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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM**  
(United Republic of Tanzania)

*Address by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua*

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning, the Assembly will hear an address by His Excellency Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua.

[*The President continued in Spanish (interpretation from Spanish).*]

On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ORTEGA SAAVEDRA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are grateful for this opportunity to be here. We greet the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, and we wish to express our appreciation of the action which Mr. Kurt Waldheim has taken and continues to take on behalf of the people of Nicaragua.

3. For 34 years, the Somoza régime usurped the representation of Nicaragua at the United Nations. For 34 years, intervention spoke in this hall through the voice of Somoza and his followers. For 34 years, the representatives who walked along these corridors and spoke in these forums on behalf of Nicaragua were an offence to the conscience of peoples.

4. In 1945 it was Somoza and his National Guard, both of them the results of intervention, who made themselves members of the United Nations.

5. On 19 July 1979 it was the people of Nicaragua who became a Member of the United Nations.

6. For 34 years the Somoza régime found support in

this Assembly among those representatives who were also enemies of their people.

7. The triumph of the Popular Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua also brought about the defeat of unjust positions, attitudes of surrender, a policy of intervention, crime, torture, theft, genocide, and the exploitation represented by the Somoza dictatorship and defended by his accomplices.

8. But the Sandinist victory also resulted in a modest but resounding triumph for peoples who had fought for national liberation, true democracy and peace. And just as Somoza found accomplices in the United Nations, the people of Nicaragua found brothers in the United Nations.

9. In our victory, we wish to greet the representatives of revolutionary Governments, of progressive Governments, of democratic Governments who sided with the people of Nicaragua.

10. The war waged in Nicaragua was a war of liberation. In our country the people, united and led by the Sandinist Front for National Liberation, defeated in an unequal battle the occupation troops which North American intervention had left behind after assassinating Sandino.

11. In Nicaragua, we always saw in Somoza and his so-called National Guard the exemplification of foreign aggression. Only thus can one understand the great unity of the people and the barbaric nature of the Somoza régime.

12. The Somoza dictatorship has no equal in Latin America. A criminal capable of bombing schools, hospitals, entire cities, of assassinating women, children and old people, or setting fire to and looting the country, can only be a foreigner or, more accurately, a mercenary. Somoza faithfully followed in the footsteps of William Walker, that freebooter from the southern United States who, in 1857, after setting fire to the city of Granada in our country, left a sign which read "Here was Granada".

13. We have said and say again that among other things, the Somoza dictatorship left our country in a state of economic bankruptcy. At this time we shall not draw attention to figures on the losses caused by the bombing of the dictatorship's air force, nor to the inability of our country to meet its payments, nor on its foreign debt, and so forth. But we do believe that it is our obligation energetically to appeal for unconditional support for the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

14. Peoples who in Africa, Asia and Latin America have been subjected to slavery and servitude to the big, so-called "civilized" countries have been overcoming domination at the cost of immense sacrifices.

15. Men have been declared free in the world, and independence and sovereignty have been decreed in most countries on earth. But other, subtler forms of domination have replaced the shackles of slavery. The world market, international financial organizations and banks are instruments of political persuasion and of economic subjection. We know that the Somoza régime was the most faithful representative of those alien interests in our country.

16. Somoza and his henchmen brought the economy of our country into bondage; they eased the way for the looting of our natural resources; they incurred debts with international banks on behalf of Nicaragua. But are we to blame the Somoza régime alone? Would it not be fitting to ask who bears the greater responsibility—whether it was Somoza who managed investments, loans, mortgages and so on, for personal gain, or those who provided those investments, loans and mortgages?

17. In 1972, an earthquake shook our country. The losses were enormous and international assistance came swiftly. But it was no secret to anyone that the dictator and his clique of civilians and military officers shared everything among themselves, from food-stuffs to financial grants and loans.

18. That fact was more than enough to justify condemning the dictatorship and refraining from giving it one cent more. But other interests prevailed, and considerations of economic and political bondage were more powerful than those of justice and morality.

19. In the last two years of the dictatorship, world repugnance became more and more manifest. In those last two years the dictatorship's criminal activities increased blatantly; in those last two years thefts by the dictator and his accomplices were revealed.

20. But, in that time, short-term loans and credits from the international banking system at high interest rates increased to such a degree that in the months to come the people of Nicaragua are due to pay back approximately \$600 million. Nicaragua cannot pay that debt; nor will it incur new indebtedness to do so.

21. Somoza and his accomplices have opened bank accounts and made investments outside our country with the money they obtained from international banks, money they stole from the people. It is Somoza and his accomplices who must be sued by Nicaragua's international creditors.

