



Monday, 4 October 1982,
at 10.50 a.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): May I first congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session. On this occasion it is a great pleasure for me to recall here that Turkey and Hungary have traditionally maintained friendly relations. As a colleague of yours for many years I have had the opportunity to appreciate your remarkable diplomatic skills, and I am confident that your guidance will enable us to channel our deliberations and work towards constructive ends. I wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani, who presided with diligence over the work of the Assembly during the past year under difficult and strenuous conditions. I wish also to reiterate our confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. His fortitude and his balanced, realistic approach to the problems besetting the world are a great asset to the United Nations as a whole.

2. The deterioration of the international situation has continued throughout the past year. East-West relations remain strained because of the infringement of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act,¹ and this hampers progress in arms control and in disarmament discussions so vital for peace and security in the world. The armaments race continues unabated. The world economy is going through its worst crisis since the Second World War. Against this background we are witnessing a greater tendency to resort to force and violence and a multiplication of conflicts and confrontations.

3. The thirty-seventh session is being held at a moment when we are all under the spell of the momentous events which have taken place in the Middle East during recent months. The whole world is stunned by the massacre of innocent men, women and children in the refugee camps of west Beirut. That outrage against humanity has compounded the tragedy unfolding in Lebanon since the Israelis invaded that country in early June.

4. The responsibility of Israel in the mass killings at the Sabra and Shatila camps is irrefutable. Israel has shown that it is not encumbered by any moral scruples in the pursuit of its political ambitions in the Middle East. It should be clear to everybody that there can be no peace and security in the Middle East unless Israel is deterred effectively from its intransigence, its propensity instantly to resort to force and violence, its utter disregard for the interests of

other countries in the area, its frightening contempt for human values and its defiance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

5. The aggression against Lebanon, the ruthless Israeli actions, the staggering human losses and the suffering and material damage inflicted upon the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples have been followed with abhorrence and revulsion by Turkish public opinion. We reiterate our condemnation of Israeli policies and actions. At the same time, we wish to make clear here that we view with mounting concern the dangerous implications of Israeli policies for the security of the Middle East as a whole, in which we have a vital stake.

6. The future course of events in Lebanon will be crucial for the entire area. Lebanon should be able to live as an independent and sovereign country and preserve its territorial integrity and unity. It should be under the influence of no other country of the region. We hope that, despite the convulsions it has suffered, the people of Lebanon will be able to achieve national reconciliation. Obviously, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon is of paramount necessity and every effort should be exerted to prevent dilatory tactics by Israel.

7. The horror in Lebanon has heightened awareness of the fact that the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East conflict. There is a greater sense of urgency in the efforts undertaken with a view to achieving a comprehensive, durable and just solution of the Middle East problem. We have in particular welcomed the recent initiative of the United States and the very constructive approach evolved by the Arab countries at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, which was held in September in Fez. The United States proposals contain elements which could contribute significantly to the elaboration of a framework for future negotiations among the parties concerned. The proposals of the Arab Conference represent a common position and reflect the genuine desire of the Arab countries to achieve a balanced and realistic settlement in the interest of all the countries in the area. It is now up to Israel to respond in a positive manner to that approach and finally to alter its perception of security for itself as consisting of continuous confrontation with its neighbours.

8. Concerning the substance of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, I wish to repeat that we consider the following as indispensable ingredients of a lasting and just solution: withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Al Quds Al Sharif; recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent State in their

own territory; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in all peace negotiations, on an equal footing with the other interested parties in the conflict; the right of every State in the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries; and the maintenance of the Arab and Islamic character of the Holy City of Al Quds Al Sharif.

9. The war which has been going on between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran for the past two years is a source of profound distress. From the very outset, we have felt deep anxiety over the disastrous conflict between two neighbouring Moselm countries. That war not only is detrimental to the interests of those two countries but also has grave implications for the security and stability of the entire Middle East.

10. We are saddened by the fact that various peace efforts have so far been of no avail. Turkey will continue to take an active part in the endeavours of the Islamic Peace Committee and persevere in its efforts to support them as an immediate neighbour of the two countries. We wish on this occasion to renew our appeal to both Iraq and Iran to put an end to the bloodshed and to embark with determination on the road of peace and reconciliation.

11. The dramatic developments in the Middle East cannot cloud our concern over the plight of Afghanistan. The valiant Afghan people continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination and remain under foreign military occupation. We greatly appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General towards a negotiated settlement. Such a settlement should restore to the Afghan people their right to self-determination and lead to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country.

12. We realize that refugees are a tremendous burden for countries of asylum. As a humanitarian measure, we have recently settled nearly 5,000 refugees in Turkey. We have provided them a temporary home until they can return freely to their own country, if they so wish.

13. In Africa we follow developments regarding Namibia with a mixture of anxiety and guarded optimism. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey extends its unreserved support to the people of Namibia. We hope that ongoing negotiations for the independence of Namibia within the framework of United Nations resolutions will finally achieve their objective and thereby remove an important source of tension in the world. This would be a cause for rejoicing in an otherwise gloomy international scene.

14. Another ray of hope comes from Cyprus. Once the source of dangerous tension, that island has been enjoying peace and stability for more than eight years. Although a settlement has not yet been reached, the two national communities are committed to a continuous negotiating process. As a result of the sustained efforts of the Secretary-General, the intercommunal talks are now proceeding within a comprehensive framework encompassing all aspects of the Cyprus problem. The encouraging course of the negotiations has further strengthened our conviction that inter-

communal talks represent the only method for resolving the issue.

15. The two communities should now intensify their efforts to reshape their relations within a federal structure. They should concentrate their attention on dialogue. They should not be swayed by the counsel of those who would prefer a continuation of the conflict for their own selfish ends.

16. Turkey remains firmly committed to the objective of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question. We will continue to encourage the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

17. The Kampuchean problem is another international issue which calls for an urgent solution. What is required is a political solution that would enable the people of that country to choose their government without coercion or intervention from outside. We should like to express the hope that the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a step which will contribute to such an evolution. We greatly appreciate the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to bring peace to Kampuchea and promote stability and prosperity in South-East Asia.

18. I should like also to say a few words about the situation on the Korean peninsula. The division of Korea is certainly painful for all Koreans. We firmly believe that the reduction of tension on the peninsula and the creation of favourable conditions for a dialogue between the two parties concerned will contribute not only to the fulfilment of the national aspiration of the Korean people to unity but also to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.

19. The mounting terrorism and violence throughout the world is a cause for concern for the entire international community. Some countries which have allowed their territory to be used for terrorist actions directed against other countries or have tolerated political and propaganda activities in support of such action are now becoming themselves the hunting grounds for all kinds of terrorism. That should increase the awareness that the need for international co-operation to curb this scourge is greater and more urgent than ever.

20. One manifestation of international terrorism is the attacks directed against diplomatic representatives. The General Assembly resolutions on the protection of diplomatic and consular agents and premises represent an important step in initiating international co-operation in this field. We hope that it will be possible this year to devise more effective measures for the prevention and elimination of such acts of terror.

21. Turkey has a special reason for feeling grave concern on this issue. Armenian terrorists have in recent years brutally assassinated more than 20 Turkish diplomats and officials. In the first week of August, Armenian terrorists launched an attack at Ankara airport in which nine people lost their lives and some 70 were wounded.

22. An intensive propaganda campaign, based on blatant falsification and distortion of history, lies behind these vile acts of terror. The Armenian propaganda alleges that a great number of Armenians

were massacred in Turkey during the First World War. It demands vindication for this contrived and imaginary martyrdom.

23. No amount of propaganda and disinformation can alter historical truths or change political realities. After the First World War the Ottoman Empire collapsed and was replaced by a completely new State, the Turkish Republic. Many new States came into being on the territory of the Empire. But historical facts indicate that the assertions in Armenian propaganda are completely unfounded.

24. Prior to the First World War, the Armenians were concentrated in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and in the eastern provinces. In none of the areas where they lived did they constitute anything more than a small minority. The Armenians found themselves in a majority only in a region of the Caucasus where eventually they created a State which signed a peace treaty with Turkey recognizing the present borders and later joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

25. Armenian extremists began to resort to violence in the early 1890s in a manner very reminiscent of the activities of their successors today. They caused the deaths of a large number of innocent people. The outbreak of the First World War marks the most important crisis in relations between Turks and Armenians. The Tsarist Russian Government then instigated the rising of the Armenians against Ottoman rule in eastern Anatolia, by promising the establishment of an Armenian State. That was the signal which prompted the Armenian extremists to commit large-scale atrocities against the Turkish population in eastern Anatolia, as the Russian armies advanced. It was only after these massacres that the Ottoman Government decided to move the Armenian population out of range of the Russian invading forces in eastern Turkey to central Syria, which was at that time within the boundaries of the Ottoman State. Specific instructions were issued for the protection of the life and property of the deportees.

26. Following those events, enormously exaggerated claims were put forward by Armenian propagandists. It was alleged that 1.5 million Armenians died. That is nonsense, since the total Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire did not exceed 1.2 million. Of that number, about half a million Armenians living in north-east Turkey had moved to Russia at the outbreak of hostilities in the area. The deportees numbered approximately 400,000. A sizeable number found their way to Europe and the United States, and about 100,000 remained in Turkey after the war. There were of course Armenians as well as Turks who lost their lives during the war years. The number of Turks who died during that period was 2 million. Many of both communities died of cold, famine and disease and as a result of communal clashes upon the breakdown of law and order. Because Armenians collaborated with invading Russian armies, many also died during military operations.

