

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



16th
PLENARY MEETING

*Monday, 28 September 1981,
at 3.15 p.m.*

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*):

Speech by Mr. Matthews (Liberia)	299
Speech by Mr. Mitsotakis (Greece)	301
Speech by Mr. Sipraseut (Lao People's Democratic Republic)	304
Speech by Mr. Goma (Zambia)	309
Speech by Mr. Türkmen (Turkey)	312
Speech by Mr. Bomboko Lokumba (Zaire)	317
Speech by Mr. Donsop (United Republic of Cameroon) ...	322

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MATTHEWS (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia extends heartiest congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to preside over the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly. We note that you bring to your onerous responsibility not only sterling leadership qualities but also more than two decades of experience in the United Nations system.

2. Our sincere thanks and appreciation go to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the services he so ably rendered the Organization. Much was expected of him, and much was received.

3. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts in guiding the activities of the United Nations in the pursuit of international peace and security.

4. Permit us to add to the words of welcome that have been extended to Vanuatu and Belize upon their advent to membership in the Organization. We wish their people well as they embark upon the task of nation-building. We look forward to the day when all peoples and countries under alien domination can exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

5. When we appeared before the Assembly at the thirty-fifth session [*13th meeting*], we did so at the advent of a revolutionary process. We were privileged to give an overview of this process and to explain its causes and effects. As we appear before you once again, we wish to underscore some of our achievements thus far.

6. It is pleasing to note that the revolution has not departed from its original objectives. Consistent with the commitment of the People's Redemption Council to return power to civilians in the shortest time practicable, a Constitutional Commission, clothed with special privileges

and immunities, has been mandated to draft a constitution by which Liberia can return to civilian control and democratic institutions.

7. Concomitantly, the Government of Liberia, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Samuel Kanyon Doe, is acting with all deliberate speed to effect progressive changes in the quality of life of our people and relieve the problems which made the revolution not only necessary but inevitable. Our people are motivated by a firm determination to resolve the problems which beset Liberia: 90 per cent illiteracy; cultural alienation; an economy which produces what we do not consume, while we consume what it does not produce; an inadequate health delivery system; 53 per cent unemployment within the active labour force; and a pattern of corruption which was bequeathed to the people by the erstwhile princes of privilege.

8. It may be recalled that the People's Redemption Council inherited a bankrupt treasury with an overdraft of \$11 million, along with external indebtedness amounting to more than \$700 million. However, with perseverance and tenacity, we have rescheduled our loans abroad, formulated a development plan and, with the assistance of IMF, worked out a stabilization programme to set the basis for economic recovery.

9. Commander-in-Chief Samuel Kanyon Doe and the People's Redemption Council have also engaged in the summary release from detention of former officials of Government who were charged with high treason and rampant corruption. By this act of magnanimity our people have been spared the trauma of protracted trials which could have invoked disturbing memories of the past and thereby detracted from the process of national reconciliation. The prisons have been rendered virtually empty.

10. We have gathered here, as we have done for 35 years, to engage in our annual review of developments in the world today. After these many years of our collective wisdom, there is still polarization of the many nations of the world. Mighty nations seem adrift, and the spectre of a nightmare now looms larger than the prospects for peace. Lurking in the hearts and minds of many of us in this Hall are designs and schemes of war against our neighbours. The world is today consumed by mounting problems: an arms race, food shortages, an energy problem and a range of economic ills—inflation, unemployment, protectionism, low levels of capital formation and unstable commodity markets.

11. In our domestic settings, many Governments have created oppressive circumstances which inhibit men from living and acting as men—circumstances which blind men to their goals, prevent them from taking measures to free themselves and militate against the vision and boldness of the human spirit.

12. Implicit in the search for peace over the past 35 years have been two basic convictions: first, that the co-operation of the great Powers would condition the environment in which peace could be preserved and security guaranteed; and, secondly, that Member States, as a matter of commitment, and therefore honour, would strictly adhere to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

13.³ These conditions have never been met, and many high hopes in the Charter have proved to be most disappointing. Instead of co-operation, we see rivalry and disagreement among the great Powers; instead of strict adherence by all Member States to the Charter, non-conformity is common; and instead of progressive steps towards global co-operation and unity, we find Member States preoccupied with parochial concerns to the exclusion of the collective interest. We see the United Nations, which ought to be the conscience of mankind, being reduced to an arena for peaceful war or a warlike peace—*pax bellicosa, bellum pacificum*. Each year we all cry "Peace, peace", but there is no peace.

14. If we are to succeed in attaining our common goals and aspirations, we must develop a sense of community. We must forge co-operative partnerships and work together meaningfully to discuss and solve our common problems. These are the high principles to which the Government of Liberia is committed and it is within the broad context of these principles that we now turn to specific issues on our agenda.

15. We welcome the designation of 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons. We believe that the dedication of a year to the disabled will contribute to public understanding of disability and emphasize the need for rehabilitation. To this end, appropriate measures are being designed in Liberia.

16. Liberia's position on decolonization is clear and unequivocal: we reaffirm our solidarity with all colonial countries and peoples, especially the struggling people of southern Africa, who, with the blood of martyrs, are resisting systematic laws of exploitation, discrimination and suppression.

17. Liberia continues to feel that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has all the attributes for ensuring the independence of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. We remain convinced that as long as South Africa can find solace in some quarters of the contact group it will continue to reject the plan for Namibia's independence referred to in that resolution, will increase its repression of the Namibian people and will engage in acts of destabilization and terrorism against Mozambique, Angola and other neighbouring States. It was therefore with much relief that we welcomed the brief but unconditional affirmation of the United States commitment to resolution 435 (1978).

18. The situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea demonstrates the insecurity of small States of the international community. It also points to the impotence of the Organization in the face of serious threats to the security of small nations. We totally reject and are absolutely opposed to the presence of foreign troops in the two countries and we call for their immediate withdrawal to enable

the people to choose their own form of government without outside interference of any kind.

19. Developments in Cyprus continue to constitute a threat to international peace and security. We urge due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State, and we call for a resumption of the intercommunal talks so that the miseries of that long-suffering people will come to an end.

20. The international economic outlook continues to be characterized by uncertainty, especially for the developing countries. Many of these countries are faced with mounting unemployment, spiraling inflation, worsening terms of trade, rising protectionism, dwindling sources of financial assistance and over-all economic stagnation. Indeed, many of the developing countries are threatened with imminent economic collapse.

21. Members of the international community, particularly developed countries and oil-producing States, must all strive to rise above the temptation to pursue short-sighted objectives of self-interest at the expense of the well-being of the global economy.

22. Our Government welcomes the determined efforts of the United Nations system to rallying Member States to undertake serious discussions and seek solutions to the problems confronting the international economy. We refer specifically to the recent United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi, and the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris this month. In the same vein, we look forward with much anticipation to the forthcoming North-South summit, scheduled to be held in Cancún.

23. Liberia has consistently maintained, and continues to maintain, a Middle East policy based on the following principles: first, that a just and lasting peace cannot prevail in the Middle East without due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own; secondly, that Israel must withdraw completely from all occupied Arab lands; and, thirdly, that all States in the region, including Israel, have a right to live freely within secure and internationally recognized boundaries with the fullest respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

24. We wish to register our support for Egypt in its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crises in the Middle East. Our sympathy certainly goes to that State which, far from shouting the loudest, pays the highest price, in both men and material, for war in that area of the world. We find nothing intrinsically wrong with partial agreements, and we are convinced that the Camp David agreements represent a meaningful initial approach. We believe Egypt needs the encouragement of men of good will everywhere with a view to achieving a broader and more comprehensive solution.

25. For our part, we will not permit it to be said of President Sadat as was said in 1874 of Walpole, that "in vain [he] battled . . . against the cry for war . . . He stood alone in his desire for peace." It may be recalled that Liberia, Africa's oldest republic, took the initiative of issuing a call last year for all States which have severed diplomatic relations with Israel to begin a re-examination

of their policy. It may also be recalled that the birth of Israel was the culmination of a United Nations proceeding. Interestingly, too, Liberia cast the deciding vote in 1948 which gave rise to the existence of Israel.

26. We persist in stimulating public debate on the issue of diplomatic fence-mending because we believe that the increasing estrangement and isolation of Israel undermine the prospects for a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem. Links must exist to facilitate communication. In order to reconcile warring factions, the parties must at least be reached.

27. While our own re-examination process has been slow, it has produced some modest results by at least compelling us to concretize our views.

28. We find that the ostensible reason for the severance of ties with Israel—solidarity with Egypt on the matter of the violation of its territorial integrity—no longer obtains. Cairo has effected a *modus vivendi* with Tel Aviv, and Liberians ought not to be more Egyptian than Sadat. Yet there are issues which continue to concern us, and some of them have claimed the attention of the Israeli authorities.

29. We find disturbing the collaboration between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. It is equally disturbing to be reminded of the open secret that some black African States maintain vibrant and extensive economic links with South Africa. At the same time, it is reassuring to note that an active Jewish community exists in South Africa with strong anti-apartheid sentiments.

30. Further, considering the close ties of friendship and co-operation which exist between the Lebanese and Liberian peoples, the Government of Liberia was distressed by Israel's recent bombing of Lebanon. We believe such an act undermines the prospects for peace in the area and trust that all parties concerned will henceforth exercise restraint.

31. Another matter which remains of crucial concern to us is the just cause of the Palestinian people. In the spirit of Afro-Arab solidarity, we remain irrevocably aligned with them in their struggle. We are therefore awaiting with keen interest the results of the talks on Palestinian autonomy which began in Cairo a few days ago.

32. In accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, Liberia believes that the Korean question should be solved through peaceful negotiations between the peoples of North Korea and South Korea. To that end, we call on the Secretary-General to renew his offer made in 1979 to both Seoul and Pyongyang to perform an intermediary role. Furthermore, membership in the United Nations of both North Korea and South Korea should be encouraged to help alleviate tension and create a favourable climate for stability. This should be urged without prejudice to the eventual reunification of the Korean peninsula.

33. Many years of hard work and resourcefulness have gone into the formulation of a convention on the law of the sea on the basis of the principle of the common heritage of mankind. Despite significant advances, a final

text has yet to be agreed upon. We continue to await a common regulation, universally acceptable, to govern the sea and thereby ensure that its benefits and resources are shared by us all.

34. Despite the many obstacles confronting the United Nations, we believe it has the capacity to bring about a more peaceful, just and equitable world community. However, it requires the highest degree of our understanding, co-operation, dedication and commitment. Let us therefore resolve that each of us will bring to the Organization now and in the years to come the fullest measure of those qualities. In the cause of the people, the struggle continues.

35. Mr. MITSOTAKIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is a tribute to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and to your vast experience, and it augurs well for the success of the work of this body, which most clearly represents international public opinion. Please allow me to congratulate you most warmly on behalf of the Greek delegation and on my own behalf.

36. The outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, has earned the gratitude of the Assembly for the exemplary way in which he guided its discussions, for his constructive initiatives and for the prestige which he has won for his important office.

37. We also wish to extend our congratulations to the Secretary-General, who has once again during the past 12 months demonstrated the greatest dedication to his mission, thus winning for himself the confidence and esteem of all.

38. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the delegations of the Republic of Vanuatu and of Belize, young countries which, we are convinced, will play a constructive role in the great family of nations.

39. The acting President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, Lord Carrington, has expressed [8th meeting] in a succinct and eloquent way the views of the 10 members on the principal problems at the heart of the present international situation. Greece, of course, fully supports that presentation. Please allow me, however, to describe the position of my own Government on a few questions of more particular interest to my country.

40. First of all there is the problem of the Middle East, a region of which we are very much aware both because of its geographical proximity and because of the links which for so many centuries have united us to most of the peoples inhabiting it. Unfortunately, the tensions in that region so crucial to world peace, far from diminishing, have persisted and even worsened.

41. Two events, above all, have caused a deterioration of the situation: the destruction of the nuclear reactor at Tamuz by the Israeli Air Force and the violent bombings of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon which, because of the loss of life and the material damage caused, have given a new magnitude to the escalation of violence. These are facts which, far from contributing to the success of peace efforts in the Middle East, have fuelled distrust and perpetuated confrontation.

42. The prolongation of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the failure of all unilateral attempts to resolve it demonstrate that only dialogue among the parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], can lead to a just and lasting solution. Our Organization has defined the guidelines for such a solution in several resolutions: first, the withdrawal from Arab territories occupied as a result of the wars of 1967 and 1973 and, secondly, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, as well as of Israel's right to secure and recognized borders. The existence of the PLO is an undeniable reality, as is the fact that that organization represents the Palestinian people which, just like any other people, has a right to create its own State. The State of Israel is, likewise, a reality and has a right to exist within borders which everyone, including its Arab neighbours, recognize and respect.

43. In this context, there is a need to stress the responsibility of countries that have special weight in world affairs or that have particular links with any party to the conflict, that is, the responsibility of those countries to exert all their influence to make it possible for negotiations to begin.

44. Before concluding my comments on this question, I should like to say a few words about Lebanon, a country which has attracted general sympathy because of the misfortunes afflicting it simply because it finds itself at the centre of a conflict with which it is only indirectly concerned. Greece affirms its support for all resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly which demand respect for the independence, territorial integrity and internal order of Lebanon and which affirm the right of the Lebanese Government to restore its authority throughout its national territory.

45. In Namibia also, prospects for a negotiated settlement have diminished since the thirty-fifth session. The failure of the pre-implementation meeting at Geneva, owing to South Africa's intransigence, has given rise to serious doubts about the possibility of an agreement in the near future on the accession of the Territory to independence. Yet, the basis for a satisfactory and viable settlement does exist and, moreover, has already been accepted by SWAPO and the front-line countries as well as by South Africa. It consists of the full application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides for free elections under United Nations supervision. It goes without saying that all Namibian political forces should be enabled to participate in such elections. Moreover, conditions must be created to enable the different ethnic groups of the Territory to live in harmony. This will strengthen the feeling of security in the region.

46. In the search for a peaceful solution in Namibia, the initiative of the five Western countries which form the contact group¹ is of particular importance. Greece extends its full support to that initiative and hopes that the five countries will see fit to persevere in their efforts, always on the basis of resolution 435 (1978), of which they are the authors.

47. A factor related to the Namibian problem which affects peace and stability throughout southern Africa is the continuation of armed incursions by South African forces into the territory of neighbouring countries, especially Angola. These incursions have recently assumed truly

alarming dimensions. It is clear that if any country whatsoever were to claim the right to police an entire region, we would no longer be able to speak of international order, but rather of the law of the jungle. This is further food for thought for the Organization.

48. Another international crisis of serious concern to my Government is that of Afghanistan. The presence of Soviet troops in that country is fraught with consequences that we cannot accept. The United Nations, which has on many occasions expressed its views on this subject, must continue its efforts to arrive at a political solution, which, as for any dispute of this nature, must take into account the basic principles of the Charter, that is, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and recognition of the right of its people to be sole master of its destiny.

49. The same principles should serve as a starting point for the settlement of the problem of Kampuchea: withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and a free expression of the will of the Khmer people under United Nations supervision. It is time for that unfortunate people, which has suffered so much in the course of two wars and under the cruel régime of the years 1975 to 1978, to reap at last the fruits of a peaceful existence and dedicate itself to the enormous task of national reconstruction.

50. The conflict between Iraq and Iran has lasted for more than a year. We hope it will be resolved without delay by means of negotiations. It would in fact be inconceivable for those two developing countries, members of the non-aligned movement, to continue a war from which neither can benefit.

51. While mentioning the non-aligned movement, I should like to reiterate from this rostrum the best wishes of my Government on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. In the course of its 20 years of existence the movement has gathered together countries of different political and socio-economic systems which have a common denominator: the desire to remain separate from blocs and to contribute to détente and understanding among peoples. This is a highly commendable aspiration in which we hope they will persevere.