22. It is our opinion that the external debt that the Somoza régime left in Nicaragua must be taken over internationally, and above all by the developed countries, the economically powerful countries, starting with those that routinely fed the Somoza régime with financing. So the people of Nicaragua proposes to this Assembly of the United Nations the adoption of that idea.

23. As we have said, our struggle is one of national liberation, and at present we are at the stage of national reconstruction. That fact makes our country a target for imperialist policy.

24. The most aggressive circles of the United States and of Central America dream of restoring the Somoza

régime to our country. A macabre alliance is endeavouring to take over our revolution. It is trying to develop the idea that the Sandinist philosophy is a threat to the Government of El Salvador. It now appears to be alleged that the problems of El Salvador, such as the assassination of peasants, workers and clergy, are provoked by Nicaragua.

25. Some North American representatives maintain that they have been informed by the Government of El Salvador and by industrialists and businessmen of El Salvador that we Sandinists have started various operations in that country to bring about the downfall of its Government. A member of the United States Senate, Richard Stone of Florida, for example, affirms this and rushes to the defence of the Salvadorian "democracy", saying that he will ask the Government of the United States to be more vigilant with regard to Nicaragua.

26. We see all this as a provocation meant to justify economic, political and even military pressure on Nicaragua.

27. We in Nicaragua could not prevent the people of El Salvador from rejoicing over our victory. We Nicaraguans could not prevent ourselves from becoming an example that would be of concern to the most notorious criminals in Latin America. But, at the same time, we have formulated a policy designed to normalize our relations with all Governments in the world, in a context of equality and mutual respect.

28. With a view to our total economic and political emancipation, we decided to join the non-aligned countries, and at their Sixth Conference in Havana<sup>1</sup> we defined our international position.

29. We agree with the idea of the unity of the weak, and just as we have shared the triumph of our revolution with free peoples and those that are not yet free but are struggling to break the chains, so today we also consider the implementation of the treaties returning to Panama its sovereignty over the Canal Zone to be a victory for our peoples, but above all for the people of Panama, which had sworn to seize the Canal on 1 October of this year at whatever cost.

30. At this time we recall the victory of the peoples of Latin America when, at the historic 17th Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States, imperialist attempts to intervene in Nicaragua were defeated.

31. Today, the news speaks of the people captured in Puerto Rico. Members of the religious community, lawyers and politicians are being arrested. The human rights of the citizens of Puerto Rico are being violated by the maintenance of United States military bases on the island of Vieques and the non-recognition of Puerto Rico's inalienable right to independence.

32. Let us see how many of those senators who are now concerned about the fate of the Somoza guards and about the security of the Salvadorian Government are going to protest because of this inconceivable violation of the human rights of the Puerto Ricans.

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

33. We place on record our protest against the escalation of repression unleashed against Puerto Rican patriots.

34. In our struggle for peace, for independence and for genuine change, we support Bolivia in its struggle to obtain an outlet to the sea; we support the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the Frente POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Nicaragua emphasizes its historical solidarity with the long-suffering, heroic and fighting people of Palestine. As we have said, we support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the organizations I have mentioned as the legitimate representatives of peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

35. We also feel that we have a moral obligation to support the people of Belize in their striving for independence and the people of Korea with their goal of reunification and the withdrawal of North American troops from the south of that country.

36. At the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, we stated our repugnance with regard to the genocidal Pol Pot clique, which, like Somoza, was the product of foreign intervention and, as such, was in its turn made use of as a spearhead for aggression against the heroic people of Viet Nam.

37. Who does not know that the criminal régime set up by Pol Pot and his clique was the product of the expansionism of the Chinese leaders? Is it not that brutal and cowardly expansionism that has created crises in South-East Asia? Chinese troops have committed aggression against Viet Nam; Chinese troops continue to threaten Viet Nam. But the spirit of the people of Viet Nam has become stronger than the huge death-dealing Chinese divisions, and we look on with repulsion while a delegation of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea—in other words the representatives of genocide—usurps a place in this Assembly. Those who voted in favour of that representation have done nothing other than to support the expansionist policy of the Chinese leaders, which form a bloc in international forums with the most reactionary and murderous sectors of the world.

38. Nicaragua, a small, independent country that wishes to honour its position of non-alignment, associates itself with the heroic people of Viet Nam.

39. We are waging and shall continue to wage a battle alongside and on behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world. We are waging a battle and shall continue to do so without compromise of any kind. We are striving and shall continue to strive for the advancement of our people, for the defence of our revolution, for a just peace that is that of sovereign peoples and for a genuine peace that is the peace of free peoples.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express our gratitude to His Excellency Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, for the important address he has delivered.