27. Neither moral nor historical justification can be found for the callous and senseless Armenian terrorism. It reflects a shameful rejection of the human values which the civilized world is trying to uphold. Armenian propaganda and violence can

achieve nothing more than a long list of innocent victims.

28. Most of the support and aid that the protagonists of violence get from Armenian communities are obtained through extortion and intimidation. There is no doubt that the great majority of Armenians throughout the world abhor the crimes committed by the fanatics among their ranks. The Armenians who continue to live in Turkey in full enjoyment of their rights and in complete harmony with Turks have condemned the acts of terror in the strongest terms. It is sad that some countries provide shelter and support to terrorists and encourage Armenian propaganda. These countries cannot disassociate themselves from the odious crimes being committed. At the same time, they are creating on their own territory an atmosphere propitious to the escalation of violence, which in the end can cause great harm to themselves.

29. In the economic field, it is becoming increasingly evident that the world economy is under the most adverse economic, financial and political pressures of the post-war period. High rates of inflation, low rates of growth and severe current-account imbalances are indeed the order of the day. The difficulties confronted seem to be not transitory but lasting, as a result of maladjustments that have accumulated over a number of years.

30. Against the background of unstable and unpredictable economic conditions, many countries, particularly the industrialized countries, seem to be moving dangerously towards protectionism. Such a trend not only would be damaging to economic efficiency but also would diminish the prospects for economic growth.

31. It would be deceptive to think that domestic economic problems can be resolved effectively while the international economic system is in turmoil. Indeed, the economies of rich and poor countries are so interlocked that only international co-operation can restore growth and development. However, as the troubles of the industrialized countries increase international co-operation tends to diminish and concern for developing countries wanes. Unlike the last major recession, in the mid-1970s, when increased aid and private capital flows to developing nations helped to shield them from its worse effects, this time the developing countries are left to face the full brunt largely unassisted. Developing countries, particularly the deficit developing countries, need more time and resources to carry out structural adjustments in a way that will minimize the loss of output, employment and income.

32. At no time has the economic interdependence among nations been more evident and at no time has there been greater need for the formulation of collective policies and reforms of established rules of conduct. Especially in the light of the current world recession, the formulation of a scheme for integrated development is indispensable.

33. It is with this conviction that my Government supports the launching of the global negotiations in an effort to deal with international economic issues in a comprehensive way. Sectoral approaches have not been sufficient or effective. It must be remembered

that, as the major issues in international economic relations are interlinked, they can be resolved only through interdependence.

34. It is understandable that the developing countries are engaged in a process of extensive co-operation among themselves as well as in an effort to cope with many of the adverse effects of the deteriorating world economic conditions. We welcome the growing importance of South-South co-operation in this respect and believe that through such a process a more meaningful dialogue could be established between the North and the South in dealing with the current inefficiencies and inadequacies of the world economic system.

35. Turkey, which is geographically situated between two continents, has always found itself playing a role as a link between Europe, the Middle East and the Islamic world. Indeed, it has for centuries been the meeting place between East and West and North and South. These factors explain Turkey's multidimensional relations, namely, its efforts to improve relations with the countries of the region, its membership in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, its association with the European Community and, in particular, its expanding relations with the countries of the third world.

36. Although Turkey has great economic potential, it is still a developing country facing all the typical problems challenging other developing countries. Like them, it has been adversely affected by the rapidly changing and deteriorating world economic conditions. Its economy has for some time been in a state of crisis. However, at the beginning of 1980 it embarked on a vigorous stabilization programme with the support of international financial institutions. Daring steps have been taken, and I can say with confidence that the results have been promising.

37. As can be seen, Turkey has done its part, as may have others, in good "housekeeping", and it will continue to do so with determination. The international community and its institutions as a whole must prepare themselves to respond to such positive adjustments, if we are to achieve any progress in finding effective ways of maintaining stable international economic relations in the interest of world peace and prosperity.

38. One encouraging aspect of this session has been the impact upon all of us of the first report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1]. He has put before us with clarity and perceptiveness the central issues the United Nations faces today. He has analysed frankly and accurately the reasons preventing the Organization from fulfilling its basic mission of safeguarding peace and security and promoting international co-operation. We have been reminded appropriately of our duties and responsibilities. It is now incumbent upon us to reflect on the ideas of the Secretary-General and to come forward with renewed determination to transform the United Nations into an effective instrument of international peace and security and orient our bilateral and multi-lateral policies towards this objective.

39. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, I should like most cordially to congratulate you on your election to the

important post of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and wish you every success in your important work. It is a particular pleasure for me to welcome in your person a representative of the Hungarian People's Republic with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria maintains relations of fraternal friendship and co-operation in the interests of both peoples and of peace and socialism. The Bulgarian delegation also wishes to express its warmest greetings to the Secretary-General. We should like to assure him of our readiness to afford him every co-operation in the discharge of his most responsible task.

40. The focus of attention of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is once again the cardinal issue of eliminating the threat of a destructive nuclear war, the cessation of the arms race and the elimination of sources of international tension, and this is only natural. In accordance with its goals and purposes the Organization has always given pride of place to the most important problems of the day. At this time the prevailing view is—and this has been corroborated by the whole course of the work at this session—that there is now in fact no more urgent or immediate humanitarian problem than concern for the preservation and consolidation of peace throughout the world, which is in keeping with the interests of all peoples. It is being called for by all the peoples of our planet:

41. However, we must note with considerable concern that over the past year the situation in the world has continued to deteriorate and is becoming ever more explosive. A nuclear catastrophe has become a serious and real threat. The arms race is being stepped up. In practice, talks on a number of issues have been paralysed—issues which are so vitally important for peace and security. Other issues have been marking time for years.

42. The policy of sanctions and diktat is undermining international economic co-operation and having the most adverse effect on political relations among States.

43. There still survive existing sources of tension. What is more, they are being exacerbated and becoming ever more dangerous to universal peace and new ones are constantly being added.

44. In the Middle East, the wounds inflicted on Lebanon by a barbarous act of aggression are still fresh. The world was shocked by the crimes of the ruling Tel Aviv circles. Such crimes would of course have been impossible without support from their powerful strategic ally. Flouting the Charter and United Nations resolutions, Israel has destroyed thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinians. The height of shameless behaviour by these contemporary vandals was reached in the mass slaughter of defenceless women, children and the elderly in Palestinian camps.

45. I should like from this lofty rostrum to state that the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people most vigorously condemn what was nothing less than an act of genocide.

46. The racist régime in South Africa has been stepping up its aggressive actions against neighbouring

sovereign States. It is continuing illegally to occupy Namibia, the people of which, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], has for years now been valiantly fighting to exercise its right to self-determination and independence. Yet Pretoria and its protectors continue their efforts to circumvent the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and to link the question of Namibia's independence with pre-conditions which constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Angola.

47. Tensions are growing in Latin America and in the Caribbean. Political and economic pressure is being exerted upon Cuba, Nicaragua and other States, whilst threats to use military force are being openly voiced.

48. An objective analysis of the facts confirms unequivocally that this critical situation in international relations has been brought about by the actions of the most reactionary imperialist forces—primarily certain circles in the United States. Having rejected the policy of détente, they have embarked on a course of sharp acceleration of military preparations and over-armament, the aim of which is clear: to upset the approximate military and strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], and to achieve military superiority and hegemony on a global scale. In pursuit of their ambitions they are heading for an all-out confrontation with the countries of the socialist community.

49. The use of force has always been an attribute of the policy of imperialism. Characteristic features of its present militaristic course are its markedly provocative nature, its growing aggressiveness and its increasing reliance on nuclear weapons as an instrument of policy. As a result of this, certain concepts and doctrines are being officially proclaimed which allow for the possibility of launching a "first nuclear strike", waging a "limited nuclear war" or a "protracted nuclear war". These concepts and doctrines are reflected in the large-scale programmes for the general strengthening of the military might of the United States and NATO, for a drastic build-up of strategic offensive weapons and of nuclear and conventional armaments. Everyone is aware of the plans to deploy United States medium-range missiles in Europe. If those plans were to materialize, the threat of outbreak of a nuclear conflict would increase many times over. Moreover, NATO's programme for nuclear rearmament, which envisages increasing its arsenals by thousands of weapons, plus ammunition, is also under way. New types of nuclear and other means of mass destruction, such as neutron and binary chemical weapons, are being manufactured and space military systems are being developed. Efforts are being made to drag States from various parts of the world into imperialism's orbit of military preparations.

50. In contradiction to agreements reached, to the Helsinki Final Act and the legal and moral norms of inter-State relations, there has been an intensification of crude attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of socialist countries and to create obstacles to their development. Those responsible intend to use economic sanctions and restrictions on trade with them.

51. The "crusade" against the countries of the socialist community, as its initiators call it, includes psychological warfare, as well as political and material support for counter-revolutionary and subversive acts; it has as its objective the destruction of socialism as a socio-political system and ideology. History since 1917 provides examples of a series of such plans. Their ill-fated end is well-known.