52. This review of the international situation, however brief, would not be complete without a reference to my country's determination to contribute as much as possible to the successful conclusion of the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Limited progress has been achieved thus far at Madrid. My Government remains committed to the Final Act of that Conference, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, and hopes that the countries participating in the Conference will make every effort to ensure that a comprehensive and balanced final text is adopted.

53. I should now like briefly to review a few questions which I believe are of universal interest. I shall begin with the problem of *apartheid*, in order to express once again our repugnance at that degrading régime which constitutes an affront to mankind.

54. *Apartheid* is an extreme case of violation of human rights. It is not the only one. In a number of countries individuals are arbitrarily deprived of their fundamental freedoms, torture is practised systematically, and persons

disappear without trace or are illegally detained. Each year thousands of such cases become known to the world public, and an equal, if not larger, number of violations of this kind never become known beyond the borders of the countries where they are committed.

55. This is a situation in which we can take no pride. However, the task is not easy. Too often Governments invoke the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs to refuse any monitoring, any co-operation with the competent organs of the Organization. Therefore we must remain ever watchful and give human rights the broadest possible definition: not only the right to choose one's leaders freely, to express oneself freely and to practise the religion of one's choice, but also the right to a basic standard of living, one's own culture and one's own personal ethics.

56. The economic development of all countries, but above all of those which for various reasons are deprived of a satisfactory standard of living, has become increasingly the responsibility of the Organization. This is a source of gratification. In fact the close link that exists between the major economic problems of our day makes it impossible for us to consider the well-being of any particular country or economic entity as an isolated case. That is why we welcome the idea of dealing with the great economic challenge by means of negotiations open to all Member States.

57. It was not possible for the global negotiations to begin this year, as we had at one time hoped. We do not wish to underestimate the causes of this delay. It is natural that the Governments, especially those which in the final analysis will be called upon to contribute most to the common effort, should be given time for reflection in order to weigh the implications of the commitments they will be asked to undertake, but they must act quickly. The negotiations themselves will not prove easy, and this is one more reason why they should not be delayed. The millions of children whose growth may be arrested because of inadequate nutrition will not forgive us for our failure.

58. Greece, a maritime country *par excellence*, believes in the need to conclude without further delay a convention which covers all the aspects of the law of the sea and is acceptable to all countries, large or small. Without such a convention mankind may soon be faced with chaos. I hope that this fact will be recognized by all and that all the parties concerned will show moderation and a spirit of co-operation, which are so necessary if we are to arrive at a convention for which the international community has been working for over 10 years.

59. I could conclude my statement on that note if it were not for a problem of particular importance to all Greeks, a problem which has the sad privilege of being one of the oldest in the agenda of the Assembly and which in the course of recent years has not advanced a single step towards a solution. As you may have guessed, I am referring to the problem of Cyprus.

60. The situation has remained unchanged during the past 12 months. A considerable part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is still occupied. The refugees, approximately one quarter of the population, continue to

live far from their homes, and the fate of some 2,000 persons who disappeared remains unknown.

61. I should like first of all to say a few words on the missing persons. Following lengthy negotiations, the two parties agreed on the establishment of a committee of inquiry, which began its work a few weeks ago. Unfortunately, from the outset the work of that committee met with procedural difficulties. Hence, I should like to make an appeal for the committee to begin its work without further delay and report on the fate of the missing persons, thus putting an end to the anguish of their families.

62. As for the intercommunal talks, after having registered no progress for long months, some progress has finally been achieved through the introduction of Turkish Cypriot proposals on the territorial aspect of the problem. However, although these proposals are a small step forward, they cannot be considered a substantial contribution to a successful dialogue.

63. For its part the Government of Cyprus, in spite of justifiable disappointment, has made reasonable proposals on the constitutional aspect—reasonable because they are consistent with the notion of a unified State within which the two communities could live in harmony and with equal rights.

64. There can be no doubt that the respective positions are still far removed from each other. The Secretary-General—and I wish to take this opportunity to thank him and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts—while noting this fact in his report, has expressed his intention to undertake an initiative to make it possible to bring the divergent views closer together [see A/36/1, sect. IV]. We trust him to seek with his wisdom and customary skill the best way of making a contribution to the common effort at this crucial point in the dialogue.

65. That is the situation at the beginning of the thirty-sixth session. A few days ago [12th meeting] my colleague from Cyprus assured us from this rostrum of his Government's desire to continue the dialogue. We hope that this desire is reciprocated. We are convinced that a solution can emerge from the intercommunal talks if they are conducted in a constructive spirit and with the genuine political will to arrive at a solution acceptable to all.

66. As far as my Government is concerned, it is prepared to support any solution consistent with the principles of the Charter, General Assembly resolutions and the genuine interests of the two communities.

67. The case of Cyprus may prove to be the touchstone of the United Nations. It is the case of a small country which has placed all its hopes for survival in the Organization. If the United Nations were not to succeed in ensuring that the rule of law prevails it would be failing in a fundamental duty.

68. Force has for too long governed the world. It is high time for it to yield to justice and reason. The ideals most cherished by mankind since the beginning of civilization have found expression in the Charter. It is up to all of us to see to it that they are not reduced to meaningless words.

69. I should like to conclude with this marvellous sentence from Saint Exupéry: "Only the spirit can breathe life into clay and make it man."

70. Mr. SIPRASEUT (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):* I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you most warmly on your brilliant election to the presidency of this Assembly. I am firmly convinced that your diplomatic experience will enable you to discharge honourably the heavy responsibility that has been entrusted to you. I should like through you, Sir, to extend my warm congratulations to the Vice-Presidents and the other members of the General Committee.

71. To our eminent Secretary-General, I should like to reaffirm my Government's high appreciation of his devotion and his tireless efforts in the cause of international peace and co-operation.

72. We should also like warmly to congratulate Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu on their admission to the United Nations as the one hundred fifty-fifth and one hundred fifty-sixth Members and to extend a cordial welcome to their worthy representatives.

73. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly has opened at a time when the international situation promises to be difficult and complicated. Indeed, while the forces of peace, national independence, democracy, justice and socialism are growing stronger everywhere in the world, the imperialists and those in certain Western military circles are adopting a belligerent policy and striving to recover the positions they have lost by reviving the cold war and signaling the start of an arms race. All this constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security, and these reckless actions have adversely affected international relations.

74. Thus, over the past 12 months détente has gradually given way to a policy of confrontation, the arms race has been carried on at an accelerated rate and the world economic crisis has worsened.

75. Negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament in various bodies of the United Nations and elsewhere have yielded scanty results in the course of 1981. The bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms were unilaterally broken off by the American side, to the great detriment of the cause of disarmament. Furthermore, the United States has not only refused thus far to ratify but has even called into question the SALT II treaty. The recent decision of the United States Government to manufacture the neutron bomb constitutes a further escalation of the arms race.

76. In order to avert this peril threatening all mankind and contemporary civilization, the peoples of the whole world must join forces against this new escalation and vigorously condemn the dangerous doctrine of "limited nuclear war" advocated in certain imperialist circles and frenetically supported by international reactionaries.

77. This acceleration of the arms race, motivated by the new United States Administration's policy of confrontation with the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet

Union, with national liberation movements and with progressive and peace-loving countries throughout the world has not only made it more difficult to arrive at any solution to the major world problems that have been facing us for years, but has also exacerbated a number of regional conflicts.

78. In Latin America and the Caribbean the United States, in spite of international condemnation, continues to provide every kind of assistance to the dictatorial Governments that are its lackeys, such as those of El Salvador, Chile and others, for the purpose of suppressing the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms and savagely slaughtering their peoples, whose struggle, now in a decisive stage, will lead to certain victory.

79. Against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and other Latin American countries which have opted for a policy of free and independent development free from all imperialist domination, the United States has pursued a policy of interference, pressure and threats of aggression.

80. In Europe, we have seen with great concern a revival of tension resulting from attempts by the United States and certain circles in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to install new medium-range nuclear missiles in order to revive the cold war. At the same time, they are supporting counter-revolutionary forces in Poland in order to sow disorder there and to deflect that country from the path of socialism.

81. On the African continent, particularly in its southern part, the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and the Pretoria Government's policy of *apartheid*, which are supported by imperialism, have led to a considerable increase in tension, thus posing a serious threat to peace and security, not only in Africa, but in the world at large.

82. The recent eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, clearly demonstrates the great concern of the peoples of the world over the deteriorating situation in Namibia after the obstinate refusal of South Africa to withdraw from that Territory and the intensification of its acts of aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other neighbouring countries.

83. In the Middle East, 1981 has seen the proliferation of acts of aggression by Israel, with the unreserved support of the United States, against Arab countries, particularly Lebanon, with a view to eliminating Palestinian resistance and threatening the security of Syria. The unprovoked attacks by Israel against Iraq's nuclear reactor and by the United States against Libyan aircraft are all irrefutable evidence of their belligerent actions and their flouting of the principles of international law and morality.

84. In the region of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the bloody conflict between Iraq and Iran, two neighbouring non-aligned countries, has caused considerable suffering and losses to both parties and has given the United States further excuses to exercise its military supremacy in that very sensitive part of the world by strengthening its air and naval base at Diego García, by establishing new bases, known as "military facilities", and by creating "rapid deployment forces" which are

* Mr. Sipraseut spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

ready to intervene at any time to defend the so-called vital interests of the United States.

85. In view of this imminent danger, the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace in accordance with the profound aspirations of the coastal peoples is urgent. It is regrettable that the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, proposed for this year, did not take place because of the unconstructive attitude of the major Western Powers. In the interests of peace and stability in the area, my delegation believes it would be desirable for that Conference, which was unwisely postponed, to be held in 1982.

86. In Afghanistan, the imperialists and international reactionaries are continuing their undeclared war against the Afghan revolution, thus creating extreme tension in that part of the world.

87. In South-East Asia, the hegemonistic and expansionist policies of the Peking leadership have brought about a constant state of tension and threaten the security and independence of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea as well as the peace and stability of the whole region. Indeed, in order to achieve their dark designs, the Peking hegemonists, in close collusion with the American imperialists, have tried, first of all, to pit the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] against the three countries of Indo-China, which would facilitate their manoeuvres of interference, undermining and aggression there. They are also attempting to sow division among the countries of Indo-China, which constitute a serious obstacle to their advance towards the south.

88. The recent visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to certain ASEAN countries was for the sole purpose of camouflaging Peking's support for pseudo-revolutionary groups in those countries and inciting them to adopt a more intransigent attitude towards the three Indochinese countries. This has further worsened the tension between the two groups of countries. The result, not reckoned on by Peking, is that the two-faced policy of the Peking hegemonists has been exposed, and certain ASEAN countries are now fully aware of it.

89. With regard to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Peking hegemonists, encouraged and supported by the United States, have greatly reinforced their troops and intensified their armed provocations along the Chinese-Vietnamese frontier, with a view to threatening Viet Nam in all areas. This bears a strong resemblance to past American intervention against Viet Nam and against Laos and Kampuchea. The recent so-called International Conference on Kampuchea, in which China, the United States, the ASEAN countries and their allies together played a role, is also striking evidence of this.

90. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, together with the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and all the socialist countries and other justice-loving countries, rejected and condemned that Conference as a crude attack on the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and we wish to state once again that we consider all the decisions emerging from that Conference to be null and void.

91. At their meetings at Ho Chi Minh City and Phnom Penh in January and June respectively of this year, the Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries reaffirmed their proposals for the holding of a regional conference to settle all problems of common interest [see A/36/86, annex I, and A/36/328, annex I].

92. But it is regrettable that those coherent and realistic proposals, which are moreover totally in accordance with the spirit and letter of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, were not accepted by the ASEAN countries. And what is more, certain ASEAN countries, at the instigation of Peking and Washington, have even made it possible for meetings to be held at Singapore and later at Bangkok among reactionary Khmers in exile, with a view to forming a "united front" and a so-called coalition government. Such acts constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Ultimately, those meetings have served only to make public the inevitable dissension among those factions. So whatever subterfuges may be used by Peking and Washington against the Kampuchean people, they cannot possibly alter the politically and legally stable situation in Kampuchea.

93. In his recent statement at New Delhi, the Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea noted that "the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in agreement with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, will consider the partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea if Thailand ceases its support of and aid to the remnants of the Pol Pot supporters and other little groups of reactionaries in their attempts to undermine the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and if it ceases to provide sanctuary on its territory for those elements." This is a new and very positive step towards a concrete solution of the problem of Kampuchea and towards the establishment of peace, stability and mutual understanding among the countries of the region.

94. The three countries of Indo-China will nevertheless continue their efforts to bring about consultations with the ASEAN countries, in accordance with their proposals, with a view to settling differences between the two groups of countries.

95. In this context, my delegation, after consultation and agreement with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has the honour of presenting here a certain number of principles to govern relations between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN.

96. First, there must be respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each, and non-aggression, equality, mutual advantage and peaceful co-existence between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN for the sake of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia.

97. There must be respect for the rights of the people of each country to choose and develop freely their political, social, economic, and cultural system and to determine freely their internal and external political courses in accordance with the principles and objectives of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations, and no imposing of the will of one party on another.

98. The internal and external affairs of each country belonging to the groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN must be determined by their own people, without any country having the right to intervene individually or collectively, directly or indirectly.

99. Secondly, outstanding controversies and differences between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, and also between other countries of the region, must be settled by peaceful means, through negotiation, and in the spirit that all problems of South-East Asia should be settled by the countries of the region in accordance with the principles of equality, friendship, mutual respect and understanding, bearing in mind the legitimate interests of all parties, by common accord, without the imposition of the will of one party on another, without external interference and without recourse to the threat or use of force in their relations.

100. There must be respect for the right of all countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, and also the other countries of South-East Asia, to take individual or collective self-defence measures in accordance with the principles of non-alignment and the Charter of the United Nations, and no country shall be allowed to use collective defence treaties to serve its own particular interests and to oppose other countries of the region.

101. Thirdly, there must be continuation and development of bilateral and multilateral co-operation in economic, technical, scientific, cultural, sport and tourist matters between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, and also with other countries of South-East Asia, on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage, with a view to strengthening understanding and mutual confidence and relations of friendship and good neighbourliness in the interests of building up each country in accordance with its special circumstances.

102. The countries concerned in the region will co-operate to exploit the Mekong with a view to developing their respective economies and also the common prosperity of the region.

103. Fourthly, there must be respect for the sovereignty of countries with coastlines on the South China Sea over their territorial waters and their sovereign rights over their exclusive economic zones and their continental shelf.

104. The land-locked country of the region must be given favourable conditions for transit to and from the sea, and that country must be given maritime rights and advantages in accordance with international law and practice.

105. There must be settlement of disputes between the countries with coastlines on the South China Sea over maritime zones and islands by means of negotiation. Pending the solution, the interested parties must undertake to do nothing to aggravate existing differences. The countries of the area will join forces to seek together means of co-operation among themselves and also with other countries, whether or not they belong to the region, in exploiting the resources of the sea and ocean floor on the basis of mutual respect, equality, mutual advantage, the preservation of the marine environment against pollu-

tion, the guaranteeing of international communications and of freedom of shipping and overflight in the area.

106. Fifthly, countries outside the area must respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region and put an end to all forms of pressure and threats from outside and creating a situation of tension and hostility among the countries of the area.

107. The countries of the area will allow no country to use their territory as a base for aggression or direct or indirect interference in the affairs of other countries.

108. These countries declare their readiness to co-operate with other countries outside the region and with international organizations and to accept their assistance when no political conditions are attached.

109. Bilateral or multilateral co-operation among the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, and also other countries of the region with those outside the region, must in no case prejudice the security and interests of other countries of the area, nor should it be directed against any other country.

110. Sixthly, in order to make fruitful the application of the above-mentioned principles, a permanent body would be set up which would be entrusted with the task of organizing dialogue and consultation among two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, possibly with the participation of Burma. The composition of this body, to be determined by common agreement, would comprise one or more countries representing each group on the one-to-one principle. This organ would meet annually in order to resolve the various problems raised concerning relations among the members of the two groups and could hold a special session in the case of any urgent or crisis situation.

