



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>):	
Speech by Mr. Barre (Somalia)	349
Speech by Mr. Talboys (New Zealand)	352
Speech by Mr. Richard (Madagascar)	355
Speech by Mr. Ieng Sary (Democratic Kampuchea)	358
Speech by Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait)	363
Speech by Mr. Farah (Djibouti)	366
Speech by Mr. Bole (Fiji)	369

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Thunborg (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): On behalf of the Somali delegation I should like to extend to Mr. Kittani sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to the office of President of the General Assembly. His long and distinguished career as a diplomat eminently qualifies him to guide the affairs of this session.
2. May I also take this opportunity to express to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, our appreciation of the competence, dedication and statesmanship he displayed in directing the work of the thirty-fifth session.
3. The admission of the newly independent States of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu to the family of nations is indeed an auspicious occasion, and my delegation extends its congratulations to the peoples and Governments of both States and offers them all good wishes for a prosperous future.
4. Before touching on some of the substantive issues on the Assembly's agenda, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to promote peace and international understanding. He has distinguished himself by the energy and vitality he has brought to his task and by his active interest in the concerns of nations large and small.
5. As we review current world events, our attention is drawn to the deteriorating international climate, characterized as it is by persistent armed intervention, inter-State conflicts, political and economic upheavals and a worsening international refugee situation. Such developments directly threaten the maintenance of international peace and security and pose a serious challenge to this world body. Today we live in a perturbing world in which differences among States are allowed to escalate very rapidly and dangerously, a world in which opposing power blocs are engaged in rivalry, competing for world domination. Their aim is to subordinate others to their strategic interests and to impose their wills and hegemonistic designs upon them. We also live in a world in which the gap between the rich and the poor is ever widening, thus preventing the latter from realizing their aspirations to peace and security, which would enable them to exploit their natural resources and promote the industrial and economic progress and development of their countries. We live in a world whose situation, philosophy and morals are thus characterized.
6. In the Horn of Africa, a tragic and perilous situation currently prevails. The most basic and fundamental human rights of people are trampled upon through the use of brutal military force. Through massive armament well beyond the requirements of normal defence of the beneficiary State, in terms of both quantity and level of sophistication, coupled with the deployment of foreign troops there, a super-Power has succeeded in imposing its will on the States and peoples of the region and usurping their right to control their own destinies. Local conflicts that could have been resolved amicably between the States and peoples concerned have been deliberately escalated in order to pre-empt that possibility and instead allow for direct foreign military intervention, heightened tension and dangerous confrontation. The implications of such a state of affairs in terms of regional, continental and international peace and security are quite ominous.
7. Through indiscriminate and unparalleled brutality, entire populations are being massacred, their properties ravaged and their means of livelihood destroyed in a desperate bid at total extermination. The millions of forcibly ejected refugees—men, women and children—cared for in camps in the region is a sad consequence of that barbaric policy and adds yet another more serious dimension to the tragic human situation in the Horn.
8. In most problem areas around the globe where there exists a systematic denial of fundamental human rights, we also find, without exception, gross violations and abuses of those very rights. In reality that is what the crisis in the Horn is all about. In the face of those legally and morally insufferable excesses it is the responsibility of the Organization to exercise its international duty in conformity with its humanitarian, legal and moral obligations by calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign interventionist forces in the region and reaffirming the right of all peoples and nationalities to free and unfettered exercise of their self-determination.
9. My Government is desirous of peace, stability and tranquility in the region and has already made genuine and meaningful efforts in the pursuit of this objective. This emanates from my Government's firm conviction

that the interests and well-being of the people in the region do not lie in the perpetuation of conflicts and confrontation, but rather in their joint commitment to the more rewarding task of national development and inter-regional co-operation. It is in this spirit that my delegation feels that the complex and intricate problems of the Horn of Africa require an overall and comprehensive political solution which can bring about the restoration of peace and stability in the area and allow for the safe and voluntary repatriation of refugees.

10. As has been stated by my President, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre,

“We are convinced that given ample courage, goodwill and understanding between the States and Governments in the region, this goal of peace is not unattainable. The cessation of inter-State hostility and conflict, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the area, genuine demonstration of preparedness to reach a negotiated settlement, and recognition of and respect for the fundamental human rights of peoples, are some of the more basic issues at stake with which Somalia, Ethiopia and the liberation movements concerned can engage themselves in fruitful negotiation in the quest for a just, durable and amicable solution to their conflict.”

11. Unfortunately, the other principal party to the conflict, Ethiopia, instead of responding favourably to the positive and sincere gesture of goodwill and co-operation shown by my Government, has so far opted to persist arrogantly in its aggressive policy of conflict and confrontation, thereby threatening regional and international peace and security.

12. One of the most serious and challenging problems of the African continent is that of the refugees—over 5 million in number—who have sought asylum across the borders of African States, often imperilling their lives and seriously affecting the economic and social stability of the host countries. Driven, in most cases through no fault of their own, by man-made or natural disasters, or by both, they have become a responsibility which can only be shouldered with the help of external assistance.

13. My Government is gratified that there is a growing international awareness of the magnitude of the refugee problem in Africa. The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, convened at Geneva last April by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU], was a most welcome and valuable means of securing pledges of assistance and gaining publicity for this humanitarian cause.

14. It must be stressed, however, that the problem continues unabated and has even become more serious in some areas. Generous assistance has been given by individual governments, particularly the traditional donor countries, by the United Nations system, and by governmental and non-governmental organizations. However, the international response still falls short of the need.

15. It is, of course, well known that Somalia, one of the least developed countries, has the most serious refugee problem in Africa. It still remains true that our resources, which could barely support our own population, have been critically depleted, and that severe pressures are damaging the economic, social and ecological fabric of

our society and our land. International emergency assistance for the refugees only scratches the surface of the complex and gigantic problems we have been dealing with since 1978.

16. Of course, fundamental solutions for the refugee problem in Somalia, as in many other countries, depend on political even more than on economic factors. In this context, my Government welcomed the decision of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session to examine the question of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, and its strong condemnation of policies and practices which are primarily responsible for the massive exodus of these displaced people [*resolution 35/124*].

17. Looking towards the future, it must be noted that refugees are unlikely to seek voluntary repatriation unless they can return to conditions of security and of respect for inalienable fundamental human rights. It is the profound hope of my Government that such conditions will be established and that the refugees will be able to return home under regional and international guarantees for their safety and well-being.

18. While I have dwelt on Somalia's need for additional assistance, I must also emphasize the fact that it is difficult to imagine what the situation in my country would have been over the past three years, in the face of the refugee situation and the disastrous drought, had we not been able to depend on the concern and active assistance of a number of States Members of the Organization, governmental and non-governmental agencies, the United Nations system and voluntary humanitarian organizations, to all of whom we express our gratitude and appreciation.

19. Uppermost in the minds and hearts of Africans is our profound disappointment that Namibia remains under South Africa's illegal and oppressive occupation. We are dismayed that the treacherous Pretoria régime has been allowed to repudiate three years of painstaking negotiations and to negate the constructive approaches of the representatives of the Namibian people. The Western veto of Security Council sanctions against South Africa has undoubtedly confirmed the Pretoria régime in its belief that it can continue to defy the United Nations with impunity.

20. My Government is further concerned by the apparent hesitation of the Western Powers about their commitment to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Adopted by the Security Council without a dissenting voice, that resolution remains as the legally valid framework for a settlement of the Namibian problem. We hope that the Western Powers have overcome their initial hesitation and now recognize the need to prepare a new and more determined approach to implementing Namibia's independence within the guidelines already approved.

21. My Government remains firmly committed to its support of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as it seeks to achieve those same political and social rights long ago acquired in the Western world through revolution and armed struggle.

22. The successes achieved so far in the liberation of southern Africa have been brought about, first of all, by the determination and sacrifices of the oppressed people themselves to achieve freedom by all means available. However, the United Nations has given important support

to that struggle by bringing moral, political and economic pressures to bear on South Africa. That pressure must not be withdrawn now. South Africa must not seem to be rewarded for its intransigence over Namibia, for its savage acts of military aggression against neighbouring States and for the continued application of its abhorrently racist policies.

23. The Middle East question remains a cause for grave international concern. My Government strongly deplores the steady deterioration of the situation in the area, where Israeli belligerence has escalated to new heights of military aggression.

24. We ask where Israel's arrogance will end. We wonder also for how long the world community will accept that country's position that it is not accountable for any action, however contemptuous it may be of international law, the sovereignty of States and human rights, and however dangerous it may be to world peace and security.

25. The wanton destruction of Iraq's nuclear facility, which operated under international safeguards, was an act of overweening arrogance on the part of a State which has refused to be a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and which, as everyone now knows, used the most questionable methods to develop its own nuclear capability. Israel, however, remains defiantly committed to its irresponsible course, a course which can lead only to continued conflict and bloodshed. The futility of mere condemnations by the Security Council has been illustrated time after time in the past, and graphically in recent times. It should be obvious that Israel will continue its illegal occupation and annexation of Arab territory and its denial of Palestinian rights as long as it feels protected from the punitive measures available under the Charter. My Government hopes that those most closely concerned will address themselves honestly and objectively to the real causes of turmoil in the Middle East, in the interest of regional and international peace and security, through unequivocal commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to independent existence in their own homeland, the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territory and the restoration of Al Quds Al Sharif to Arab sovereignty.

26. The crises and conflicts in various areas of the world continue to be engendered by foreign intervention, military occupation and denial of the right to self-determination and independence, all of which conflict with fundamental principles of the Charter.

27. My Government deeply regrets the existing situation in Afghanistan brought about by super-Power military intervention in the affairs of a third-world non-aligned country, in contravention of international law and morality. The Secretary-General and the Organization of the Islamic Conference are to be highly commended for their efforts to bring about a political settlement of this tragic conflict.

28. However, the mounting bloodshed and the enormous refugee problem engendered by foreign occupation are an intolerable addition to the sum total of human misery in the world. We join the vast majority of Member States in calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the

restoration of sovereignty and neutrality to the people of Afghanistan.

29. The situation in Kampuchea is yet another example of the ominous trend towards foreign interference in the affairs of sovereign States and denial of the right to national independence. The recent International Conference on Kampuchea contributed constructive proposals for negotiations on a number of issues. We hope that, in spite of the absence of one of the parties directly concerned, communications will remain open between all the States of South-East Asia and that negotiations will continue to be actively pursued to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the area.

30. Recent developments in the world economy reflect the little progress made so far in the achievement of the goals and objectives of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. The economies of the developing countries, and in particular those of the 31 least developed countries, have reached an alarming situation. It is distressing to note that many of the adverse trends of the past few years have brought about unbearable economic difficulties. The continuous inflationary trends in the world economy have given rise to worsening terms of trade, an adverse balance-of-payments situation and crippling debt burdens, which are far beyond the capability of the least developed countries to meet their debt-service obligations.

31. The international community has realized the magnitude and urgency of this problem. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris from 1 to 14 September, highlighted the need for the co-operative effort of the international community in levelling and reversing the downward trend of the world economy. The compromise reached in Paris with the adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries¹ will no doubt constitute a new era of international economic co-operation which will lead to better understanding and further economic progress.

32. My delegation fully supports the outcome of this Conference and will spare no effort to implement its programme at the national level. We pay a special tribute to the United Nations system and other organizations for their tireless efforts in organizing this Conference.

33. It is the hope of my Government that the international community will take concrete steps to follow up and implement the Substantial New Programme of Action for the benefit and economic progress of the developing and the developed world. In addition, the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action will lay the foundation for the future establishment of the new international economic order.

34. On the African continent we are seeking to gain ground in the struggle for economic stability through increased inter-African co-operation and continental self-reliance. My Government fully supports the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa and the Final Act of Lagos,² which emphasize these goals and place African development within the framework of a more just world economic order.

35. The broad and valuable co-operation that exists between the OAU and the United Nations system will undoubtedly be a vital factor in the implementation of plans for Africa's social and economic development. We believe that one of the areas in which this co-operation will need to be intensified is that of food production and supply. African States have a primary responsibility for channeling available resources into agriculture, but without substantial assistance in this endeavour and in the absence of medium-term and long-term planning for food aid their best efforts could fail to avert widespread food shortages and famine.

36. The very real spectre of famine in underdeveloped areas of the world provides an ironic counterpoint to the astronomical sum now routinely spent on the arms race in nuclear and other weapons. My Government renews its call for a comprehensive test-ban treaty and for substantial reductions in the quality and quantity of the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers. Without significant leadership of this kind, other disarmament goals such as horizontal non-proliferation are unlikely to be reached.

37. My Government regrets that it has not been possible for a date to be set for the convening of the conference on the Indian Ocean and reaffirms its belief that the conference is an essential stage in the formulation and adoption of guidelines for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. In addressing itself to the central issue of the growing super-Power presence in the Indian Ocean in the context of their global rivalry, the Conference will have to take note of the presence of foreign interventionist troops and surrogate forces which continue to subvert legitimate liberation struggles and to undermine the stability of the area.

38. Each session of the General Assembly reminds us of the wide sweep of the global activities of the world Organization. Projects such as the combating of desertification, the securing of drinking water and sanitation over the next decade and the exploration of new and renewable sources of energy are indispensable for the survival of underdeveloped countries and will also benefit mankind as a whole.

39. The drawing up of a treaty on the law of the sea has been a monumental task, and the recent achievement of the world body pointed to its ability to establish a world order governed by both humanitarian and legal concerns. My Government sincerely hopes that the outstanding objections to the treaty can be overcome and that there will soon be general recognition that the proposed treaty represents a fair balance of the interests of various groups and that it has been negotiated for the ultimate benefit of all.