52. The hegemonistic actions of imperialism against the developing countries are being stepped up, especially against those countries which are fighting for their national and social liberation and are unwilling to succumb to foreign diktat, defending their right to political and economic independence against those which are rich in natural resources or are strategically situated.

53. It is hard to find a region which the United States has not claimed as a sphere of its "vital interests", arrogating to itself the right to "defend" those "interests" by all possible means, including the use of force. We all know who is maintaining tension in many parts of the world by dispatching military armadas and rapid deployment forces, by setting up military bases in close proximity to the borders of socialist and other democratic countries. We all know who is interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States and is supporting reactionary and dictatorial régimes in a number of countries.

54. This policy of seeking a position of strength breeds an atmosphere of particular tension, impedes political, economic, cultural and other ties, strains relations among States and, in effect, poses a strong threat to world peace and security.

55. The outcome of the battle, however, can by no means be decided in favour of militarism and hegemonism. The threat of war is real; yet war is not inevitable. Peace is threatened but is not doomed. It can and must be preserved. There are forces in the world which are doing a great deal to stand up to the policy of aggression and are honourably carrying out their peaceful mission in the name of life and progress. The countries of the socialist community are in the vanguard of those forces. A significant role is being played by the majority of non-aligned countries and those Western States which cherish peace and value the fruits of détente. This powerful front of peace relies on the will of all peoples to live in peace, as evidenced by the unprecedentedly large-scale anti-war movement.

56. True to their principled and consistent foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist community are guided by their firm conviction that there is no more vital task than that of guaranteeing the peaceful development of mankind. Proceeding from this position they consider it their supreme duty to continue, through concerted and vigorous actions, doing everything possible in order to avert a nuclear war and to eliminate even the very threat of it. This means putting an end to the arms race and proceeding to real disarmament in the field of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as in the field of conventional weapons; it means restoring, continuing and deepening the process of détente; it means strengthening confidence among countries; it means consistent and patient

concerted efforts, through negotiations, to achieve a solution to the problems which undermine international security and to create a propitious climate for a direct dialogue between the East and the West, to solve the problems of developing countries and promote international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States of different social systems.

57. Evidence of the readiness of the socialist countries to work for the cause of peace and security is their initiatives and proposals.

58. This goal was served by the peace programme of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was served by the decision of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Were the other nuclear Powers to assume the same obligation, that would in practice be tantamount to the banning of nuclear weapons and reducing to a minimum the possibility of nuclear conflict. That cause is further served by the proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. It is also served by the proposal that the governing bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty make declarations to the effect that the spheres of operation of those alliances would not be extended to include Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is served by the proposals put forward from this rostrum two days ago to accelerate the elaboration and signing of a treaty for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, to declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, including those for peaceful purposes and to declare the destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities, even by conventional weapons, as tantamount to an attack with nuclear weapons. We support the inclusion of these items in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

59. The People's Republic of Bulgaria greatly appreciates the contribution made by the countries of the non-aligned movement to the solution of the acute problems facing the world today. We will continue to expand our co-operation with the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, for the strengthening of peace and security, for disarmament and détente, for restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, for consolidating the independence and sovereignty of the newly independent States and for eradicating the last vestiges of colonialism, as well as those of neo-colonialism and *apartheid*.

60. We respect the positions of those Western statesmen and heads of Government who are well aware that a nuclear war, no matter how well its strategists might plan it or by what name they might call it, will recognize neither frontiers nor neutrality and that such a war would be sheer madness and would mean the end of human civilization. One concrete expression of political realism and common sense is the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly [resolution 36/100], which emphasizes that States and statesmen that would be the first to use nuclear weapons would commit the gravest of crimes against humanity.

61. It is our profound conviction that the safeguarding of peace can and must be the concern of all.

Only through a steadfast struggle with the united efforts and the concerted decisive actions of all progressive forces which possess enormous potential, can peace be guaranteed on a lasting and reliable basis. As Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, recently stated:

“Nothing must prevent all parties, organizations, movements and individuals conscious of how grave a peril to mankind a nuclear war can be from finding their place and playing a fitting role in the struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat.”

62. We reaffirm our position that there is no other road to solving any international problem than the road of negotiations. The 1970s have proved that, given the presence of goodwill and realism and with strict respect for the principle of equality and the equal security of countries, it is possible, although not without difficulty, to reach important international agreements on even such extremely complex questions as the limitation of strategic arms. Of course what I have in mind are not talks that would serve to screen the arms race, but rather a businesslike and frank dialogue that could lead to concrete and positive results. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always been in favour of such an approach, and it will continue to support it.

63. Such fundamental present-day issues as peace and security must always be approached with a sense of high responsibility. My country is of the opinion that negotiations currently under way should be intensified so that they may achieve concrete results, and it is our hope that the Madrid meeting will successfully complete its work and adopt a decision to convene a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. For this purpose a constructive approach on the part of all participating States is needed. The same holds true for the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and particularly for the Soviet-American negotiations on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe and on limiting and reducing strategic arms.

64. In our view, every possible effort should be made to eliminate sources of tension. It is imperative to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem as soon as humanly possible. It is our view that the plan put forward by Leonid Ilych Brezhnev, with which the basic provisions of the plan that emerged from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference in Fez coincide, provides all necessary measures for eliminating that dangerous hotbed of tension. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the idea of convening an international conference on a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

65. We have repeatedly called for an end to the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran and for solving the disputes between the two countries through peaceful means.

66. My country reiterates its position of principle on the settlement of the Cyprus question in the interests

of both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots while preserving the independence, territorial integrity and the policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

67. We are in favour of granting full independence to Namibia in compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

68. The vital interests of the peoples of South-East Asia require that we recognize existing political realities, that an end be put to the interference by the imperialist and hegemonist forces in the internal affairs of those peoples and that the attempts being made to pit them against one another be brought to a halt. What the peoples of the region need is peace, stability and co-operation. The constructive proposals of the three countries of Indo-China—the socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea—are designed to achieve that very goal, and it is for that reason that we fully support them.

69. Efforts should be continued to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace in accordance with United Nations decisions.

70. We support the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

71. With regard to the problem that has arisen in the South Atlantic and which, in essence, is one of decolonization, in our view a just solution should be sought through negotiations in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

72. In stressing the important role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security throughout the world, we support the proposal of the Secretary-General on the convening of a meeting of the Security Council at the highest level to consider ways and means of enhancing its effectiveness in the interests of attaining the objectives of the Organization.

73. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always pursued and will continue to pursue a policy of peace, mutual understanding and co-operation among all nations. By way of example, I would mention the programme of the Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party for enhancing détente and promoting good-neighbourly relations in the Balkans, and also the proposal of President Todor Zhivkov with regard to turning the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, which is consonant with the purposes of the United Nations.

74. The international situation urgently demands active efforts and concrete actions from all of us to eliminate the nuclear threat, halt the arms race, extinguish hotbeds of tension, to guarantee international security and a tranquil future for the peoples, and to ensure peace throughout the world. I wish to assure the Assembly that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make its contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the achievement of these objectives.

75. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

We hope that the current session will be crowned with success under your presidency. I also wish to thank Mr. Kittani for his contribution as President of the thirty-sixth session.

76. On this occasion each year we gather here to review major world issues of the day. We are all concerned about the changes in the world situation as a whole and we all follow the developments in various countries. Before I proceed to elaborate on China's views on current world affairs, I would like to say something about a recent event of major importance in the political life of the Chinese people.

77. As representatives know, the Communist Party of China held its Twelfth National Congress in Beijing earlier last month. This Congress was an important milestone in the history of the People's Republic of China. It summed up our experience in achieving great successes over the past six years. A grand programme for China's socialist modernization was put forward and new central leading bodies of the party were elected. China now enjoys political stability and unity and its economy is growing steadily. It has entered a new era in its efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Chinese people are determined to make gigantic efforts on the basis of self-reliance in order to achieve, step by step, modernization in industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology before the turn of the century and transform China into a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. We intend to blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. We know that this is going to be an arduous task and will be no plain sailing. But we are fully confident of achieving our goal and of the bright future of our country.

78. In his report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang, has given a comprehensive and profound explanation of China's foreign policy. We adhere to an independent foreign policy. In developing relations with other countries, we are always guided by the five principles, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. More particularly, we will unite with countries of the third world and join hands with all other countries and forces working for peace to combat hegemonism and maintain world peace.

79. Our independent foreign policy proceeds from the fundamental interests of the people of China and the world as a whole. The founding of the People's Republic of China has removed the social causes of China's submission to foreign aggression and those of any possibility that China might commit aggression abroad. In the 33 years of the People's Republic, we have shown by deeds that China never attaches itself to any big Power or group of Powers, nor yields to pressure from any big Power. We Chinese people cherish our own independence and sovereign rights, which we won only after protracted struggles. We are firmly opposed to hegemonism. At the same time, we declare to the whole world that under no circumstances will China seek hegemony.

80. In our international relations we have always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Conforming to these principles, our Government has established co-operative relations of peace and friendship with a great number of countries in the past three decades and more, and settled many boundary questions and other issues left over from history. In the future we will continue to be ready to solve outstanding issues in our relations with some countries on the basis of the same principles. The Chinese Government is willing to develop normal relations with any country as long as it truly respects China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, abides by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect, and demonstrates by actual deeds rather than hollow words that it is not hostile to China and does not threaten China's security.