111. Seventhly, the above-mentioned principles would constitute the basis of the dialogue and consultations to be held, which would be directed towards concluding an agreement or some other form of understanding between the two groups of countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, which would be ready to invite other countries of the area to participate therein.

112. With regard to the situation in my country, since the foundation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 2 December 1975, a multinational Lao people has devoted all its efforts and energies to healing the wounds of war while building a new life. In spite of the numerous problems bequeathed by the long and devastating war, together with the disastrous consequences of floods and drought, and in spite of the subversive and undermining activities of our enemies, we have, thanks to our own efforts and the assistance of fraternal and friendly countries, as well as the assistance of international organizations, produced significant results in many fields. In particular, we have firmly safeguarded our country and laid down certain bases for the economic, social and cultural development of our people.

113. This year we began to put into effect our first five-year development plan. It is our conviction that, thanks to the determination and sustained efforts of our people and to assistance from friendly and fraternal countries and from international organizations, we will be able to fulfil

this plan. However, the Peking hegemonists, in collusion with the imperialists and other reactionaries, are pursuing their sinister activities aimed at destabilizing our country by massing their troops along the Laotian-Chinese frontier, where they have been engaged feverishly in training exercises and preparations for battle, firing shells and infiltrating our territory.

114. Furthermore, while stepping up their campaign of propaganda and calumny against our country, they have been encouraging, training and arming reactionary Lao exiles and sending them back into Laos, directly or through a neighbouring country, to fight against the Lao people. They have been seeking by every possible means to pit us against our neighbours.

115. In the face of such a policy of provocation, intimidation and intervention, Laos and the two other countries of Indo-China, which in the past as in the present have always fought shoulder to shoulder against common enemies, will continue to strengthen their co-operation and special ties of solidarity in defence of their independence and the building up of their respective countries in this new era.

116. These ties of special solidarity among the three countries of Indo-China pose a threat to no one. At their conference in Phnom Penh on 13 and 14 June last the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea stated that the cessation by China of its attacks and armed acts of provocation against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and its support for the Pol Pot clique and the reactionary Khmer forces would facilitate the settlement of their dispute with China on the basis of the principles of strict respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage.

117. With the Kingdom of Thailand, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has always scrupulously applied the provisions of the joint Lao-Thai communiqué of 1979 making the frontier between the two countries a frontier of peace, friendship and co-operation with a view to promoting relations of good-neighbourliness between the two peoples. However, that communiqué has still to be given full effect on a permanent basis by the other party, without foreign interference. For this to happen, the Thai authorities must demonstrate a greater measure of realism and common sense if they want to see an improvement in relations between the two countries.

118. As you will have realized, the international situation is a matter of constant concern because of the policy of confrontation chosen by the United States, the keystone of which is the "anti-Soviet strategy". However, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and other peace-loving countries have consistently made constructive proposals to strengthen détente, to consolidate peace, to curb the arms race and to bring about confidence-building measures in Europe as well as in the other continents.

119. Faithful to its policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment, the Lao People's Democratic Republic commends the constructive attitude of the socialist countries in all negotiating forums on disarmament and supports the proposals put forth by the twenty-

sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on measures to promote the cause of disarmament. In this regard, the Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes the initiative taken by the Soviet delegation in requesting the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an item entitled, "Conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space" [item 128], an initiative aimed at excluding the arms race from the realm of outer space.

120. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is in favour of the resumption of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms and energetically condemns the decision of the United States Administration to manufacture the neutron bomb, a decision which serves only to increase the risk of a nuclear conflagration.

121. Similarly, we favour a further intensification by the United Nations of its efforts to avert at all costs the danger of a nuclear war which, in view of the present high level of accumulation and sophistication of nuclear weapons and, above all, the growing tendency towards the proliferation of such weapons, constitutes more than ever before a real threat of universal extinction. In this context, we consider most timely the initiative of the Soviet Government in submitting for consideration at this session of the Assembly a draft declaration on the prevention of nuclear catastrophe [see A/36/241]. The adoption of a declaration on this subject would undeniably contribute to the restoration of a climate of confidence in international relations and would exert a beneficial influence on the negotiations on the limitation and ultimate elimination of strategic and nuclear weapons.

122. We condemn the interference of certain Western countries in the internal affairs of Poland, and we hope that the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish State will be able to overcome all the difficulties Poland is now facing. We appreciate the measures taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the Polish people safeguard the achievements of the revolution.

123. Intercommunal negotiations to arrive at an equitable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus seem to have been marking time for the last few months. In the interest of the whole Cypriot people, foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus must cease so that those negotiations can progress.

124. The Lao People's Democratic Republic energetically condemns the policy of interference, pressure and threats of aggression by imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and other Latin American countries and supports the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Chile to recover their democratic rights and freedoms. At the same time, we support the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people for its right to self-determination and independence and vigorously condemn the use by the United States of biological weapons against Cuba. Those weapons have caused casualties among the civilian population and done considerable damage to agriculture and stock-breeding.

125. We energetically condemn all equivocation and obstructionism designed to prevent the implementation of the decisions of the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly. We should like to reaffirm our un-

shakable support for and solidarity with the Namibian people in their victorious struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, for their national independence.

126. We also wish to reaffirm our militant solidarity with the front-line States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, against the acts of aggression and intimidation by the racist régime of South Africa.

127.² We continue our support for and militant solidarity with the valiant Sahraoui people, courageously waging its just struggle for self-determination and independence under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front.²

128. We vigorously condemn the acts of aggression by Israel against Lebanon and against the Palestinian civilian population, as well as its attack on the nuclear reactor of Iraq. We support the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to recover its inalienable national rights, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine.

129. We vigorously condemn the subversive designs and machinations of the international imperialists and reactionaries in Afghanistan and we reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Afghan people who, with the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is waging a valiant struggle to defend its independence and sovereignty as well as the achievements of the revolution of April 1978. In this spirit, we support the proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to begin bilateral negotiations with Pakistan and Iran or, if those two countries so wish, trilateral negotiations, in both cases with the possible participation of the Secretary-General or his representative.

130. We support the struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the southern part of Korea and for the independent and peaceful unification of Korea, without foreign interference.

131. In the context of peace and stability in Asia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic firmly supports the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic [see A/36/388] with regard to an international convention on non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific region.

132. After having suffered so long the crimes and terror of genocide, the valiant people of Kampuchea are still forced to endure the flagrant injustice of having their representatives debarred from the Organization, while the seat reserved for its representatives continues to be occupied by the very people who were their executioners.

133. Ever since its foundation the People's Republic of Kampuchea has shown itself to be a State that is responsible and capable of meeting its international and national obligations. Over the past few years the Kampuchean people have brought about a remarkable revival. After the general elections which took place throughout the country last May, the Kampuchean people established legislative, executive and judicial authorities and other State institutions according to the course that it had chosen. Those are the very conditions required of a State Member of the United Nations. The Lao People's Democratic Republic therefore feels that it is high time the international community redressed this injustice by restoring without delay

to the People's Republic of Kampuchea the seat that properly belongs to it in the United Nations and driving out the representatives of the criminal gang of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, whom the Kampuchean people has already judged and condemned *in absentia*. No argument, even the pseudo-judicial argument of foreign intervention invoked by several Members of the Organization on a selective basis, can possibly justify this continued denial of the inalienable right of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to contribute to the work of the Organization.

134. The Laotian people reaffirms its unswerving solidarity with the Vietnamese people in its brave struggle on all fronts to defend its homeland against the threats of aggression by the hegemonists in Peking. The Lao People's Democratic Republic fully supports the proposals of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam with regard to measures to bring about an end to hostilities, the separation of the troops of the two countries and the creation of a demilitarized zone in order to restore peace and stability to the Sino-Vietnamese border, as well as its proposals to resume as soon as possible the third series of Sino-Vietnamese talks at the deputy foreign minister level to discuss matters of common concern, with a view to restoring normal relations between the two countries.

135. To sum up, we give our unreserved support to the struggle of all peoples against aggression, imperialist occupation, colonialism in its old and new forms, hegemonism, racism and racial discrimination, *apartheid* and zionism, because all these factors constitute the primary threat to international peace and security.

136. Together with the augmentation of political tension, 1981 has also been marked by the aggravation of the world economic situation. Indeed, the economic crisis which has held the world in its grip for several years has continued to worsen, because of the lack of appropriate measures which should have been taken by the developed capitalist countries to redress the situation. In this regard, the proposal of the developing countries that global negotiations on development and international co-operation be embarked upon with a view to bringing about the new international economic order has encountered unjustifiable obstacles erected by certain developed countries which took part in the North-South dialogue in Paris. In the interest of mutually beneficial international co-operation it is necessary for the negotiations to begin as soon as possible and to lead to the desired results. Otherwise, it is to be feared that the economic difficulties will become worse, giving rise to international crisis with the gravest possible consequences.

137. I have just set out the views of my Government on the major problems of concern to international opinion over the past 12 months.

138. Before concluding I should like to repeat the commitment and readiness of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to contribute by every means in its power to strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations. However, it is hardly necessary to stress that the Organization's authority and effectiveness depend essentially on its decisions and its ability to settle all the issues submitted for its consideration.

139. For the United Nations to remain a true instrument of international peace and co-operation, it is absolutely

necessary for all its Members constantly to bear in mind its noble mission and to refrain from transforming it into an instrument for interference in affairs that fall within the sovereignty of Member States. Realistic, just and enforceable decisions are the only ones that will promote the strengthening of the prestige of the United Nations. My delegation will spare no effort to make its own contribution to that end.

140. I hope that the work of the General Assembly during its thirty-sixth session will have great success.

141. Mr. GOMA (Zambia): On behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Zambia, it gives me great pleasure to join those who have spoken before me in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. May your leadership ensure that the outcome of this session strengthens the collective efforts of mankind to bring about a better world.

142. My delegation commends your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the work of the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session, devoted to the question of Namibia.

143. The Secretary-General has continued to work with dedication in the service of the United Nations. I convey to him my delegation's appreciation of his efforts in working for world peace and security.

144. Let me take this opportunity to welcome the new nations of Vanuatu and Belize on their admission into the United Nations. We rejoice, because once again the United Nations has moved closer to the realization of the much-cherished principle of universality of membership.

145. Once again we meet at a time when the world is confronted with growing international tension, heightened bloc rivalry, the escalation of the arms race, the persistence of regional hotbeds of crisis and the creation of new conflicts in various parts of the world, the continuing illegal occupation of other people's lands and the unabated evils of *apartheid* and racism. The major Powers seem powerless to block or put an end to the arms race, growing violence, armed intervention or aggression and violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, domination of others, inequity and injustice in the world.

146. In the quest to become "the greatest", some of them have become blind to the cause of freedom, independence, justice and equality for all the peoples of the world. Indeed, they shamefully support and sustain régimes that thrive on the savage repression and degradation of other human beings on the grounds of colour and race and which deny others freedom, independence or a homeland. These circumstances, some of which provide a basis for glaring violations of human rights, threaten world peace and security.

147. It has been said that the emergence after the Second World War of two major Powers with antagonistic systems has played a significant role in the militarization of the world. The competition between these Powers has undoubtedly affected most parts of the globe. Thus, while

it is true that today the two Powers are not actually directly at war with each other anywhere in the world, they are embroiled in a number of potentially explosive situations and, in fact, keep alive the many armed conflicts taking place between and among the small, poor countries of the developing world. The possible emancipation of States from military and political alliances clearly does not suit the interests of the great Powers, which strive hard, using every possible means, to frustrate the endeavour. Their stranglehold is causing a great deal of hardship to the small and poor nations concerned. The situation needs to be corrected.

148. There can be no doubt that the greatest threat to mankind today is the existence and continuing development of devastating nuclear weapons. An overwhelming majority of the world's peoples certainly does not possess or desire nuclear arms. They do not have the technological capability or the necessary resources to develop and produce these weapons. And we are back to the great Powers of our time and a few other countries. It is the Governments of these countries that hold the world hostage to their possession of nuclear weapons. It is these countries that are engaged in the never-ending quest for the development of advanced nuclear weaponry, and it is the Governments of these countries that must inevitably play a decisive role to rid mankind of the nightmare of world-wide nuclear devastation. Although the nuclear arms race affects the security of all States, it is clear that the two major nuclear-weapon States—the United States and the Soviet Union—will have to take the lead in the nuclear disarmament process.

149. I now turn to the situation in southern Africa. Here we confront three major problems: that of the freedom and independence of Namibia, that of *apartheid* and majority rule in South Africa and that of South Africa's destabilization of neighbouring independent States.

150. The problem of Namibia is one of colonialism and illegal occupation by South Africa, in arrogant defiance of the international community and of the various United Nations resolutions and decisions on the matter. Against the background of a momentous and impressive record of decolonization since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*] some 21 years ago, the world community cannot but be indignant at the posture and actions of South Africa with regard to Namibia's freedom and independence. South Africa must be made to realize that the right of people to self-determination, sovereignty and independence is a universal quest of mankind and is exercised throughout the progressive world. There can be no turning the clock back in Namibia. Freedom and genuine independence will come to Namibia—and soon, at that.

151. South Africa and its supporters are labouring under the delusion that they can exclude SWAPO from the solution of the Namibian problem in favour of a puppet régime and that they will be able to preserve existing colonial and racist relations in Namibia. The recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe has proved that no amount of force by the oppressor, or chicanery through bogus internal settlement, can prevent a people from choosing a government that is responsive to its real needs and aspirations. As an authentic liberation movement, SWAPO

cannot lose the battle under any circumstances, whatever the balance of power may be.

152. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa not only is intolerable but also constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. We have a viable plan for the liberation of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is in everyone's interest that appropriate pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa to co-operate fully with the United Nations in its efforts to solve the Namibian problem. Zambia reaffirms its total support for and solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

153. In our view, which is shared by many others, the five-member Western contact group, which initiated the plan for the independence of Namibia, bears a special responsibility to prevail upon the recalcitrant Pretoria régime to accept the plan as it is so that Namibia can finally achieve its independence. Members of the group certainly possess enormous influence and leverage over South Africa. We are not satisfied that they have exerted sufficient pressure on South Africa to ensure its co-operation in the implementation of the United Nations plan on the independence of Namibia as envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We call upon them to do so.

154. In South Africa itself, the practice of racism, repression, oppression, deprivation and state terrorism against the non-white majority has now given rise to the heightened militancy and increased combat capacity of the oppressed segment of the population. This militancy is eloquent evidence of the current state and direction of the liberation struggle against *apartheid* and minority rule. The African nationalists and freedom fighters are no longer afraid of the much-vaunted military superiority of the *apartheid* régime. This clear defiance of military superiority by the forces of national liberation is indicative of the fact that the will of oppressed people shall not be thwarted, even under the most brutal military machine Africa has ever known.

155. The policy of *apartheid* has universally been condemned as an evil one and a crime against humanity. It can only be practised, supported and sustained by evil men. We must, therefore, strive to dismantle the *apartheid* structure quickly. The international community should, accordingly, welcome, encourage and support the heightened struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the eradication of *apartheid*. This solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa should be manifested in an intensified international campaign for the ostracism of the Pretoria régime, as well as through material assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa.

156. The situation in southern Africa is also one that directly endangers the peace, security and independence of African countries in the neighbourhood of South Africa. Thus, the racist South African régime has been committing and continues to commit wanton acts of aggression against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, mainly because those countries play essential roles as secure rear bases for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The recent South African aggression against Angola has been particularly vicious and on an

unprecedented scale. Now even newly independent Zimbabwe is being threatened by South Africa.

157. South Africa is also fomenting dissension within neighbouring independent States. To that end, it is giving military training to dissident groups from those States with a view to overthrowing their legitimate Governments, which are opposed to the evil system of *apartheid* and support the liberation struggle in the region. In addition, South Africa continues to recruit mercenaries to work against the neighbouring countries.