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

41. Mrs. ZHIVKOVA (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Sir, permit me, first of all, to express the genuine satisfaction of the Bulgarian delegation at seeing the responsible post of President of the General Assembly this year being entrusted to you, the representative of the friendly United Republic of Tanzania, a worthy son of the African continent and a tireless fighter against colonialism, and one of the most experienced and respected diplomats in the United Nations.

42. It is particularly gratifying for us to note that the recently concluded visit of your President, Mr. Julius Nyerere, to Sofia and his talks with the Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, were an important incentive for further extending relations between our countries in the interests of peace, cooperation and social progress on earth.

43. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano, for his devoted efforts at the last session.

44. The Bulgarian delegation would like to welcome the newest Member of our Organization, Saint Lucia, and to wish its people success in their development.

45. We share the profound grief of the Angolan people over the tragic loss they have suffered in the untimely passing of President Agostinho Neto. The Bulgarian people knew and regarded him highly as a committed revolutionary and convinced patriot, a brave fighter against imperialism and colonialism, and a tireless champion of social progress. With his death, Africa has lost a great and worthy son.

46. At present, despite existing difficulties and negative manifestations, détente continues to affirm itself as a durable trend in international relations. Life itself has proved that the policy of reducing tensions is the only way completely to remove and ultimately eliminate the danger of a devastating global thermonuclear conflict.

47. An exceedingly important step in this respect was the successful talks held between L.I. Brezhnev and President Carter in Vienna, which ended in the signing of the Treaty resulting from the conclusion of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]<sup>3</sup>, as well as other important instruments, between the Soviet Union and the United States. The SALT Treaty is generally recognized as being the most significant act taken for curbing the nuclear arms race in the period following the Second World War. Once again it has been reaffirmed that even the most complicated problems of international relations can find mutually acceptable solutions when approached with a high sense of responsibility, wisdom, far-sightedness and political realism. We are deeply convinced that the new Treaty can and must become a starting-point for future steps directed towards a genuine reduction of nuclear weapons, and that it will play the role of a catalyst in negotiations on other disarmament issues. It will contribute to a considerable improvement in the general international cli-

<sup>3</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

mate. That is why we hope that this Treaty will be ratified in the very near future, in the interests not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States, but of all mankind as well.

48. World developments unequivocally confirm that détente not only affects East-West relations but constitutes an invaluable achievement of universal significance for all mankind and for progress on our planet. The interests of all nations require that insurmountable barriers be raised against attempts to undermine the process of détente and bring international relations back to the days of the "cold war". This need was re-emphasized at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries. The Final Declaration adopted there [see A/34/542] reaffirmed the desire of the non-aligned countries to rally all forces to preserve peace and security in the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values the non-aligned movement as an important factor in international affairs and supports its struggle and efforts for the establishment of lasting peace in the world.

49. As a result of the policy of détente, lasting and favourable changes have occurred in the political atmosphere on the European continent. In conformity with the principles and agreements in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe,<sup>4</sup> political contacts are being further promoted, economic and cultural co-operation is developing, and the process of mutual acquaintance among European peoples is being broadened. The Madrid meeting of the States which participated in the European Conference is designed to produce further positive changes in the political climate in Europe and the world at large. That meeting must contribute to deepening the process of détente and to strengthening security on the continent.

50. The further affirmation and promotion of the positive trends in Europe requires the implementation of effective practical measures in the field of military détente on the continent. That is precisely the aim of the proposals put forward by the States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty in order to break the deadlock in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe.

51. To these measures should be added the proposal for the conclusion, among the States attending the European Conference, of a treaty on not being the first to use nuclear and conventional weapons, as well as the proposal for holding a political-level conference with the participation of European countries, the United States and Canada for the purpose of discussing and adopting measures for the strengthening of mutual confidence, the lessening of military confrontation in Europe and the subsequent reduction of the concentrations of armaments and armed forces on the continent.

52. Although we note with satisfaction that these constructive proposals have met with understanding and interest on the part of a number of countries, it is also obvious that tangible progress in military détente on the continent requires joint efforts by all countries concerned. We hope that agreement will be reached in the very near future to proceed in concrete terms towards the solving of these problems.

