanese capital, Beirut, have again underlined the grave dangers which the situation there represents for international security. It is true that a tenuous peace is now holding in the region, but the frequent resort to military and terrorist action means that much more is now needed than mere verbal condemnation.

295. The Middle East conflict has remained unresolved for too long and has claimed far too many innocent lives. In my Government's view, any attempt to find a solution will obviously not succeed unless it adequately addresses two basic issues: the establishment of a line of communication between the major conflicting parties, and the settlement of the question of a permanent home for the Palestinians.

296. Thus, Ghana believes that in the present tense climate a realistic solution should contain the following elements: first, all parties to the conflict should start talking with each other instead of talking at each other.

297. Secondly, the Palestinians should not be forced into accepting others to speak on their behalf. Arrangements whereby they are represented by other interests are unrealistic, inequitable and must be changed. Like the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership, Ghana recognizes the PLO as the authentic representative organ of the Palestinian people. Happily, other international competences such as the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the European Community, have all accorded the PLO its due recognition as the body which should be involved in all political negotiations relating to the future of the Palestinians.

298. Thirdly, Israel should withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. We fully share the international consensus that Israel's policies in the occupied territories, marked by expropriation of land, eviction of local populations and the establishment of settlements, do not only constitute serious violations of international law but have seriously undermined prospects of peace in the region. The most influential friends of Israel, who number among the most powerful Member States of the Organization, owe it as a duty to humanity to review their posture in order to facilitate the achievement of a lasting solution.

299. It is a matter of deep regret for the Ghana delegation that we are beginning this session with a number of unsettled regional conflicts. The Iran-Iraq war, the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea readily come to mind. The early resolution of these conflicts would bring to an end unnecessary human suffering and also remove the threat to the peace and stability of the regions concerned.

300. Ghana, therefore welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General to find an acceptable basis for ending the conflict in Afghanistan. We are also happy to endorse the outcome of the International Conference on Kampuchea held in July, and hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee established at the end of the deliberations will redouble its efforts to elaborate proposals on which serious negotiations can commence on the basis of General Assembly resolution 35/6.

301. My delegation is equally concerned with the conflict situations in Africa because of the enormous suffering which they entail for our peoples and, more importantly, because these conflicts seriously undermine the continent's ability to mobilize its resources, concert its actions and improve upon the already difficult economic and social conditions of its peoples. Ghana, therefore, appeals for the exercise of maximum restraint on all sides, as this is necessary for defusing these situations in a manner consistent with the region's imperative needs for socio-economic development.

302. My delegation would like, in this context, to express Ghana's gratitude to the organisers of the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa held at Geneva in April this year, which, we believe, served to arouse the conscience of the international community and make it more urgently aware of the magnitude of the refugee problem on that unfortunate continent. It is now universally acknowledged that Africa has the largest number of refugees and that African countries, already faced with grave socio-economic dilemmas, stand in need of urgent help from the international community. We none the less appreciate the spirit of co-operation and generosity demonstrated at the Conference by Governments which responded readily to the international appeal.

303. It is Ghana's hope that what has been accomplished at Geneva will serve as the forerunner of greater international support for the long-term needs of African refugees.

304. Another issue of serious concern to the Government of Ghana is that of disarmament and arms control, which constitutes one of the greatest challenges facing the international community. Expenditures on military technology and on research devoted to armaments are growing at an alarming rate. This terrible phenomenon continues apparently without due consideration for the fact that in a world of action and reaction the security of nations is not automatically enhanced by resort to high levels of armaments.

305. It is therefore a matter of deep regret for the Ghana delegation that no serious negotiations have been started with a view to implementing important disarmament agreements suspended two years ago, in spite of the innocent protestations of the big Powers.

306. While we call for an early resumption of talks, it is equally essential to emphasize the need for the exercise of the greatest flexibility on the part of all concerned if meaningful progress is to be made towards dispelling today's climate of distrust.