158. South Africa's aim in all those actions is the destabilization of sovereign and independent African States in southern Africa. We strongly condemn South Africa for all those actions. We also wish to register our great indignation in regard to those Western Powers which are responsible for sustaining the *apartheid* system through their political, diplomatic, ideological, economic, strategic and other forms of collaboration and support.

159. There is another dimension of the southern African situation which my delegation wishes to underscore. This relates to the fact that the atmosphere of oppression, repression and war that obtains in the area has led to an exodus of people as refugees from South Africa and Namibia into neighbouring countries in search of peaceful sanctuary. At the same time, the vicious act of aggression committed by South Africa against Angola has resulted in a severe displacement of people. Both the refugees and the displaced people represent a human tragedy of vast proportions brought about by the racist South African régime. We call upon the international community not only to condemn South Africa for causing the tragedy but also to come urgently to the assistance of the victims of the tragedy.

160. It is clear that all those problems of southern Africa have been brought about and are kept alive by the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. It is equally clear to us that, with the support it receives from certain Western countries, the racist South African régime has been enabled to build up its growing military power and machinery of subjugation, to defy international public opinion, and to increase its intransigence. We therefore hold those countries equally responsible for the tragic situation that we confront in southern Africa—a situation that is certainly a serious threat to world peace and security.

161. Once again we wish to state that peaceful change in South Africa and peaceful resolution of the Namibian problem are possible. South Africa's aggression against Angola and illegal occupation of parts of its territory must end quickly. South Africa must be made to realize that its destabilization of neighbouring independent States will not stop the internal struggle inside South Africa itself against *apartheid* and minority rule by the oppressed masses of that country. It is our conviction that the Western Powers and friends of South Africa have and can exert sufficient leverage over that country to facilitate the elimination of *apartheid*, to bring about desired change and majority rule in South Africa, to compel South Africa to relinquish its stranglehold on Namibia so that the Territory can secure its freedom and genuine independence, to compel South Africa to get its troops out of Angola, and to ensure that the peace, security and independence of the front-line and other affected neighbouring States cease to

be threatened. We call upon those Western Powers to do so in the name of our common humanity.

162. I now wish to refer to one other crisis area in Africa, namely, Western Sahara. The incomplete task of decolonization in Western Sahara has given rise to a situation fraught with tension. At the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi in June, a decision was taken to hold a referendum on the future of the disputed Territory [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res. 103 (XVIII)]. We call upon all concerned to support the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in implementing that decision.

163. My delegation is very much concerned about the unending conflict in the Middle East. This situation has been brought about by Israel's policy of aggression, expansionism and colonial settlement in the occupied Arab territories. As in the case of South Africa vis-à-vis Namibia, we are confronted with Israel's continuing defiance of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. Again as in the case of South Africa's aggression against neighbouring countries, the situation in the Middle East has become more explosive than ever before because of Israel's latest military adventurism against the sovereign States of Lebanon and Iraq—not to mention its repression of the people of Palestine.

164. An imperative condition for defusing the highly volatile situation and establishing enduring peace in this area is the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all illegally occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights, including their right to a State of their own in their homeland. Together with such a withdrawal, there would also be the need to establish appropriate arrangements to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the region. In this connection, Israel would be expected to adhere to the unconditional cessation of its intransigence and military adventurism in the area.

165. The PLO is the authentic representative of the Palestinian people. As such, the PLO should be an equal partner in any serious negotiations to resolve the question of Palestine, which is the crux of the Middle East saga.

166. My delegation wishes to express its profound regret that, in spite of the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq continues with no end in sight. We appeal to both Iran and Iraq to end the war between them and thus put an end to the loss of human life, the destruction of property and the impediment to their development. They should resort to the exercise of finding a just and honourable settlement of the dispute through negotiations, as has been urged upon them by various international bodies and peace missions. The continuation of the war could well give a pretext to outside Powers to intervene and thereby enlarge the conflagration.

167. During the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, my delegation joined in the call for an urgent resolution of the Afghanistan crisis [resolution 35/37]. Today, that crisis is still with us. I therefore wish to reiterate my delegation's call at that session [70th meeting] for an

urgent end to the crisis by having all foreign troops withdrawn from that country without any preconditions and by recourse to a political solution.

168. Another crisis situation which exercised the attention of the General Assembly during its thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions is that of Kampuchea. We call for an urgent political solution to the problem.

169. With regard to the Korean peninsula, we strongly support efforts for the peaceful reunification of Korea and once again call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

170. We are encouraged by the resumption of intercommunal talks on the question of Cyprus under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We hope that the talks will lead to the resolution of the conflict that has afflicted that country for too long. Above all, any settlement of the question of Cyprus should be based on the principles of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

171. My delegation notes with extreme disquiet that the question of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is still unresolved. In the meantime, the situation in and around the Indian Ocean is fraught with danger owing to the emergence of an arms race and super-Power rivalry for the military control of the region. We reiterate our position, calling upon the great Powers to initiate the elimination from the Indian Ocean region of all their bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of weapons of mass destruction and any manifestations of great-Power military presence conceived in the context of great-Power rivalry. We further urge the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/150. That Conference, which was supposed to have taken place during the course of this year, was vehemently opposed and frustrated by certain Western Powers on dubious grounds concerning the harmonization of views as a precondition.

172. In the economic sphere, there can be no doubt as to the seriousness of the present situation and the hardships it has brought to the majority of countries. The rich industrialized countries are, to a very considerable extent, to blame for the present malaise in the world economic situation. We are witnessing increased resistance on the part of these countries to structural change. Thus, many of them are unwilling to work for a new international economic order in which interdependence between nations can become more meaningful. They have frustrated the North-South dialogue because they want to maintain the *status quo* in which the poor would remain poor and the rich would get richer.

173. Those who care to be objective must concede that the present economic order has brought the world into a dangerously polarized state of inequality. Underdevelopment and the resultant conditions of poverty, deprivation and diminished human potential everywhere, which the present economic order certainly perpetuates, pose serious dangers to us all. There can be no doubt that the present economic relations in the world are a serious impediment to the development efforts of many nations, particularly those in the developing world.

174. It has been argued that the insistence by the developing countries on the elimination of long-standing world inequities is tantamount to a demand that the inhabitants of the industrialized countries should give up the fruits of the progress which they have achieved in the last two centuries. This is a mistaken defensive stance on the part of the developed countries. What is being demanded is quite different: it is that they should have more of the fruits of an internationally progressive, peaceful and amiable world in which we can all participate, not by taking, but by fair and rational exchange. It is not charity that is being sought, but international co-operation, solidarity and justice.

175. It is against this background that we call for the urgent commencement of global negotiations aimed at evolving a coherent and integrated approach to the solutions of major problems concerning international economic relations and the world economy as a whole.

176. It can thus be seen that international relations are at present at a crossroads. There is a need to ask ourselves whether we are prepared to find, through joint efforts and by negotiations, solutions to the major international problems, or to face an even deeper crisis. We must admit that the gravity of the moment and the importance of the task to be undertaken in order to overcome present political, economic and social problems will require a sense of increased responsibility and willingness to search for genuine and long-term solutions.

177. The United Nations has a vital role to play in the search for solutions to these problems. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us all to demonstrate our political will in our collective efforts to realize the lofty aims and objectives of this world body.

178. Zambia for its part reaffirms its faith in the United Nations. We also pledge to continue to support the Organization in its important mission to save mankind from the scourge of war and to achieve for all the people of the world political, economic and social justice.

179. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): Let me first of all, Sir, express my warm congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. As a colleague, I am familiar with your outstanding qualities and I am sure that your guidance will be a major factor in channelling our deliberations and work towards constructive ends.

180. I wish also to express our appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. von Wechmar, who earned the admiration of all of us by the manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the previous session. We wish him success in his new mission.

181. I should like, finally, to express to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation for the persistent efforts he is deploying in furtherance of our shared objectives.

182. We warmly welcome Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu. I extend to the Governments and peoples of Vanuatu and Belize our sincere wishes for progress and prosperity.

183. As we meet in the General Assembly each year we express our perceptions of world problems, our expecta-

tions, our concerns and our anxieties. As global problems have proliferated, the consensus that has emerged is that their solutions are possible only through universal co-operation. This interdependence should bring us closer together. On the other hand, we remain divided by parochial attitudes, prejudices and divergent interests, some real, some reflecting long-standing suspicions and mistrust. The nuclear holocaust haunts the human race. But this does not deter some countries from resorting to force and to threats of recourse to force. The awesome issues we face require understanding, tolerance and dedication to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. If our deliberations and the contacts which the United Nations meetings make possible can contribute, even in a modest way, to promoting progress in this direction, our efforts will not be in vain.

184. For some years now an atmosphere of pessimism and gloom has pervaded our meetings. During the past year tensions have continued unabated and have been exacerbated by the reckless behaviour of some countries, particularly in the Middle East. The process of détente has been seriously undermined by the infringement of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The world economy, for developed and developing countries alike, is plagued by serious crises. It suffers from the absence of a determined move towards a more just international economic order.

185. Many intractable problems are being discussed in the United Nations. The solution to them has been frustrated for many years. However, one glimmer of hope is that in some instances a breakthrough may be achieved if the parties involved can work out reasonable negotiating positions.

Mr. Boucetta (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

186. One such example is the question of Cyprus. We all know the long history of the drama of that island since 1963, as well as the troubled course of the negotiations between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities.

187. Recently an important, perhaps crucial, cross-roads was reached in the intercommunal talks, which have been under way without interruption for over a year now under the auspices of the Secretary-General and in accordance with his opening statement of 9 August 1980.³ That fact in itself augurs well for the future. The Secretary-General's determined efforts towards a settlement in Cyprus are most commendable. I wish to reiterate my Government's full support for his mission of good offices in the intercommunal talks.

188. The Government of Turkey notes with much satisfaction that on 5 August 1981 [A/36/702] the Turkish Cypriot side submitted comprehensive proposals on all aspects of the problem. In search of a just and lasting settlement, these include proposals on the future constitutional structure as well as on territory. It is particularly significant that the Turkish Cypriot proposals on territory are embodied in a map. Thus the long-standing Greek Cypriot demand that the Turkish Cypriots should submit a map has been met.

189. The Turkish Government appreciates the sacrifice made by the Turkish community and the considerable risk it has assumed in undertaking this initiative by presenting such comprehensive proposals without insisting on reciprocal conditions. The Turkish community did so out of its commitment to a negotiated settlement and in the belief that progress is possible only if the two sides engage in earnest give-and-take.

190. Notwithstanding the fearful memories of the brutal past and of the days of oppression and discrimination they have experienced, the Turkish Cypriots in a bold move have offered to the Greek Cypriots reconciliation and partnership. This is indeed a historic moment. It should not be allowed to slip away by those who succumb to policies of procrastination because of their lack of vision or their vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*.

191. The time is most propitious for the Greek Cypriot side to reciprocate with meaningful counter-proposals to enable the negotiating process to gain momentum towards a settlement. Such a solution, according to the well-known position of my Government, must ensure the fundamental rights of the Turkish Cypriot community, which aspires to live side by side as an equal partner with the Greek Cypriot community in a bicomunal and bizonal State, which could wisely adopt a policy of non-alignment if it so wished.

192. In Cyprus there has been another encouraging development in the past year, namely, the agreement reached between the two communities to establish a committee for the investigation of the fate of missing persons. This shows that when the two sides act with patience and perseverance and refrain from polemics, progress is possible even in highly sensitive areas. That committee is expected to achieve real progress, provided that all parties act in conformity with the terms of reference agreed upon.

193. A settlement of the Cyprus problem would no doubt greatly improve the atmosphere in the relations between Turkey and Greece, which have special links with the two communities on the island and great stakes in a Cypriot settlement. They are not, however, directly involved in the intercommunal negotiating process. There is a moral obligation to facilitate and encourage the intercommunal dialogue in any way they can.

194. On the other hand, Turkey and Greece continue to be beset by serious problems in their bilateral relations. Since 1976 they have been engaged in a process of negotiation to resolve them. Turkey, for its part, has done all it can to inject a conciliatory spirit into these negotiations. Despite the frustrating lack of progress in this dialogue so far, Turkey will persevere in negotiations, hoping that eventually avenues will be opened for constructive results. But it is imperative that while the negotiating process is under way both parties exercise the utmost restraint.

195. The temptations to try for faits accomplis or unilateral advantages should be strongly resisted if grave consequences are to be avoided. The rational path for both countries is to continue their dialogue with balanced perceptions, taking each other's interests into account.

196. There is a truly universal problem which has in recent years reached alarming and unprecedented levels. I am referring to international terrorism. Throughout the

world, in many societies of otherwise vast differences, terrorism is taking a high toll of innocent human lives, challenging stability, disrupting daily life and endangering the territorial integrity of nations.

197. A clarification is in order before I proceed, since the word "terrorism" can have different meanings for different people. We certainly do not consider as terrorist activities the national liberation struggles recognized by the United Nations and international regional organizations. We support the legitimate struggle of national liberation movements against all forms of colonialism, foreign occupation and oppression. Terrorism, as we understand it, involves those illegal acts directed against the social stability and territorial integrity of existing States. This type of terrorism aims at the disintegration of societies through chaos and anarchy.

198. It is this scourge that has afflicted my country the past few years, shaking the very fabric of Turkish society and infiltrating all of its sectors and institutions. Thousands of innocent persons have fallen as its victims. Prior to September last year an average of 20 people had been losing their lives every day as a result of terrorist acts. Our social structure faced disintegration, while political life was totally paralysed. It was this anarchy and violence which prompted the military intervention of 12 September 1980. Since then, the overriding task of my Government has been the fight against terrorism.

199. This fight is being carried on with perseverance. So far the achievement is as impressive as the disclosures are shocking. The illegal arms and ammunition captured have reached astonishing levels. By 15 August 1981 the number of small arms confiscated totalled 730,574, and over 5 million rounds of ammunition had been seized. Confiscated illegal weapons even include rocket launchers and howitzers. Such a stock of arms and ammunition could easily equip an entire army.

200. We in Turkey are about to win this struggle against terrorism on such an incredible scale. Turkish society is once again free from fear and enjoying its basic right—the right to life. But our findings clearly indicate that terrorism of this magnitude could not have been organized with only domestic means and resources. In fact, terrorism in Turkey was financed and supported clandestinely from abroad. As long as violence is backed by one or more foreign States, there will be other societies in the future which will also be victimized.

201. International terrorism is a threat not only to individual countries but also to the orderly conduct of international relations. Assaults against diplomats and diplomatic missions around the world have become frequent occurrences. Turkish diplomats have been the foremost targets of brutal acts of terrorism. Only last week the Turkish Consulate in Paris became the most recent target of a violent attack by terrorists. This senseless act resulted in a tragedy involving the murder of an official and the wounding of a diplomat.

202. General Assembly resolution 35/168, on the protection of diplomatic and consular agents and premises, is an important step. We hope that this resolution will provide for the beginning of comprehensive international co-operation. Turkey reaffirms its readiness to provide full co-operation for the adoption of effective measures for the

prevention and suppression of all acts of terrorism. We urge the United Nations to take specific steps to combat this kind of violence. We call upon all countries to take a categorical stand against terrorist acts whenever and wherever they occur under whatever pretext. All countries should also individually strengthen their measures against terrorism at the national level. They should further promote bilateral and regional co-operation. Among concrete measures, appropriate arrangements could be considered for the control of small-arms sales between private companies.

203. In this context I should like to touch upon the question of drug abuse, to which Turkey has always attached primary importance. The problem directly concerns the social stability and national security of nations. It has reached alarming levels and should no longer be tolerated. We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the threat posed by drug abuse and called for concerted action against this evil. As we have said on many occasions, there are strong links between arms smuggling and drug trafficking. There are strong indications that the same underground organizations are engaged in both activities.

204. It is with these considerations in mind that we welcome the inclusion in the agenda of an item proposed by Bolivia, entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs" [item 129]. We believe that the United Nations should look into this problem in all its aspects, with particular reference to the links between arms smuggling and illicit traffic in drugs.