53. As for the Balkans, we have every reason to be

<sup>4</sup> Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

satisfied with the considerable positive changes which have occurred in that region. The active and constructive policies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are aimed at strengthening détente in the Balkans, at reaffirming good-neighbourly relations, friendship and broad, equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation. This is a policy of principle which is consistent and unchanging. It is our desire that the Balkan peninsula be transformed into a region of lasting peace and stability and that we live in an atmosphere of confidence and mutual respect, in close co-operation and friendship with all our neighbours. The Government and people of Bulgaria firmly believe in this noble cause and are working persistently and consistently for its implementation, despite the difficulties resulting from the heritage of history and the complex multifaceted nature of today's realities.

54. The world today is living through a complex and dynamic epoch. It is confronted by many problems which transcend the boundaries and interests of individual States and nations, and which rather concern mankind and are of a world-wide nature. It is these problems that, in our opinion, have the first claim on the attention of the United Nations, not only because they most fully coincide with its international character, but also because they focus upon and comprehend, by their very nature, the necessity for forward movement, and because their proper solution would create the conditions and prerequisites for successfully resolving a number of other international issues.

55. Among global problems a key place is naturally occupied by the reduction, the prevention and, in the final analysis, the complete elimination of the danger of a new world war through the attainment of genuine disarmament, which is a fundamental prerequisite to this. The achievement of this end is important both in itself and also because it paves the way for solving major problems such as overcoming economic underdevelopment in the world, doing away with hunger, developing new sources of energy, eradicating the most dangerous diseases, preserving the environment, conquering the world's oceans and outer space, using the achievements of scientific and technological progress for the benefit of all mankind, awakening the potentially creative forces of the human individual, and pursuing the all-round development of man and human society to its highest point of perfection.

56. This is the direction in which the efforts of the socialist and all peace-loving countries tend.

57. In their declaration of 23 November 1978,<sup>5</sup> the member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization proposed practical ways for the termination of the arms race. The aim of these proposals is to transfer the question of halting the further qualitative and quantitative increase of armaments and armed forces from the realm of good wishes and resolutions to the sphere of actual practical solutions. In their communiqué adopted last May in Budapest, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirmed the determination of their Governments to carry on the struggle for the attainment of genuine progress in this field.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-Third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13344.

58. A central place in disarmament efforts belongs to a range of proposals aimed at the limitation and elimination of nuclear weapons. Such proposals represent a completely logical approach, for the main threat facing the world stems from the increase in nuclear armaments. This approach and clear-cut stand of the socialist countries on this matter are set forth in their proposal submitted to the Committee on Disarmament last February [see A/34/27, para. 42 (a)]. The primary task now is to begin talks on ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons in all their diversity and on the gradual reduction of nuclear stockpiles, until such weapons are completely removed from the arsenals of States.

59. In the light of the exceptionally complicated nature of the problem of disarmament, negotiations in this field can in our view be facilitated if at the same time, there are continued efforts to strengthen the political guarantees and guarantees under international law for the security of States. That is why we attach such great importance to the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force, which would strengthen confidence among States and provide a strong impetus to the process of genuine disarmament.

60. In emphasizing these issues, the Bulgarian delegation is far from underestimating in any way the other items on the agenda of the current session. We attach particular importance to accelerating work on the drafting of a convention on strengthening guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, as well as the adoption of measures such as the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests; the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons as well as the destruction of existing stockpiles; the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; the reduction of military budgets, and so forth.

61. The Committee on Disarmament should take up without delay the drafting of a treaty banning radiological weapons, elements relevant to which are to be found in the draft submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States [*ibid.*; para. 56 (a)].

62. At the same time, we should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the importance of universalizing international treaties and agreements concluded in the field of disarmament. We believe that it is imperative for our Organization to make its own timely contribution to the practical solution of this important question.

63. A World Disarmament Conference will play an exceptionally important role in the series of measures directed towards the mobilization of the efforts of States for real disarmament.

64. We welcome the initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in proposing that the General Assembly should include in its agenda an item entitled "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for the purposes of disarmament" [A/34/141]; this would undoubtedly contribute to further progress in this field.

65. The People's Republic of Bulgaria also attaches great importance to the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. That would be an important step

towards further strengthening international peace and security and peace on earth.

66. In assessing the present situation in the field of détente, one cannot but take into account also the negative stand and impact of those forces which are opposing the positive developments which have occurred in international relations. For instance, at a moment when there exist genuine conditions for curbing the arms race, new steps are being taken in precisely the opposite direction: to intensify the arms race and to increase military budgets.

67. A further negative factor is the policy of hegemonism, which leads to the undermining of the process of détente, the creation of sources of tension and the provocation of military conflicts. This policy is incompatible with the development of the positive trends in international life and with the task of strengthening mutual confidence among nations and the principles of equal rights and the sovereign equality of States.

68. The interests of peace, détente and international co-operation require resolute resistance to the exponents and instigators of this policy of hegemonism, which is so dangerous for mankind.