307. It is important that we break the psychological barrier of mutual suspicion and, instead, maintain a healthy momentum in the disarmament talks and negotiations. Ghana consequently welcomes the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament planned for 1982. We sincerely hope that the second special session will provide an opportunity for the international community to examine the whole question seriously, with a view to reaching agreement on those areas where progress has not been made since the first session, including fundamental issues which have impeded meaningful progress. My delegation stands ready to co-operate with

others in order to ensure a successful outcome to the second special session.

308. There is no denying that the United Nations provides an essential instrument for achieving the objectives of world peace and security. It is our obligation, therefore, not only to show abiding faith in the Organization but also to strengthen its capacity for peaceful action on behalf of the world community.

309. Peace-keeping operations necessarily form an essential part of the activities of the United Nations. By stationing military contingents in sensitive areas, the Organization has helped substantially to contain or defuse situations which would otherwise have exploded into major armed conflicts. Such activities have been criticized by some, but the critics cannot be blind to the objective fact that they have been an invaluable factor in establishing an appropriate climate for the settlement of serious disputes. The lot of the United Nations soldier is an especially difficult one, and it is only when we contemplate the damage that could result from the absence of peace-keeping forces from the flash-points of conflict that we can appreciate how important it is that Member States extend their full support to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

310. Among the most serious problems which the United Nations peace-keeping operations have faced over the years are delays in the payment of assessed contributions and the insufficiency of voluntary contributions. We are aware of the difficulties encountered in soliciting financial contributions to the United Nations peace-keeping activities. It seems obvious, however, that persistent denial of adequate means is undermining the United Nations peace-keeping efforts to such a point that we shall all stand to lose if this trend is allowed to continue. We therefore hope that all Member States will endeavour to review current attitudes in the interest of a more positive appreciation of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations and thus accord it all the support required.

311. The United Nations provides the appropriate forum for the promotion of international security, peace and prosperity, all of which our world cannot afford to do without. A strong and effective United Nations demands, above all, that we keep the principles of the Charter inviolate. The United Nations is our best creation. Let us give it a growing chance to serve us well. Let us give it full and unequivocal support.

312. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon in the general debate. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I would remind representatives that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, the first statement in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and the second should be limited to 5 minutes, and that such statements should be made by representatives from their seats.

313. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I speak this afternoon less in reply than in protest against the speech yesterday [22nd meeting] by the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs. His strident and vituperative attack on the United States went beyond even what we have come to expect from such quarters.

314. The remarks of the Ethiopian Foreign Minister represent an extreme example of what is known as the Orwellian inversion of the truth. The pattern is a simple one: he accuses others of committing crimes which have in fact been perpetrated by his own régime and by those countries with which his régime is allied.

315. He speaks, for example, of the extermination of Africa by "sabre-rattling war-mongers [who] are, either directly or through their paid agents, engaged in a savage massacre of men, women and children around the world, and all in the name of justice and democracy" [*ibid.*, para. 95]. In fact it is his own régime that is guilty of the very savagery of which he speaks. According to Amnesty International, it is estimated that some 30,000 persons in Ethiopia were summarily executed for political reasons between 1974 and 1978—10,000 in 1977 alone. During the so-called Red Terror, which reached its climax in February 1978, the Ethiopian police and army squads murdered some 5,000 grade school, high school and university students and imprisoned some 30,000 others—this in a country whose entire student population was only 36,000 ten years ago...

316. Again according to Amnesty International, 12-year-old children were among those immersed in hot oil, sexually tortured or flung out of windows and left to die in the streets. Again according to Amnesty International, the relatives of their children were prohibited by state edict from mourning, yet at the same time were encouraged to buy back the bodies for burial—a practice that came to be called "paying for the bullet". All this wholesale massacre was committed in the name of justice and democracy, in the name of a liberating revolution.

317. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia tells us that his country's "epoch-making popular revolution... ushered in an era of prosperity [and] equality". Yet the respected African scholar, Colin Legum, wrote of Ethiopia at the end of 1978: "There are today perhaps a hundred times the number of political prisoners there were in the worst period of the last Emperor Haile Selassie's rule."