40. In conclusion, it is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the United Nations continues to respond in an active and creative way to the problems and the needs of our interdependent world. The world Organization clearly has the ability to surmount and survive any attempts to weaken or discredit it, and it deserves the firm allegiance and support of all States.

41. Mr. TALBOYS (New Zealand): Mr. Vice-President, will you please congratulate President Kittani on his election as President of this Assembly. His long and distinguished service to the international community makes

him eminently qualified for that task, and I know that he will guide us with impartiality and skill.

42. It is a great pleasure to welcome two fellow members of the Commonwealth, Belize and Vanuatu, to this assembly of nations. We are especially gratified that independence has brought one more into the growing family of South Pacific island nations. Their voices, individually and collectively, are going to be heard more and more in the world assembly. The addition to our membership of two more small nations, proud of their independence but limited in resources, brings home to us one of the major issues facing this Assembly—the desperate struggle of so many countries simply to reach the most basic level of economic and social development.

43. The recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries sharply focused international attention on this issue. That was useful, but in concentrating on the need for developed countries to raise the level of their official development assistance to a limited number of the poorest developing countries the Conference did not really get to the heart of the matter.

44. The problems which face the developing countries are well known. They affect some of the developed countries also. They include the soaring cost of imported energy, inflated prices for manufactured imports and fluctuating prices for primary exports. These factors are compounded by increasing protectionist pressures in the advanced economies and a reluctance to contemplate the kind of restructuring which would expand trading opportunities for the developing countries.

45. These problems cannot be solved by financial subsidies alone or even, in itself, by successful internal economic development. Economic self-sufficiency is not a practicable goal for the developing countries, nor is it for most developed countries. Even a modest level of prosperity and economic stability can only be achieved through a continuous expansion of international trade. This, in turn, can only be achieved in a different international climate, in which there is a better balance between access to manufactured goods and access to agricultural products. There is too great a tendency to concentrate on reducing barriers to trade in industrial manufactures and to push aside agriculture as some kind of an exception with which it is too difficult to cope. That cannot be allowed to continue.

46. It is, surely, self-evident that successful economic development merely creates new problems unless there is a corresponding expansion of trading opportunities. What future is there if the rich countries continue to deny access in order to protect their own agricultures, if prices of agricultural exports fluctuate wildly or are distorted by subsidies and if those prices are far outstripped by the cost of essential industrial goods and services?

47. The prosperity of my own country depends on the export of a relatively small number of agricultural commodities. That means we share some of the problems faced by developing countries. We know what those problems are. Because we are small, and because we face economic difficulties ourselves, we try in a number of ways to ensure that our development assistance programme is efficient and effective. All our aid is given in the form of grants. We make sure it is directed into the kind of projects in which New

Zealand has a recognized expertise. We never embark on a project unless it has been specifically asked for by the recipient Government. It makes sense for us to concentrate our aid efforts in the part of the world that we know best, that is, our immediate neighbourhood. Almost 70 per cent of our bilateral development assistance is now channelled to the island nations of the South Pacific.

48. In our view, the criteria for inclusion in the United Nations list of least developed countries are unduly narrow and rigid. Only one South Pacific country, at present, qualifies for inclusion in that list. A number of others, because they suffer from all the disadvantages of extremely small size, isolation and lack of resources, also deserve the special treatment accorded to the least developed. Indeed, if it were not for the level of aid they do receive, we believe they would qualify even under present criteria. I would certainly like to see those criteria revised and made more flexible.

49. Because their populations are tiny and because of the poverty of their resources, many of the island nations of the South Pacific are going to have a long and hard struggle to become more viable. And yet their very smallness and isolation, which ought to make the world community more responsive to their special circumstances, has caused them to be overlooked by some of the major donors. Thus there is every reason for New Zealand to concentrate its aid efforts in the South Pacific, and we intend to continue that policy.

50. External financial assistance, however essential, is not enough in itself to bring about successful development. New Zealand recognizes that the developing island countries need outlets for the goods they produce and has set about meeting that need in a practical manner. Together with Australia, we have joined in a treaty with our neighbours in the South Pacific to give them unrestricted duty-free access, on a non-reciprocal basis, for the great majority of their exports. We have also established an industrial development scheme to promote the growth of the manufacturing sector in the island economies through joint ventures with New Zealand firms. We have given strong support to the establishment of a regional shipping line to ensure that the exports of the island countries reach their markets.

51. I make no boast that what we have achieved has solved the problems of our developing neighbours. Obviously not, since their economies are still for the most part in a precarious state.

52. Economic and social development can progress smoothly only in conditions of political stability. Recent history has shown how true that is even in countries which are blessed with great natural wealth, and all the more starkly in others which are not. Sometimes the causes of instability have been internal. Too often they have been made far worse by external pressure, intervention or military invasion. At present there is dangerous instability in several widely separated areas of the world, including South-East Asia, South-West Asia, the Middle East, southern Africa, eastern Europe and the Korean peninsula.

53. If I refer first to Kampuchea it is because that is the area of tension nearest to my own land; because New Zealand regards itself as a friend of the Association of

South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], whose members are neighbours of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam; and because we believe the continuance of the situation in Kampuchea poses an eventual threat to our own security. External intervention in Kampuchea has been flagrant. There is no excuse for the continued presence of 200,000 Vietnamese troops in that country. New Zealand has consistently urged the need for a political settlement which would free the Kampuchean people from a foreign presence and permit them freely to choose their own Government. Such a settlement would enable Viet Nam to resume its own economic development, free from both the burden of maintaining its military occupation of a neighbouring country and its present dependence on a single super-Power for economic and military support.

54. New Zealand cannot and does not condone the past crimes of Pol Pot and his associates. But, as the latest vote on Kampuchea's credentials shows, there is no disposition amongst the majority of Members of this Assembly to replace the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea by one representing a puppet Government propped up by a military occupation.

55. We welcome the efforts that are being made to form a more broadly based successor to the present Democratic Kampuchean leadership. We expect that the International Conference on Kampuchea will continue its efforts to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem—a solution which takes account of the legitimate interests of all sides. We hope that Viet Nam and the Soviet Union will be persuaded to join in the negotiating process through the mediating efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the President of the Conference. The need for a settlement is urgent, for the longer the fighting continues within Kampuchea, the greater the risk that it will spread beyond the borders of that war-torn land.

56. Instability in South-East Asia is paralleled in South-West Asia by military intervention and continuing hostilities in Afghanistan. International concern will continue to be reiterated in this Assembly until Soviet forces are withdrawn. Whether or not the Soviet Union has come to regard that entanglement as a mistake, my Government most earnestly hopes that the Soviet Government will not compound that error and deal a final fatal blow to détente by similar action against the people of Poland.

57. Almost since it began, this Organization has been trying to find a solution to the problem of a divided Korea. Yet there is still no genuine dialogue between the leaders in the North and those in the South. The latest call by the Republic of Korea for a summit meeting between the two Koreas has been rejected. Surely the Korean people as a whole at least deserve that their leaders should talk seriously about the future of their country. It makes no sense for the two sides in that divided peninsula to go on forever pouring so much of their resources and energies into military preparations. My Government hopes that the authorities in the North will reconsider their stand.

58. It is a matter of deep regret that all our hopes for urgent and positive steps towards a just and durable Middle East settlement should have had so little to sustain them. New Zealand welcomed the steps agreed upon by Israel and Egypt to restore peace between them. But the process cannot be allowed to come to a stop at this point.

During the last 12 months there has been a deplorable readiness to resort to violence. There is a need for a genuine and renewed commitment to the principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). There is a need for Israel's neighbours to accept and respect the existence of Israel as a sovereign and independent State. There is an equal need for a corresponding recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians, including the right to self-determination. That, in our view, means the right to establish a separate State if that is their wish. The annexation of East Jerusalem and the continuing establishment of settlements in the occupied territories are obstructions to a negotiated settlement. A resurgence of terrorism, a build-up of ever more sophisticated armaments, or recourse to pre-emptive military strikes simply threaten to undermine what has with such difficulty been accomplished so far. Only a genuine will to negotiate fairly and realistically will bring lasting results.

59. In southern Africa we still see a people denied the right of nationhood. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia must end. The Prime Minister of my country said in this forum at the thirty-fifth session [*109th meeting*] that there was no good reason why the few issues that remain outstanding in the search for a settlement in Namibia should not be settled quickly. We believe that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides the basis for that settlement and we support the continuing efforts of those seeking to achieve the early and peaceful independence of Namibia.

60. We deplore South Africa's aggressiveness against its neighbours and its violation of Angola's territory and sovereignty. In South Africa itself the detestable system of institutionalized racism and injustice—*apartheid*—remains entrenched. South Africa's black majority are denied the right to participate in the choice of their Government and are shut out from the full enjoyment of the resources of their own country.

61. Change in South Africa is inevitable. Whether it will come peacefully or through violence is in South Africa's hands. Time, though, is running desperately short.

62. We cannot expect international co-operation in bringing about economic and social development to flourish while confrontation and conflict persist in so many parts of the world. Heightened tension threatens not only détente but the orderly development of international law, the negotiation of arms control agreements and the promotion of human rights. National security and rearmament become matters of overriding priority for Governments. Legislatures tend to focus more determinedly on domestic political considerations, to the detriment of enlightened foreign policies. The humanitarian and altruistic instincts of ordinary people all too often become dulled. Their natural instinct for peace is overshadowed by a narrower and more belligerent patriotism. Thus is created an international climate inimical to the peaceful settlement of disputes and the orderly conduct of international relations.

63. All those who have traditionally cherished the rule of law and the fundamental freedoms of the individual, both at home and abroad, surely have a special duty to resist such dangerous trends and to throw their weight behind the negotiating process by which the United Nations seeks to achieve those objectives.

64. A prime example is the development of a new law of the sea. A stable order for the oceans, the sea-bed and coastal waters is essential for world peace. It is most desirable, to say the least, that the major maritime Powers should participate in the new convention. This year the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been slowed down to permit a review of the draft convention by the United States Government. The Conference is now clearly determined to push on to finality in 1982. It is the earnest hope of my Government that, having completed its review, the United States will rejoin the negotiating process and will stand ready with all other nations to make a determined last effort to ensure the adoption by consensus of the draft convention at the next and final negotiating session of the Conference.

65. In the field of human rights, the United Nations has concentrated, rightly, on the needs of people who are socially disadvantaged or who have been traditional victims of discrimination.

66. A striking example is the United Nations Decade for Women, now at midpoint. The adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*General Assembly resolution 34/180*] has been one of its major achievements. It is significant that it has come into force so quickly. All nations, whatever their stage of economic development, their cultural traditions or their geographic circumstances, have been reminded not only of the rights of half of humanity but also of the enormous contribution made by women. It was right that the United Nations should lead that world movement, because the discrimination to be eliminated—the discrimination we must eliminate—has been universal. The activities of the Decade have been followed with close attention in New Zealand and its aims have our full support. But the convention will only achieve its aim if it is universally ratified and, more important, given full effect in each country.

67. Similarly, the current International Year of Disabled Persons has focused attention on the rights of handicapped people. It has provided impetus and the practical framework for action. In my own country, the response has been quite remarkable. A mass fund-raising effort for the disabled resulted in the largest collection of voluntary funds for a charitable purpose in our history. We have been made more aware than ever before not only of the needs of the disabled, but of the contribution they can make to our society as a whole.

68. Next year we shall be summoned to the second special session devoted to disarmament. Nowhere is the need for a renewed effort to achieve progress in international negotiations more apparent. If we are honest, we must acknowledge that since the first special session the prospects for effective disarmament measures have not advanced. Indeed, they may have receded. Much of the work of the first session has been undercut by the deterioration in the international climate and in relations among the nuclear Powers. I do not consider it unfair to assign to those Powers the principle responsibility for that loss of impetus and to demand that they take the initiative in resuming serious and active negotiations. It is they who have the weapons which, by universal agreement, are the most dangerous and in most urgent need of control and numerical reduction. My delegation's keenest disappointment is that the negotiation of a comprehensive nuclear-

test-ban treaty, a step which could serve to check both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons, still hangs fire.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) took the Chair.

69. Only the nuclear Powers can negotiate a test-ban treaty which will work or, for that matter, any agreement designed to reduce the threat of nuclear destruction. But the remaining Members of the United Nations have a duty to their peoples to renew their pressure on the nuclear Powers, who are also the largest manufacturers and purveyors of conventional armaments, to resume movement towards disarmament. In that regard, we welcome the decision of the two principal nuclear Powers to resume discussions on the reduction of nuclear weapons in the European theatre.

70. I referred earlier to some of the obstacles in the path of economic progress, especially for developing countries. There is no greater consumer of development resources than the armaments industry, and none that is more wasteful. We must never lose patience in pursuing international agreements which will cut the burden and the danger of rearmament and strengthen the fragile fabric of peace.

71. It is natural that each of us should seek to advance the interests of his own country, that we should work for the well-being of our own people. National pride and patriotism are admirable and necessary virtues. But every coin, every medallion, has another side. Nationalism and pride of country are not in themselves enough. All of us—North and South, committed and uncommitted, East and West—belong to one world. We have got to work together. Our world has become too small and too dangerous a place for any of us to pursue narrow nationalism regardless of the interests of others.