69. That is why we welcome and fully support the new Soviet proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" [A/34/243]. It is time for hegemonism to be condemned and for effective barriers to be raised against it. We believe that the renunciation of this policy should not only be elevated as a fundamental principle of international relations but should also be embodied in an international agreement.

70. There is no doubt that efforts to ensure a lasting peace in the world are inseparable from the struggle to remove the sources of tension and conflict which exist in various regions of our planet.

71. The security and stability of South-East Asia have been subjected to new trials. The freedom-loving Vietnamese people have been obliged again to defend their inalienable and legitimate rights to a peaceful and independent existence.

72. Socialist Viet Nam, however, which has become a symbol of valour and self-denial in its struggle for independence, has already given a worthy answer to the aggressors. It has also replied to the slanderous campaign which has been whipped up against Viet Nam in connexion with the problem of refugees from Indo-China. That is indeed a serious problem but it must not be used in order to increase tension in that part of the world or to conceal those who are really guilty for the suffering of tens of thousands of people in the region.

73. There is not a shadow of doubt in the opinion of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations must be occupied by the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and not by those representing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which was overthrown by the Kampuchean people and which imposed a policy of genocide upon its own people for a number of years. We also emphatically object to attempts to have the United Nations interfere in one way or another in the internal

affairs of the sovereign People's Republic of Kampuchea.

74. We express our solidarity with the people and Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in their struggle to protect the independence, territorial integrity and peaceful co-existence of their country.

75. Recent events in the Middle East region have furnished new evidence that the separatist deal between Israel and Egypt does not lead to peace but to an aggravation of the conflict. Attempts to settle the fate of the Palestinian people without their participation have yielded no result whatever. A true lasting and just peace in that region is possible only if Israel withdraws from and liberates all the Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967; if the Palestinian people, headed by their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, are ensured their right to establish their own State; and if all nations in that area are guaranteed an independent and peaceful existence. That is the only kind of peace which has any future.

76. The Cyprus question still remains open. This problem must be resolved in a peaceful way, as envisaged in the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, while preserving the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus in the interests of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, and while respecting the non-aligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus in the interest of international peace and security.

77. In recent years, the peoples of a number of countries have scored historical victories in the struggle for national and social liberation from imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and reactionary and Fascist régimes.

78. We welcome the peoples' revolutions in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other countries, and we wish the nations of those countries success along the road to the construction of a new life.

79. The struggle against colonial domination has entered its final and decisive phase. One of the most acute problems now is to complete the genuine liberation of southern Africa from colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. At the same time, however, there is an intensification of imperialist and neo-colonialist manoeuvres designed to impose puppet régimes on the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in order to shield attempts to preserve the economic interests of capitalist monopolies and corporations on a neo-colonialist basis. The People's Republic of Bulgaria condemns those manoeuvres and firmly supports the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, for genuine freedom and independence.

80. The majority of newly liberated and developing countries continues to suffer from the exploitation of those who formerly exploited them, and particularly from the multinational corporations, which try in every way to preserve the existing machinery of unjust trade and economic relations. We fully support the valid demands of the developing countries for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. In the struggle for such a restructuring, the

role and importance of the norms and principles of economic co-operation established between the socialist and the developing countries are becoming increasingly emphasized. Those norms and principles, based on mutual respect of the rights and interests of all States, emphasize a new approach which is being taken towards the international division of labour, economic exchanges and scientific and technological co-operation. Favourable political and economic conditions exist for the further development of this co-operation. Its realization, however, requires a persistent struggle against all those forces which are opposed to co-operation and unity of action between socialist and developing countries. There is no doubt that the objective advantages and the future will be on the side of those forces which are struggling for independence, equality, stable economic development and social progress.

81. The contribution which the current session will make to solving some of the basic problems facing mankind will be, at the same time, a contribution to achieving those goals which the United Nations has set in proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of the Child. For without détente, without disarmament, without lasting peace and co-operation, and without economic development and social progress, it will be impossible to ensure the kind of present and future which we all desire for children.

82. Children in socialist Bulgaria are the subjects of priority care and attention. They receive the best of everything; they are provided with everything needed for harmonious development and education in a spirit of peace and friendship among nations.