81. Our modernization programme is based on the principle of independence and self-reliance. At the same time, we will continue to adhere firmly to our policy of opening to the outside world. We are ready to develop trade ties, economic co-operation and scientific-technological exchanges with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

82. The people of all countries eagerly desire peace. China's modernization programme can be realized only in an international environment of enduring peace and stability. In the common interests of the people of the world, we are ready to work together with all peace-loving countries and peoples for the maintenance of world peace and international security and for the advancement of the cause of human progress.

83. There are many pressing issues of universal concern on the agenda. Allow me to state here the basic position and views of the Chinese delegation.

84. First, on the question of maintaining world peace and international security. The international scene is far from being relaxed, but has become more turbulent and tense during the past year. While wars of aggression against Kampuchea and Afghanistan have not ceased in Asia, naked and savage aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples has been going on without let-up in the Middle East. In southern Africa, the racists are wantonly carrying on brutal repression, military occupation and armed provocations. In Latin America, outside intervention has exacerbated the turmoil in the Caribbean region. Even the hitherto relatively calm South Atlantic has witnessed a war of the strong bullying the weak. Wranglings over the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons have intensified the military confrontation in Europe. Faced with a continued economic recession, the developed countries are trying hard to shift the consequences of their economic crises on to others. This has badly hurt the developing countries and added to their economic woes. Stalemate on the question of global negotiations has seriously hampered the improvement of North-South relations. Disarmament is another issue of universal concern. Here again, no progress could be made, owing to the intensified arms race between the super-Powers. The recent second special session on disarmament has been a disappointment. In short, while the hitherto unresolved old issues of the world have become more complicated, new problems keep cropping up on the horizon. One cannot but

feel gravely concerned and disturbed about the present international situation.

85. The menace to the peace and security of the world today originates mainly from imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. The quest for hegemony by the super-Powers and the resultant global rivalry between them are the main source of the unrest and turmoil in the world. In their contention for spheres of influence and world supremacy, the super-Powers have accelerated the expansion of their armaments and stepped up their strategic deployment. They have openly or covertly subjected other countries to their aggression, intervention or control by direct or indirect use or threat of force. While the focus of their global strategies remains in Europe, the developments in recent years indicate that the main sphere of contention between the super-Powers is in the third world. This fierce rivalry has constantly rocked the world and increased the danger of a world war. Therefore, the overriding task of the people of the world is to combat hegemonism and maintain international peace. The heroic struggles waged by the peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and southern Africa and by the Arab people against aggression demonstrate that the people can, by means of unremitting struggle, upset the super-Powers' strategic plans and land the aggressors in deeper and deeper difficulties. We are convinced that so long as the people of the world are truly united and wage resolute struggles, world peace can be preserved.

86. Secondly, on the question of safeguarding the independence and the right to existence of nations. World peace and security can be maintained only if the rights to independence and existence of nations are firmly safeguarded. These two aspects cannot be separated. The question of Afghanistan and the question of Kampuchea have not yet been settled and have again been included in the agenda of the current session. This is because the Soviet Union and Soviet-supported Viet Nam have continued to subject Afghanistan and Kampuchea under their respective military occupation and refused thus far to withdraw their aggressor troops therefrom.

87. Not long ago, the three Kampuchean patriotic forces resisting Vietnamese aggression agreed among themselves and formed the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. This Government enjoys the support of the Kampuchean people as well as international recognition and endorsement. This is an encouraging major development in the Kampuchean situation. The Kampuchean people have persevered and won important victories in their war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression, thus landing the aggressors in a deepening quagmire. In order to extricate itself from this predicament, Hanoi has resorted to trickeries. It has launched a new "peace offensive" designed to soften and divide the international forces opposing Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. Viet Nam is the aggressor in Kampuchea and the menace to the peace and security of South-East Asia, and yet it has fabricated a so-called China "threat" in an attempt to divert public attention and spread confusion. But this is completely futile. The five countries of ASEAN and the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations emphatically call for the implemen-

tation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea,² which demand the total withdrawal of Viet Nam's aggressor troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people may build a peaceful democratic, neutral and non-aligned State of national union free from any outside interference. This demand is fully justified. Since the question of Kampuchea has resulted from Viet Nam's armed aggression, there can be no genuine settlement of this question until Viet Nam withdraws all its aggressor troops from Kampuchea. Any "political solution" that accepts the *status quo* created by Viet Nam's aggression at the expense of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty would be contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations and, therefore, are inadmissible.

88. The same applies to the question of Afghanistan. The Afghan people have not been cowed by their formidable enemy, but have fought valiantly under the sacred banner of safeguarding their national independence and have frustrated the aggressors' cherished plan of bringing the war to a quick conclusion. Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan constitutes a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a grave threat to peace in Asia and the world. None of the pretexts put forward by the Soviet Union to justify its continued presence in Afghanistan is tenable. We maintain that the resolutions adopted at three consecutive sessions of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan must be strictly implemented. The Soviet Union must unconditionally pull out all its troops from Afghanistan. The Afghan people should be allowed to determine their own destiny free from any outside interference. Afghanistan must regain the status of an independent and non-aligned State. That is the only feasible way to settle the question of Afghanistan.

89. The situation in Lebanon has aroused serious world-wide concern during the last few months. How the Lebanese situation and the Palestinian question are treated involves respect for a State's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and recognition of a nation's rights to existence and self-determination. This is also a question bearing on peace in the Middle East and international security as a whole. The Israeli aggressors have flagrantly invaded and occupied large tracts of Lebanese territory and attempted to wipe out the Palestinian revolutionary armed forces. They perfidiously entered Beirut again and savagely massacred Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The United States cannot shirk its responsibility for this since it has always shielded and abetted the Israeli aggressors. China joins all other countries in voicing strong condemnation of the acts of aggression and the inhuman atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities. We firmly support the Palestinian, Lebanese and other Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion.

90. The question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East issue. Although the Palestinian people have suffered a temporary setback, their forces will never be wiped out because they are fighting for a just cause. The PLO is recognized by more than 100 countries as the sole legitimate representative of the Pales-

tinian people. Any proposal or formula designed to exclude the PLO from the settlement of the Middle East question would be wrong and unworkable. The plan put forward at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held recently in Fez [see A/37/696], provides a good basis for a fair and reasonable settlement of the questions of Palestine and the Middle East. In our view, to achieve peace in the Middle East, Israel must evacuate the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the Palestinian people must regain their national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own State; and the rights to independence and existence of all countries in the Middle East should be respected.

91. The most urgent task now is to stop Israel's aggression against Lebanon. The United Nations and all the countries and peoples that cherish peace and uphold justice should act promptly and take effective measures to compel Israel to withdraw all its troops from Lebanon immediately and unconditionally.

92. In southern Africa, with the backing and connivance of a super-Power, the South African authorities have intensified their racist policies. They have continued their illegal occupation of Namibia and made repeated armed provocations against and military incursions into neighbouring countries, thereby posing a direct threat to the security and stability of the region. People are deeply concerned about the situation in southern Africa and, in particular, about the independence of Namibia, which will affect the historical process of the final liberation of the entire African continent. We maintain that, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, Namibia should immediately achieve genuine national independence on the basis of territorial integrity and national unity; South Africa's *apartheid* system should be completely abolished; and the international community should apply effective comprehensive sanctions against the South African authorities. The Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of the African people, particularly the Namibian and South African people, until they win final victory.

93. The military conflict over the Malvinas Islands earlier this year also aroused general concern. The question of the Malvinas Islands remains unsolved despite the termination of the war. It is a reminder that although the cause of national liberation has won great victories throughout the world in the post-war period, the process of decolonization has not yet been completed. We support the request of Argentina and other Latin American countries for consideration of the question of the Malvinas Islands at the current session of the General Assembly. Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands should be respected by the international community. Together with other third-world countries, we sincerely hope that the parties concerned will seek a just and reasonable solution to this question by peaceful negotiations.

94. I would now say a few words about the Korean question. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made important contributions towards a reasonable settlement of the Korean question and the maintenance of peace in East Asia and the Pacific region. The Chinese Government firmly supports the positive proposals put forward by the Government

of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. We firmly support President Kim Il Sung's proposal for establishing a democratic confederal republic of Koryo. We always hold that in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question the "United Nations Command" must be dissolved immediately in accordance with resolution 3390 B (XXX) adopted at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, all United States military forces must be withdrawn from South Korea, and the Korean Armistice Agreement should be replaced by a peace agreement through negotiations between the parties concerned.

95. Thirdly, I turn to the subject of the economy and development of the third-world countries. At present, many third-world countries are faced with deepening economic difficulties. Certain major developed countries have tried to shift their own economic difficulties onto the third-world countries and have cut back their development assistance, thus further straining North-South economic relations. The developing countries have pressed for the launching of global negotiations with a view to improving North-South relations and establishing a new international economic order. The General Assembly has long since adopted a resolution pertaining to this question [*resolution 34/138*] and the Group of 77 has also put forward a reasonable draft resolution. All this has provided a constructive basis for launching global negotiations as soon as possible. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which held at Cancún in October 1981, gave expression to the common desire of the great majority of nations for the launching of global negotiations. At the meeting, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang gave clear-cut support to the demand of the third world for the establishment of a new international economic order. Owing to obstruction by a major Power, no agreement on the launching of global negotiations has yet been reached. This state of affairs has caused deep disappointment and resentment among developing countries and also among quite a few developed countries.