72. We must move the world community away from the dangerous road it has been following: that is, the course of rivalry, confrontation and the naked struggle for power. It can lead only to conflict. We must learn, more than ever before, to couple national pride with a real commitment to international co-operation. There is, I believe, no other way to move ahead, to achieve a decent life for all our people. That, I suggest, is why we are meeting here. For all our peoples, whether our countries are large or small, have an equal right to peace, progress and justice.

73. Mr. RICHARD (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Republic of Iraq and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar enjoy very close relations, and therefore you will understand the special satisfaction we feel at seeing you preside over the work of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In you, Sir, we greet a representative of the non-aligned third world who has already placed at the disposal of his country, of our movement and of this Organization the devotion and the faith with which you are naturally endowed, as well as the experience that you have acquired in many international bodies.

74. We should like to address our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the perfect fashion in which he conducted the diverse and very complex work of our last session. We also wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has undertaken in

the interests of the Organization and of the international community.

75. The Malagasy delegation is among the many delegations that sponsored the resolutions recommending the admission of Vanuatu and Belize, not because we were necessarily honouring a tradition born of a common colonial past, but because we attach great significance to the triumph of right, to the struggle of peoples for liberation and to their desire to recover and reaffirm their identity in order to participate fully in international life. We congratulate the Republic of Vanuatu and Belize and we assure the two delegations of our fraternal co-operation.

76. In the course of the general debate at the thirty-fifth session [*11th meeting*], we tried to explain to the Assembly our concern regarding the maintenance and the strengthening of peace in our region, the need to formulate a new definition of collective security based essentially on mutual acceptance of interests, the equality of those interests and their integration in the search for the common good.

77. Since then the feeling of insecurity has become generalized. The interdependence of the 1970s has been overtaken by a dependence considered more reassuring. The basic imbalance of political power has caused a renewal of the efforts aimed at bipolarization, to the extent that we can again speak of a new realignment that has become a source of tension, confrontation and open or covert conflict.

78. We are therefore justified in saying that, far from being dissipated, the concern we expressed at that time has been confirmed and the development of a situation marked by the elaboration of antinomian strategies has stood in the way of the search for co-operative solutions of international problems in accordance with the avowed mission of our Organization. Are we then to conclude that there is a deliberate desire to challenge the purposes and principles of the Charter? We dare not think that, since many Powers would be forced, because of what they perceived to be the facts, to bend the principles to suit their purpose, thus frustrating the desire of the peoples for the world of peace and security promised by the Charter.

79. Specific alliances and the policy of force have prevailed at the expense of the collective security that was envisaged in 1945, to the extent that, instead of enjoying equal security in accordance with the Charter, we are living in equal insecurity under the threat of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the world many times over. Peace has ceased to be the major concern, putting the survival of mankind at risk, and the dangers of nuclear warfare have unfortunately become a reality. World-wide and extended confrontation in the military, political, commercial and technological fields has taken the place of détente.

80. The new doctrine of a limited nuclear war, which is intended to make acceptable what is unthinkable, is accompanied by other decisions, such as those concerning the substantial and constant growth of military expenditures, the unilateral designation of so-called zones of vital interest, the extension of areas of intervention, not to mention such projects as the treaty of the southern Atlantic, in which the South African racist régime is the keystone.

81. The United Nations undoubtedly has a role to play in defusing this situation, a role that cannot be tainted with resignation or complacency. It is politically and morally unjustifiable to allow the security of the world to depend on relations among the nuclear-weapon States.

82. At best, that system might function, and those Powers would settle world affairs in accordance with their own interests, completely ignoring the right of other States to equal security. At worst—and this seems to be the present situation—the nuclear club would fail to fulfil its responsibilities, bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations would be broken off or blocked, and the rest of mankind would realize with anguish how precarious the situation was.

83. It is for these reasons that we cannot hide the dismay we feel at the lack of true progress since the adoption in 1978 of the Programme of Action for disarmament [see *General Assembly resolution S-10/2*].

84. We hope that the second special session devoted to disarmament, planned for next spring, will allow us to draw some lessons from the negotiations which have taken place in the Committee on Disarmament during the last three years, while it will still be useful to pay greater attention to the definition of those measures that might give new impetus to the process of disarmament. At this stage we shall not take up the questions of the programme, the priorities or the specific measures; we shall merely limit ourselves to recalling that the will of States for peace must precede disarmament, not follow it.

85. The success of that session, as of any disarmament undertaking, must depend on the proof given by States that they are inspired by that will for peace and not by the search for domination, hegemony, military superiority or confrontation.

86. It is for this reason that we believe that the non-aligned nations can contribute to the achievement of our common goal by defending the principles of peaceful co-existence which underlie the political philosophy of the movement, by refusing to be treated as pawns in an anti-nomian political game, by refusing to allow themselves to be dragged into military alliances, by rejecting the efforts to rationalize the arms race, and by denouncing the deceptive propaganda which establishes an inverted priority between disarmament and security and, with equivocal selectivity, ignores the alliance between the imperialists and the Zionist entity and the South African racist régime.

87. These last considerations inspired the initiative that led to the adoption of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], of which this year we celebrate the tenth anniversary. This is more pertinent than ever, despite the inability of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to decide upon the date of the Colombo conference, which had originally been scheduled for 1981. Need we recall the understandable disquiet that was shown by the littoral and hinterland countries which almost unanimously recognized, contrary to certain claims, that the existing conditions of insecurity militated in favour of the holding of that conference?

88. As far as we are concerned, we shall press for the Colombo conference, the agenda of which must truly reflect the principles of the Declaration, to take place before the end of 1982, and for the summit conference at Antananarivo to be held in 1983. May I at this point recall the proposal by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, which was presented and explained during the thirty-fifth session [*11th meeting*], and which demonstrates our desire to define the nature of the commitments that must govern the mutual relations of the States concerned with the security of the Indian Ocean region, on the basis of the principles established at United Nations level.

89. The difficulties that we encounter in the Indian Ocean area lead us to recall the crises that affect other regions too, for which solutions must be found on the basis of our principles and not seen through the deforming prisms of bloc interests.

90. Elimination of the *apartheid* régime has always come up against the mental block of certain circles who fear change and contend that the liberation of the Africans and their assumption of political power in South Africa would be a threat to specific interests. That attitude, which contributed to delaying the breakup of former colonial empires, explains the will of some to liken liberation movements to terrorist groups. It also justifies the maintenance of so-called normal relations, even a policy of *rapprochement*, with the racist régime, raised to the rank of a stable and strategic ally. Finally, it is shown by opposition to the policy of sanctions and by the subordination of the future of the African majority to the hazards of East-West confrontation.

91. We consider that no specific interest is worthy of being opposed to the restoration of human dignity, justice, freedom and peace for the victims of *apartheid*. We strongly support the struggle of the African majority, under the leadership of their authentic liberation movement, and demand that the Security Council impose mandatory global sanctions on South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

92. In Namibia, the same causes have produced the same effects. The complaisance—I would even say the complicity—of certain western Powers has encouraged the racist régime to defy the United Nations, which, through the United Nations Council for Namibia, is the legal Administering Authority of that Territory.

93. The adherence of the Western contact group to the idea of imposing constitutional principles, even before the future constituent assembly of Namibia has been elected, seems to us to be an inadmissible restriction on the sovereignty of that assembly. It is, to say the least, ironic that those who have insisted most on guaranteeing that that assembly shall be the true reflection of the will of the Namibian people should today be the first to usurp some of its powers. That is not our idea of independence and sovereignty, which must be vested in the Namibian people alone.

94. We reaffirm the position of the Government of Madagascar, as communicated to the Secretary-General and made known at the eighth emergency special session [*6th meeting*]. Either the United Nations should decide to implement immediately and unconditionally Security

Council resolution 435 (1978); or it should request the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority, unilaterally to declare Namibia's independence, under the aegis of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people recognized by the international community.

95. The recent aggressions of the racist régime against Angola have rightly been condemned by the whole international community. It is to be regretted that the veto of one Power prevented the Security Council from joining in that condemnation.

96. We also note that the ministers and heads of delegations of the non-aligned countries have taken note with satisfaction of the decisions adopted by the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi from 24 to 27 June 1981, on the organization of a general and free referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara [see A/36/534, annex I, AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)].

97. In a declaration made public on 31 August 1981, the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar said that he considered as positive the recommendations of the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the OAU [see A/36/512, annex] which met at Nairobi from 24 to 26 August 1981 to give effect to the Assembly's decisions. He believed that the acceptance by the Committee of the idea of setting up in Western Sahara an interim, international, non-aligned authority to ensure the carrying out of the referendum was a further positive step. However, no genuine free and democratic referendum can possibly be held while the Moroccan army and administration remain on Sahraoui territory.

98. In the Middle East, true to its policy of expansion and regional hegemony, Israel increases its aggressions and "preventive reprisals" against its neighbours. Its raid on Iraq's nuclear installations was rightly and unanimously condemned by the Security Council.

99. At the same time, using as a pretext troubles caused by one faction, the Tel Aviv authorities implacably continued their dismemberment of Lebanon, taking the opportunity at the same time to implement their campaign of genocide against the Palestinian refugees. We reaffirm our support for the sovereignty of Lebanon and respect for its territorial integrity, unity and political independence, and call for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

100. Those acts of aggression only further complicate the search for a solution to the question of Palestine, which more than ever lies at the heart of the Middle East problem. We shall continue during this session to give our support to the proposals of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. We welcome the increasingly widening consensus given to the recognition of those rights, including the right of return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

101. It is high time for the Security Council to take note of that consensus and to agree to amend and to complete in this sense the all-too-notorious resolution 242 (1967), which otherwise is in danger of becoming a monument to injustice.

102. The Asian continent is shaken by crises, which certain instruments of propaganda present to us through clever caricatures intended to cast doubt on the true aspirations of the peoples concerned and further to divide the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

103. Apart from any ideological considerations, we believe that two principles are valid—the clearly expressed will of the peoples and the need at all costs to find a politically negotiated solution to all disputes. That is why the question of Afghanistan could be solved on the basis of any constructive proposal, particularly that which was made public on 24 August 1981 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [see A/36/457, annex]. Likewise, in the case of Kampuchea, we believe that a meeting between the countries directly concerned, without external interference, could lead to a solution which would not threaten the credibility of our Organization.

104. We offer our support to the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to convene a conference of the democratic parties of the North and South, which should lead to the unification of a great Korean confederation, the Confederal Democratic Republic of Koryo.

105. The recrudescence of tensions in Central America and the Caribbean causes us disquiet. As a non-aligned country, we uphold the legitimacy of the struggles of peoples subjected for years to injustice and domination. Attempts at destabilization, economic pressures and other hostile acts against the States of the region can meet with nothing but general condemnation and provoke reactions that are not always to the taste of certain parties.

106. Our solidarity with the peoples concerned is known, for, here as elsewhere, only they have the right, in full sovereignty and freedom, to decide their own political, economic and social affairs.

107. In the economic field the outlook is not much better, because the crisis of which we have seen the omens for over a decade is now upon us, and has been given added impetus by the inroads of contention and counterclaims, which are undermining existing structures and for which we can find no more than palliatives in the absence of a real development ethic. We are resentful of the basic injustice of growth by groups, which is now losing sight of the basic idea of bridging the gap and instead is far too close to parallel but separate, and therefore basically unequal, development.

108. This blinkered approach favours the notion of immediate or short-term benefits, as well as what might be called, for want of a better term, international profiteering, based on selfishness, impatience and short-sightedness. Is there still a true desire to find any answer to this crisis, or are we resigned to the fact that two humanities exist, looking at one another across the divide created by unrepentant imperialism?

109. This is well illustrated by our inability this year to undertake the global negotiations provided for in General Assembly resolution 34/138, the hold-up in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, so many events which demonstrate that in spite of our protestations the commitments assumed under the Charter "to employ international machinery for the promotion of

the economic and social advancement of all peoples" are still limited. The procrastination of some and the ill will of others hide behind the pretext of a search for a consensus at all costs, thus leading to the undermining of international co-operation and the exacerbation of the world economic crisis.

110. All our countries are affected by that crisis whose hallmark is a breakdown in economies, currency fluctuations, a chronic international payments deficit, the continuing trend towards higher interest rates, inflation and unemployment, the inadequacy of traditional adjustment measures and the uncertain prospects of growth, even for the medium term, all of which encourage a return to a more or less disguised protectionism.

111. But egotism is not solely to blame, for we see that the countries that are most seriously affected are the developing countries, above all the non-oil-producing countries, whose external debts and balance-of-payments deficits have become disastrous. We are also paying dearly for the rhetoric in which some of our partners try to wrap up global prospects for development, since we are being offered only a patching up of the present system, which is functionally unsuited to restoring stability and ensuring the growth of our economies.

112. Once again we can fall back on scepticism and resignation. But we reaffirm that the only way of establishing equality of opportunity and eliminating the damaging effects of mistrust is the multilateral and global approach to the problems that underlie the present crisis. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún may contribute to providing a fresh momentum to co-operation between two worlds that are condemned to interdependence, to the extent that the lines decided on in the context of the new international economic order are respected.

113. The principles agreed on from Arusha to Caracas concerning co-operation among developing countries were not conceived in a spirit of confrontation or competition, but in reaffirmation of our will to provide ourselves with institutions designed to solve the major problems posed by the requirements of an equal and integrated development.

114. We need not conceal this any longer: the 1980s will be difficult years and we will have to temper the optimism of the last two decades. Each State will have to bear its part. Each State will have to find the means to survive the crises that will occur and recover the security, equilibrium and prosperity to which it has a right. But what should our Organization do to reverse the new political alienation, to revive the vision of one world united economically and socially?