83. Guided by these lofty objectives, Bulgaria initiated and played host to the International Children's Assembly "Banner of Peace" that was held last August and was one of the outstanding events held during the International Year of the Child. As the first forum of its kind devoted to children's creativity, and directly linked as it was with mankind's natural quest for continuous creative development and for improving the human individual, the Assembly became a symbol of friendship and solidarity among children of all continents. Under the motto "Unity, Creativity and Beauty," the efforts and aspirations of our planet's youngest citizens were united in order to make them the worthiest of creators and better builders of the future. We are deeply convinced that such events open new perspectives and give increased dimension to the noble ideal of solving the over-all range of problems, both present and future, not only of the coming generation, but of the whole of mankind.

84. For four decades, mankind has been spared the nightmare of a world war. There can be no doubt of the contribution the United Nations has made in this respect.

85. Peace and international co-operation are cherished ideals of the Bulgarian people. For the 35 years following the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, my Government has been pursuing a consistent policy of peace, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation. As Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, said recently:

“As a Communist Party, as a socialist State, as a nation confidently marching towards its Communist future, we have a hundred reasons to demand peace and to fight for peace in the world, and we have not one single reason to want international tension, distrust, hostility, or ‘cold’ or ‘hot’ wars among nations.”

86. That is why the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue, as it has done heretofore, to make its contribution toward enhancing the role of our world Organization in the common endeavours of nations in order to strengthen peace, promote international co-operation and affirm the progressive processes on our planet.

87. With this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the United Nations is stepping out of the present decade and is moving on to the next. The manner in which the United Nations upholds and reaffirms its place in international life as a factor that integrates the efforts of States and nations towards the strengthening of international peace will determine the extent to which it will be able effectively to discharge its noble mission. We are confident that it will in fact be able to accomplish this mission in a worthy manner.

88. Mr. VRHOVEC (Yugoslavia): I should like to begin by paying homage to the memory of the late President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Houari Boumediène, and the late President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto, with whose demise the world has lost two great leaders and champions of non-alignment, independence and the equality of peoples. These two men made an outstanding contribution to the realization of the ideals of the United Nations and of non-alignment.

89. It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you cordially, Mr. President, on your election as President of this session of the Assembly. All of us who know you appreciate your wisdom, your sound judgement and your dedication to the principles of the Charter. Because of this, we are convinced that your contribution to the success of our common endeavours will be a significant one. Our satisfaction is all the greater in that you represent the non-aligned United Republic of Tanzania, with which my country maintains very friendly relations and shares the same objectives and values.

*Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

90. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the representative of friendly Colombia, for his dedicated discharge of his responsible duty.

91. Allow me also to pay due credit to the distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless work in promoting the aims of our Organization and in strengthening its role in world affairs. Many positive achievements over the past years will remain linked to his name. It is a special honour for all of us to have had the privilege of collaborating with him.

92. This Assembly is faced with very important issues. Once again, we have an opportunity to demonstrate our readiness to work for the advancement of

mutual respect and better understanding among us, and this is a prerequisite for the success of our endeavours at this session.

93. May I emphasize, as have many previous speakers, that I see particular importance in this General Assembly. The current session offers us the opportunity to deal not only with the affairs of a single year, but to review in retrospect our achievements and our failures over the past decade.

94. At the moment of transition of this decade to the next, our world presents a motley picture indeed.

95. We can say, however, that our Organization has dealt honourably with the many challenges it has faced. In this period, our Organization has become almost universal. This is demonstrated not only by the continually increasing number of Members, but also by the fact that it more faithfully reflects the world in which we live today.

96. We can frankly say that this is primarily the merit of the non-aligned movement, which considers that it is in its own vital interest to ensure greater respect for the United Nations, to strengthen its role and to enable it to work more effectively. Owing to this, many significant results were achieved over the past decade. Many questions of crucial importance to the life of the world community have been broached. All of this shows that the world is changing.

97. The aspirations of nations to freedom and independence, to equality and active participation in international affairs, have increased enormously. This growth, moreover, has not been limited to aspirations. It has given rise to the increased readiness of peoples and countries to fight in order to take their fate and the world's destiny into their own hands.

98. No people will submit to domination. The liberation struggle against all forms of dependence and subjugation is gaining momentum throughout the world. This is attested to by the successes achieved by the peoples of Palestine, southern Africa, Nicaragua, Iran, Panama and others in their struggles for independence, national identity and sovereignty.

99. This general process of abolishing privileged relationships and of emancipating peoples is most clearly expressed in, and most powerfully supported by, the strengthening of the policy and the movement of non-alignment.

100. The hopes and expectations of mankind have not, however, been entirely fulfilled. We still find ourselves in the midst of a difficult battle with the proponents of acquired privileges, various forms of interference and domination.