205. Relations between East and West have suffered setbacks in recent years. At a time when the over-all East-West relationship is very strained, it is of particular importance to revive the process of negotiations on arms control and disarmament. For these negotiations, if successful, can enhance security at lower levels of armaments and, at the same time, help sustain the process of détente by providing tangible benefits through dialogue.

206. We therefore welcome the joint decision of the United States and the USSR, reached during last week's meeting between Secretary of State Haig and Foreign Minister Gromyko, to begin negotiations on nuclear arms later in the year. We hope that these talks will pave the way for the limitation and substantial reduction in tactical nuclear forces as well as in strategic nuclear arms.

207. Another component of the dialogue between the East and the West is the follow-up to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Turkey earnestly hopes that it will prove feasible to achieve an agreement in Madrid on a balanced and substantial concluding document, including a mandate for a European disarmament conference. This proposed conference in Europe could be a major qualitative step in the process of confidence-building, which is indispensable for successful disarmament efforts.

208. I should like to state once again our objectives in the field of arms control. We strongly favour the continuation of the talks on strategic nuclear arms. We support the efforts for the achievement of a multilateral comprehensive test-ban treaty. We attach importance to the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. We endorse the evolution of an effective non-

proliferation régime based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We share the objective of limiting and reducing conventional forces, and in particular a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe.

209. Turkey remains committed to those objectives. Turkey is also eager to bring its contribution to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We expect that session to produce tangible progress by facilitating world-wide disarmament negotiations, defining the conceptual framework for those negotiations and setting the criteria and principles for carrying out the important preparatory work.

210. The complex situation in the Middle East continues to be of central concern to the entire international community. It contains an explosive potential for a conflict threatening world peace. By virtue of its geographical location as well as its historical close ties with the countries of the region, Turkey has been following with particular concern the increasing tensions in the area. From this rostrum, Turkey has on several occasions made clear its firm stand on the question of Palestine, which constitutes the core of the Middle East conflict. I want to reaffirm that we consider the following elements to be indispensable for a comprehensive, lasting and just settlement: withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Al Quds Al Sharif; recognition and realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent State in their own territory; the right of every State in the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries; the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all peace efforts on an equal footing with the other interested parties to the conflict; and the maintenance of the Arab and Islamic character of the Holy City of Al Quds Al Sharif, and the rejection of the arbitrary unilateral change in its status, which is a flagrant violation of international law.

211. It is encouraging that the countries of the region are displaying fresh interest in and eagerness for a comprehensive settlement, which is long overdue. The plan recently put forward by the Government of Saudi Arabia is a case in point. The overall positive reaction it has received in the region reaffirms that the Arab countries are prepared to seek a just peace.

212. In addition, the efforts of the European Community for a comprehensive settlement are commendable. If pursued, they promise to make valuable contributions to the quest for peace. We were gratified to hear last week [8th meeting] from Lord Carrington, the current President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, that the members of the Community will pursue their efforts energetically to promote a peaceful settlement.

213. Yet if all those efforts are to be given a chance, there must be a fundamental change in the present policies of the Government of Israel. In the course of the past year it has become all the more evident that Israeli policies based on aggression, intransigence and arrogance constitute the principal source of tension and instability in the Middle East. In a demonstration of incredible shortsightedness, Israel recklessly imperils its avowed objective of living peacefully with its neighbours. No nation has ever been able to attain security for itself through the annexation of territory, the denial of the rights of others and

a self-righteous rejection of the legitimate interests of its neighbours.

214. During conflicts, acts of violence serve only to complicate the search for a settlement. In utter disregard of this basic fact, Israel has escalated and widened its attacks in recent months. The premeditated aggression against the nuclear reactor in Iraq and the indiscriminate bombing of Lebanon demonstrate that Israel recognizes no limits to its policy bent on domination.

215. Indeed, the Israeli intervention in Lebanon tremendously complicates the fragile and tenuous situation in that country. Turkey believes that an end to the human suffering in Lebanon can only be secured within a framework that would ensure the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. We welcome and support the valuable work of the quadripartite committee of the League of Arab States towards that objective. The cease-fire in southern Lebanon has been a positive achievement. We hope that all parties will co-operate with UNIFIL to enable it to carry out its mandate in southern Lebanon.

216. The ongoing war between Iraq and Iran constitutes another threat to peace and security in the region. Those countries are our neighbours, with whom we have historical ties of friendship, and we feel distressed to see them remain engaged in armed hostility. The war offers nothing other than more suffering, damage and destabilization. It must, therefore, be brought to a speedy end. Turkey has maintained strict neutrality with regard to the conflict. We have shown the utmost care to observe that neutrality and will continue to do so. We have also taken an active part in the multilateral efforts to bring about a reconciliation between our two neighbours within the Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We shall pursue those efforts. We appreciate the parallel initiatives of the Secretary-General as well as those of non-aligned countries in search of peace between Iran and Iraq.

217. In the face of turmoil and disunity in the area, the formation of the Gulf Co-operation Council has been a most timely initiative. Turkey fully supports the objectives of its founding members in this undertaking.

218. The tragic situation in Afghanistan is a source of particular concern and distress for Turkey. Turks have enjoyed a common history, traditional friendship and fraternal bonds with the Afghan people. We strongly wish that their tragedy would soon come to an end. However, the situation created by outside intervention in Afghanistan in breach of the Charter of the United Nations remains unchanged. It poses a serious threat to regional and global peace and stability. Turkey believes that only a political solution can be found to this crisis. Such a settlement should restore to the Afghan people their right to self-government and ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country, as well as the cessation of all foreign interference. There have been several recent efforts to achieve a solution. We support the initiatives of the Islamic Conference, the European Community and the Secretary-General in this field.

219. The pressing problems in southern Africa still await solution. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey follows the prevailing

situation in southern Africa with anxiety and apprehension.

220. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is an impermissible act which cannot be condoned under any pretext or justification. We extend unreserved support to the people of Namibia in their arduous struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence under their legitimate representative, SWAPO. A peaceful solution in Namibia can come about only through the implementation of the United Nations plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The breakdown of the pre-implementation meeting at Geneva last January, because of South African intransigence, has delayed the implementation of that resolution. We are satisfied that the five nations that make up the contact group on Namibia have now achieved progress towards the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) after consultations with the parties. The statement issued last week by the contact group promises the long-awaited breakthrough, and we sincerely hope the group will be able to lead the way to the independence of Namibia in 1982.

221. In South Africa itself, the Pretoria régime persists in its policy of *apartheid* in total disregard of the insistent demands of the international community. It has in fact stepped up its policy of bantustanization. It is dismaying that the trends in South Africa promise only accelerating violence and further conflict. That situation poses a danger to peace and stability in the region. In line with our traditional stand against all forms of oppression and discrimination, we shall continue to advocate the adoption of further effective sanctions against the racist minority régime in South Africa.

222. Turkey has also condemned the South African aggression against Angola. It is a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, involving loss of life, human suffering and material damage.

223. Kampuchea is another international issue which continues to elude a settlement. The Kampuchean question requires a comprehensive political solution that would enable its people to choose their Government without coercion or intervention from outside.

224. The International Conference on Kampuchea held last July has provided a new impetus. Turkey regards the Declaration of that Conference¹ as a practical and sound basis for a settlement.

225. I should like to express our appreciation for the efforts of the humanitarian agencies which are doing their utmost to help the Kampuchean people and the refugees. Their admirable work has helped to alleviate much of the suffering. Improvement in the humanitarian conditions can help in tackling the political problems.

226. We are all aware of the immense challenge the world is facing in the economic field. Its dimensions are not only economic but human, social and political as well. When we speak of a more just world economic order we do so in the firm knowledge that if we fail to achieve it in a reasonable span of time, the ensuing tension and confrontations will fatally undermine the prospects of international peace² and co-operation.

227. The long-term problems with which we have to deal are at present clouded by changes which affect expectations in growth patterns and energy. The economic fabric of the world is undermined by continued high inflation, high interest rates, restrictive financial policies, recession, unemployment, currency fluctuations and increased protectionism.

228. The negative effects of these unfavourable trends in the world economy are no doubt felt acutely in the developing countries. Trade between developing and developed countries—this most dynamic and positive feature of the world economy during the last decade—has been severely limited. In this context we note with growing concern that import restrictions, as well as such policies as subsidies, export credits and other protectionist mechanisms, have become increasingly widespread. In our view the developed countries should try to resolve their sectoral problems through restructuring rather than protectionist measures. It is in this way that all countries could be fully integrated into a multilateral trade system.

229. Another weakness in the economies of the developing countries is the increase in their foreign debt burden caused by their growing balance of payments deficits, high interest rates and interest rate fluctuations. The problem could be alleviated by recycling the surplus of oil exporting countries and by strengthening the compensatory mechanism of the existing financial institutions. We commend the step already taken in this direction by some members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], in particular Saudi Arabia.

230. The world economy is moving inevitably towards interdependence. This constitutes an opportunity for common progress towards more fairly shared prosperity. In order to ensure world-wide economic security, international co-operation should be strengthened in a global context in which the mutual interests and responsibilities of the developed and developing countries could better be defined, harmonized and promoted. We believe, therefore, that we should provide a new momentum to the North-South dialogue, which is now stalled. We hope that the North-South meeting in Cancún will pave the way for a new determination to tackle all of the vital problems of the world economy, reaffirm the need for co-operation on a global scale, and lead to the beginning of global negotiations.

231. In this context, we should like to commend the invaluable efforts of the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. von Wechmar.

232. We are pleased to see that progress has been made, particularly in two major areas relating to development issues.

233. The conclusion of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi last month, should have a significant bearing on the search for global solutions to energy problems that affect the developed and developing countries alike. We welcome the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference.⁵ However, it is not enough that a Programme of Action has been successfully produced at that Conference. A reasonable way of financing it should ensue if we want the Programme to get off the ground.

234. We also welcome the successful conclusion of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris, and we earnestly hope that it will be followed by positive and concrete results which will help the least-developed countries to overcome their fundamental problems. We welcome the Programme of Action adopted at that Conference⁶ within the framework of which a target of 0.15 per cent of gross national product has been envisaged as aid for the least developed countries. Although we do not think that this figure is a satisfactory one, we strongly hope that this is a minimum target, that it will receive universal acceptance and that the commitments made at the Conference by the donor countries will soon be transformed into reality.

235. The increasing vulnerability of the world economy calls for substantial and structural solutions. To restrict the issues to food, energy and macro-economic balances will not be sufficient. The world economy requires wide-ranging global structural measures rather than remedies of a partial and sectoral nature.

236. On the other hand, several developing countries are suffering economic bottlenecks while seeking urgent solutions to their problems. The agenda of the global negotiations should, therefore, encompass all the aspects of the process of a new world economic order. The breakthrough can come only when the economic growth of the developing countries is considered as an essential element in the sustained development of the rich nations and their interests are regarded as complementary and compatible, not conflicting and irreconcilable.

237. As a developing country Turkey has dealt with development issues ever since its foundation in 1923 and has accumulated valuable experience in this area. It is for this very reason that Turkey feels great sympathy for the developing countries and supports them fully in their fight to eradicate poverty.

238. In the same spirit, over the years Turkey has wholeheartedly given its support to many of the initiatives taken within UNCTAD and has contributed to the realization of many of them, such as the Generalized System of Preferences, the Integrated Programme for Commodities, and the Common Fund.

239. Another field to which Turkey attaches great importance is economic co-operation among developing countries. Against the background of bleak world economic conditions, there is no doubt that progress reached in this area would contribute immensely to the solution of many of the problems confronting these countries.

240. Turkey has been quite active in this field, both within the framework of UNCTAD, in particular within the framework of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, and of GATT, and believes that the Organization of the Islamic Conference is one of the appropriate forums where such co-operation can be meaningfully pursued.

241. We are resolved to participate in and contribute to the greatest extent possible to such endeavours among the developing countries.

242. As the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly gets under way, we in Turkey are celebrating the cen-

ennial of the founder of our Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. We would like to recall one of his principal dictums in the field of international relations: "Peace at home, peace abroad". History has time and again shown how perceptive Atatürk's observation was, pointing as it does to the interaction of domestic and foreign affairs. Turkey, in observance of this principle and ideal, will continue to promote peace whether at home or abroad.

243. Mr. BOMBOKO LOKUMBA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset, on behalf of the delegation of Zaire and on my own behalf, to offer Mr. Kittani my heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of his election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. This sign of confidence is a tribute to his competence, to his sense of responsibility, to his perfect knowledge of the workings of the United Nations and to his country. His devotion to the ideals of the United Nations and his vast experience of international problems are in our view of singular value for the success of our deliberations.

244. We wish to assure him of the full co-operation of the delegation of Zaire in the discharge of the very delicate and complex mission with which he has been entrusted.

245. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the skill and patience with which he conducted the debates of the Assembly at its thirty-fifth session and for the efforts he made to narrow diverging positions on the world problems of the moment, and particularly on global negotiations.

246. I cannot fail to mention the action undertaken by the Secretary-General, for the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of the ideals of the United Nations in a decidedly difficult international situation in which the very principles of the Organization have sometimes been seriously challenged.

247. I wish to express to him our appreciation of the clarity of his report [A/36/I] and the lucidity of his analysis of the international situation. Undoubtedly this has been a valuable contribution to the enrichment of our deliberations.

248. Since its creation in 1945 the Organization has been constantly enriched by the free accession of new Member States, testifying to its dynamism and the justice of its ideals. The admission of Vanuatu and Belize as the one hundred fifty-fifth and one hundred fifty-sixth Members is striking proof of this. My delegation welcomes the admission of those two new Members and, in welcoming them to the United Nations, assures them of our friendship and co-operation.

249. This session of the General Assembly has opened in a tense international climate, characterized by distrust, pessimism and anxiety. Indeed, mankind is at the present time going through one of the most critical periods in its history.

250. In the political sphere, the spirit of confrontation, violence, the use of force and interference in the internal affairs of other States tend to put their stamp on international relations, to the detriment of the principles of

peaceful coexistence and international co-operation based on the philosophy of complementarity and interdependence.

251. The resurgence of the cold war, the hegemonistic ambitions and expansion of the great Powers, the pursuit of spheres of influence and the escalation of the unbridled arms race have given the latter part of this century an after-taste of blood and ashes.

252. In the economic sphere, the persistent refusal of the developed countries to embark upon the structural and institutional changes necessary for the restructuring and democratization of international economic relations, the acute deterioration of the terms of trade, inflation, unemployment, protectionism, and so on, have helped to bring about a dramatic worsening of the crisis. We can never repeat sufficiently that the present international economic order, based on exploitation and injustice, is fundamentally inadequate and unsuitable. This crisis is not a mere cyclical phenomenon but rather the manifestation of a profound disruption of the structures of the present international economic system, which is no longer able effectively to respond to the needs either of the developing countries or of the industrialized developed countries themselves.

253. In this period of interdependence, the exploitation, domination and poverty of peoples in one part of the world cannot for long coexist with peace, brazen affluence and prosperity in other parts of the world, especially if there is a deep-seated feeling that the resources of the poor have been exploited to create the prosperity of the rich.

254. We believe, therefore, that it is time to undertake large-scale international action under United Nations auspices to find a comprehensive solution to the problems affecting our planet, unless we wish to confront a more serious world crisis with unforeseeable consequences.

255. There has been no positive progress on the many problems of major concern which were debated at the thirty-fifth session. On the contrary, many of them have worsened.

256. The question of the Middle East and Palestine has been of concern to the United Nations since the Organization's creation. In spite of many General Assembly sessions, meetings of the Security Council and relevant United Nations resolutions, the chances of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the conflict have been compromised by the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the persistence of Israel's policies of aggression, occupation and annexation of Arab territories.

257. There is no shadow of doubt that Israel derives its arrogance from the political, economic and military support that it receives from certain great Powers. My delegation believes that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region necessarily involves: the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the right to existence of each State in the region, as well as its right to live in peace within secure, recognized borders, free from threats or acts of force; respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each State in the region; respect

for and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to create their own State and the right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty; recognition of the fact that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the Middle East conflict; the full participation of the PLO in the peace process in the region; the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes; and a just solution to the refugee problem.