318. There are at least 300 to 400 arrests every week in Addis Ababa alone. Many of those arrested simply disappear and are presumed executed. Last year Amnesty International published the names of a number of long-term prominent political prisoners whose food, brought in daily, had been turned away by prison officials in 1979. This has usually meant that the prisoner has been summarily executed. Amnesty's request for information about several prominent disappeared political prisoners and its separate appeal for information about Pastor Gudina Tumsa have gone unanswered. So have its protests against the arrest and torture of church members.

319. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia accuses the United States of "stifling progressive movements and undermining sovereign States" and engaging in a "massive military build-up" that has increased tensions in the region.

320. Yet it is his own régime that is engaged in a war against its own ethnic minorities—among them the Eritreans, the Somalis and the Tigreans. It is his own ré-

gime that has recently made a pact with two countries that specialize in subverting sovereign States and fomenting regional instability.

321. It is his own régime that received from the Soviet Union more than \$1 billion in military equipment in late 1977 and early 1978—which is more than twice as much military aid as the United States provided to that country during a quarter of a century under the late Haile Selassie. It is his own régime that now hosts and depends upon for its survival some 15,000 Cuban military personnel and some 1,000 to 1,500 Soviet military advisers.

322. In a characteristic attempt to find scapegoats to account for the failure of his own régime, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia charges that "imperialist forces" are preventing his country from devoting itself to the tasks of development. The truth is exactly the reverse.

323. In addition, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia spoke of lasting peace being restored in Afghanistan and Kampuchea "if only the people concerned are left on their own without any form of imperialist meddling" [*ibid.*, para. 136].

324. I do not take issue with him on that statement. But surely everyone in this hall knows that the only "imperialist meddling" in Afghanistan is being done by the some 85,000 Soviet troops, against whom the entire Afghan population is engaged in heroic resistance. And it should not be necessary to point out here that Kampuchea is occupied today by 200,000 troops from Viet Nam. These are the "imperialist meddlers".

325. Indeed, the Government of Ethiopia is integrated into this imperialistic network through "friendship treaties", including military clauses, with the Soviet Union, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Democratic Yemen.

326. The Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs has repeated the charge that the United States is using biological warfare against the people of Cuba. The American delegation has dealt at length with this subject on 25 September, [14th meeting], when we pointed out that Cuban health officials themselves had told officials of the Pan American Health Organization [PAHO], American diplomats in Havana and tropical health specialists, both in the United States and in other countries, that the current epidemic of dengue fever in Cuba had been introduced into the country by Cuban troops returning from Africa. It was only after this quiet consultation that Fidel Castro decided to blame the disease on the United States. The Ethiopian Foreign Minister has now repeated that lie. He adds to that the charge of racism and asserts that WHO has reached a conclusive verdict that no such disease exists in Africa.

327. In fact, Professor Wilbur Downs of Yale University, an internationally distinguished authority on the subject, has written, in a book entitled *The Arthropod-borne Viruses of Vertebrates*,¹² that dengue virus type 1 and type 2 are found in West Africa as far south as South Africa—meaning in the Angola area. And the American Public Health Association states in the book *Control of Communicable Diseases in Man*¹³ that dengue viruses "have been recovered from West Africa"—meaning in the Angola area.

328. These unfounded charges against the United States are particularly unseemly in the light of the fact that the

United States, through PAHO, has provided hundreds of tons of a pesticide to fight that self-same epidemic in Cuba.

329. The Ethiopian Foreign Minister has decried a "crisis of consensus" in the United Nations—a crisis he characteristically blames on my country. But the true crisis of consensus is rooted in the Orwellian falsehoods spread by countries that are concerned principally with shifting the blame on to others for their own internal failures and external acts of aggression. A real consensus must be based upon a spirit of co-operation and a genuine commitment to the truth. We remain committed to that kind of consensus, but we cannot sit by silently when the big lie echoes in these chambers.

330. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): In his statement yesterday [22nd meeting] the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia referred to the deliberations of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi in June 1981 on the conflict in the Horn of Africa. In making out Ethiopia's case in that conflict, he selectively quoted from the statement to the General Assembly by President Daniel T. Arap Moi of Kenya, the current Chairman of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity. In so doing he attempted to make the General Assembly believe that the OAU had concluded its mediatory efforts regarding the conflict in the Horn. This is far from the truth—a fact underlined by the statement of the Chairman to the General Assembly in which he said:

"The Horn of Africa is a region in which genuine economic co-operation could hold out immense promise for human development. It is most regrettable therefore that, over some period of time now, this potential has been frustrated by the unceasing encroachment of cold war politics and ideological divisions. More recently, however, there have been some heartening signs of new awareness about the common interests and opportunities which should constructively link the various nations and people in the Horn of Africa.

"Against that background, I am saddened that dispute and conflict still persist between Ethiopia and Somalia." [See 11th meeting, paras. 33 and 34.]

331. Moreover, the report referred to by the Chairman recommended that the Good Offices Committee should continue its work of searching for a solution to the dispute and of promoting co-operation in the region. Clearly, therefore, the OAU remains seized of the problem.

332. In this connection, I wish to draw to the attention of the Assembly that the Somalia-Ethiopia Good Offices Committee, whose report the Ethiopian Foreign Minister found so gratifying to note—and I use his words—was not by its terms authorized to arbitrate or adjudicate the dispute. Members of that Committee were simply asked to use their good offices to normalize relations by reducing tension between the two countries and establish or bring about a permanent peace between these two countries.

333. In accordance with international norms and practice, the task of a good offices committee is to work for a

solution which is acceptable to all parties to a dispute. Being a signatory to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Somalia subscribes to these principles, including those of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, but also to the equally important principle of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination—a principle which, it is hoped, will be given due weight and consideration by the Good Offices Committee in its future deliberations.

334. The recommendations of the Good Offices Committee as they now stand are incomplete and one-sided and do not, therefore, constitute a basis for an amicable settlement. I wish to assure the Assembly that Somalia is willing to promote peace and harmony in our region on the basis of a just political settlement.

335. In this respect it will be remembered that the President of Somalia has on more than one occasion in the past, and particularly following the Nairobi Assembly, called for peaceful talks, without pre-conditions, with a view to finding a satisfactory solution to the dispute.

336. Regrettably, his peace offers have so far fallen on deaf ears. It is, however, self-evident that the solution to the conflict in the Horn of Africa can be achieved only when the policies and practices of repression, genocide and the denial of human rights are discontinued. It is also clear to all that peace and tranquillity cannot be attained while a super-Power continues to interfere in the affairs of our region, through the establishment of military bases and the use of surrogate forces in Ethiopia and while it continues to supply massive quantities of sophisticated war material to that country for the suppression of the rights of the people, the destabilization and subversion of Governments and the imposition of its hegemony over the Horn of Africa and the adjacent regions, including the Arab Gulf.

337. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*Interpretation from French*): In referring to the question of Western Sahara at the 21st meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique took the liberty of levelling a serious accusation against Morocco by imputing expansionist designs to it. The Minister thus demonstrated his complete ignorance of the history of the colonization of Africa, which, I am sorry to say, is scarcely to his credit. His blunt assertion ill conceals his intellectual barrenness, since he was content slavishly to reproduce shop-worn slogans and to repeat high-sounding but empty phrases, both concocted in the back rooms in which is produced the propaganda he parades with mingled emotion and hypocrisy. If, instead of concerning himself with what is happening in the north-western part of Africa, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique even slightly reduced the innumerable ties his Government maintains with the Pretoria régime, which is wiping out our brothers in South Africa, he might lay some claim to Africa's gratitude.

338. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I regret the necessity of making this statement in reply to what was said this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

339. The unwarranted reference to Jammu and Kashmir, which was made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan this year [23rd meeting] as in earlier years, seems to have become an unfortunate, annual feature. Even if we were

inclined to dismiss this as a ritual, it has to be pointed out that it is unfortunate, objectionable and, in the overall context, counterproductive. Jammu and Kashmir, as the General Assembly is aware, form an integral part of the territory of India. Raising this matter in this forum really amounts to questioning the territorial integrity of India and constitutes an inadmissible interference in our internal affairs.