101. The world is still torn by many contradictions and burdened with many dangers. Bloc division tends to become a general and permanent state of world relations. The arms race has taken on the character of uncontrolled madness. A deep chasm separates those who enjoy the blessings of the greatest achievements of industrial and technological development, whose wealth multiplies from year to year, and those to whom poverty, disease, hunger and ignorance are a way of life.

102. Old and new forms of imperialism, colonialism and other forms of foreign domination and hegemony are persistently trying to maintain themselves. The policy of spheres of interest, great-Power rivalry, various forms of interference and the use of force in international relations threaten the independence of many peoples.

103. Acute world crises fraught with constant danger to world peace are not being solved. The consequences are evident. The fragile peace and stability in the world depend on a balance of power and fear; détente is still stagnating; the North-South dialogue on the new international economic order has not yet emerged from the phase of confrontation; conflicts between the East and the West are being spread to non-aligned areas of the world.

104. The inheritance of a difficult past dangerously burdens our present. The gap between ideals and reality is often disappointingly great. We have now reached the dividing line between two decades. Rarely in history has a single decade brought so many uncertainties and at the same time offered so many possibilities for true progress.

105. The course that we follow from this cross-roads depends on us alone, on our readiness to change what we have inherited from the past and to bear responsibility for what will be tomorrow. That is what mankind expects of us. If we did not do this, history would not be able to pardon our failure.

106. None but the United Nations is called upon to offer hope and support to those who rightly expect them of us.

107. I believe that one of the most urgent questions on which we should reach full agreement is the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, particularly in Africa. From the moral and human standpoint, we can say the worst about that abhorrent anachronism of our time. However, this is not only a moral or human question; it is, essentially, a political one. What must we do to bring this shame to an end?

108. The answer is clear. We must decisively espouse the cause of the peoples of southern Africa and help them by all possible means to achieve, at the earliest possible moment, their sovereign right to freedom, independence and social progress.

109. The non-aligned movement has devoted great attention to the liquidation of colonialism on African soil. Important decisions were taken at the recent meetings in Maputo, Colombo and Havana. Under your able guidance, Mr. President, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples reached conclusions along the same lines at its recent meeting in Belgrade.<sup>7</sup>

110. At all those meetings there was a unanimous feeling that, if it wishes to preserve its self-respect, the world community can no longer afford to delay tearing out from the annals of human history the shameful page of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

111. We do, of course, believe that every political possibility of arriving at a peaceful solution should be given a chance. It would, however, be unforgivable if we were to allow this to be misused for the purpose of thwarting the struggle of peoples—in this case the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe—for their national liberation. Let us spell this out clearly.

112. We should commit ourselves to supporting the legitimate right of those peoples—including full support to SWAPO and the Patriotic Front—in their efforts to achieve their freedom through armed struggle. We must express our solidarity with and support for the front-line States in their resistance to the constant aggression perpetrated by the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. We are in duty bound to take all necessary measures, including the use of peace-keeping forces or the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. We have to emphasize the responsibility of those who for selfish reasons continue to co-operate with the racist régimes and thereby prolong their existence and encourage their obstinacy.

113. In my view, it is not necessary to enumerate here the concrete measures to be taken in this connexion since they are known to us all. It seems to me more important to point out the essence of the problem, the substance of our option and the thrust of our action.

114. Another global crisis is the one in the Middle East. There we are faced with tolerance of brutal aggression and the impermissible denial of the legitimate sovereign right of a people to self-determination and independence.

115. I wish to point out that it is the consistent position of my country that no aggression and occupation can be condoned or rewarded. That is why we are consistently demanding that the international community and our Organization take energetic measures for the elimination of Israeli aggression and its grave consequences.

116. We must be aware of our responsibility not only towards the peoples that are the immediate victims but also towards mankind, whose interests are threatened by the continuation of this aggression.

117. Let me reiterate our well-known positions. First, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war. Secondly, the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland, to independence and to their own State must be recognized. This includes recognition and acceptance of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Thirdly, only a lasting, just and comprehensive settlement can ensure peace and security for all the countries of that area, including Israel, as well as the inviolability of their borders.

118. Experience has taught us that separate roads and agreements do not lead to this goal. On the contrary, Israel makes use of them to deny totally the rights of the Palestinian people, to commit new acts of aggression against the neighbouring Arab States and to usurp Arab land.

119. It is high time to reverse the course of events. We

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13283.

believe that that is possible if we demonstrate greater determination and a higher degree of political realism in our approach to this crisis. There are certain positive signs, primarily those which indicate the readiness of a growing number of European countries to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and to accept the PLO as the legitimate negotiator on an equal footing.

120. If we were to add those new elements to the existing resolutions and decisions of the world Organization, I am convinced that that would be a way out of the blind alley in which we still find ourselves.