258. All of that implies direct negotiations between the parties involved and the cessation of any state of war in the region. It is in that spirit that we have supported Egypt's peace efforts, which we regard as an important step in the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict. In the same spirit we consider, without prejudice to the other relevant resolutions, that Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which defined the guiding principles for a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict, complements General Assembly resolution 181 (II), of 29 November 1947, on the creation of a Jewish State of Palestine and an Arab State of Palestine, and resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948.

259. The Republic of Zaire reaffirms its complete support for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

260. The persistence of the Middle East crisis has caused new dangers and threats to the peace, independence and integrity of other States in the region. Lebanon, which has already been sapped by a fratricidal war between Christians and Moslems, has for some time lived with the spectre of its own destruction. The international community cannot view with indifference the dismemberment of a Member State. That is why my delegation considers that all Member States have the duty to strive to safeguard the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, which have been seriously imperiled.

261. The violation of the territorial integrity of Iraq and the Israeli act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installation at Tamuz, which is regularly monitored by IAEA, marked a new stage in the escalation of violence and in the worsening of tension in the region. Zaire vigorously condemns that act of aggression, for which Israel was entirely responsible.

262. In the same region, for almost a year another war has pitted against each other two Moslem countries that are members of the non-aligned movement—Iraq and Iran. The Zaire delegation expresses the wish that there would soon be a peaceful settlement of this conflict. In this regard, it welcomes the efforts by the Secretary-General and by other organizations to bring about the restoration of peace and understanding between these two brother States.

263. The situation in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea continues to preoccupy international opinion. The Republic of Zaire is duty-bound to recall that the search for lasting solutions to those conflicts must include respect for General Assembly resolutions 34/22, 35/6 and 35/37, which reaffirmed the following principles: non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States; non-recourse to the use of force in international relations; the peaceful settlement of disputes; respect for the territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty of

States; and the right of peoples to self-determination. Those are the conditions for a peaceful solution.

264. Accordingly, we consider that the prior withdrawal of foreign troops will create the conditions which would favour a comprehensive political settlement and enable the peoples concerned freely to decide their own future and their own destiny, free from any external interference, subversion or coercion.

265. In the Korean peninsula there has been permanent tension for 36 years, following the division of that country by the victors in the Second World War. My delegation thinks that it is primarily for the Korean people themselves to resolve this problem by a direct dialogue between the North and the South, free from any outside pressure. However, in the interests of peace and détente the United Nations should take new action to create conditions favourable to a resumption of negotiations between the two parties. Indeed, we remain convinced that such negotiations are the only practical way to achieve a peaceful solution to all the problems resulting from the division of the country and to promote a relaxation of tension in that part of the world. In accordance with our policies, Zaire has recognized the two Koreas and maintains with both excellent relations of friendship and co-operation.

266. As regards Cyprus, resumption of the intercommunal talks seems to us to be a basic condition for bringing about a just and equitable solution to the crisis in that country. The United Nations, through the Secretary-General, should continue its efforts to help the two communities find a basis of understanding and to create the conditions for a return to peace.

267. Since 1945 the colonial Powers, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, have pledged themselves to guarantee the political advancement of the peoples in the colonial territories and to develop their ability to govern themselves. Since its creation the United Nations has ceaselessly worked for respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, taking account of their own aspirations and the overriding importance of their own interests.

268. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960, which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, solemnly proclaimed the need to put a speedy end to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination throughout the world.

269. More than 20 years later, we are happy to note that a number of colonial territories have acceded to independence and now swell the ranks of the United Nations, thus helping it to fulfil its universal vocation. This is an undoubted success, to the credit of the Organization. Unfortunately, there are still some blots on this picture, particularly in southern Africa, where a handful of white racists continue, despite international condemnation, to practise an abject policy which has been universally condemned as a crime against humanity, to deprive the black majority of the South African population of their most elementary rights, illegally to occupy Namibia and to deny the inhabitants of that Territory their right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

270. South Africa's refusal to leave Namibia and its delaying tactics, designed to hold up that country's accession to independence notwithstanding the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, are an unacceptable challenge that must be met by the international community as a whole. That anachronistic régime is encouraged in its obstinacy and arrogance by the economic and military co-operation it continues to enjoy from certain States Members of the United Nations.

271. The Republic of Zaire considers that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only basis on which the Namibian question can be settled. It reaffirms the primary responsibility of the United Nations from that Territory since the termination of South Africa's Mandate in 1966.

272. The continued occupation of Namibia, the illegal nature of which has been recognized and reaffirmed by the Security Council, coupled with the denial of the fundamental rights of the Namibian people and the repeated acts of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring States from occupied Namibia, constitute a grave threat to international peace and security. This amply justifies recourse to comprehensive and effective mandatory measures to restore peace and stability to that region.

273. The Republic of Zaire, whose geography and history link it with southern Africa, attaches great importance to the establishment and maintenance of a climate of peace and stability in southern Africa through the speedy accession to independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

274. Following the failure of the Geneva pre-implementation meeting on the United Nations plan for Namibia, the Security Council should draw the appropriate conclusions from the recent International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris, and take all the necessary measures advocated by the General Assembly at its eighth emergency special session [*resolution ES-8/2*] on Namibia, including those prescribed in Chapter VII of the Charter, if South Africa continues to flout the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In no circumstances could the Republic of Zaire sanction any approach that would tend to favour South Africa in the quest for a negotiated solution of the Namibian question.

275. In this respect, Zaire reiterates its total support for the legitimate struggle being waged by SWAPO for the self-determination and independence of the Namibian people and vehemently condemns South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States, in particular that recently perpetrated against its sister Republic of Angola.

276. Zaire appeals to all States Members of the United Nations to give concrete expression to their solidarity with the victims of South Africa's barbaric acts. We urge those countries which continue to support South Africa to observe the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and to cease all forms of collaboration with the illegal minority régime of Pretoria.

277. The delegation of the Republic of Zaire reaffirms its support for the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as for the national liberation movements and the he-

roic and just struggle they are waging to recover their wounded dignity and legitimate rights.

278. Regarding the problem of Western Sahara, Zaire is happy to note that once again African wisdom and the virtues of dialogue have prevailed over the spirit of confrontation. Here we must pay a well-deserved tribute to His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco for the political courage he demonstrated at the recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which paved the way for progress towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

279. We urge the international community to support the process of peaceful settlement which has begun and to refrain from any initiative that might jeopardize the effort that has been undertaken by the OAU.

280. One of the important issues of concern to the world in general and to the African continent in particular is undoubtedly the problem of refugees. Of the 10 million refugees who have been counted throughout the world, 5 million live in Africa, including almost 1 million in Zaire. Apart from the moral and physical suffering they endure, the housing, placement and reclassification of those refugees place a heavy burden on the meagre resources of our young States, which themselves are confronted by problems of development.

281. The delegation of Zaire welcomes the efforts that have been undertaken within the United Nations system, particularly by UNHCR, to find a comprehensive solution to this problem. The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held last April at Geneva under United Nations auspices, enabled the international community to appreciate the gravity of this phenomenon and to decide on certain specific measures to assist African refugees.

282. The Republic of Zaire welcomes the spirit of solidarity shown by some countries at that Conference and hopes that the international community will intensify its efforts to alleviate the plight of African refugees. We must show imagination in our search for comprehensive solutions to this problem.

283. The deterioration of the climate of confidence in international relations and the search for a hypothetical balance of forces, which underlies all theories of deterrence, maintain the infernal cycle of the arms race. If mankind is threatened with self-destruction it is certainly through a nuclear holocaust. Mankind has for some time been living under a permanent threat of annihilation because of the proliferation of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction which neither United Nations resolutions nor fine-sounding declarations of intent by those who possess those weapons have been able to check.

284. Notwithstanding the proclamation of the first Disarmament Decade [*resolution 2602/E (XXIV)*] and the Plan of Action adopted by the Geneva Assembly at its tenth special session [*see resolution ES-10/2*], which was devoted to disarmament, little progress has been made because of the lack of political will on the part of the great Powers. We feel that while disarmament is the concern of all States, the responsibility for halting and reversing the arms race rests first and foremost with the great Powers.

285. The nuclear-weapon States must also undertake by means of an international convention to guarantee the non-nuclear-weapon States, in particular those which have undertaken by treaty not to acquire nuclear weapons, against the use or threat of use of such weapons.

286. The proclamation by the United Nations of nuclear-free zones has been an important contribution to the establishment of a climate of peace and security in the world.⁵ Unfortunately, in the African region the possession of the nuclear weapon by South Africa—thanks to the collaboration of certain States Members of the United Nations—makes the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa void of meaning, because once South Africa, a State which is overtly hostile to a number of neighbouring African States, has the nuclear weapon there is no reason to prevent other African States from having access to it for the purpose of self-defence.

287. The possession of that weapon by a State which has no sense of respect for the customary rules of international conduct and international conventions and which continually ignores the resolutions adopted by the Organization constitutes indeed a grave threat to peace and security in Africa.

288. Thus the question of confidence-building measures in international relations becomes extremely important. General and complete disarmament under international control remains the basic condition for the establishment of an over-all climate of trust and reduction of the risks of tension throughout the world.

289. The Republic of Zaire has always approached the question of disarmament from the point of view of peace, security, confidence-building measures and development. Indeed, it has been acknowledged that the arms race swallows up enormous resources that could more usefully have been devoted to organizing progress and improving the living conditions of millions of human beings throughout the world.

290. As everyone knows, the world economy has recently been going through a particularly serious period of crisis unprecedented since the end of the Second World War. This crisis affects all countries without distinction, whatever their levels of economic development. The deterioration of the terms of trade continues; industrial activity is practically stagnating; expansion of world trade has slowed down; payments imbalances have been accentuated; unemployment and underemployment continue to worsen, and the high rates of inflation have not fallen.

291. The developing countries which do not export oil—in particular those of the African continent, economically the least developed of all continents, the most dependent on the economies of the industrialized countries and consequently the most vulnerable—have not achieved significant growth rates.

292. The developed countries continue to be the masters of world trade and manipulate at will the prices of raw materials, keeping them at an abnormally low level to the detriment of the commodity-exporting countries. The gap between the purchasing power of the export earnings of those countries and the cost of the goods imported from developed countries grows ever wider, and everything in-

dicates that these negative tendencies will become even more accentuated.

293. This situation, which is of great concern for one side and of desperation for the other, calls for the thorough and urgent restructuring of present international economic relations. Hence the need for the immediate resumption of global negotiations to implement effectively measures relating to the establishment of a new international economic order which is more just and equitable, in a manner that is consistent and integrated in accordance with the spirit and letter of General Assembly resolution 34/138.

294. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56*] emphasizes the urgency of measures which would speedily eliminate all obstacles to the economic liberation of developing countries and help launch a series of global negotiations for the 1980s.

295. The delegation of Zaire deplores the lack of progress in launching the global negotiations and the failure of the work of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which it ascribes to the absence of political will by the industrialized countries, which have not honoured the commitments they undertook in respect of international co-operation and the establishment of the new international economic order. It is highly regrettable that Governments which a few years ago undertook to promote the cause of development have not met the hopes placed in them. It is to be hoped that the major industrialized countries, in accordance with the communiqué issued at the end of the summit meeting held at Ottawa,⁷ will in the future be ready to participate in the preparation of a mutually acceptable process for global negotiations in conditions in which significant progress can be made, following the meeting to be held at Cancún.

296. The Republic of Zaire has opted for frank co-operation with mutual advantage to North and South and attaches great importance to overcoming the obstacles blocking the North-South dialogue and to the launching of global negotiations to bring about a new spirit in international economic relations.

297. In the sphere of international trade, while there is reason to welcome the progress made within UNCTAD, particularly as far as the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities⁸ and the agreements on cocoa, tin and natural rubber are concerned, it is yet true that as regards the complete implementation of resolution 93 (IV) on the Integrated Programme for Commodities adopted by UNCTAD at Nairobi⁹—a resolution which was supported by all Member States—and negotiations on the adoption of a code of conduct for the transfer of technology, there is still a lack of political will on the part of the developed countries. Much still remains to be done.

298. In order to increase the value of commodities, stabilize prices and guarantee a remunerative and stable income to the producers, but especially to enable UNCTAD to accomplish its primary mission and really help the efforts of the developing countries, we urge the developed countries to relinquish their egoism and prevarication and adhere resolutely to the principle of international solidarity.

299. The Republic of Zaire appeals to the international community to give practical effect to the will it has so often expressed so that agreements on other primary products listed in the Nairobi Integrated Programme, in particular copper, manganese and vegetable oils, may positively and speedily mark the second stage in the negotiations.

300. If there is an area in which the Republic of Zaire needs special assistance from the international community, as has been recognized by the Economic and Social Council, UNCTAD and the General Assembly, it is that of transport infrastructure.

301. General Assembly resolutions 34/193 and 35/59 and resolution 1981/68, adopted at the second regular session for 1981 of the Economic and Social Council, relating to the specific problems of Zaire in the field of transport, transit and access to international markets require particularly urgent attention. The delegation of Zaire hopes that the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of those resolutions will help to speed up the quest for a solution to this problem.

302. Co-operation between developing countries is a requirement for the installation of the new international economic order. That is why all States Members of the United Nations and agencies within the United Nations system should support the Programme of Action adopted by the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas [see A/36/333 and Corr.1], to promote the collective efforts of the developing countries, because strengthening this economic co-operation will help speed up the economic growth of these countries and help lessen their dependence and their vulnerability with regard to the outside world.

303. Accordingly, the Lagos Plan of Action,¹⁰ which is part of the collective and individual programme for self-reliance of the Group of 77, deserves the support of the international community so that it can be immediately implemented. I should like to launch a solemn appeal to all States Members of the United Nations to give continuing support to the OAU in implementing this Plan.

304. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which has just concluded its work in Paris, examined in depth the particular problems of the least developed countries, to which my country gives full support. We hope that the encouraging promises and the commitment undertaken by certain developed countries during this important Conference will be honoured.

305. Man has a duty to conserve and preserve nature, to maintain the balance of eco-systems, a balance necessary to his own survival. It is in this spirit that the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/7 on the draft World Charter for Nature, and invited Member States to conduct their activities with regard for the supreme importance of the protection of natural systems, the maintenance of the balance and the quality of nature in the interests of present and future generations.

306. The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its thirty-seventh session unanimously adopted and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government endorsed, resolution CM/Res. 852 (XXXVII) [see A/36/534, annex I], which recommends the adoption by

the General Assembly of the United Nations of the draft World Charter for Nature. We would hope that the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General, worked out on the basis of observations made by Member States, will make it possible to adopt this Charter as soon as possible.

307. This review of the major political and economic problems besetting our world would be incomplete without a reference to the important question of the law of the sea, negotiations on which seem to have stalled.

308. Some questions on the work programme of the tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which we had hoped would win a general consensus at the resumed Geneva session, have not yet been resolved.

309. For the developing countries which like us are land-based producers, it is vital that questions relating to production policies for, and to control of the exploitation of, the sea-bed and ocean floor should find a satisfactory solution.

310. It is appropriate here to emphasize that the sea-bed and the ocean floor are the common heritage of mankind and that their exploitation must take particular account of the interests of the developing countries.

311. Everyone knows that the sea-bed and ocean floor contain innumerable mineral resources in the form of polymetallic nodules containing cobalt, copper, nickel, manganese, and so forth, and that unplanned production would obviously be highly prejudicial to the interests of the land-based countries which produce these same substances and at the same time would upset the international market structure and the prices of these products.

312. The delegation of Zaire voices the wish that adequate machinery will be found to safeguard the vital interests of the developing countries which are land-based producers and that the draft Convention on the Law of the Sea will be adopted within the agreed time-frame.

313. These are the crucial problems to which the delegation of Zaire hopes the Assembly will give particular attention at its present session.