340. We have taken note that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, while finding it necessary to mention Jammu and Kashmir, also acknowledged that relations between India and Pakistan are governed by the provisions of the Simla Agreement.¹⁴ He speaks of the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement, and has also indicated that the Agreement binds both countries to a commitment to settle their differences through peaceful means and through bilateral negotiations. Under the Simla Agreement our two countries agreed to prevent any action detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations. Raising this or other bilateral matters in the General Assembly or emphasizing differences between the two countries must be considered contrary to the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement. Thus, there is a contradiction in declaring a commitment to the Simla Agreement and at the same time, and in the same statement, raising Jammu and Kashmir.

341. Pakistan knows, because we have repeatedly conveyed this to it, that India seeks nothing but peaceful and stable relations with our neighbour, based on mutual respect and in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement. When our Foreign Minister visited Pakistan last summer he conveyed this in unambiguous terms to his Pakistani colleague. Pakistan, too, then reaffirmed its commitment to the Simla Agreement. This is why, while we regret this mention of Jammu and Kashmir here today, the contradiction that I have referred to is difficult to reconcile.

342. We believe that whatever the differences between us they can best be settled through bilateral discussions. We take note that even in today's statement Pakistan indicated its readiness to pursue the bilateral approach enshrined in the Simla Agreement. Propaganda and polemics have no place if the objective is mutual trust and good-neighbourliness.

343. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan dwelt on the geo-strategic situation of Pakistan and his country's security concerns. This is not the time nor the place to attempt an analysis of these perceptions, but he knows full well that his country faces no threat of any kind whatsoever from India. As the Foreign Minister of my country stressed in his statement in the general debate on 28 September:

"India wants to have strong and self-reliant neighbours, since we are convinced that that alone is in our interest. We are, however, gravely concerned by the deteriorating security environment in our region. While India does not find itself helpless in any way, we view with deep concern the possibility of the strategic calculations of outside Powers engulfing countries in our region." [15th meeting, para. 14.]

344. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): In his statement at the last meeting the head of the Pakistani delegation made a

lengthy reference to the substance of the situation concerning Afghanistan. My delegation would like to respond to some of the points in that statement.

345. First, allow me categorically and emphatically to reject the arguments advanced to justify the overt and covert involvement of the Pakistan Government and the interference in the affairs of my country. The facts about that interference can no longer be hidden from the eyes of the international community. The testimony of the heads of State of some countries that are also involved in the undeclared war against Afghanistan reveals beyond any doubt the reality of that interference.

346. The head of the Pakistani delegation also referred to the number of Afghans living in the territory of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that the Pakistani official figures are almost 1 million more than the already exaggerated figures estimated by UNHCR. Neither the real number nor the nature of those living in Pakistan, nor their reasons for being there justify the claims made by the Pakistani Government.

347. We must state clearly that no danger or threat to the peace and security of the region, not to mention the world, results from the developments within Afghanistan. The real reason for the present tense situation in our area lies in the flagrant interference in the internal affairs of our country.

348. It is encouraging, however, to see that the Pakistani side is finally convinced that political negotiations are the only proper means of reaching a settlement of the situation in our area. For its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has responded favourably and positively to the initiative of the Secretary-General in order to bridge the gap between the positions of Afghanistan and Pakistan, with a view to conducting direct negotiations. The process of indirect contacts that started earlier this year through the representative of the Secretary-General has continued during the past few days of the current session when, apart from procedural and organizational matters, some substantive issues have also been discussed.

349. We believe that the proposals of 24 August of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [A/36/457] provide a realistic and sufficiently flexible basis for the negotiations between our two countries. We should like to hear the comments of the Pakistani side on those proposals.

350. Afghanistan is prepared to continue its flexible position in order to eliminate any pretext for further delay in direct bilateral talks. We consider bilateral and direct negotiations to be the most efficient and practical mechanism. However, we do not object to the continuance of the indirect contacts through the representative of the Secretary-General as a preliminary and preparatory stage, although it is obvious that such contacts are much less efficient and very time-consuming.