96. The international community faces the important task of improving North-South economic relations through global negotiations. The economies of all countries are closely interrelated. The developed countries cannot achieve economic growth without the rich resources, vast markets and economic prosperity of the developing countries. All countries, whether rich or poor, North or South, must abide by the principle of equality and mutual benefit if they are to carry out fruitful economic exchanges and co-operation. The existing unreasonable, unfair and outdated international economic order must be restructured. The developed countries' economic aid to the developing countries conforms to their own interest and is by no means charity. This has been recognized by more and more far-sighted people in the West. We hope that at the current session the Assembly will surmount obstacles and make real progress towards the launching of global negotiations.

97. While striving to improve North-South relations, the third-world countries also exert great efforts to promote "South-South" co-operation among themselves. The developing countries have industrious people, rich natural resources and a vast market.

They share the common objective of developing their national economies. There are unlimited potentials for developing inner-third-world co-operation. This will be highly beneficial. This kind of co-operation is an important means for the developing countries to strengthen their self-reliance both individually and collectively. It also has the vital strategic role of helping to break down the existing inequitable international economic relationship and replace it with a new international economic order.

98. The restructuring of the old international economic order is a demand of the times which the third-world countries are bound to raise after they have won political independence. Political independence cannot be consolidated or sustained without economic independence. Regardless of all the obstructions from imperialism and hegemonism, the third-world countries will persist in the just struggle to restructure the old international economic order until final victory.

99. The emergence of the third world in the international arena after the Second World War is an event of primary importance of our time. In recent years the numerous countries of the third world, united in a common struggle, have effectively defended their national independence and State sovereignty and made major contributions towards restructuring the old international economic order as well as maintaining international peace and security. Their joint struggle has, to a great extent, changed the situation in which the super-Powers could arbitrarily manipulate the destiny of the world. Events show that unity means strength. We are convinced that so long as we third-world countries can seek a reasonable settlement of our own differences and disputes through peaceful consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation and of seeking common ground while reserving the differences, and so long as we can close our ranks and work for our common cause, we will be better able to control our own destiny and promote the progress of world history. As a member of the third world, China will continue to play its part by further expanding its friendly co-operation with other third-world countries and peoples.

100. Faced with increasing troubles and turmoil on the world scene, one is entitled to expect that the United Nations will uphold justice and play a greater role in maintaining world peace and international security and in promoting the growth of the world economy. However, events over a period of time indicate that the role of the United Nations has been eroding. This is chiefly because certain countries have abused their veto power, bypassed the United Nations on a number of issues or refused to implement its resolutions.

101. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has pointed to the problems and difficulties confronting the United Nations and has made some suggestions to uphold the principles of the Charter which merit our consideration. We appreciate and support the efforts of the Secretary-General and also hope that certain permanent members of the Security Council will show a more co-operative approach. We believe that, provided the overwhelming majority of the Member States make common efforts to uphold the Charter and wage a resolute struggle against any force that jeopardizes world

peace and international security, the Organization will not disappoint the people of the world, but will perform its noble duty of maintaining world peace and promoting human progress, thereby fulfilling the historic mission entrusted to it.

102. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to convey to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of Albania on your election to the office of President of the Assembly. It is a pleasure for me to take this opportunity to greet the Secretary-General and to wish him every success in the accomplishment of his important tasks.

103. An objective analysis of the world events that have taken place since the last session of the General Assembly shows that the present international situation is very tense and fraught with dangers for the peoples' freedom and world peace. The aggravation of this situation and the grave economic, political and social crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip have increased the danger of war.

104. This situation is a direct result of the expansionist and neo-colonialist policies pursued by the imperialist Powers, and above all by the two super-Powers. At present there is no area in the world that is not affected by or subject to their predatory ambitions. Both super-Powers obstinately continue their expansionist policy of establishing world domination, which is seen also in their unceasing race to achieve political and military superiority the one over the other, to attain new strategic positions, and so on. It is this aggressive policy and the rivalry between the two super-Powers that further complicate the various situations and make them more tense and fraught with dangerous consequences.

105. The efforts of the United States imperialists to impose their will on various countries find their expression in United States persistence in an ever more aggressive foreign policy which relies increasingly on military force. The same intensification of aggressiveness is also seen in the foreign policy of the Soviet social-imperialists. At the present time all-round militarization of the country's life and the exercise of pressures and military force against other countries characterize that policy.

106. United States interference in Iran and the stationing of its aggressive military forces in the Middle East, the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, the incitement of conflicts on the African continent, intervention in Latin America and South-East Asia along with the political, economic and military threats and blackmail in regard to many countries by the two super-Powers, all go to show that they are pursuing a policy of oppression and aggression. There is no area in international relations where one does not encounter their policy from a position of force; there is no armed conflict or hotbed of tension that, directly or indirectly, the super-Powers do not have a hand in. More than ever before, they are arming their war machines by adding to their arsenals of new, sophisticated weapons. The propaganda clamour about disarmament by the super-Powers is nothing but a manoeuvre to cover up their frenzied arms race. And at the same time as they are arming themselves, they are engaging in an arms

traffic which has become a business of immense scope, from which they reap fabulous profits and which increases the political and economic dependence on them of various countries.

107. In order to conceal their true aims and to deceive the peoples, the super-Powers make a big demagogic fuss so as to present their actions as being in favour of safeguarding peace. To that end, they have set up a number of commissions and machinery dealing with various problems: from the strategic arms limitation talks to European security, from the reduction of troops in Europe to the demilitarization of outer space. All this aims to create the false impression that something is being done, that the key to peace lies in their agreements and their initiatives. All this demagoguery also has the aim of imposing on the peoples the idea that they should not take any action but should inevitably yield to the big Powers.

108. The situation continues to be very serious on the European continent. The events which have occurred in and around Europe clearly indicate that the political and military blocs headed by the United States and the Soviet Union, their policy of an "atomic umbrella" and of spheres of influence, constitute the source of discord, tension and confrontation between various countries.

109. The statements that the signing of the Helsinki Final Act would eliminate political, ideological and military tension and that the Madrid meetings on European security would strengthen peace in Europe have showed themselves to be a bluff. The insecurity of Europe has grown even greater.

110. The two super-Powers with their rival aggressive blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—have strengthened their military power with the most modern weapons, accumulating an unprecedented war arsenal. They are filling Europe with missiles and nuclear weapons so as to use them as a means of threat and blackmail against the countries where they are stationed and against other European countries. Military manoeuvres of an aggressive character have grown in intensity and have assumed greater proportions. The presence in the Mediterranean of big naval fleets belonging to the super-Powers has turned that basin into a militarized sea; that presence constitutes a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the coastal countries of that basin as well as to peace in Europe and in the world.

111. The Albanian delegation believes that real security and co-operation in Europe can be attained only by the European countries strengthening their independence and sovereignty, by opposing the policy of both super-Powers, by liquidating bases and blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and by driving foreign military forces, together with their missiles and other nuclear weapons, out of their countries. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will never allow the stationing of foreign military bases and forces on its territory. It has declared that fact publicly and has endorsed it in its Constitution.

112. The situation in Europe is also reflected in the Balkan region. The two imperialist super-Powers have not renounced their goals and are aiming at turning the region into a permanent powder keg. They strive to prevent the normal development of relations

between the Balkan peoples and countries, to revive old hostilities and quarrels, to encourage and incite chauvinist sentiments and passions and to imbue them with a sense of confrontation. Such attempts are fraught with danger for the peoples of this area and run counter to their sincere desire for the establishment of mutual confidence, understanding and genuine co-operation.

113. In its relations with neighbouring countries, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has, since its very inception, always been guided by a policy of good neighbourliness. Its desire and aim have always been that the Balkan countries might live in peace and friendship without interference in each other's internal affairs, implementing the fundamental principles of mutual co-operation and respect. We are convinced that this is the correct way to forge fruitful and lasting relations which serve the cause of peace and security in the Balkans. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said:

“The People's Socialist Republic of Albania believes that at present the genuine aspirations of the Balkan peoples and peace and stability in this region can best be served by preventing the imperialist super-Powers from interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps with a view to the positive development of relations on the basis of the policy of good neighbourliness. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries were to undertake officially not to allow the super-Powers to use their territory in order to threaten or endanger neighbouring countries. In the future, as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with neighbouring States.”

114. In the Middle East, the situation has deteriorated further. Fifteen years after their aggression, the Israeli Zionists continue to hold the occupied Arab territories. In an arrogant and unrestrained manner, and under the protection of the United States, they have undertaken new invasions. The crimes and massacres committed by Israel against the civilian Palestinian population, which surpass even those committed by the Hitlerites, have aroused the indignation and profound hatred of the peoples of the world. The events which have occurred in the area this year are a consequence of the situation imposed by the super-Powers. They show how the peoples pay with blood and extraordinary sacrifices for the intrigues and plots hatched behind their backs.