115. More than once we have undertaken a redefinition of the role of the United Nations. Studies have been undertaken, committees have been set up, and yet we find ourselves at the same impasse, which seems to confirm the views of those who defend the *status quo*, because our efforts have been reduced to attempting to reconcile irreconcilable interests or, at best, to collate divergent national reactions. And thus we are forced to ask ourselves whether the collective will to restore international life to its universality can still exist.

116. We have been told that the Charter represented and still represents the best hope of inducing mankind to accept universality. We are aware that for some it is no longer considered as anything more than one reference among many others, and that from being the only means of reducing the dangers of tension, confrontation and conflict, it has sometimes become an instrument of justification for a partial review of relations among nations.

117. From one session to another we reaffirm our faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter, and from one session to another also we see this increasing reluctance to resort to the existing machinery embracing practically every area of co-operation or to make it more effective, by taking account of change or even, I venture to say, of resolutions adopted since the machinery was first established.

118. National sovereignty and national interests are put forward to hamper the role and the activities of the United Nations. But how can the preponderance of the United Nations which we accepted in the Charter restrain a sovereignty that cannot be more absolute? What interest do we have, acting collectively and in unity, in preventing world problems from being dealt with by a multilateral approach and being given global solutions?

119. If the principles of the Charter remain valid for us at all times and in all circumstances, as experience shows, if we are ready to revitalize the objectives of the Charter so that they are more responsive to the aspirations of all peoples, if we have the courage to set aside our contradictions and accept the ineluctable evolution of mankind towards peace, progress and justice, then let us give our Organization the political means to fulfil its purposes, because that is the best way of reaffirming our confidence in ourselves and really promoting mutual confidence.

120. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I should first like to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the important office of President of the General Assembly. Your long experience in the United Nations and your wisdom guarantee the success of your high mission. My delegation wants to assure you of its full co-operation in achieving that objective.

121. I also want to offer my thanks and congratulations to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, the outgoing President, who, during the year that has just elapsed, so admirably guided both a regular and a special session with very heavy agendas.

122. My delegation also wants to address its thanks to the Secretary-General for his persevering efforts aimed at reaffirming the noble principles of our Charter. His eminent contribution made it possible to convene the International Conference on Kampuchea last July.

123. It is with great satisfaction that my delegation cordially welcomes Vanuatu and Belize, which have just joined the United Nations. We are convinced that those two new Member States will make an active contribution to the realization of the ideals and objectives of the Charter.

124. The international situation continues to be marked by accrued tensions. The older hotbeds of tension such as

Namibia and the Middle East have been aggravated, and others have appeared in the meantime.

125. In Kampuchea, my own country, and in Afghanistan the struggle against invasion and foreign occupation is gaining in intensity. In Asia, in Africa, in Europe and in Latin America, the peoples are continuing their just struggle to acquire and preserve their independence and their freedom to live in honour and national dignity.

126. Even though we must face an aggression of a most barbaric kind, the people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea are paying continuous attention to the great problems of the world, and we wish to reiterate our support for the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Its 10-point programme for reunification, presented by its President, Kim Il Sung, at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, is in keeping not only with the deep aspirations of the Korean people but also with the interests of peace. We support the heroic struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet invasion to regain its independence and the right to choose its Government and its political, economic and social régime and to restore the Islamic and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. We continue to give our support to the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples to recover the territories that have been occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. We maintain that the Palestinian people must be able freely to exercise its fundamental national rights, including its right to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to establish a Palestinian State. All the countries of the Middle East must have the right to existence and independence. Concerning southern Africa, we would renew our support for the rapid achievement of independence by Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and we wish to reiterate our support for the struggle of the Azanian people against the colonialist and racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

127. The causes of the increasing deterioration of the international situation are many and complex, but the dominating cause continues to be the aggressive actions of global and regional expansionists in every part of the world.

128. Since the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, one year apart, in similar conditions and under identical pretexts, an undeniable fact has become evident to the international community in all its acuteness, cruelty and scope: the emergence of a new kind of imperialism, an international expansionism of a global and regional character, which now constitutes the greatest danger to the independence of peoples and the peace and security of the world.

129. This new force of domination and enslavement speaks of anti-imperialist struggle but acts as an expansionist and hegemonist. It speaks of support for the national liberation struggle and proclaims that nothing is more important than independence, but in fact is cynically destroying the independence that has recently and heroically been acquired by peoples and nations. That force constantly speaks of respect for national sovereignty and of the territorial integrity of countries but at the same time cruelly invades neighbouring countries, using as a

pretext "internationalist solidarity", "special friendship" or "fraternal aid". Rarely in the history of the world has the gap separating words and deeds and proclaimed ideals and macabre realities been so great. Never in the annals of international crime against independence and the freedom of peoples has demagoguery been used in such a cynical fashion to serve a strategy of regional and world domination.

130. This awareness of the international community has been expressed in a firm and co-ordinated will to oppose the increasing danger of expansionism. International pressure on the invaders has increased to make them withdraw their forces from Kampuchea and Afghanistan and allow the peoples of those countries freely to exercise their inalienable right to decide upon their future destinies themselves.

131. This increased awareness on the part of the international community of the growing danger of expansionism and the support that results from that awareness constitutes valuable encouragement for the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle for the survival of the Kampuchean nation. In the field, the struggle is continuing and increasing. The Vietnamese enemy, despite its numerical and material superiority, has suffered considerable losses. The so-called "Khmerization" of the war undertaken by the enemy has failed. The troops in the field are only Vietnamese troops, and the result is that the Vietnamese enemy has now lost the initiative on all fronts. It has been reduced to being increasingly on the defensive. It is no longer in a position to eliminate Democratic Kampuchea through the force of arms.

132. Those successes of Democratic Kampuchea in the military sphere could not have been achieved without the active participation of the population in the war for national survival. Without the effective contribution of all the people, who nourish, guide, cover, inform, and help the struggle logistically and otherwise, and send to it their sons and daughters, it would be inconceivable for the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, which is numerically inferior and poorly equipped, to bring to a complete halt an invading army of 250,000 men well equipped and experienced in warfare.

133. That active participation of the population in the resistance side by side with the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea is a clear denial of the lies and allegations of the Vietnamese according to which the Government of Democratic Kampuchea receives no support from the population. It also shows the correctness of the new strategic political line laid down by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and of the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, line and programme that all the cadres of the Government, the Front and the army are now committed to apply with the assistance and full support of the population, so that they will become a living reality for all.

134. Thanks to the continuous enlargement of the zones under the control of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the resultant reinforcement of security, as they have been liberated the villages have been organized administratively and politically on the basis of the fundamental democratic freedoms outlined in the political pro-

gramme of the Front. The road of full recovery from the ashes of the war of racial extermination being relentlessly waged by the enemy on Kampuchean soil stretches far ahead but, in the villages that have already been liberated, everyday activities have resumed. Education, culture and handicrafts have come to life again.

135. Since they cannot impose their law on Kampuchea, the Vietnamese invaders have stepped up their cruelty, and they are intensifying the war of extermination against the people of Kampuchea. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of our fellow countrymen have perished, victims of conventional and chemical armaments and the systematic use of the weapon of starvation by the invaders.

136. In their raids, the Vietnamese aggressors continue to use the tactics of the "scorched-earth" policy, killing, destroying everything in their path. In the zones under their temporary control, the population has been placed in "strategic hamlets", making it impossible for them even to go to look for some wild fruit or wild plants with which to fill their empty stomachs. They steal the harvests from the peasants and continue to divert the international assistance to feed their own forces. They systematically create starvation and they use it as a genocidal weapon to eliminate all who oppose their law. Thus they hope to put an end to any national resistance at its very source.

137. The expansionists of Hanoi have also intensified the use of chemical weapons. They have even the impudence to use them now in localities which are situated very close to the towns and to the borders of Thailand. Two weeks ago, on 14 September, the Vietnamese troops fired toxic gas shells at the village of Takong, which is about 10 kilometres from Sisophon in the province of Battambang. They killed or seriously poisoned 55 persons. All of those odious crimes are now known to the international community and they have aroused the indignation and condemnation of all. The symptoms of toxicity described in the note verbale dated 14 September 1981 from the Permanent Representative of the United States [A/36/509] are entirely in keeping with the description which was given by the Ministry of Public Health of Democratic Kampuchea on 10 April 1981 [A/36/254].

138. The suffering of our people is beyond description, for it is boundless. It is as great as the unholy determination of the Hanoi expansionists to integrate Kampuchea at all costs, even without the population, within the Vietnamese empire, which would be called the "Indochina Federation" and would also include Laos.

139. Since there was no victory and no *blitzkrieg* which could produce the rapid and total destruction of the leadership of Democratic Kampuchea, the expansionists of Hanoi are now confronted with a situation in which they can no longer win a military victory. In pursuing their fundamental objective, which is the liquidation of Democratic Kampuchea, the Hanoi expansionists are now actively attacking the legal status of the State of Democratic Kampuchea and trying to eliminate its leadership from the international scene, hoping that its military liquidation will follow. Even before their invasion of 25 December 1978, they unsuccessfully made a number of attempts at assassination, *coup d'état* and destabilization in order to eliminate that leadership, because they know that it is pro-

foundly patriotic and is determined at all costs to preserve the existence of Kampuchea as an independent nation, and for this reason it is firmly opposed to all manoeuvres designed to absorb Democratic Kampuchea into the so-called "Indochina Federation". Today, faced with the stalemate in their invasion, they resort to various stagings and manoeuvres in the hope of achieving by diplomatic means the objective they have pursued for so long. They believe that if they can achieve this, bargaining will follow and allow them in one way or another to preserve the fruits of their invasion of Kampuchea and the pursuit of their strategy of expansion in South-East Asia.

140. In order to achieve this they multiply their campaigns of slander against Democratic Kampuchea and try to impose on the international community the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh, which is the result of their invasion, invoking the travesty of "elections" and a "constitution" which have not deceived anyone but themselves. In this connection, the International Conference on Kampuchea has clearly shown that as long as foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea it is impossible for the Kampuchean people to express their will in free elections.

141. Thus, no matter how the Hanoi expansionists try, they will never be able to change the nature of the administration they have installed in Phnom Penh, and which is in fact only a shadow of the occupation forces, and as such will disappear the moment all those forces are withdrawn from Kampuchea. The people of Kampuchea know only too well the puppets that Hanoi has installed in Phnom Penh with the aid of Vietnamese bayonets, after they had been fed and educated since 1954 within the overall framework of the implementation of the strategy of the "Indochina Federation".

142. As a corollary to these vain attempts to legitimize the invasion of Kampuchea, the leaders of Hanoi are actively endeavouring to sow dissension within the ranks of the ASEAN countries and other countries which cherish peace and justice and which support the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. On the other hand, those leaders continue their worn-out manoeuvres aimed at burying the problem of Kampuchea by means of a so-called regional conference, while at the same time they continue to brandish the so-called Chinese threat. They persist in this game of the thief calling "stop thief" with a cynicism which is particularly odious because the game is designed to cover up the genocide which threatens the very existence of a nation and a people.

143. In conformity with their usual tactics, the Hanoi expansionists believe that they can this time also exhaust the patience of the Governments that cherish peace and justice which are not intimidated by their threats or deceived by their false allegations and promises. They believe that perhaps the international community will simply grow tired and finally accept their occupation of Kampuchea as a *fait accompli* and thus release them from the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea,³ which were intended to lead to a solution of the Kampuchean problem, based on the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the restoration to the people of Kampuchea of its inalienable right to decide its own future.

144. The leaders of Hanoi pretend to hold a dialogue and now declare that they support the Kuala Lumpur Declaration,⁴ published on 27 November 1971 at the conclusion of a meeting of ministers for foreign affairs of ASEAN nations, on the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, which they have always opposed energetically, especially at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in 1976. Who can still believe these very people who only yesterday felt that they were the advanced bastion of socialism in South-East Asia and who referred to the ASEAN countries as the "lackeys of American imperialists"? Who can believe these very people who impudently violated the 1954 Geneva agreements, the 1962 agreements on Laos, the solemn commitment made in 1967 to respect the frontiers and the territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the 1973 Paris agreements?

145. The slanders, deceits and manoeuvres of the Hanoi expansionists certainly will not be able to divert the attention of the international community from the danger and the threat which they represent for the region and for the whole world because of the close concordance of their regional expansionist strategy to the global Soviet strategy of expansion.

146. If at present this danger and this threat have not yet been able to develop fully, it is because the struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea is being continued resolutely and has driven the Vietnamese enemy into inextricable difficulties in Kampuchea, in its own country and at the international level. Thus, the struggle of the Kampuchean people is indeed a struggle for survival, but at the same time it is also a contribution to the preservation of peace, stability and security in that region and in the world. If this struggle should one day cease, there can be no doubt that the Vietnamese empire will be consolidated. It will be able to draw new breath and, its strength restored, it will again affirm its will to dominate and to expand, a policy it is trying to conceal today for circumstantial reasons. The balance of forces in the region and in the world will thus be altered in such a way that it will no longer be possible to prevent this empire, supported by the expansionist great Power, to extend its tentacles into other areas of South-East Asia which it covets.

Mr. Thunborg (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

147. However, by intoning the same old chant in the vain hope of achieving by diplomatic means what they cannot achieve on the battlefield, the expansionists of Hanoi reveal their own weakness. They show that their field of manoeuvre has grown smaller. The truth they can no longer conceal is that their military adventure in Kampuchea is daily causing their human, financial and economic resources to be swallowed up in a bottomless pit. Viet Nam's problems on both the political and economic levels are well known throughout the world. Nothing can remedy them, not even massive Soviet aid, and this will continue so long as Hanoi persists in its expansionist and annexationist ambition in Kampuchea and South-East Asia.