351. Let us not be misled and deceived by mere words. Rather, let us get down to serious and honest talks.

352. Mr. BHATTY (Pakistan): In exercising his right of reply the representative of India made certain comments

about the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which was referred to by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan in his statement at the last meeting. The remarks made by the representative of India have obliged my delegation to give the correct interpretation of the Simla Agreement and its implications for the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

353. First, the Simla Agreement requires that the relations between India and Pakistan be governed by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which imposes on Member States the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

354. Secondly, under the Simla Agreement the two countries agreed that, pending the peaceful settlement of any problems, neither should unilaterally alter the situation. This provision applies equally to the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

355. Thirdly, the Simla Agreement calls for respect for the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17 December 1971 "without prejudice to the recognized position of either side".

356. In reiterating Pakistan's position, which is based on the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the statement of the leader of my delegation was thus in full conformity with the Simla Agreement.

357. Pakistan remains committed to the Simla Agreement, which outlines the parameters of the process for the normalization of relations between Pakistan and India. We also believe that the complete normalization of relations can be achieved through the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. Pakistan remains deeply interested in the development of a relationship of cordiality and mutual benefit with India. This desire of Pakistan was once again reiterated this morning in unequivocal terms by my Foreign Minister.

358. The representative of the authorities in Kabul has also taken exception to certain parts of the statement made today by my Foreign Minister. I should like to take this opportunity to make some brief comments on what he has said.

359. It is not Pakistan that is responsible for the present turmoil in Afghanistan. The steady influx of an uprooted mass of Afghan men, women and children into our territory bears testimony to the existence of a grave situation arising out of foreign intervention. As the leader of the delegation of Pakistan underlined, one of the main imperatives of our pursuit of an urgent and peaceful solution of the crisis arising from that intervention is our quest for ways and means for those displaced Afghan nationals to return to their homes in safety and honour.

360. The 2.5 million refugees on our soil constitute the largest single body of uprooted humanity in the world today. This number has been verified by the representatives of UNHCR who administer aid to those refugees. We have offered them sanctuary out of humanitarian considerations. We cannot and will not use force to push them back into their troubled land, and they will not return to their country unless they are assured of the restoration of conditions in which they can have confidence. Such con-

ditions will emerge only when foreign forces have been withdrawn and the Afghan people once again become masters of their own destiny and can follow their traditional independent and non-aligned policies.

361. My delegation wishes to reject categorically allegations that Pakistan has been interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan. At the same time I wish to reiterate that my country remains committed to promoting the peaceful solution of this problem through a dialogue under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Until trilateral talks between the representatives of Iran, Pakistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan becomes feasible the only practical course is that of continuing a dialogue through the Secretary-General on substantive issues relating to the Afghanistan question.

362. My delegation also looks to this world forum once again to reaffirm the principles of the peaceful settlement that it approved by an overwhelming majority twice last year [General Assembly resolutions ES-6/2 and 35/37].

363. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, and particularly on the basis of the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session and of the precedents established in similar circumstances during subsequent sessions of the Assembly. I call on the Observer for the PLO.

364. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): At the 22nd meeting, the Foreign Minister of the Government of the terrorist Menachem Begin, who was himself also responsible for the assassination of the late Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator, made a statement before the Assembly. I must confess that it was not an easy decision for me to ask to be allowed to speak and make some comments on his statement.

365. He started out by telling a joke in bad taste when he claimed that his Government adheres to and respects the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and wages a war against Members of this body for attacking Israel. He reminded me of the child who killed both his parents and, when before the judge, asked for mercy because he was an orphan. I should like to ask if any State Member of this Organization has been condemned by the United Nations for violating the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law and the standards of civilized behaviour as much as his terrorist Government has been?

366. I am curious to know if Mr. Shamir was present last week at the official celebration that his gang held in commemoration of the blowing-up of the King David Hotel, where 91 people, mainly civilians, were killed and 145 others were injured. I am not surprised that occasions like that warrant a celebration for the new Nazis in Tel Aviv. I should like to remind him of another occasion that he may want to celebrate, and that is 9 April, the anniversary of the massacre of Deir Yassin, when 254 men, women and children were massacred in cold blood by none other than his chief, Menachem Begin. Or maybe he wants to celebrate 17 July, the anniversary of the attack on the heart of Beirut, when thousands of civilians—

men, women and children—were massacred. I am sure that for the Zionists in Tel Aviv the spilling of Palestinian blood is an occasion for celebration.