314. In the political sphere, we have stigmatized the climate of general insecurity, uncertainty and growing disarray throughout the world, the violation of the customary norms of international conduct and of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the arms race, the expansionist ambitions of the great Powers and the escalation of conflicts throughout the world.

315. In the economic sphere, the aspirations of the countries of the third world have not yet been satisfied, the gap between the North and the South is becoming ever wider and the establishment of the new international economic order continues to meet with resistance on the part of the rich countries.

316. Notwithstanding this gloomy picture of humanity's prospects, I wish to reaffirm the staunch faith of the Republic of Zaire in the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which is an ideal framework for permanent conciliation and dialogue to bring about solu-

tions to the problems faced by the world. I should like to underline the primary role which the United Nations should play in the settlement of disputes, reducing international tensions and promoting conditions favourable to the maintenance of international peace and security, progress, and the development of nations and peoples.

317. Mr. DONT SOP (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon, which I have the honour of leading, is greatly pleased at the election of Mr. Kittani to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. This success is certainly a tribute to his reputation as a man and as a diplomat well-versed in international questions. It is also an honour to his country, Iraq, a member of our great family of non-aligned countries and one which enjoys relations of fruitful co-operation with my country. We are convinced that under his guidance our work will be successfully concluded.

318. We are pleased also to take this opportunity to convey our thanks to his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, for the authority, competence and courage with which he conducted the work of the thirty-fifth session and of the emergency special session devoted to Namibia.

319. Lastly, I should like to pay a special and well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General. My Government greatly appreciates the tireless efforts which he has constantly made with such self-denial and discretion in the discharge of his difficult functions in the quest for answers to the many problems of our time.

320. We also welcome the accession of Vanuatu to independence and national sovereignty and its admission as the one hundred fifty-fifth Member of the Organization. Cameroon had the privilege of being involved in the decisive phase leading to the independence of that country, with which it has already laid foundations of fraternal co-operation.

321. We are also pleased to congratulate Belize on its accession to independence and to extend to it a cordial welcome to the Organization.

322. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when the world situation gives rise to grave disquiet because of the resurgence of a spirit of confrontation in East-West relations, distrust, general tension and uncertainty, which have an impact on international peace and security.

323. This dangerous polarization is detrimental to the essential principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual tolerance and co-operation which are embodied in the Charter and from which flows the policy of non-alignment espoused by my country and the great majority of the members of the international community.

324. This intensive struggle for spheres of influence and raw materials downgrades and at the same time hinders the legitimate and long-thwarted aspirations of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to better living conditions and full mastery of their destinies.

325. We need hardly recall here that their human dimension and the weight of their natural wealth and economic potential have become major realities of our age

and that it is only right that these peoples should demand an equitable share of the wealth of the world, in the framework of a fundamentally new international order, providing equal access for all, particularly the most disinherited, to well-being and happiness.

326. Nevertheless, a strong trend in favour of that necessary change is encountering opposition from certain favoured nations which benefit from the crumbling present economic and monetary system.

327. A schematic analysis of the international economic environment shows that, despite projections indicating a slight improvement for certain countries, the global economic climate is still marred by the same oppositions, growing conservatism and the stepping up of protectionist measures in the industrialized countries. The present crisis has assumed unprecedented proportions, as can be shown from the growing imbalance in the balance of payments, the substantial slowing down of activity and growth, the deterioration of the terms of trade, unemployment and underemployment, inflation, the increased external indebtedness of the developing countries and also the precariousness and insufficiency of food supplies.

328. The true victims of the crisis are the developing countries, whose fragile economies cannot be expected to recover in the immediate future. In that regard, the Secretary-General rightly observes in his excellent report on the work of the Organization:

"In 1980 there was an actual decline in the *per capita* incomes of a large majority of the developing countries, and a further year of decline in 1981 cannot yet be ruled out . . .

"Such a situation of stagnation or increasing poverty is absolutely unacceptable. It contains the seeds of widespread tension and unrest which constitute, in the final analysis, a threat to world peace and stability."
[A/36/I, sect. VI]

329. In the opinion of my delegation, the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, despite its weaknesses and inadequacies, to which we have already had occasion to refer, could make an effective contribution to supporting the efforts of the developing countries, provided that its objectives are catalysed by the success of the global negotiations.

330. The launching of those negotiations, the principle of which was the subject of a consensus in resolution 34/138, continues to be thwarted by the unjustified foot-dragging of a minority of industrialized countries which are thus showing their excessive devotion to the outmoded economic system in which we live.

331. The United Republic of Cameroon, for its part, reaffirms its support for the proposal by the Group of 77 for a centralized system of negotiations open to participation by all States, aimed at taking major decisions in all spheres: raw materials, trade, energy, food, monetary affairs, finance and development.

332. We strongly hope that the important initiatives undertaken this year at Caracas and Ottawa will be pursued in a new spirit at the forthcoming meeting in Cancún. We hope that this will make it possible to get the North-South

dialogue moving again. It would be regrettable if that meeting at such a high level were once again to dash the hopes of a world in turmoil and uncertainty which feels an imperative need to strengthen solidarity and interdependence among nations as a necessary condition for its survival.

333. The same spirit should, next spring in New York, inspire all the delegations to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, so as to make it possible for those negotiations, which have lasted for more than eight years, to lead at long last to the concluding of a general agreement. We believe that the draft convention as it now stands represents the best compromise possible, that is, a "package deal" that will equitably preserve the interests of all, rich and poor, and best protect the principle of the sea as the common heritage of mankind.

334. The present deterioration of the process of détente is having harmful consequences in Africa for the efforts to resolve the problems of Namibia, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Now more than ever the essential features of these problems are basically distorted in the sense that the great Powers are relegating to the sidelines the noble ideas of liberty and dignity for which the peoples concerned are struggling, in favour of the hegemonistic rivalries or what is often now called the "strategic consensus".

335. This perception of things, which should be denounced, is at the origin of the deadlock and confusion now existing in respect of the question of Namibia. The attempts at absorption made by South Africa are particularly significant. The Pretoria régime is making use of this highly abusive attempt in order to continue to oppose the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, which it nevertheless did solemnly accept, and to multiply its aggressive acts against neighbouring countries.

336. This attitude on the part of the racist régime is unfortunately being supported by some of those very Powers which worked to elaborate and adopt the aforementioned settlement plan and which under the Charter of the United Nations have special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

337. The Namibian problem, it must be recalled, is essentially a problem of decolonization which should be examined in relation to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the peaceful solution of which lies in the immediate implementation of resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council. In that regard, while we welcome the recent declaration of the five members of the Western contact group reaffirming their determination to continue their efforts to reach a prompt and peaceful solution of the Namibian problem, we hope that these initiatives will not in any sense overshadow the role of the United Nations, the sole legal authority in Namibia, or deny the Namibian people its inalienable right to the free choice of its national institutions.

338. We reiterate our solidarity with the front-line States and in particular the People's Republic of Angola, whose determination to secure the triumph of the noble cause of liberation of the African continent from the last bastion of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination has not

slackened following the repeated acts of aggression of the racist régime in Pretoria.

339. The fact that the attention of the international community is currently centered on Namibia should not cause us to forget that in South Africa itself more than 18 million blacks continue to be subjected to one of the most inhuman forms of oppression by a white racist minority which has established *apartheid* and racial discrimination as a system of government.

340. The efforts of the international community aimed at the complete eradication of this scourge are constantly thwarted by new measures of radicalization of the *apartheid* system, adopted and applied with complete impunity by South Africa with the connivance of powerful foreign interests.

341. For some time now we have seen certain Powers bound to South Africa by economic and geostrategic interests making an extremely dangerous assessment of the situation in southern Africa which tends to minimize the persistence of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. We should therefore not be astonished at the numerous attempts to rehabilitate South Africa internationally.

342. It is necessary to denounce this trend, the purpose of which is to divert the attention of the international community from the cruel reality of the situation prevailing in the land of *apartheid*. Such attempts to undermine our efforts can but add to the sacrifices and suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa.

343. Our Organization, which has already condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, has a duty to reaffirm and increase its support for the struggle being waged by the South African people in the name of human dignity. In this respect everything must be done to ensure that the measures hitherto adopted by the international community to combat *apartheid* and racial discrimination are effectively applied by all States.

344. Despite the oft-expressed desire of the African Governments to devote themselves to economic and social development, as evidenced by the session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held last year at Lagos on economic matters, we must realize that the political situation in our continent remains a matter of concern and constitutes an obstacle to the achievement of this fundamental objective.

345. As the stake in the East-West rivalries, which take the form of destabilizing manoeuvres and the multiplication and perpetuation of focal points of tension, Africa is thus despite itself drawn into a web of circumstances in which the objectives of development and economic co-operation are increasingly sacrificed to security needs. It is to be feared that if this situation—which, moreover, is exacerbated by the world economic crisis—were to persist, the independence of our States would be jeopardized.

346. For our part, we believe that it is of the greatest urgency to reverse this trend by a new approach to the problems of our continent based to a greater extent on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, relations of good-neighbourliness, peace-

ful coexistence and mutual co-operation. Those principles, which are enshrined, *inter alia*, in the Charters of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity, guide the United Republic of Cameroon in its relations with other countries and in the search for solutions to the problems confronting Africa.

347. In this connection we are pleased to welcome once again the dynamic solidarity recently expressed by the international community at the first International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva. It goes without saying that the results of that meeting will help relieve the suffering of the 5 million men and women who are the victims of conflicts and calamities of all kinds. That conference is an appreciable first step in the mobilization of efforts to solve the disturbing problem of refugees.

348. The situation in the Middle East remains unstable and potentially explosive because of the persistence of the climate of hatred, tension and armed confrontation which has kept the countries of the area in turmoil for more than three decades. Last June the Security Council emphasized the danger of such a state of affairs by unanimously adopting resolution 487 (1981), condemning the destruction of Iraq's nuclear installation by Israeli forces.

349. If the conflict raging in that extremely sensitive area is to be prevented from becoming a world-wide catastrophe, it is of the highest importance that we all abide by the principles of the Charter concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes and that all parties agree at last to apply the numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

350. This means, first of all, that Israel, which like the other States of the area has the right to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, should withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, including its right to a homeland in Arab Palestine.

351. The United Republic of Cameroon is convinced that it is high time for the voice of reason and realism to be heard by all the parties which are confronting each other in this region with increasingly impressive military arsenals. They must realize that violence is essentially predatory and futile and that the path to peace and prosperity is necessarily through negotiation and co-operation.

352. It is also to negotiation that the Governments of Iraq and Iran should have recourse to put an end to the armed conflict in which they have been involved for over a year, causing their peoples untold suffering and sacrifice. We earnestly hope that the leaders of the two countries will take account of the urgent appeal of the international community and respond favourably to the mediation efforts of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to return to peace. This also means that the great Powers must show restraint and refrain from any interference in this conflict. Indeed, we know full well how regional disputes can get bogged down in increasing complexities as soon as the antagonistic ambitions of the great Powers and their hegemonistic rivalries are introduced.

353. South-East Asia and South-West Asia are cases in point. In Kampuchea the situation remains deadlocked in the face of the tangled nature of the problems, whether they concern the violation of the principles of the Charter or the tragic human dimension. No peaceful solution of this question can be envisaged without the participation of the super-Powers, whose ambitions and rivalries are disturbing the peace and stability of that part of the world. That is why we deplore the missed opportunity of the International Conference on Kampuchea held recently in New York, which unfortunately took the form of a monologue owing to the absence of some of the main parties concerned. Nevertheless, we hope that the mechanism of permanent consultation instituted on that occasion will make it possible to renew the dialogue among all the parties concerned so as to give the people of Kampuchea a real opportunity to choose its own national institutions in freedom and sovereignty.

354. Such an opportunity should also be extended to the Afghan people, in keeping with the wishes frequently expressed by the international community. We are following with interest the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to identify the elements of a peaceful solution of this question, which is of the greatest concern to the international community because it so gravely jeopardizes détente and, indeed, concerns the very essence of the Charter.

355. My country's well-known dedication to the principles of good-neighbourliness, the non-use of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes dictates its attitude in respect of this problem.

356. Our loyalty to these principles leads us to reiterate our appeal to the divided peoples of Cyprus and Korea with a view to the resumption and pursuit of a constructive dialogue free from any foreign interference.

357. It is impossible to over-emphasize the extent to which the proliferation and persistence of these regional conflicts, which further the ambitions of the super-Powers, hinder economic and social co-operation, while fuelling the arms race.

358. The deterioration of détente by virtue of heightened East-West rivalry in the last two years has halted, if not reversed, the efforts made previously to promote the process of general and complete disarmament under effective international control through the implementation of specific measures such as the reduction of military budgets, particularly those of the great Powers, and the allocation of the resources thus released to assistance to developing countries. In respect of strategic arms limitations, the indefinite postponement of the ratification of the SALT II treaty and of the consultations on the launching of negotiations on SALT III are very much a part of the hardening attitude shown by the general increase in defence budgets, the growth of which this year has reached a level rarely equalled in peace time.

359. Furthermore, because of the uncertainty, tensions, instability and conflicts that characterize the situation in the third world, the need for security is leading those States also to allocate large sums to military expenditure.

360. My country hopes that the second special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in

1982, will revive the hopes that were raised by the 1978 special session and will help to create among Member States a new willingness to begin to give effect to the recommendations of the General Assembly.

361. In this connection, we would like to see a strengthening of the role of the United Nations, whose primary mission is to contribute to the safeguarding of international peace and security. This means that the Organization must be granted ever-increasing means, that its organs, structure and functioning must be constantly improved and revitalized, and that it must be able to rely on the firm, declared political will of its Members, especially those on which the Charter places special responsibilities in international relations.

362. It is urgently necessary, then, to give effect to our frequently expressed wish for a democratization of international relations to promote the creation of conditions that will ensure equal participation by all States in the functioning and decision-making process of United Nations organs.

363. Because of its universal vocation the United Nations—which is, above all, a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends—provides the sole forum for conciliation and dialogue in which States great and small, rich and poor, can, with mutual respect for their differences, work together for the common good of man.

364. That is why the United Republic of Cameroon, which firmly believes in the ideals of peace, justice and freedom, which are the primary conditions of all economic and social development and of the well-being of all peoples, reaffirms its faith in the Organization and its determination to make the most effective contribution it can to the attainment of these noble objectives.

365. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call on those delegations which have requested to speak in exercise of their right to reply.

366. Mr. MALMIERCA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On this date, 28 September, in 1960, the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution were born in Cuba as our people's response to the aggression, sabotage and threats of the imperialists and their servants. Twenty-one years later, the Cuban people are stronger and more determined to defend their revolution and repel any aggression.

367. Last week the United States press reported the United States Government's decision to launch a new act of aggression against Cuba in the form of the establishment of a radio station devoted to broadcasting all kinds of programmes aimed at sowing discord within Cuba and at destabilizing our Government.

368. This is one more act of aggression, further evidence of the provocative and aggressive attitude of the United States Government.

369. We can only say that the United States should have no illusions about the results of this new violation of the norms of international relations. Cuba will not draw back; Cuba will not be frightened; Cuba will repel all aggression; Cuba will remain neither silent nor passive.

370. The new United States Administration has no intention of negotiating in any area unless it is in conditions that will guarantee its superiority in all spheres. In the military field it requires as a condition the acceptance of its supremacy in armaments. In the economic field it wants the whole world to accept the application in international economic relations of the principles that have dragged the United States economy into its present crisis with greater poverty for the poor and greater riches for the rich. In the United Nations it rejects the draft agreements on the law of the sea that its own negotiators accepted. It produces a crisis for the forthcoming Cancún conference even before it begins by setting itself up as supreme judge of who should and who should not attend. It blocks a democratic decision regarding the venue of the sixth session of UNCTAD.

371. As long as the United States Government maintains its present position, the work of the United Nations and the Organization itself will be in a state of crisis, for it is not possible for co-operation and dialogue to coexist in the world with the hegemonistic and warmongering policies of that Government.