148. Our struggle is not at all a struggle for the victory of an ideology. It is a struggle for the very survival of our nation and our people. The historical task we are facing is an onerous one.

149. In order to wage such a difficult struggle, full of sacrifices against an enemy bent on exterminating us, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea have clearly stated their sincere wish that all national forces participate in the struggle and share the responsibility for it. Since the beginning of 1979, they have endeavoured in every way to unify all these national forces, regardless of their past or their political affiliations or tendencies, so as to carry on the struggle in all forms against the common enemy.

150. Animated by a high sense of patriotism and by their sincere desire to achieve national union, and placing the interests of the survival of the Kampuchean nation above all else, they remain prepared to associate all national forces in the direction of the affairs of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, and they do so even though they represent the legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea and constitute the only force which for three years has been leading effectively and with success the struggle of the Kampuchean people and its National Army in such a way that the Vietnamese invading forces are now hopelessly bogged down on the battlefield.

151. It is in this spirit that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea signed the Joint Statement published in Singapore on 4 September 1981, at the end of a tripartite meeting, which affirms the desire of the national parties signatories to the Statement "to form a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea with a view to continuing the struggle in all forms for the liberation of Cambodia from the Vietnamese aggressors". [A/36/498, annex.]

152. That future tripartite coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will be the continuation of the present Government of Democratic Kampuchea and set up within the framework of the State of Democratic Kampuchea. It must have as its objective the increase of the forces combating the Vietnamese invaders, the strengthening in all forms of the close co-ordination of the military, political and diplomatic struggle, that has enabled us to achieve such success so far in every field, and, lastly, the mobilization to an even greater extent of international support and assistance for our just struggle.

153. It is evident that the Vietnamese enemy will continue to do all it can to frustrate this national union and that even after its establishment it will do all it can to destroy it. This is why the Government of Democratic Kampuchea neither accepts nor does anything that might weaken the present struggle or impede its development, or in any way open any kind of breach that might be advantageous to the Vietnamese manoeuvres.

154. We call with all our hearts for the speedy establishment of a coalition government. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea in the tripartite *Ad Hoc* Committee to study the principles and forms that will make the establishment of such a coalition government possible received appropriate instructions to exert every effort towards that end.

155. The task of the tripartite *Ad Hoc* Committee is a difficult one. It is indispensable that the *Ad Hoc* Committee be able to work in a serene atmosphere that will engender mutual understanding and lead to a rapid conclusion of its work.

156. The solid and lasting union of all national forces that we are continually pursuing is not only based on imperatives of the movement. It is the best guarantee for the survival and the very durability of Kampuchea as an independent and sovereign nation, preserving its age-old culture and civilization.

157. Placed as they are by geography and history directly adjacent to such an ambitious, arrogant and aggressive neighbour as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has become the pawn of global expansionism in South-East Asia, the people of Kampuchea have no other path than that of sincere and loyal union among all the country's social strata, whatever their political loyalties or tendencies. Only such a union will make it possible, following the liberation of the national territory, to rebuild and defend the country and to prevent Kampuchea from experiencing in its turn the tragic fate of the 65,000 square kilometres of its territory situated in the fertile plain of the Mekong Delta and which was once the Kampuchean Krom, today absorbed by Viet Nam.

158. In pursuing this goal, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea will continue to adhere firmly and loyally to their present political programme⁵ and to their proposal of 30 June 1981 for a five-point programme, which states, *inter alia*, that:

"After the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, a general and free election with direct and secret ballot will be held, without any coercion from any armed forces or other forces, and this, under the strict and full supervision of the United Nations.

"This election aims at choosing a National Assembly.

"This National Assembly will establish a Constitution which will define the political régime of Kampuchea, a parliamentary régime which will not construct socialism or communism.

"Kampuchea will remain independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned, and will not allow any foreign military base on its territory.

"This National Assembly will choose a national government.

"This government will set up a national army to defend the country." [See A/36/367, annex.]

159. Kampuchea will then have a liberal parliamentary régime respectful of the International Covenants on Human Rights, to which Democratic Kampuchea has adhered since 17 October 1980.

160. More than any other people, the people of Kampuchea desires nothing more than the immediate cessation of its sufferings, which were caused by a war of aggression and which have been endured for too long a time. If

it must overcome still more difficulties, consent to additional sacrifices and persevere in the present struggle in the field, this is because those burdens have been imposed upon it. The use of brutal armed force has always been the constant and main recourse of Hanoi. Negotiations are for Hanoi nothing more than deceitful delaying tactics. Experience and the lessons of the past have shown that concessions to Hanoi's demands have never led to a change in its strategic objectives. On the contrary, they have only encouraged Hanoi in the pursuit of its expansionist designs. Only co-ordinated pressures in the military, political, economic and diplomatic fields will bring Hanoi to reason.

161. As a corollary to the struggle on the battlefield, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is actively seeking on the international level ways and means of ending as soon as possible the suffering of the Kampuchean people and satisfying its deep-felt aspiration to live in peace, independence, honour and national dignity.

162. The *sine qua non* condition of any just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem is the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, which will make it possible for the people of Kampuchea to exercise its inalienable right to choose its own destiny without any foreign interference, to re-establish the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and thus to bring peace, security and stability to South-East Asia. These requirements are entirely in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.³

163. To attempt, as do the Hanoi expansionists and their supporters, to turn the problem of Kampuchea into a "regional problem" is a conjuring trick which deceives no one anymore. Nothing can conceal the fact that the problem of Kampuchea is a problem neither of decolonization nor of a territory under United Nations trusteeship, but rather a problem of Vietnamese aggression against a sovereign non-aligned State which is a Member of the United Nations, and that that aggression, as in the case of the aggression against Afghanistan, is an integral part of the expansionist, global strategy to achieve world domination. The International Conference on Kampuchea properly stressed the aggressive nature of the Hanoi expansionists as well as the international nature of the Kampuchean problem.

164. Within the context in which the global and regional expansionists continue to advance their pawns on the global chess-board and to give a one-sided interpretation to "détente", a just solution of the problem of Kampuchea based on respect for its sovereignty and for the Charter of the United Nations would help to pave the way towards the solution of other outstanding international problems, such as the problem of Afghanistan. It would show at the same time that in the current contest between the aggressive forces of expansionism and the peace-loving forces nothing can triumph over the will of the peace-loving forces when that will is clearly asserted. It would also help to avert the danger of a third world conflagration.

165. My delegation wishes to reiterate the deep gratitude of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the ASEAN countries for the

historic part which they played in defending not only the independence and the survival of the people of Kampuchea but also the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia and in the world. In keeping with the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and responding to the deep and legitimate aspirations of our peoples, who wish to see South-East Asia become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, this noble action on the part of the ASEAN countries thus acquires a high moral and political significance. Our people and our Government will show themselves worthy of their trust and their solidarity with us.

166. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express once again our gratitude to the other countries which cherish peace and justice and which have not only given active support to the just national cause of Kampuchea but have also made intense efforts to bring about a just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem. Their warm solidarity will never be forgotten by our people.

167. Before concluding, may I reaffirm this year, the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the non-aligned movement, the fact that Democratic Kampuchea and its people remain faithful to the principles of non-alignment as well as to those of the Charter of the United Nations. Despite the vicissitudes which it has been forced to undergo by the expansionists, who have sought to destroy its identity and hitch it to their wagon of world domination, especially since the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, the non-aligned movement has shown through the determined struggle of the vast majority of its members that it will survive its illustrious founding fathers and that the principles of non-alignment will continue to light the way for peoples that cherish independence, peace and progress. The solidarity reaffirmed recently by the non-aligned movement at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February 1981, with the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the victims of wars of aggression and occupation, in their just struggle, reflect much credit on the participants and augur well for the future, despite the obstacles to be overcome.

168. By its present struggle against the Vietnamese expansionists, my country is making a contribution not only to the defence of the principles of the Charter but also to the cause of the non-aligned movement, of which it is one of the founding members.

169. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to express to Mr. Kitani, on behalf of Kuwait, our warmest and most heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. His election is a testimony to the high esteem in which he is held in international circles, as a man of vast experience and outstanding competence. The trust which the General Assembly has placed in him is not only a recognition of his personal attributes but also a symbolic acknowledgement by the international community of the role played by the sister State of Iraq in international bodies. It is a privilege to have presiding over our meetings a man of great and long experience of the activities of this world Organization, a man who has played a remarkable role in supporting the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Na-

tions. While wishing him the greatest success in presiding over this session, I would like to pay tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, the President of the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, who displayed a high degree of competence and wisdom during his presidency.

170. I should also like to pay a tribute, on behalf of Kuwait, to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made to promote world peace and security, and to express our appreciation of his quiet diplomacy and the remarkable way he uses his good offices to ease tensions in various parts of the world.

171. Kuwait, which believes that the international Organization is a miniature image of the community of nations, wishes to congratulate the State of Vanuatu and the State of Belize on joining the United Nations, and would also like to express its belief that those new Members will fulfil their international commitments and play their part in shouldering international responsibilities with great competence.

172. The current international situation is marked by signs of a deterioration in international relations. We detect in those signs a threat to the policies of détente, the existence of which previously constituted one of the most encouraging safeguards of world peace and security. Its absence could lead to a recurrence of the cold war, which once led us to the dangerous policies of brinkmanship.

173. There are also unfortunate indications of the re-emergence of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear sphere, and that coincides with a worsening of the world economic crisis and an increase in the spread of poverty and famine in the world.

174. Furthermore, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of various nations are being jeopardized by the conflict between the major Powers. It is regrettable that the lofty concept of the force of right as a source of peace is now being replaced by a new and dangerous concept which relies on military force as a source of legality and an effective instrument in international relations.

175. The tendency to resort to the use of military force, or the threat of it, has increased substantially, to the extent that it has been coupled in some cases with military intervention and occupation. As a result, we feel we are drifting back to the law of the jungle and the gunboat diplomacy that permeated relations among nations in the dark ages, and drifting away from the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law.

176. Kuwait, sensing the potential dangers in the present world situation, would like to appeal for rapid measures to improve international relations, eliminate the causes of tension and translate the principles of the Charter into action. Kuwait also endorses the idea of convening a world conference on disarmament, to be attended by all nations and to be preceded by adequate preparations in order to guarantee a considerable degree of success.

177. The situation on our Asian continent is no better than anywhere else, thanks to the increasing competition between the big Powers, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, for a military presence in the Indian

Ocean and the Arabian Sea. Naval fleets are also being stationed closer and closer to our area on pretexts that are not acceptable to our people.

178. Kuwait has supported from the outset the efforts being made to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We appreciate the efforts made so far by the *AD Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean in preparation for the convening, we hope at an early date, of a conference to discuss this matter.

179. The nations of the Indian Ocean area have in the past suffered a lot from big-Power conflicts. This has led to the realization by those nations of the potential dangers of such big-Power activities. Therefore, the time has come to conclude an international agreement proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

180. Kuwait strongly believes in the idea of regional co-operation among States, since such co-operation among like-minded States of any region plays a role in easing any tensions which may arise in that region. It also increases the possibility of the most effective exploitation of the natural resources and the safeguarding of the economic development of the countries of the area in a more scientific and co-ordinated manner. The Arab Gulf States, in accordance with their strong belief in this principle, have therefore taken the constructive step of establishing the Gulf Co-operation Council, which, as the Council's charter provides, aims at "achieving a greater degree of co-ordination and integration in all fields and [at] forging closer relations between its members".

181. We believe that that Council will make an effective contribution to stability in the area and will help to prevent foreign intervention in issues which are the concern of the Gulf States alone.

182. Kuwait believes that responsibility for the security and protection of the Gulf rests with the Gulf States alone. We therefore oppose policies designed to make people believe that the area needs some kind of foreign military presence, whether in the form of the so-called rapid deployment force or in that of military facilities in certain areas. It is Kuwait's conviction that the propagation of such ideas is detrimental to the stability of this vital area of the world and creates an undesirable competition between the super-Powers in our backyard.

183. The world suffers today more than at any time in the past from an increasing number of international problems on which the fate of world peace and the future of mankind depend. The continued deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan constitutes a direct threat not only to the security and sovereignty of the surrounding countries, but to the international community in general. We therefore call for the acceleration of efforts to find a peaceful and just solution to the Afghanistan crisis, in accordance with the General Assembly resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and supporting the right of the people of Afghanistan to self-determination and the establishment of the political system which it considers suitable, without foreign interference. We also support the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their country, as called for in the New Delhi Declaration of February 1981, at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/36/116 and Corr. 1, annex].

184. We are also greatly concerned by the continuance of the Iraq-Iran war and hope that the peaceful efforts to end the war in such a way as to guarantee peace, legality and justice will be continued.

185. Only a few days ago the General Assembly wound up the eighth emergency special session convened to discuss the question of Namibia and adopted resolution ES-8/2 condemning South Africa for its continued control and occupation of that Territory and reiterating the principles which we have always supported but which South Africa continues to ignore.

Mr. Kitani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

186. We believe that the five Western countries, particularly the United States, should carry out the historic responsibilities they assigned themselves and exert effective pressure on South Africa to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

187. We should also like to express our support for and solidarity with the black majority in South Africa in their bitter struggle against the odious policies of *apartheid* pursued by the South African régime, the continuance of which is a disgrace to all of mankind. The Government of Kuwait therefore continues to support the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against that racist régime in order to force it to comply with United Nations resolutions.