367. It would be amusing were it not so tragic that a representative of a so-called State made up of settler colonialists, who usurped the Palestinian land and culture and uprooted its population, should speak of law and morality. The arrogance of the Zionist has reached the point at which it claims sovereignty over citizens of independent States, including, I assume, those 7 million or 8 million Jews who live in the United States and are American citizens, and possibly even Henry Kissinger, who happens to be Jewish, or Mayor Koch of New York.

368. The lack of respect for the principles of international legality that characterizes Zionist behaviour could not continue were it not for the unlimited support that the Zionists receive from the United States Government, which allows them to appear here and to speak with such arrogance in a situation in which might, unfortunately, makes right. The United States Government helps the outlaws and criminals in Tel Aviv to perpetrate their crimes against the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people. In southern Lebanon alone 105 villages have been attacked by Israeli aircraft of United States manufacture; 600,000 people are refugees; over 30,000 people have been killed since 1978. And now in Lebanon the Israeli Government is conducting a cowardly war against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians by means of booby-trapped cars. Those crimes are crimes against humanity.

369. I should like to remind representatives of something that was said by a man who struggled for peace and justice, the late Martin Luther King: the victory of injustice anywhere is a defeat for justice everywhere.

370. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of India has asked to be allowed to speak again in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on him I would remind him that for a second statement the time-limit is five minutes.

371. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): In exercising his right of reply the representative of Pakistan purported to give an interpretation of the Simla Agreement. I should like to offer a few clarifications.

372. In the first place, I wish to state in clear and categorical terms that the United Nations resolutions to which he referred, and which were referred to also by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan this morning, are no longer relevant in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. Even if Pakistan takes a different view, this is our position, which we have consistently held over the years.

373. Be that as it may, the point for consideration is what is gained by Pakistan adverting to Jammu and Kashmir here in this forum, since it has been agreed between the two Governments that this will be settled bilaterally under the Simla Agreement.

374. The representative of Pakistan quoted the first point of agreement in the Simla accord: that the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries. That is a truism. It has never been our contention that the purposes and principles of the Charter do not govern the relations

between the two countries. That would indeed be an absurd position for either Pakistan or India to take.

375. What is of relevance here is the second point of agreement in the Simla accord, to which the representative of Pakistan also made reference. In that point of agreement is enshrined the principle of bilateralism, which is the relevant point to which we are addressing ourselves here. Bilateralism is not inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, if India and Pakistan were able to settle their problems peacefully and bilaterally that would be to the greater glory of the Charter.

376. In conclusion I should like to pose the following questions. Does Pakistan firmly believe in regional peace and stability and seek friendship and co-operation with India?

377. Secondly, does Pakistan continue to abide by the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement?

378. Thirdly, does Pakistan adhere to the sentiments reflected in the joint press statement issued at the end of the visit to Pakistan of the Foreign Minister of India on 10 June 1981?

379. Fourthly, and lastly, does Pakistan share the firm resolve of India to seek a settlement of differences peacefully and through bilateral discussion, as provided in the Simla Agreement and reaffirmed in the joint press statement of 10 June 1981?

380. If the answers to those questions are in the affirmative there is no further reason for the representative of Pakistan to pursue these bilateral exchanges here. Let contention and argument cease. Let our purposeful bilateral dialogue develop to our mutual benefit.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/CONE.107/8, chap. X, sect. A.

² Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MBA-81-153, of 14 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C3.

³ Frente Revolucion de Timor Leste Independente.

⁴ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁵ See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

⁶ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Sagua el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁷ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. 1.

⁸ 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), annex VI.

⁹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

¹⁰ Partido Africano de Independencia de Cabo Verde.

¹¹ See *Report of the World Food Conference* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3).

¹² Max Theiler and W. G. Downs, *The Arthropod-borne Viruses of Vertebrates: an account of the Rockefeller Foundation Virus Program*, Yale University Press, 1973.

¹³ American Public Health Association, *Control of Communicable Diseases in Man*, 11th ed. (New York, A. S. Benenson, 1970).

¹⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308, p. 72.