115. The peoples of the world, and above all the Palestinian people, see clearly that this barbarous aggression constitutes one of the most flagrant expressions of the agreements and intrigues concocted between the United States and the Soviet Union for concessions and mutual recognition of the aggressions they have committed or are about to commit. It is also the expression of the bargains they have struck with each other against Iran, Afghanistan, the countries of the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and other States in various regions of the world.

116. Washington's emissaries offer various plans for the alleged settlement of the Middle East problem, but in the final analysis; all of them boil down to the Camp David agreement and aim at liquidating the Palestinian question, denying the Arab peoples their rights and annexing the territories occupied by Israel under the false pretext of guaranteeing “secure boundaries”.

117. The Americans and the Soviets, through their imperialist policies, are responsible for the shedding of the blood of the peoples and are the main culprits. We note with indignation that Governments which could have acted to stop the hands of the murderers did not even raise a finger to avert the Israeli onslaught against Lebanon and the Palestinians, to stop the barbarous massacres and genocide committed against the martyred Palestinian people.

118. I could speak here in diplomatic terms, but that would be of no value. I am going to speak in a different fashion, openly; I shall say what our people thinks. If the aggressive thrust of the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists is not stopped, the world will find itself on the verge of a third world war. But that cannot be stopped by words and protests. I would recall that the Security Council resolutions and its protests on the most burning issues have yielded no result. The Israeli war and the genocide against the Arabs, and against the Palestinians in particular, continues, as does the aggression and oppression against Afghanistan, and the list is longer.

119. The situation in the Middle East is fraught with the danger of an imperialist war and of bloodshed and oppression for the Arab peoples. In our view it should be clear to anybody that it is the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists that pull the strings in all the plots against the freedom and independence of peoples; it is they that shamelessly divide the zones of influence between them and play with the fate of peoples: it is they that incite hostility among the peoples and organize the networks of agents and putsches to pave the way for their expansionist and hegemonist ambitions. That situation is intolerable for the people and we therefore believe that it should be resolutely opposed and exposed.

120. The difficulties that may be created for the brave Palestinian people will never put an end to their just struggle. Recent developments in that region have shown the Arab peoples that the great mission of their national liberation and the defence of their freedom and independence can be carried out only by them. The unity of the Arab peoples against zionism and the plots of the super-Powers is a basic factor in their struggle in their just cause.

121. The Albanian people and Government strongly condemn Israel's barbarous aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, its monstrous crimes and the genocide it has committed. In the future too we shall fully support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to have, like any other people, their own homeland and State, and the efforts of the Syrian people and other fraternal Arab peoples to drive the Israeli aggressors out of the occupied Arab lands. Lebanon must be an independent and sovereign country and the aggressive Israeli troops must withdraw immediately.

122. Our country, Albania, has taken all the necessary measures and is ready to defend itself and overcome any aggression by its enemies. But, being a small country, we are not able to render material aid to oppressed peoples fighting imperialist domination. What we can do is unmask the aggressive policy of United States imperialism and of Soviet social-imperialism and the policy of subjugation. This we are doing and shall continue to do, come what may.

123. The situation in the Gulf area, where, since the victory of the Iranian revolution, the great Powers have intensified their policy of plots and blackmail, remains serious. In spite of the shameful defeat which the United States imperialists suffered in Iran, they never give up their efforts to regain their lost privileges and positions, while the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to exploit the situation in their own interests. The courageous Iranian people have successfully overcome the numerous difficulties created for them after the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution, and are safeguarding the freedom and independence of their homeland.

124. The Albanian Government holds that it is in the interest of Iraq and Iran to end their conflict and settle their disputes through negotiation so that the two peoples may live in peace and friendship. This would also be in the interests of the people of the region and their welfare and progress; and it would be a blow against the policy of the super-Powers, the aim of which is to see various countries pitted against each other.

125. We support the courageous Afghan people who for three years now have been continuing the fearless struggle against the Soviet occupation forces to regain their national independence.

126. Only a few months ago in the Malvinas Islands the British imperialists, with the support of the United States, put into effect their gunboat policy. Once again the Latin American peoples saw the true face of United States imperialism and understood the value of the treaties and agreements concluded with that country. Notwithstanding the manner in which the events unfolded, no one can deny Argentina its right to exercise sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. The sovereign rights of nations and peoples cannot be violated or proscribed either by force of arms or by treaties and agreements concluded to the detriment of peoples.

127. The countries of South-East Asia, which for decades have suffered from cruel colonial oppression and exploitation and have been subjected to imperialist aggression, are still under the political and military threat of the United States, the Soviet Union and China, which are doing their utmost to pit them one against the other, to pave the way for their interventions and to safeguard their hegemonistic positions. As in the past, Albania supports the right of the peoples of those countries to settle their internal problems themselves and to decide their own future without foreign interference. No one has the right to infringe their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, no matter what the pretext. The countries of that region have the right to be fully independent, free and sovereign under the tutelage of none.

128. The situation in the Korean peninsula continues to be tense because of the presence of the United States occupation forces in South Korea. The Albanian people and Government support the just struggle of the Korean people to drive United States troops out of South Korea and for the independent reunification of their homeland.

129. The African countries and peoples which have just freed themselves from savage colonial oppression and exploitation have intensified their efforts and their struggle in defence of their sovereign rights against all-out imperialist and neo-colonialist interference. They are constantly faced with the policies of the super-Powers, which keep alive conflicts and hotbeds of tension and encourage African countries to fight against each other, in order to pave the way for their further penetration into Africa, expand their zones of influence and plunder the vast natural resources of that continent. This policy and activity encourage the racists of South Africa to continue the occupation of Namibia and the oppression of its people. The barbarous oppression, ruthless racial discrimination and odious *apartheid* policy carried out by the Fascist Pretoria régime against the indigenous population, together with its serious acts of armed provocation against neighbouring countries, constitute a permanent threat to the African peoples. The Albanian people is in complete solidarity with the peoples of Azania and Namibia and other African peoples and resolutely supports their just struggle for liberation, to uproot colonialism and neo-colonialism and to foil the intrigues and prevent the interference of the imperialist Powers.

130. A significant factor which cannot but have a negative effect on the present world situation is the general crisis gripping the capitalist-revisionist world. It has exacerbated the inter-imperialist contradictions and the economic, political and military rivalries. It has led to economic stagnation, a continuous fall in production, inflation and price rises, unemployment and the constant deterioration of the well-being of the working masses. Many countries have witnessed the growth of terrorism, anarchy and political and moral corruption. Social relations and inter-State relations have deteriorated. The crisis has made domestic and international tensions more acute both in the West and in the East. Typical of this is the critical situation in Poland, where the people are suffering the consequences of the capitulationist and opportunistic line dictated by Moscow. We support the resolute opposition of the peoples to oppression, plunder and financial manipulations flowing from the imperialist Powers' policy aimed at increasingly shifting the burden of the consequences of the grave economic crisis on to the backs of the working masses.

131. Today the peoples' struggle throughout the world against the policy of aggression and oppression as practised by the imperialist Powers, primarily the two super-Powers, is gaining in strength and scope. In Asia, Africa, Central and South America and elsewhere the peoples are struggling for national liberation, their independence and sovereign rights and their economic and social emancipation. Their struggle has gained irresistible momentum, thus becoming a significant factor in the process of world

development, and winning the support of progressive mankind.

132. Albania resolutely supports the struggle of democratic States and peoples in defence of their national sovereignty and their legitimate rights and interests. It supports efforts to establish just international economic relations and to combat colonial exploitation. The gap between industrialized and developing countries is becoming ever wider. This is the direct result of the intensive exploitation which exists in various forms. Colossal profits are reaped by the capitalist monopolies from the toil and blood of the peoples of developing countries, burdensome credits and the imposition of very low prices for raw materials as compared with those of manufactured goods. The tactics of the imperialist Powers concerning the so-called North-South dialogue are nothing but efforts to perpetuate the old unjust economic relations and further to intensify exploitation. Countries and peoples have every right to exercise sovereignty over their national assets and to use them for the benefit of their national development and progress.

133. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania follows a consistent and independent foreign policy based on principle—a policy of friendship and sincere co-operation with all peoples and countries that love freedom and peace. That foreign policy, which is guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, is free from the slightest sign of narrow nationalism, chauvinism or national exclusiveness or any tendency to underrate others. It has always been and continues to be against the policy of aggression and oppression of the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, with which we neither have nor ever will have relations or links of any kind. United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have been and remain the greatest enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples. We are against their attempts to create the psychosis according to which the world can only find stability under their tutelage. We have never accepted that international policy should be the monopoly of the super-Powers.

134. Proceeding from the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and mutual benefit, our country has extended and strengthened its relations of friendship and co-operation with other States, with all countries that love freedom and peace. It has diplomatic relations with some 100 countries from all continents and trade and cultural relations with a large number of them. We are in favour of conducting normal and free trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, and against manoeuvres and attempts by anyone to exploit them as a means of pressure and to impose their own will and political views. We also favour exchanges in the fields of art, culture, science and so on and believe that these should be expanded and enable the peoples to acquaint themselves with each other's achievements.