188. There is no doubt that the present strained relations between the two super-Powers and their gradual abandonment of the policy of *détente* will lead to a fierce competition, which will revitalize the efforts by those super-Powers to polarize as many small nations as possible and entice them somehow into one of the two camps, East or West. That will in turn undoubtedly increase the responsibilities of the non-aligned nations, which should have at the top of their list of priorities opposition to alignments, polarization and the creation of military bases or spheres of influence.

189. The non-aligned nations are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of their first summit conference, which marked the emergence of that group, which has played and continues to play a major role in organizing the troubled world of today.

190. In spite of the fact that the path of non-alignment has always been fraught with difficulties, non-aligned policies have remained steadfast and have asserted themselves in the midst of the events of the last two decades. I would be remiss if I did not express appreciation of the efforts made by those nations to bring about fundamental changes in international institutions, such as the elimination of the remaining pockets of colonialism, the settlement of the differences between various nations of the group by peaceful means, the elimination of unjust economic and social conditions, the preservation of spiritual and human values and the reinforcement of the democratic spirit in international relations.

191. Any talk about the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, human rights or the principles of justice will be meaningless as long as the Middle East crisis, particularly the core of that crisis—the cause of the Palestinian people, who have suffered the bitterness of dis-

person, oppression, dispossession and the denial of their national rights for more than three decades—remains unresolved.

192. It is indeed an appalling irony that a great Power, which should be fulfilling its special international responsibilities in its capacity as a permanent member of the Security Council, which was originally set up to preserve peace and security—namely, the United States—should instead play such a part in creating and fomenting the main problem threatening world peace and security in our time, one of the most important and most sensitive regions in the world, the Middle East.

193. Had it not been for continued United States support and assistance and the reluctance of the United States Government to adopt a balanced policy which would take into consideration the interests of all parties, within the framework of the principles reflecting the wishes of the international community, international justice, the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Israel would not have been able to continue its occupation of Arab territories or its refusal to allow the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate national rights.

194. The deteriorating situation in Lebanon drains the Arab joint effort to establish peace in the Middle East. Together with its sister Arab members of the Supreme Arab Follow-up Committee, Kuwait continues to exert every effort to establish peace and stability in Lebanon and to preserve its security, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity under its legitimate authority. We are hopeful that those efforts will bear fruit. We shall pursue our efforts until a normal and peaceful situation is restored in the area. We believe, however, that the main guarantee of the restoration of peace in Lebanon is the cessation of Israel's aggressive practices and persistent attempts to interfere in Lebanese affairs, and the discontinuance of Israel's brutal attacks against the innocent Lebanese people and its violations of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

195. A new dimension in Israeli designs was revealed by its attack last June on Iraqi nuclear installations, which constituted an encroachment on the rights of all nations and the aspirations of all peoples to develop their economies so as to serve their development objectives and to utilize their resources so as to achieve progress and prosperity.

196. The United States bears a special responsibility to put a stop to Israel's irresponsible actions, since by its total support it has turned Israel into the main source of danger to the security of the region.

197. On the other hand, the question of Palestine remains pivotal for the Middle East, and unless that issue is resolved in a manner which will safeguard the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, particularly its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State, the general situation in the Middle East will not change; in fact, it will become more dangerous and more explosive, as proved by the events of the last few months.

198. We have been proved right about what we have been saying since the signing of the Camp David accords—that this process was anything but conducive to

peace in the Middle East and that it was, in effect, a process which would only increasingly complicate the situation. The claim that was made and is still being repeated that there is no alternative to peace has also been proved to be a fallacy by the fact that peace has not been achieved and the expansionist designs and aggressive attitude of Israel have not diminished. It is our conviction that the following elements are essential for the achievement of genuine peace in the Middle East.

199. The first is the participation of all the principal parties to the issue in the settlement process. The most important among those parties is the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The absolute loyalty to the PLO expressed by the Palestinian people, especially by those who live in the West Bank and Gaza who, despite the brutalities of a coercive occupation authority, have resisted all efforts to weaken their loyalty to the PLO, should be clear-cut proof to anyone who has any doubts on the matter. This fact has been recognized by most Member States. The facts of the situation also prove that the only solution is to recognize the fact that the PLO exists and that it enjoys the absolute support of the people of Palestine.

200. Secondly, Israel must withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. The pretext of security requirements resorted to by Israel in an effort to disguise its expansionist designs is but a flimsy argument that does not deceive anyone.

201. Thirdly, like other peoples in the world, the Palestinian people should be guaranteed the right to self-determination and the right to have its own independent State. The right of the Palestinian refugees to repatriation, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, should also be safeguarded.

202. A new element has recently emerged in United States-Israeli relations and is being referred to as "strategic co-operation" between the two countries. This co-operation, we believe, will have negative effects and will place more obstacles in the way of any effort to achieve peace in the Middle East.

203. Kuwait would like to state the following in this respect.

204. First of all, such co-operation is in our view an ill-conceived venture aimed at confronting a fictitious danger which the United States and Israel wish to impose on our area. It is our duty therefore to dispel this illusion, which has been blown up out of all proportion, for it only serves to cloud the facts and draw the entire area towards a new war, with grave consequences for world peace and security.

205. Secondly, this co-operation will make the Middle East region once again a hotbed of alliances, spheres of influence and the cold war, the consequences of which will have their impact on the commitment of the Arab nations to the policy of non-alignment, which is indispensable to our peoples.

206. Thirdly, this co-operation will upset the necessary balance in the policy of a Power that plays a major role in the efforts to resolve the Middle East crisis.

207. We believe that the responsibility for rejecting and resisting this new strategic co-operation should not lie with the Middle East States alone, but should be shared by all peace-loving nations, since the responsibility for world peace and security is a collective one.

208. In the last two decades the world has been liberated from political colonization and must now be liberated from economic imperialism. We support that course, in which Kuwait has played an important role. However, I should like to emphasize the unavoidable necessity of resolving the question of political justice inherent in the Palestine issue before we are able to assume the economic role we aspire to play. Political justice is the corner-stone of economic justice. Any negotiations on socio-economic justice in the world as a whole will therefore be pointless if political justice is not achieved in our part of the world. The continuance of an unresolved Palestine question would undoubtedly affect that role, as this question is taking up much of our energies.

209. The world economic situation is characterized by increasing rates of inflation in all the countries of the world, an increase in the national product at a lesser rate than the increase in population, an increase in the rate of unemployment, an increase in rates of interest and an increase in foreign debt.

210. The advanced nations bear a responsibility to share in the solution of the economic problems of the developing nations, since they have been responsible for the present recession in the world economic situation.

211. The convening by the developing nations of the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981, on the eve of the failure of the preparatory attempts to launch the global negotiations, has served as an incentive for these nations to look for ways and means of developing their economies on the basis of co-operation.

212. We favour the efforts by the world community to conserve energy, but we should like to mention that the responsibility for meeting world energy needs does not rest with the oil-producing countries alone. The advanced nations should embark more seriously on efforts to develop alternative sources of energy and should co-operate with developing nations to explore those sources. The advanced nations undoubtedly have sufficient resources and technical and human capabilities to achieve this objective.

213. Kuwait and other Arab and developing nations are exerting every possible effort to help the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea resolve its present dilemma, which will not be done unless the obstacles impeding the investment in and utilization of the resources of the sea in an organized manner for the benefit of this generation as well as the future generations are eliminated.

214. The State of Kuwait appreciates the importance of the serious participation of the Government of the United States of America in the current negotiations so that the Conference does not lose the momentum it gained in its past sessions. We hope that the new United States Administration will change its stand regarding future negotiations so that the Conference can consolidate the positive

achievements resulting from 10 years of intensive efforts and be able to complete its deliberations in 1982.

215. In conclusion, I should like to wish this important session all success in helping to translate the resolutions and recommendations of the previous sessions into action, thereby fulfilling the hopes underlying them.

216. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is pleased to see as President a representative of a brother country, the Republic of Iraq, with which my country has fraternal and privileged relations.

217. Your competence, your talent as a skilled diplomat and your vast experience will, I am convinced, enable us to accomplish our work successfully.

218. May I also, Mr. President, pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, who, with competence and devotion, did so much to seek satisfactory solutions to the many problems that arose during his term of office.

219. I should also like to express my heartfelt congratulations and words of welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu and Belize. I am convinced that these two countries will find support and assistance in this Assembly.

220. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to carry out his difficult tasks in order to preserve the ideals for which the Organization was founded. We commend his unflinching perseverance in carrying out his duties as guardian of the principles of the Charter.

221. Every year the General Assembly opens a new session at which we once again gather, inspired by great hopes and with a firm resolve to promote peace, solidarity among peoples and international co-operation.

222. In accordance with the principles of the United Nations, the Republic of Djibouti has chosen to follow a policy based on the preservation of its independence and the maintenance of its sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and national identity. We try to harmonize national and international endeavours in a spirit of co-operation and understanding towards all nations, because such endeavours could prepare the ground for a better development of peace and prosperity.

223. At the beginning of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, in spite of the deterioration of the international economic situation, the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held at Paris from 1 to 14 September 1981, has given rise to great hopes by making it possible for the international community to become aware of the seriousness of the problems facing those countries. It is none the less true that the measures adopted at that Conference¹ must be placed in the framework of the global development strategy aimed at establishing a more just and more equitable new international economic order.

224. The Djibouti economy is characterized by its weakness. There is a high rate of urban growth, the industrial and agricultural sectors are almost non-existent and subsistence activities are low. This weakness is mainly due to the preponderance of the service sector, which depends a great deal on the international situation. The massive population flow following our independence—refugees, immigrants, victims of the drought and the rural exodus—have posed acute problems in all socio-economic fields.

225. After a drought which lasted three years and caused the displacement of more than one third of our rural population, whom the Government regrouped in camps in order to meet their needs, floods this year have worsened our economic situation.

226. The Republic of Djibouti, with a population of 450,000, has welcomed a large number of refugees, who today make up 15 per cent of its population and with whom it shares its meagre available resources without regret and with dignity. That is its way of meeting its international and humanitarian responsibilities.

227. The Republic of Djibouti, in the framework of its national policy, has given priority to all those projects that will allow it to involve itself in the process of socio-economic development in order to guarantee to all the enjoyment of their social, economic and political rights without obstruction, within the limits of its resources and in the interest of all the people.

228. But, in order to achieve those development objectives, the support and assistance of the international community are needed. I take this opportunity to repeat our gratitude to, and appreciation of, all the friendly countries and international organizations for their assistance and support, both material and moral.

229. Peace and stability are vital for each nation, for they are the two prerequisites for development and thus for socio-economic emancipation at the national and international levels. The Republic of Djibouti is engaged in establishing peace and stability, not only at the national level but at the regional and international levels.

230. Strongly committed to African unity and solidarity, the President of the Republic, Mr. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, is worried by the continued hostilities in the Horn of Africa. Deeply inspired by the need to establish peace and security in the region, the President has committed himself to the task of creating mutual trust and co-operation among the nations of the region. On the basis of that commitment, President Gouled made an appeal in August 1980 for an attempt to bring about a negotiated settlement of the conflict in the region. In March, April and May 1981 he began a series of official visits to the countries of the Horn of Africa and other neighbouring countries, such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan and South Yemen. During those visits the President of the Republic found among his fellow leaders a conviction of the need to seek the possibilities of establishing peace and security in the region, in the interest of the peoples of the Horn of Africa.

231. We believe that, thanks to the understanding and confidence of all, those goodwill efforts may lead to tangible results.

232. Since its accession to national sovereignty, the Republic of Djibouti has ceaselessly maintained and strengthened its fraternal relations of co-operation and solidarity with the other countries of the region. The two pillars of our foreign policy are dialogue and co-operation, to which we attach great importance.

233. We are committed to, and comply constructively with, the principles of the establishment of peaceful, active coexistence in relations among all nations. We are firmly opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid* and racism—including zionism, racial discrimination and other forms of oppression and elimination.

234. The Republic of Djibouti is at one with the principles and goals of the non-aligned movement. In the implementation of the ideals stemming from those principles and goals, all Member States should harmonize their efforts to maintain the prestige and unity of our movement.

235. During the past decades, the Indian Ocean has been a focal point of super-Power rivalry for zones of influence because of its economic and strategic importance and its importance in the sphere of energy. The Republic of Djibouti, as a coastal State, is deeply concerned by the escalation of tension in the region. We support the goals and objectives of the United Nations resolutions aimed at preserving the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and attach particular importance to them. In this respect, we are pleased by the decision contained in General Assembly resolutions 34/80 B and 35/150 to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the 1980s in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to give effect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI). This can contribute to the establishment of peace and security in that region.

236. We reaffirm the urgent need for the prompt implementation of that Declaration, and repeat our full support for a successful conference on the Indian Ocean as soon as possible.

Mr. Tarua (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

237. The situation in the Middle East is a source of great danger to peace and stability, not only regional but also international, for the Zionist entity ceaselessly violates the sovereignty and independence of Arab countries. The premeditated and criminal acts of aggression by Israel against the Arab nation have increased to dangerous proportions, portending disaster for mankind.

238. The escalation of violence and the intensification of the Israeli expansionist policy of colonialism in the occupied Arab territories, the intensive and brutal attacks that have recurred in southern Lebanon, the annexation of Jerusalem for the ill-intentioned purpose of altering the character of the Holy City, Israel's continued and provocative refusal to withdraw from Lebanese territory, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the plan to build a canal from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea are all deliberate acts of provocation which maintain an explosive state of tension in the region.