372. In our statement [12th meeting] we mentioned those who, in one bag, are being led by the hand by the imperialists: Stroessner, Pinochet, Herrera Campíns. Their reply to our words showed them together again, masters and servants. As our national poet Nicolás Guillén would say, one commanding, the others commanded.

373. The representative of the United States referred to only one of the charges made by our delegation without replying to the essential aspect of our challenge. We therefore consider that he admits the validity of our other charges.

374. With respect to the allegation he sought to refute, we reiterate the facts provided by WHO, to the effect that neither in the 30 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where more than 20,000 Cuban civilian technicians are working, nor in those where our internationalist combatants are giving assistance to non-aligned countries, does there exist virus No. 2 which causes haemorrhagic dengue fever.

375. We are still waiting for the reply of the United States Government to the challenge of President Fidel Castro on 26 July of this year, which was reiterated before this Assembly [*ibid.*], to state whether the Central Intelligence Agency has been forbidden to use biological warfare against Cuba. Let them answer. Let them say that it has been forbidden or silently admit their infamy.

376. Yankee neo-colonial domination left us with a semi-feudal economy, with 600,000 unemployed, 1 million illiterate adults and a life expectancy of 55 years. In the last 20 years we have suffered military invasions, an economic blockade by the United States which included food and medicine, sabotage of all kinds, and now the use of biological warfare.

377. In spite of these aggressions, unemployment and illiteracy have been wiped out in Cuba. All children go to school, and we graduate more university students in one year than the total number of students in all of Cuba 22 years ago. We have a doctor for every 622 inhabitants, and life expectancy has risen to over 70 years.

378. A few figures suffice to give the lie to the falsehoods of the United States representative. During the five-year period 1976-1980, our global social product increased by 4 per cent annually, labour productivity by 3.4 per cent, agricultural production by 3.5 per cent and basic industry by 5 per cent. Sugar production in that five-year period increased by 25 per cent, transportation by 31 per cent, light industry by 23 per cent, fisheries by 29 per cent and the food industry by 14 per cent.

379. On the basis of information contained in the international publications dealing with health and nutrition in various countries in 1979, it is possible to make several revealing comparisons: the per capita consumption of calories per day in Haiti was 1,700, in Guatemala 1,988, in Peru 2,350, in Venezuela 2,388, and in Cuba 2,727. The per capita consumption of grammes of protein per day in Haiti was 41, in Guatemala 52.7, in Venezuela 62.6, in Peru 64, and in Cuba 70.1.

380. The results of our efforts are also reflected in the data pertaining to public health where, in spite of the United States blockade which includes medicine, and in spite of the United States-organized mass exodus of doctors, Cuba has the highest health standards in Latin America. Infant mortality per 1,000 children born alive was as follows: in Paraguay 94.3, in Guatemala 80.7, in Peru 72.4, in Chile 63.3, in Venezuela 43.7, and in Cuba 19.3. The figures from 1976 for the percentage of deaths due to parasitic and infectious diseases were: in Guatemala 62.5 per cent of all deaths, in Peru 54.2 per cent, in Honduras 44.5 per cent, in El Salvador 38.6 per cent, in Venezuela 24.6 per cent, in Chile 24.5 per cent and in Cuba 2.1 per cent.

381. These are the facts, although in the last analysis we could repeat to the United States two proverbs of Solomon:

"Better is a little with righteousness
Than great revenues without right."

"He that walks in integrity, walks in security,
but he who perverts his ways will be found out."

382. With regard to the growls of the mastiff of the dean of the petty tyrants in Latin America, the stale, moth-eaten puppet on the imperialists' altar-piece, the host and mortician of his colleague Somoza, we assure you that we have never been nor will we ever be interested in being recognized by it. The day will come when we will shake the hands of the true representatives of the Paraguayan people.

383. Finally, we would like to say that the philologists have indicated several possible origins of the word "Cuba". Among other theories, it appears that in the Guara language spoken by tribes in Venezuela, the word Cuba means to shoot and hit the target. Apparently the reactions of some delegations to our statement before this General Assembly proves that the Venezuelan *guajiros* are right: our words hit the target.

384. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): In exercising its right of reply, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran rejects categorically the false allegations made in this Assembly by the Foreign Minister of Iraq on 25 September 1981 [14th meeting] and wishes to clarify certain

facts for the record. The contents of Mr. Hammadi's speech regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran marks no departure from the line of reasoning usually employed by the propaganda machine of Mr. Saddam Hussain. The fact that it was presented to this Assembly should be deplored, we believe, since it underestimates the capacity of the international community to distinguish fact from fiction. It is an insult to the intelligence of its audience because the idea that Iran is the aggressor is not only a big lie but a bad one as well.

385. Regardless of Iraqi allegations, it remains a fact that on 22 September 1980 it was Iraq that began its war of aggression by disregarding the territorial integrity of Iran despite the boundary treaty between the two countries, signed in 1975 by the same people who rule Iraq today, and by trying to impose an unacceptable solution upon Iran in clear contradiction of the principle of non-use of force in international relations. The facts are so clear that even the kind of newspapers that Mr. Hammadi appears to favour so much and quotes so often have repeatedly given Iraq the title of "aggressor", which is the least it deserves. How can one believe that a country accused of aggressive intentions would void its defence agreements, cut its military budget, reduce the duration of its military service and cancel all of its weapon procurement agreements? Any military analyst can testify that, contrary to Iraqi allegations that Iran started the hostilities, the Iranian armed forces were taken by surprise by the unexpected Iraqi attacks, which accounts for the rapid penetration of Iraqi forces into Iran in the first week of the war.

386. In fact, the Iraqi invasion of Iran at that delicate moment signifies more than the sheer opportunism of the Baghdad régime. It is not hard to see who would be served by a military action taken against Iran's newly established revolution that has rid the country from the clutches of American imperialism.

387. What better proof of Iraqi collaboration with United States imperialism than the agreement that took place behind the scene between Mr. Hammadi and the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations to prevent the Security Council from taking punitive measures against Israel for its attack on the Iraqi nuclear facilities?

388. Despite the heated statements of the leaders of the Iraqi regime, this self-professed forerunner of the anti-Zionist movement not only has failed to take a single serious step against Israel but also has declined to respond to Israeli military aggression on its own capital. Yet for the past year Iraq has concentrated its war effort on the destruction of residential areas in Iran and the massacre of civilians through the intensive and indiscriminate use of long-range artillery and surface-to-surface missiles. If our martyred civilians cannot speak of this grave brutality, our ravaged cities, our occupied land, and 2.5 million refugees do.

389. As to the allegation made by Mr. Hammadi on the propaganda campaign raised on the issue of Israeli military assistance to Iran, which he bases on statements of arch-enemies of the Iranian revolution in the United States and elsewhere, it is sufficient for my delegation to quote the representative of the PLO in Teheran on the issue: "This is part of a wide, read conspiracy designed by im-

perialistic and Zionist circles to discredit the Islamic revolution of Iran”.

390. The central objective of the Islamic revolution of Iran is the strengthening of Islamic solidarity against zionism and the unity of the oppressed peoples of the world against imperialism. Saddam's régime is trying in vain to characterize its war of aggression against Iran as a war between Arabs and Persians, thus breaking the united Moslem front against zionism at the very time that Iran is engaged in its most serious struggle against imperialism. This, in fact, is exactly what imperialism and international zionism are trying to achieve in that region.

391. Moreover, Iraq accuses the Iranian revolution, which stresses Islamic unity regardless of race, of being a racist movement, while the introduction of the argument that Iraq is fighting an Arab war against Persians is in itself a futile attempt to inject racism into a non-racial conflict. It is precisely for this reason that Iraq and zionism have taken on a common racist character.

392. Now that the Iranian nation, which follows the principles of Islam, has, to the surprise of all military analysts, rendered Iraqi militarism impotent, the Iraqi régime must be aware that military adventurism will not lead to a truly honourable peace. Iran has always wanted peace, but we do not accept a peace process that equates the aggressor with the victim. Any effort towards peace can be fruitful only after complete Iraqi withdrawal from Iranian territory. Until such a condition is fulfilled, the Iranian people will continue their just war of liberation with the same determination they have demonstrated so far.

393. Mr. HING UN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): It is not my intention to reply to the representative of Laos, who is merely his master's voice. Indeed, he has lost all his national soul since his country, unfortunately, has been a Vietnamese province since 1977.

394. This morning [15th meeting] the Foreign Minister of India ventured to take up the question of Kampuchea, as a moralizer and a defender of the people of Kampuchea and of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of non-alignment.

395. First, my delegation can only regret this aligned manner in which India analysed the problem of Kampuchea and the way it tried to appear in a favourable light. Indeed, everyone knows that the Government of New Delhi is pleading a lost cause, a cause which has been condemned by the United Nations and the non-aligned movement itself. While the United Nations, faithful to the principles of the Charter, continues to condemn the Vietnamese war of aggression and to repudiate the Vietnamese régime installed in Phnom Penh as well as the treacherous manoeuvres by the Vietnamese expansionists to legalize their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by more than 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers, India alone among the founding members of the non-aligned movement has sided with the Vietnamese expansionists and is supporting their policy of aggression directed against the countries of South-East Asia. That is why India finds itself singularly isolated in the community of Asian nations.

396. What is more, India recognizes the Vietnamese régime of Phnom Penh as representing the people of Kampuchea. This is obvious proof of its complicity with the Vietnamese expansionists, who, as we know, are the true sovereigns and masters of that régime, which is only the shadow of the Vietnamese army and which will crumble the day that army withdraws from Kampuchea. Consequently, it is quite ironical and grotesque to see the head of the Indian delegation pretend before this Assembly to call for the withdrawal of the aggressive forces, ostensibly to guarantee respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region, including Kampuchea.

397. It is true that this is merely a *pro forma* statement, to give its author the semblance of non-alignment.

398. Finally, my delegation considers that, as regards interference and intervention by foreign Powers in the region, the Indian Government, by supporting the cause of the Vietnamese expansionists, has given a brilliant example of such interference and intervention.

399. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): The representative of Iran, in speaking in exercise of his right of reply, sought to tell the General Assembly that my Foreign Minister's statement was based on fiction and that it bears no relation to the facts. He has attempted to convince the Assembly by means of argument. Allow me to cite one or two instances of this in order to see whose ideas are based on fiction.

400. We were told that Iraq has a propaganda machine which is generating propaganda about the military collaboration between Iran and Israel and that that propaganda is being disseminated by the arch-enemies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the United States and elsewhere. I wonder whether one could describe the former President of the so-called Islamic Republic of Iran as an arch-enemy of the Islamic revolution of Iran. For it was Mr. Bani-Sadr himself who admitted on Thursday, 20 August, 1981, on the programme “Nightline”, on the American television network ABC, that there was such a collaboration, that he was aware of it and that he advised the rulers of Iran against it. Mr. Bani-Sadr said, and I quote part of his statement:

“The strange thing was the purchase of arms from Israel, which shows that the mullahs' lust for power was very powerful. When I was President the issue was one of indirect purchase, and I opposed it. I said that if we had to purchase arms from the Israelis, why do we not make peace with the Iraqis? This is preferable by far.”

401. The evidence which was presented by my Foreign Minister to the General Assembly last Friday afternoon [14th meeting] is an impeccable record, and I hardly heard any refutation from the representative of Iran of the long list of items of evidence which we enumerated in document A/36/518, on the military collaboration between Iran and Israel.

402. The second point with which I should like to deal is that the representative of Iran accuses the Iraqi delegation of resorting to fiction in its statement before the General Assembly. Now, I wonder whether the members of the Security Council would, on the basis of the facts, corroborate his statement that there was an Iraqi-US col-

laboration in the Security Council last June to prevent the Security Council from taking punitive measures against Israel. How can one be more fictitious than that?

403. Thirdly, Iran talks of a striving for Islamic unity by the Islamic revolution in Iran. Every one in this Hall and outside it—indeed all over the world—knows that the present rulers of Iran are at war with their own people. Where² is the unity that they are striving to forge in the Islamic world, let alone inside Iran?

404. News about the military collaboration between Iran and Israel was leaked to the press and the other media in various nations. That news left no room for doubt about the existence of co-operation in arms between Iran and the Zionist entity. On 2 November 1980, *The Observer* of London wrote about it. On 3 November 1980 the West German *Die Welt* referred to it. The periodical *Al Watan Al Arabi*, published in Paris on 5 November 1980, the French *V.S.D.* of 11 November 1980 and *Jeune Afrique* of 14 November 1980 all dealt extensively with the same collaboration.

405. On 31 March 1981 the Kuwaiti daily *Al-Seyasah* gave in an article the details of that collaboration. On 15 July 1981 the American television network ABC broadcast about that collaboration. On 21 July 1981 the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* wrote about it.

406. On 24 July 1981 two Argentinian dailies, *Crónica* and *La Prensa* wrote about the collaboration. *The Sunday Times* of London on 26 July 1981 revealed details of the Argentinian aircraft which crashed over Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, an aircraft which was carrying shipments of arms between Tel Aviv and Teheran via Larnaca in Cyprus. The Cypriot Government issued a public statement about those shipments.

407. On 27 July 1981 the French newspaper *Le Figaro* published details of the collaboration. I could go on and on. All the details are in the document to which I have already referred. Yet we hear from a representative of the so-called Islamic Republic of Iran a charge that Iraq is talking about fiction. How reasonable can one be when one makes such a charge?

408. We are told about the "propaganda machine" of Mr. Saddam Hussain. What about the propaganda machine of the so-called Islamic Republic of Iran, which continues to this very day to deceive internal and external public opinion about alleged noble causes, which that Republic hardly follows at all?

409. The representative of Iran said that Iran had always wanted peace. What record attests to that? It has obstructed every peace initiative embarked on by various missions of international organizations to this very day. On the contrary, Iraq's position on the armed conflict has been clear. We have co-operated positively in all those peace initiatives, and we shall continue to co-operate in order to achieve an honourable, lasting peace settlement, which enshrines and recognizes the legitimate rights of both parties and creates conditions conducive to the establishment of normal relations between the two countries.

410. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of Iran has asked for the floor for the

second time. I remind representatives that under the rules a second reply is limited to five minutes.

411. Mr. MAHALLATI SHIRAZI (Iran): The representative of Iraq has once again tried, in vain, to mislead the Assembly with regard to the barbaric action of his Government against the people of my country. Iraq's allegations are absolutely baseless. The nature of Iraqi hypocrisy will be revealed in detail in the statements of our Foreign Minister. For now it is sufficient to state that this is not the first time an adventurist and expansionist régime has attempted to acquire territory through the use of force, and it is not the first time ridiculous excuses have been given by the aggressor to try to justify aggression. It is evident that the baseless arguments of Iraq will have the same disgraceful fate as similar arguments in justification of aggression before them.

412. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): I recall what I said again and again at the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly [33rd meeting] to a representative of Iran when he talked hogwash. I reminded him of what H. G. Wells said in his story "The Country of the Blind": "In the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king." I had expected the present representative of Iran, whom I have now seen for the first time, to come to the General Assembly with one eye, but it seems that he has come completely blindfolded.

413. I shall not try to teach the representative of Iran what aggression means, because his own Foreign Minister admits that Iran does not believe in legal concepts worked out by the international community. The representative of Iran does not even sense the legal fact that a statement or alleged statement—I do not know whether there was such a statement—by the representative of the PLO has no bearing on the question of the representation of Iran as a State in the international arena. As against that statement, we relied on the statement of the former President of the so-called Islamic Republic of Iran, the statement of its Head of State, who in international law represents a State in international relations.

414. The representative of Iran has left the Hall. He does not want to learn. He does not want even to be part of the whole process of the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibits aggression and enshrines the inherent right of every Member State to self-defence, as in ordinary international law.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14100, annex.

⁴ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

⁵ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁷ See U.S. Department of State *Bulletin*, vol. 81, No. 2054 (September 1981), pp. 68-70.

⁸ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one, sect. A.

¹⁰ See A/S-11/14, annex I.