135. This year the Albanian people will celebrate an important event in its history—the seventieth anniversary of the proclamation of independence, which was the culmination of their century-long struggle for national independence. They had to make

innumerable sacrifices and shed much blood to win genuine freedom and independence, to become sovereign masters of their own homeland and to open the road to development and progress. For our people have always valued national freedom and independence above all else. Hence, national oppression and practices of national discrimination, wherever they occur and in whatever form and no matter what the pretext or justification, are alien to us. We are against any policy of denationalization, against restrictions in and obstacles to the protection and free development of the national culture, art, language and education, against the negation of traditions and history. Every people, big or small, has the absolute right to preserve and affirm its national identity. Respect for national dignity and values and with the other rights flowing from the principles of the Charter of the United Nations creates conditions in which the peoples can live in friendship and States can have normal relations with each other.

136. Socialist Albania, without stretching out its hand to anyone for aid or credits, has ensured an independent and vigorous development in all fields of life. It has averted the destructive consequences of the world economic and political crisis and created favourable conditions for the constant improvement of the welfare of the working masses of the country. The new price cuts which came into effect in June this year in Albania, at a time when everywhere else the opposite was happening, were a clear demonstration of the vitality of our socialist order.

137. There are those that accuse Albania of being isolated and cut off. This is not true. We are vigilant because we are alert and know that enemies are hatching plots against socialist Albania, because we see clearly and are familiar with their methods and the plots they direct against other peoples.

138. It does not bother us if some journalist writes an article alleging that Albania is a closed and a poor country. We find such propaganda worthless. Our people are satisfied with their own political and economic situation. They have everything they need and are sure that they will have much more in the future. It is to that end that they are working and struggling, relying entirely on their own resources. We would like to inform those who are supposedly concerned about the well-being of our people that in the part of the world where, according to them, abundance and well-being prevail, there in fact exists an incurable economic crisis that has thrown millions of unemployed persons into the streets, and that in their countries prices continue to rise and drugs and vandalism run riot. In socialist Albania, which they regard as a poor country, such phenomena do not exist. Perhaps those critics would enjoy seeing us too becoming prey to such phenomena—but that will never happen. Such things will never be condoned in our country; there is no room for them there. Albania has kept its door closed to such things in the past and will continue to do so in the future. But it has opened and will open its doors to its many friends and well-wishers who exist among the peoples and to whom we are grateful.

139. The Albanian delegation will spare no effort to make its modest contribution to the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly so that its work

may take a proper course that will serve the interests of peoples and of peace.

140. Mr. BOUPHA (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Comrade President, on your unanimous election to your high office for this session of the General Assembly. In choosing you, the General Assembly pays a tribute both to your country, the sister People's Republic of Hungary, whose tireless efforts in the cause of peace and socialism are well known and with which my country enjoys excellent relations of friendship and militant solidarity and to you and to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat for whom the workings of the United Nations hold no secrets. I am therefore convinced that on the basis of your vast experience and thorough knowledge of international affairs you will lead the work of this session towards fruitful results.

141. I would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani, who guided the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly, as well as the special sessions, with authority and skill.

142. I also wish to salute the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, on his election to his high office, involving great responsibility, and for his courage and untiring efforts in the cause of maintaining international peace and security.

143. Since the beginning of the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly, the international situation has continued to deteriorate and the international community has found itself faced with a number of crises. For the most aggressive imperialist factions, persisting with their policy of adventurism, aggression and economic blocs, have created or rekindled hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world. International peace and security have never been so threatened.

144. In the Middle East, the situation remains explosive because of the policy of aggression and extermination being carried out by those who hold power in Israel and those who support and arm them against the Palestinian and Lebanese Arab peoples. The bloody crimes committed by Israel against the Arab Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the occupation of Lebanon and other Arab territories and the monstrous genocide committed in the Palestinian refugee camps have been condemned by the world. We express our unreserved solidarity with the Palestinian Arab people and with the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, with the Lebanese people and with all the victims of Israeli aggression and barbarity.

145. For the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine and of the Middle East as a whole, which should be worked out through negotiations with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, presupposes the withdrawal by Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State. The six-point proposal of President Brezhnev [*see A/37/457*], as well as the

proposals of the Fez Arab Summit Conference [*see A/37/696*], fully support this position.

146. The conflict between Iran and Iraq has already been the cause of many losses, both material and human, on both sides and has benefited neither of the parties to it. Quite the contrary, the longer it goes on, the more conditions favourable to the intervention and interference of imperialism in the region it will create. The Lao People's Democratic Republic hopes that the two parties, both members of the non-aligned movement, will succeed in reaching a peaceful solution to their differences.

147. The undeclared war being waged by imperialism and other reactionary forces against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan poses a serious threat to its independence and sovereignty and its revolutionary achievements. The Lao People's Democratic Republic firmly condemns such acts and supports the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to settle with its neighbours by political means problems pertaining to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.

148. In the Korean peninsula, the situation remains tense. The ever-growing presence of American troops in the southern part of Korea constitutes a major obstacle to the process of the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

149. In the area of the Indian Ocean, the military presence of the United States has jeopardized the convening of the United Nations conference designed to establish the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The Lao People's Democratic Republic associates itself with the coastal countries in the region in calling for the dismantling of the Diego García base and other so-called logistical military facilities. In reiterating our support for Madagascar's proposal³ and our commitment to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], the Lao People's Democratic Republic hopes that the envisaged international conference will be able to take place as soon as possible.

150. The Lao People's Democratic Republic gives its whole-hearted support to the just struggle of the South African patriots against the repugnant *apartheid* régime and for the recovery of their fundamental national rights and supports the valiant struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, for the independence and territorial integrity of Namibia. We condemn the repeated acts of aggression committed by South Africa against Angola, Mozambique and other neighbouring African countries, and we reaffirm our militant solidarity with the peoples of those countries in the struggle for the defence of their independence and sovereignty.

151. The Lao People's Democratic Republic reaffirms its militant solidarity with the Saharoui people under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front in their just struggle for self-determination and independence.

152. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, which recognizes the sovereignty of Argentina over the Malvinas, believes that a final settlement of this matter should be negotiated within the framework of the United Nations, bearing in mind its relevant resolutions.

153. The policy and actions of American imperialism with regard to Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada should be vigorously condemned. The Lao People's Democratic Republic reaffirms its unswerving support for the just struggle of the peoples of those countries to defend their national independence and their revolutionary achievements and demands the restoration of Guantánamo to the Republic of Cuba.

154. The Lao People's Democratic Republic also supports the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for its right to self-determination and independence, and that of the people of El Salvador for its freedom and democratic rights.

155. In their efforts to destroy the approximate military and strategic balance in Europe and in the world as a whole, the United States and other countries of NATO have been exerting undisguised pressure on Poland and have been interfering in its internal affairs with a view to perpetuating the crisis in that country. The Lao People's Democratic Republic vigorously condemns these acts and reaffirms its unswerving solidarity with the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish State in their efforts to maintain public order and to promote the normalization of the situation in that country.

156. Foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus has been preventing the intercommunal talks from making progress. In the interest of the Cypriot people as a whole, a halt must be called to this interference and the territorial integrity of the country must be scrupulously respected.

157. Peace and stability in South-East Asia are in constant danger from the expansionist and hegemonist policy pursued by the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles who are striving to maintain a state of tension on the Sino-Lao and Sino-Vietnamese borders by massing troops there which engage in armed incursions for the purpose of provocation and sabotage, and also on the Thai-Kampuchea border by helping the remnants of the Pol Pot forces and a handful of Khmer reactionaries to undermine the rebirth of the Kampuchean people.

158. But in spite of these hostile acts, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Viet Nam and Kampuchea, constantly motivated by the wish to live in peace, friendship and co-operation with their neighbours, and in particular with China, have over the last few years made a number of proposals, including the proposal to sign a bilateral or multilateral treaty of peaceful coexistence between them and China with a view to normalizing their relations.

159. The problems which now exist in South-East Asia have been essentially brought about by foreign interventions and interference. It is therefore of fundamental importance to proceed immediately to a comprehensive settlement of those problems. Any delay in doing this would serve only to inflame the situation which now prevails.

160. In accordance with that analysis and desiring to make an active contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability in South-East Asia, and also to promote the continuation of dialogue between the States in the region, the Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the three

countries of Indo-China, sent a letter dated 15 September 1982, to their counterparts in the countries of ASEAN. Its essential content is as follows:

"The Thai side regards the presence of units of the Vietnamese army near the Kampuchea-Thailand border as a threat to Thailand's security. Meanwhile, Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos consider the use of Thai territory by China and the Pol Pot clique together with other reactionary Khmer forces against the revival of the Kampuchean people a constant threat to the security of Kampuchea and other Indo-Chinese countries.

"The realities of the past three years have shown that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea does not threaten in any way Thailand's security. Many a time the Thai side has stated that there is no need to sign non-aggression treaties between Thailand and the three Indo-Chinese countries since there is no danger of aggression by Viet Nam against Thailand. On the contrary, the activities of the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries based in Thailand have seriously threatened Kampuchea's security, causing a continually explosive situation on the Thailand-Kampuchea border. The recent founding of a so-called tripartite coalition Government is aimed at helping the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries step up activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, undermining the revival of the Kampuchean people and aggravating the tension on the Kampuchea-Thailand border. To maintain and to give it their support, the ASEAN countries cannot avoid running further counter to their objective of 'finding a political solution' as they have declared. This will create a dangerous precedent for foreign intervention against independent and sovereign nations and violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement.