239. It is highly regrettable that all the solutions proposed to date to remedy the crisis in the Middle East have been marked by great weakness in tackling the heart of the

question. The whole world is aware that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without complete recognition and granting of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return to its homeland and to establish an independent State there. All attempts to find solutions to the Middle East crisis must consider and fully accept the participation of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, as a fully fledged partner in all negotiations concerning the future of the Palestinian people.

240. The Arab countries have always wished to live and to coexist in just and lasting peace, guaranteeing to all parties independence, peace and security. Contrary to this, Israel has constantly shown complete defiance of all moral values and international norms.

241. Israel's isolated and barbaric actions are no longer convincing, even to its fervent partisans in the United States and in Europe, who continue to give it unlimited support to the detriment of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples.

242. We wish to reiterate our unconditional support for and solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the auspices of the PLO, its sole representative, for its inalienable rights.

243. We wish to welcome here the peace efforts undertaken by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and we support the peace settlement presented by His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz.⁶

244. The attempt to eliminate the Lebanese people is a clear extension of Israel's virulent strategy of aggression whose sole goal is to destroy the Arab nation. Israel's continued violation of Lebanon's air space, territory and territorial waters and its intensive attacks against highly populated areas in Beirut, killing thousands of civilians and causing severe destruction, are all living examples of that strategy. The whole world has on many occasions condemned the Israeli plan to sabotage Lebanese sovereignty and has reaffirmed the urgent need to protect the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The international community must take more concrete measures to preserve Lebanese sovereignty.

245. *Apartheid*, which has been unanimously condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity and against human conscience and dignity, considerably aggravates the situation in southern Africa and seriously disturbs world peace and security.

246. Tension and confrontation in southern Africa cannot be eliminated nor can peace be established until Namibia's liberation from the illegal occupation of the South African régime and the dismantling of the *apartheid* system are completely achieved. It is not enough to rise up against *apartheid* or to raise an outcry. The system must be condemned concretely by active support for the struggle waged by the liberation movements in providing them with the best possible moral, material, political and diplomatic assistance.

247. The barbaric South African régime continues its policy of repression. The policy of bantustanization, the blind violence against peaceful demonstrators opposing *apartheid*, the political trials followed by imprisonment, the torture of political prisoners and the assassinations while in

detention are but a few examples of the horrors existing in South Africa under the Pretoria régime, which continues to defy the relevant United Nations resolutions.

248. We appreciate the fact that the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, sponsored by the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU, held in Paris last May, has considered new international actions to eliminate *apartheid* and to support the struggle of the liberation movements.⁷ We support measures aimed at a total arms embargo against South Africa and in particular at preventing it from acquiring the nuclear weapon.

249. Concerning Namibia, the current impasse presents a crisis situation that endangers peace and security in the region. It is clear that the South African régime does not accept a negotiated agreement on the basis of the United Nations plan on the question of Namibia. In defiance of all international norms, it continues to engage in barbaric acts and systematically to detain leaders of the liberation movement, all in order to stifle the success of the liberation movement, strengthen its occupation of Namibia and carry out its campaigns of aggression against neighbouring States.

250. The Republic of Djibouti firmly condemns the aggression perpetrated against the fraternal people of Angola by the despicable régime in South Africa.

251. The international community, in view of its responsibility regarding the Namibian people, must no longer remain impassive when faced with the acts of aggression committed by the South African régime. It is high time that Governments and organizations which maintain economic, political and diplomatic relations with South Africa cease their activities, express solidarity with the Namibian people and participate in common efforts to speed up the decolonization of Namibia.

252. We reaffirm our support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its armed struggle to achieve self-determination, liberation and national independence.

253. We firmly believe that the only basis for a just negotiation on the Namibian question is the correct implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which requires fair elections under the supervision of the United Nations in keeping with the principles of self-determination and genuine independence for Namibia, as well as of resolution ES-8/2 adopted during the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia.

254. The delegation of the Republic of Djibouti is deeply worried by the conflict between Iraq and Iran. We hope that the two countries will resolve their differences in accordance with the principles of the Islamic Conference and of the non-aligned movement. We welcome efforts at finding a peaceful solution of the Iraqi-Iranian war and we ask the non-aligned movement, the Islamic Conference and the United Nations to redouble their efforts to achieve fruitful results in order to restore peace to that region.

255. As regards the question of Western Sahara, we are greatly encouraged by the continued efforts made by the OAU to put an end to the dispute by peaceful means. The establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the OAU is a demonstration of goodwill and commands our full support.

We support proposals that will make it possible for the people of Western Sahara to exercise its right to self-determination in accordance with the recommendations of that Committee.

256. The continued presence of foreign armed forces in Afghanistan in spite of the repeated appeals of all peace-loving nations for their withdrawal prevents the Afghan people from expressing its will by choosing its government through free elections. That aggression and military presence also endanger the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the countries of the region. My Government has on many occasions denounced this foreign military intervention in Afghanistan as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and as an act of aggression against human rights and the freedom of peoples. We insist upon an overall political solution based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

257. In connection with the question of Kampuchea, the serious international consequences of the situation in that country have become a source of concern to my Government, which is opposed to foreign armed intervention and the presence of foreign forces in any country. We reaffirm the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of Kampuchea as well as the organization of elections supervised by the United Nations in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

258. We firmly believe that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for the bringing together of ideas in order to find the most favourable means of resolving all vital questions concerning the general development of mankind. We believe in the United Nations. In that spirit we join the other Member States and share their concerns and their aspirations.

259. Our strength resides in the extent to which we respect and comply with the objectives and principles on which the Organization is based.

260. Mr. BOLE (Fiji): My delegation joins with others who have spoken before me in congratulating Mr. Kittani on his election to the post of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His task is not an easy one, but we are confident that his deep and extensive experience in international diplomacy acquits him well for the task before him. My delegation pledges its support to his leadership.

261. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation of the excellent leadership given to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly by its President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany. His record is one of which this Assembly can justifiably be proud and is a credit both to him and to his country.

262. No amount of congratulations can ever be enough to express our deep sense of gratitude for the thankless but important job that the Secretary-General and his Secretariat staff are doing. Theirs is a difficult task more prone to criticism than appreciation. But that the United Nations has been able to make positive progress in many aspects of its work in the past decade despite repeated assaults on its principles is a credit to Mr. Waldheim's quiet but incisive leadership and the dedication of his staff.

263. During this session this community of nations has had the very pleasant task of welcoming Vanuatu and Belize as the one hundred fifty-fifth and one hundred fifty-sixth Members, respectively, of the United Nations. Vanuatu is a sister State in the South Pacific. It and Belize, like many States Members of the Organization, including my own, are beautiful but small. Their membership in the United Nations is an investment in hope and peace. My delegation therefore most sincerely welcomes those two countries and looks forward to working closely with them in the years ahead.

264. This session of the General Assembly, more than any other convened in the past, is taking place at a very critical juncture in the history of the United Nations. I say critical because the world Organization is increasingly challenged and its efforts are frustrated by the lack of alternatives to deal with the realities of an evolving global geopolitical system, a system which is complex and demands a high degree of skill in statesmanship, ingenuity and foresight to maintain it—perhaps more than was the case when the United Nations was first founded 36 years ago.

265. The increase in the membership, largely by the addition of former dependent territories, which in gaining sovereignty wish to control their own destiny, was bound to alter the basis of international relations.

266. The need of newly independent countries to develop social and economic policies more consistent with their socio-economic aspirations was bound to lead to a demand for the alteration of the basis of international economic relations. The rapid rate at which the process of decolonization has freed people from colonial tutelage was bound to be contagious for the remaining colonies.

267. Those developments, as events have shown, have their effect on the adjustments—some more radical and revolutionary than others—that countries have had to make in their social, economic, political and legal systems. That those changes have taken place in a very brief period of time is to be applauded, as along with them has come a greater degree of freedom and awareness.

268. I need not restate the fact that the emergent geopolitical picture in the largely free world of today calls for a revision of the basis of traditional international relations, a modification cognizant of the roles of Member States, no matter what their size, in the resolution of challenges which confront the United Nations, a modification which recognizes the desire of Member States, however disadvantaged by traditional and current international economic arrangements, to participate effectively on a basis of equity in any new global economic system and a modification which respects the right of sovereign States, no matter how weak and small they may be, to determine their own future.

269. Challenges which face the United Nations are translated into problems because the Members' conceptions of those challenges have remained linked to or have moved very little away from traditional ways of resolving them.

270. Unemployment, poverty and hunger are still predominantly looked upon as the consequences of the individual's failure to "make it", despite the inflationary nature of economies, over which the individual has little or no control, and the annual expenditure of hundreds of billions of dollars on armaments while millions go hungry.

271. Refugees continue to be pushed beyond national boundaries and on to rivers and seas, despite the United Nations commitments to human rights. Weak, small and politically divided countries are still invaded and militarily subjugated in the face of declarations by Member States that they will respect the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and the inadmissibility of the use of force.

272. Realization of the political aspirations of dependent Territories to be free is still delayed, and those aspirations continue to be discussed in the context of the security of others.

273. Despite the significance and the almost indispensable role of third-world countries in the economies of industrialized nations, the former are still not recognized in an economic relationship that is equitable and fair.

274. In spite of the antiquity of the concept of settling international disputes through wars and the very real likelihood of the annihilation of mankind if a world war were to occur, nations still continue to arm themselves to the teeth, and with weapons whose lethality is well known.

275. In an age in which the world can more than at any time in its history rightly boast of innumerable important achievements in both the quantitative and qualitative sense, it seems inconsistent and incongruent that world political leadership continues in its traditional path, apparently lacking the incisive skills, sophistication and enlightenment which would bring mankind the benefits of those achievements.

276. I should like to illustrate that fact by commenting very briefly on the progress, or more appropriately the lack of progress, in the field of disarmament.

277. The major conclusions of the Disarmament Commission in its report to this session of the General Assembly contain very little that can engender hope for the future peace of the world. In its observations the Disarmament Commission has noted the deterioration in international relations as constituting a serious threat to world peace and stability. The Commission further observes:

“Among the greatest perils facing the world today is the threat of destruction as a result of nuclear war. The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary, weakens it.

“The Commission is of the conviction that the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, runs counter to efforts to achieving further relaxation of international tensions.” [See A/36/42, para. 19.]

278. Noting also that the most recent agreements on strategic arms control between the two most heavily armed nuclear-weapon States remain unratified, the Commission deplored the fact that military expenditures are reaching even higher levels, and emphasized the necessity of releasing such resources to much-needed economic and social development.

279. The message that appears to be patently clear from the report of the Disarmament Commission is that the present doctrines of balance and equilibrium as the basis for disarmament, and the traditional approach of formal nego-

tiation and ratification of treaties and conventions, are ineffective and unnecessarily laborious. Clearly there is a need to consider alternative approaches.

280. The disillusionment and discontent that the Disarmament Commission points to pervade all other areas of our disarmament efforts. My delegation, together with other nations of the Pacific, has stated continuously over the years, here in the United Nations and elsewhere, that the cessation of all nuclear-weapons testing everywhere was and remains a matter of the highest priority as an effort towards total disarmament. That our efforts, especially in the South Pacific, have met with little success is perhaps only indicative of the rate of progress that has so far been achieved in our global efforts to halt the arms race. My Government is committed to the cessation of nuclear testing and of the dumping of nuclear wastes in the Pacific and other parts of the world, and will continue to work towards the realization of the Organization's ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

281. In a situation where nuclear nations are unable to declare themselves publicly as accepting a reasonable level of disarmament, or to agree to alternative approaches to their escalating arms race, it is a very tempting proposition indeed to suggest that an alternative might lie in non-nuclear nations deciding to withdraw their support from international disarmament forums, where they have provided the respectability of internationalism to unimplementable treaties, agreements and conventions. Concurrently, those non-nuclear nations which are capable of doing so might wish to develop their own programmes of nuclear armament.

282. While these propositions might result in jolting nuclear nations out of their complacency, and might enable them to see the extremely dangerous consequences of their nuclear arms race, these are clearly irresponsible alternatives not to be pursued seriously. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear that any disarmament breakthroughs are not going to come from conventional thinking and approaches. More likely, as suggested by the Stanley Foundation in its analysis of the programmes of the second special session on disarmament, they are going to result from approaches such as moratoriums, independent initiatives, non-binding norms, confidence-building measures and regional activities.

283. With regard to the international economic situation, events during the year and efforts at launching a new round of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development have not led to progress, despite the tireless efforts of the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We cannot help but express our grave concern at not having arrived at a final consensus directed towards the goal of eventually replacing an obsolete economic system, which is at variance with conditions prevailing today, by one that is based on equity and is more responsive to the needs of both the developing and industrialized countries.

284. However, my delegation remains optimistic that through dialogue, flexibility on all sides, political will and unity in action, consensus will emerge in the coming months. We are hopeful that the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún, will give fresh impetus and facilitate the launching of global negotiations. Sensible co-operation among all nations of the world, both rich and poor, is the only way to take up today's

global economic challenge and establish a new international economic order.

285. The recently concluded tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is another example of the North-South dialogue that represents more than eight years of negotiations, but even at this concluding stage co-operation and the political will are still sadly lacking. Through the years, the Conference, in its ability to find acceptable compromises between East and West, between the super-Powers, and between the developed and developing nations, came to be regarded as a successful example of North-South dialogue.

286. In envisaging a new system for the exploitation of the enormous resources of the sea-bed outside national boundaries, the area which the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly proclaimed by consensus as the common heritage of mankind [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], we thought the international community was at last at the threshold of a new era of co-operation in global negotiations. But efforts in recent months have been frustrated by a demand for a complete review of the draft convention, a move my delegation cannot but view with dismay. Perhaps, more than any other countries, it is the island nations such as Fiji, dependent to a considerable degree on the resources of the sea for their economic growth and development, that look to the early conclusion of all the negotiations on outstanding issues and the signing of the Final Act in Caracas in September next year. Like other Member States in the Group of 77, my country is resolved to conclude the long-drawn-out negotiations in 1982, and would appeal for a greater sense of accommodation than has been shown thus far, so that the Conference can complete the task of codifying the convention.

287. The political will and mutual co-operation that my delegation speaks of was resolutely exercised last year when consensus was reached on the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly resolution 35/56*]. It was a milestone and an excellent example of positive achievement in the field of international development co-operation.

288. My delegation, in welcoming the adoption of the International Development Strategy, wishes to stress that the significance of the strategy will depend on the commitment of Governments to act positively and with determination and by adequate policy measures to reach its goals and objectives. We attach great importance to the fulfillment of the provisions of the Strategy, for in our view it would have a beneficial impact on the over-all economic and social development of developing countries.

289. An area of grave discontent for many developing countries has for some time been international trade. Trade is seen by developing countries like Fiji as an engine for growth. It is vital to our economies, and especially so for those countries whose economies are based on a limited number of primary commodities. Our Pacific economies are small, and we are too dependent on a small number of commodities. We are still developing reliable, viable alternatives.

290. The openness of the Fiji economy necessitates close monitoring of the international situation. The present state of the world economy continues to constrain our own econ-

omy. Double-digit inflation, unemployment, the mounting burden of debt servicing, growing protectionism in international trade and the uncertainties brought about by the fluctuations in the international monetary system continue to plague our development efforts.

291. Fiji has also suffered severely from the effects of the world recession. We, along with many other third world countries, are heavily dependent on the export of two main primary commodities, in our case sugar and copra. Any price fluctuations in world commodity markets have serious effects on our economies. The earning from tourism has of late also been hit by recession in the tourist-generating countries. Being very mindful that the heavy dependence on our two primary commodities makes our economy very vulnerable to external factors, we have made determined efforts during the past decade at diversification into areas that are employment-generating and foreign-exchange creating or saving, such as the agricultural sector, fisheries and the forest industry. But our immediate prospects for 1981 do not appear bright.

292. International trade is vital to our economy. In this context, the best form of aid which countries could give us would be to provide us with access to assured markets for the exports of not only our primary products but also our manufactured goods, at fair and remunerative prices. For some island developing countries exports have traditionally exceeded imports by wide margins. We wish the present imbalance in trade to be narrowed through some sort of reciprocity. The internal market for our products is small, and our overseas markets are vast distances from us. Moreover, our trading difficulties are compounded by the problems that arise from our geographical location and our insularity. Increased accessibility of our products to overseas markets at remunerative prices is therefore important to our economic growth. The fight against protectionism is of particular significance to developing countries that are seeking markets for their exports.

293. The High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981, therefore represents an important achievement in the promotion of collective self-reliance and economic co-operation among developing countries.

294. Regional trade and economic co-operation are of growing importance to us. The meetings of the Twelfth South Pacific Forum, held in Vanuatu in August 1981, have helped our South Pacific partners in solving many regional trade issues by working in co-operation with each other. We are encouraged to note that some genuine efforts have been made in the direction of regional trade among the South Pacific countries.

295. The recently concluded South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement is an important beginning for us in our trading relationships with New Zealand and Australia. The facility made available by this Agreement through the co-operation of those two countries is most welcomed and deeply appreciated.

296. We also note with sincere appreciation that under the Lomé Convention,⁸ the countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group [ACP] have a wide range of goods which enjoy duty-free and unrestricted access into the markets of the European Community countries on a non-reciprocal basis. The Lomé Convention also includes arrangements for

assisting ACP countries in investment and trade promotion and also during natural-disaster situations. Indeed, the Lomé II Convention⁹ is a significant step forward towards closer links in the areas of trade and co-operation amongst island developing countries. An important aspect of the Lomé Convention is the fact that there is constant dialogue through negotiations between equal partners on the basis of mutual interest and advantage.

297. All nations, large and small, have had to cope with the financial stresses caused by the energy crisis of the 1970s and the mounting trade deficits as the cost of oil has skyrocketed. These events have highlighted the need for conservation measures and the search for alternative and renewable sources of energy. My Government is pleased to note the consensus reached at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi in August 1981, on the Programme of Action¹⁰ designed to achieve and accelerate an orderly energy transition from the present international economy based primarily on hydrocarbons to one based on new and renewable sources of energy. My delegation is hopeful that the ideals embodied in the Nairobi Programme of Action will be translated into reality through genuine global support and collaboration.

298. In the world political arena, the international community has been occupied with a series of issues for a number of years. In the Middle East, a satisfactory solution continues to elude us. Because of that problem's serious implications for peace and stability and its continuing effects on the global economic situation, it is imperative that all efforts be directed towards the attainment of a just and comprehensive solution.

299. As regards the fundamental principles that should guide the search for such a solution, the position of my delegation remains as follows. First, Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967 in accordance with the appropriate resolutions of the United Nations, including Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Secondly, there must be a satisfactory resolution of the Palestine question, which remains at the heart of the Middle East conflict. Thirdly, there must be recognition on a reciprocal basis by the parties directly concerned of each other's legitimate concerns, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and statehood and recognition of Israel's right to exist as a State and its security needs. Lastly, a political solution must be achieved through dialogue and consultations between the parties concerned.

300. Having stated our position briefly, we must also stress the need for an end to those policies that place obstacles in the search for a comprehensive solution that is just and durable. In this context, we would like to associate ourselves with the concern expressed in Security Council resolution 487 (1981) over the recent Israeli air raids on an Iraqi nuclear reactor. My delegation also views the Israeli policy of creating settlements in occupied territories and its unilateral actions to alter the status of the international City of Jerusalem as constituting serious impediments to the peace process. Moreover, we believe that, given goodwill on all sides, Israel's security apprehensions could be reconciled with the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. My delegation sincerely hopes that no efforts will be spared in the search for a peaceful solution to this long-standing problem which has caused suffering to many.

301. The situation in Lebanon remains a matter of concern because of its serious implications for peace and security. We are also aware that set-backs in the peace process in the Middle East tend to spill over into Lebanon, thus causing instability and tragic loss of life and property. Yet this need not be so, for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon should be fully respected.

302. A peace-keeping force was dispatched to Lebanon in 1978 in the expectation that it would assist the return to normal in the area. Because of Fiji's abiding commitment to the principles of the Charter regarding peace and security, we chose to contribute to this important international peace-keeping effort. Yet we find that UNIFIL is often prevented from discharging its mandate fully because of provocative raids, which inevitably lead to instability and unjustifiable destruction of life and property. Following such an unfortunate sequence of events, a cease-fire in Lebanon was achieved recently. However, the volatility of the situation underlines the need for all to continue to exercise maximum restraint so as to permit the consolidation of the cease-fire arrangement.

303. The view is also widely shared that UNIFIL has proved to be a practical means of conflict control which, if given the necessary support, could contribute further to the wider political and diplomatic objectives of our Organization. And yet our ability to maintain our services with UNIFIL often has to be assessed in terms of the financial burden that it imposes, particularly on a small developing country such as mine. What is therefore urgent is that the regularity of reimbursements be maintained and that the accumulated arrears of reimbursable amounts, which in the case of my country run into millions of dollars, be sharply reduced. Moreover, the existing rates of reimbursements should be regularly reviewed so as to ensure that they remain fair and equitable. As peace-keeping is a collective responsibility, it is important, in our view, for all to pay the assessed contributions.

304. The situation in Afghanistan, which was first considered by the Assembly some two years ago, regrettably continues to engage our attention. Last year the Assembly adopted by a wide margin resolution 35/37, which, in brief, calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops and provides the key elements of a political solution. Moreover, it also addresses itself to the related matter of refugees. While the objectives of that resolution are yet to be realized, we are nevertheless aware of some efforts being made towards that end. In this regard, my delegation particularly welcomes the initiative of our Secretary-General. We trust that circumstances will permit the continuation of such efforts as are designed to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Afghan question.

305. In Kampuchea, too, attempts to deal with the political and humanitarian dimensions of the question continue. As late as July of this year, an International Conference on Kampuchea was convened at the United Nations in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/6, with a view to encouraging a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. The Declaration of the Conference,³ which was adopted by consensus, specifies the components of a just and lasting settlement on which the negotiating process could be based. We sincerely hope that that important decision will provide the necessary impetus for an early settlement of the problem. My delegation remains convinced that a negotiated settlement achieved through the participation of

the parties to the conflict would enhance peace and stability in the region. It would also help alleviate the sad plight of the refugees.

306. Also with regard to Asia, we continue to support any initiatives aimed at the peaceful reunification of the Koreas, and in this regard we take cognizance of the recent efforts made by South Korea.

307. Similarly, in Cyprus, we urge the continuation of the intercommunal talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and we hope that positive results will soon emanate from those discussions.

308. Perhaps the single most important accomplishment of the United Nations is in the area of decolonization. Since its inception, the United Nations has facilitated the independence of millions, resulting in the trebling of the membership of the Organization. However, the international community remains short of its desired goal of universality of membership, since colonialism still exists.

309. Because the process of decolonization is incomplete in our region, the matter was discussed at the recently convened meeting of the South Pacific Forum countries in the Republic of Vanuatu. At that meeting the Forum reaffirmed that the principle of self-determination and independence applied to all dependent territories in the Pacific Islands.

310. My delegation remains fully committed to that important decision, since it is compatible with the principles of decolonization that are contained in the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. In the pursuance of our commonly shared objectives we shall continue to be guided by the Pacific way, an approach that aims to find solutions to difficult questions through a process of dialogue and consultations. It remains our earnest hope that this approach will be fully respected, thus enabling us to contribute towards ending the sad chapter of colonialism, wherever it may occur.

311. We view the remaining cases of colonialism in the same context. In the case of Namibia, for instance, our position remains as stated during the recently convened eighth emergency special session [5th meeting]. Briefly, therefore, my delegation reiterates its support for an internationally acceptable solution on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We are mindful of the continuing efforts being made in this regard, including those by the western contact group. However, in order to expedite the speedy and full implementation of resolution 435 (1978), it is imperative that South Africa abandon its ill-advised military policies within and beyond Namibia.

312. Violations of human rights continue to be a destabilizing factor in the world today. Human-rights situations have not only failed to improve, but continue to deteriorate in many parts of the world.

313. The injustices created by the many forms of human rights violations, in particular the repression of the legitimate aspirations of peoples, pose a major threat to international peace and security. People of the same racial origin, religious faith or political belief are made victims of persecution, and even entire nations are deprived of their in-

alienable right to self-determination and are forced to live under the yoke of colonialism, alien domination or foreign occupation.

314. The question of *apartheid* in South Africa remains a matter of priority concern for the international community. Throughout its history the United Nations has rejected racism and racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. To our deep regret, however, we find that several excesses, including repressions, continue under the repugnant system of *apartheid*. Moreover, those that attempt to oppose the inhuman system are systematically denied their most fundamental human rights. My delegation firmly supports the persistent calls for the abandonment of the *apartheid* system in favour of genuine majority rule. It is to be hoped that South Africa will soon see the wisdom of this course of action. Being a multi-racial country, we firmly believe that all can participate in the national life of a country on the basis of full equality, freedom and human dignity.

315. Despite the continuing progress being made in the United Nations system towards the formulation of appropriate international norms, and the efforts of the world body to ensure compliance with them, my delegation has noted with concern that United Nations debates on human rights issues have more often than not been motivated by international politics rather than by selfless humanitarian concerns. In our view, unless the United Nations succeeds in preventing human rights violations, there will be a continuous and persistent deterioration of the world situation.

316. In conclusion, I wish to return to the point made at the beginning of this statement, that is that, in our efforts to resolve major international issues that confront this community of nations, a much better spirit of co-operation and accommodation and a greater degree of sensitivity to the needs and rights of others are more urgently needed now than ever before. For it is only through determined and sustained efforts towards this end by all nations that we shall be nearer to what the United Nations in 1945 charted for our future: the creation of a new world order based upon the rule of law, peace and justice and respect for fundamental human rights.

317. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Japan has requested to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

318. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): At the meeting this morning, Mr. Dugersuren, the Foreign Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic, stated: "The increasingly obvious involvement of Japan in the military-political partnership of the United States of America and China adversely affects the international situation." [17th meeting, para. 75.]

319. In response to his statement I should like to emphasize the basic foreign policy of my Government, as presented by Foreign Minister Sonoda to the Assembly on 22 September. He said:

"Based on the fundamental position of the pursuit of peace and the refusal to become a military power, it is the consistent policy of the foreign relations of my country to contribute to the building of world peace and prosperity. We are determined to work actively for world peace and prosperity, particularly at this time of global instability. For that purpose, we shall endeavour to promote relations

of friendship and co-operation with other countries throughout the world." [8th meeting, para. 148.]

320. Therefore I must state clearly that the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Mongolia this morning is entirely groundless and I hope that our foreign policy is correctly understood.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

²See A/S-11/14, annexes I and II.

³See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

⁴See A/C.1/1019.

⁵See A/24/454, annex.

⁶Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V. No. 153, p. C 3.

⁷A/CONF.107/8.

⁸Convention on trade and aid between the European Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975. For the text, see A/AC.176/7.

⁹Signed on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 52, November 1979.

¹⁰See *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.