"We deem it necessary to heed the security interests of Thailand, and at the same time to heed the security interests of Kampuchea. To this end, there should be effective measures to check the use of the territory of one country against the other. Proceeding from this basic stand, the People's Republic of Kampuchea proposed in July 1980 to establish a demilitarized zone along the Kampuchea-Thailand border, but the Thai side did not agree, saying that it cannot withdraw its troops from a part of its own territory.

"At the recent Conference of the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese Foreign Ministers, the three Indo-Chinese countries took notice of Thailand's stand on a demilitarized zone and put forward a new proposal to set up a safety zone along the Kampuchea-Thailand border. This proposal meets Thailand's concern that troops of the Thai Kingdom should not withdraw from a part of its territory. The new proposal only asks for the withdrawal of forces which do not belong to Thailand or the People's Republic of Kampuchea from the safety zone. The three Indo-Chinese countries voice their readiness to discuss and reach agreement with the Thai side on such concrete matters as the width of the safety zone, the scope of Vietnamese troops withdrawal from the Kampuchea-Thailand

border as well as the agreement on the transfer of the Pol-Potist and other Khmer reactionaries and refugee camps far from this border, the three Indo-Chinese countries deem it necessary to agree on a form of international supervision of the safety zone.

"To show their good will, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have of late made a first step by unilaterally withdrawing some units of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. If the Thai side gives a positive response to this good will act, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will withdraw more units of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

"In case Thailand refuses to establish the safety zone, the three Indo-Chinese countries are ready to discuss and reach agreement with the Thai side on any measure strictly to respect the Kampuchea-Thailand border as well as any measure including a form of international supervision to ensure peace and stability there.

"Many a time the People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated that the agreement on this question is not related to the *de jure* recognition of each other. The People's Republic of Kampuchea will not let the question of mutual recognition hinder the discussion and agreement on the safety zone. The realities of the past 30 years have shown that the United States and Thailand signed with Viet Nam and China the 1961-1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and the United States and Viet Nam signed the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam in 1973 without subsequent mutual recognition.

"The ASEAN countries have stood for the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations to settle the Kampuchea problem. They have unilaterally convened this conference in disregard of the three Indo-Chinese countries' protest. This is an imposition from one side. The three Indo-Chinese countries have put forward a proposal to convene a regional conference between the two groups of ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries. This has not been agreed to by the ASEAN countries and such regional conference has not been convened.

"The realities of the past three years have shown that an international conference is fruitful only when there is the agreement and participation of the directly related parties. The international conference convened by the United Nations in July 1981 only ended in an impasse. With the good will to find an issue for this abnormal situation, and taking into consideration the ASEAN countries' proposal for an international conference and the three Indo-Chinese countries' proposal for a regional conference, the recent conference of Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean Foreign Ministers put forward a proposal for an international conference on South-East Asia with the participation of nine countries inside and six others outside the area. (The nine former are the three Indo-Chinese countries, the five ASEAN countries and Burma; the six latter are the Soviet Union, the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom and India).

"This conference will be convened only when agreement is reached between the directly related countries, i.e. the ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries, on the composition of participants, agenda, place and time of the conference.

"Regarding the composition of participants, there may be disagreement on the countries taking part, particularly on the representation of Kampuchea. I think that this matter can be discussed and a formula acceptable to all can be found. It should not hinder the convening of the conference. The three Indo-Chinese countries welcome the United Nations contribution to peace and stability in South-East Asia. But the United Nations maintenance of the Pol Pot genocidal clique has inhibited its positive role.

"Concerning the agenda, there may also be disagreement. I think that the conference can discuss all the problems in the region raised by each side on the principle of complete equality. For us there are many ways: an agreed agenda, an open agenda, or an agenda with agreed-upon problems and open-ended problems.

"About the place, I think that the conference can meet in a South-East Asian country, a neutral country in Asia or Europe, perhaps at Rangoon, New Delhi, Paris, Stockholm or Vienna, as agreed by the two groups of countries.

"As for the time of the conference, I think that the problems of peace and stability in South-East Asia are most urgent and need to be settled, the sooner the better. Therefore I think that it should be convened in the last three months of this year or early next year." [See A/37/477, annex I.]

161. In Kampuchea, Pol Pot and his criminal clique, before being overthrown in 1979, embarked on the genocide of their own people and took the country back to the stone age, at the instigation of foreigners. Blood, hunger and exodus were the price of this process internally, while externally bloody aggressions against neighbouring countries left an indelible imprint. Since that time the horror has ended for the Kampuchean people, and under the leadership of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea that people has witnessed a miraculous revival in unity and national harmony and its political, economic, cultural and social situation has undergone a striking return to normal. The conditions of life of the people are unquestionably improving. National institutions have been established at all levels throughout the territory of the country after the general elections; in particular the Constitution and the Parliament. This legitimate Government, supported by all Kampuchean people, is unremittingly pursuing a foreign policy of peace, friendship, co-operation and good-neighbourliness.

162. The international community is now in a position, knowing the facts, to draw impartially and objectively a comparison between the four years of the reign of terror and genocide of the Pol Pot régime and the three years of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and conclude which has done more for Kampuchea and its valiant people and which of the two deserves the honour and the right to speak on behalf of Kampuchea.

163. For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic believes that the United Nations must restore to the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people, its proper place in the Organization and to expel from it the representatives of the former butchers of the Kampuchean people regardless of what new guise they may appear in.

164. In so doing, the Organization would enhance its prestige and be doing simple justice to the Kampuchean people and, above all, to the memory of 3 million of them who were murdered.

165. The year 1982 has also been marked by the unbridled pursuit of the arms race by the imperialists and military circles of NATO. This has been brought about by the policy of confrontation of the current United States Administration and even more by its ambition to attain a fallacious military and strategic "superiority" over the Soviet Union, and certain strategists of the Pentagon who have gone so far as to advocate the first nuclear strike and even the possibility of a so-called limited nuclear war. In order to extract revenue from the taxpayers and to win over public opinion to this cause, there has been no end to the fables that have been concocted about the so-called Soviet threat.

166. Negotiations on arms limitations and disarmament, in various United Nations bodies and other forums, in particular the Soviet-United States bilateral negotiations, have not led to any results. They either run up against the opposition of the United States and its allies or are unilaterally abandoned by them. This is what happened to consideration of the question on the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests in the Committee on Disarmament, the question of halting the nuclear-arms race and negotiations on the prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction, for example.

167. Although the twelfth special session, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held in June this year, yielded no concrete results, it was nevertheless of great significance because it showed the world which countries are working for the cause of peace and disarmament and which are striving to impede attainment of that goal.

168. President Leonid Brezhnev's message delivered at the 12th meeting of that special session announcing the unilateral undertaking by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is an illustration of the Leninist peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and it won the warm and total support of the Lao People's Democratic Republic as well as that of all peace-loving peoples in the world.

169. At the second special session on disarmament, the Soviet Union reaffirmed and developed its proposals⁴ for the consolidation of peace, strengthening of détente and curbing of the arms race—proposals which it had put forward at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Those proposals are constructive and realistic, and members of the Committee on Disarmament should examine them most seriously.

170. In the face of the ever-growing threat to international peace and security represented by the arms

race, in particular the nuclear-arms race and the race in other weapons of mass destruction, the Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes any proposal aimed at eliminating that threat. As a country that was the victim of colonial and neo-colonial aggression and that lived under the constant threat of imperialism, expansionism and hegemonism, my country supports the proposal of the People's Republic of Mongolia for the conclusion of a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between Asian and Pacific States.⁵ The signing of such a convention would undoubtedly contribute to peace and co-operation in that part of the world.

171. The deterioration in the world economic situation, that has come about in the last few years was even more marked in 1982. The developed capitalist countries, whose responsibility it is to take appropriate measures to remedy this situation, were unwilling to depart from their negative attitude. This international economic crisis provoked by the developed capitalist countries has had an even greater effect on the developing countries, in particular the least-advanced among them. This serves only to stress the interdependence of the two groups of countries. The continued decline in the economic situation in the developing countries could well, over the long term, entail adverse effects for the developed countries themselves. It is therefore in their own interests to demonstrate greater political will and realism in order to restructure the present system of international economic relations which is founded on injustice and exploitation.

172. The picture I have just outlined would appear at first sight a little gloomy. Nevertheless it is encouraging to note that crisis mongers and fomenters of war are becoming more and more isolated and coming in for increased international condemnation and that the forces that are fighting for peace, justice and social progress, on the other hand, are becoming stronger with each passing day. This is proof that the masses are no longer willing to live with the spectre of a nuclear conflagration hanging over them, in poverty and exploitation. They are calling for a halt to the unbridled arms race, for improvement of their living conditions and for a peaceful world for both their own generation and that of their children. In a word, they are calling for change in the existing international order and its replacement by a new—just, equitable and democratic—international order where relations would be based on true equality and mutually advantageous co-operation.

173. By combining our efforts to respond to their call and to their needs, we would be discharging our obligations under the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

² Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.1.20), annex I.

³ See A/AC.159/L.32.

⁴ See A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1.

⁵ See A/36/586.