121. I should also like to address myself to another problem that has the elements of a global crisis. That is the crisis in South-East Asia, where, regrettably, military interventions have taken place, transforming the entire area into a new focal-point of instability. This has brought about unforeseeable dangers to peace and security not only in the area but also in the world at large.

122. It seems to me that, at this moment, the most important thing is to reaffirm the principles that can lead to the solution of this crisis and, at the same time, guarantee to all countries of the region an equal right to peace, security and internal development of their own.

123. This is possible only if intervention and the use of force are brought to an end; if foreign occupation is ended and foreign troops withdrawn; if the independence and sovereignty of the peoples are respected; and if the peoples involved are accorded the exclusive right to choose their own system of government and way of life without outside interference.

124. It would be very dangerous if we were to endorse the thesis of good or bad, justified or unjustified, foreign military intervention. In that case we would bring in question not only justice but the very basis on which the stability of international relations rests.

125. We are profoundly convinced that the full and inviolable sovereignty of nations is the supreme law of international relations. No one has the right to call it in question in any way or on any ground whatsoever.

126. I am convinced that only within the framework of such a peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of the crisis in South-East Asia would it be also possible to do away with foreign interference and the imposition of alien interests upon the peoples of the area.

127. Within this context, we could also solve other difficult problems confronting the peoples of that region, such as the question of refugees, hunger and other forms of suffering and deprivation.

128. The principles that I have set out in respect of the aforementioned global crises also inspire Yugoslavia's attitude towards so-called regional and local crises.

129. The right to self-determination, to independence and sovereignty without foreign interference must be consistently applied in the case of Cyprus, Korea, Western Sahara and wherever the same problems and the same values are involved.

130. The perpetuation of the Cyprus crisis deprives an

independent and non-aligned country of its sovereign rights and has negative repercussions on stability in the Mediterranean. We firmly believe that a just and durable solution of this crisis can only be found through peaceful means, by implementing the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This calls for agreement between the two communities leading to the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and ensuring the equality and well-being of those two communities and the harmony of their life together.

131. We also support the constructive and positive efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at achieving the peaceful unification of the Korean people and strengthening the independent and non-aligned position of that country.

132. The question of Western Sahara is one of decolonization which must be solved on the basis of self-determination in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the non-aligned movement.

133. Peace and stability in the world do not depend only on the solution of the most acute crises. But the settlement of those crises would be facilitated by a more profound and comprehensive process of relaxation of tensions.

134. Speaking of détente, we are primarily concerned with matters affecting peace and general security in the world. This is vital not only because peace forestalls devastations caused by war, but because it provides an environment for the successful struggle of peoples for independence, equality and progress.

135. If détente did not serve this end, it would become either a vehicle for preserving the existing privileges and injustices of the old international order, or else it would enable the strongest Powers, and their respective bloc groupings, to settle their relations to the detriment of the rest of the world.

136. We view the relaxation of tensions as a universal process demanding from all of us special efforts. It makes it incumbent upon the United Nations to engage in continual action aimed at consolidating peaceful coexistence as a basis for friendly relations among countries; it requires efforts in the field of disarmament and the establishment of the new international economic order.

137. Within this context, I should like to make some observations regarding Europe, a continent which used to be the stage of world confrontations and the source of world wars in the past.

138. On the one hand, it is in Europe that bloc alignments confront each other most directly, with their sophisticated military hardware. On the other, the process of relaxation of tensions in Europe has achieved tangible results, in the wake of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The non-aligned and neutral countries of Europe also have greatly contributed to this positive trend.

139. It would be difficult, however, to conceive of stable and positive trends in Europe unless they en-

compassed, in the same way, the other regions of the world.

140. Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned country, consistently applies the principles of non-alignment in its European policy and in relations with its neighbours as well. The assertion of these principles on the European continent, which is becoming increasingly evident, also demonstrates the universal character of the policy of non-alignment.

141. Disarmament and the new economic relations are among the pressing issues confronting the contemporary world. However, it is significant that conditions have already become ripe for a quest for a meaningful solution of these problems. This is one of the major achievements of the persistent struggle that the non-aligned movement has waged toward this end.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

142. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, was an important event of our time. Notwithstanding certain important initial achievements concerned primarily with the involvement of the United Nations in disarmament, the other results have not been too encouraging.

143. I believe that we should continue with a resolute political action to accelerate the process leading toward genuine disarmament. This applies to all means of mass destruction; both to nuclear strategic and tactical weapons and to biochemical, radiological and conventional weapons, whose destructive power has been increased tremendously since the Second World War. In this respect, I should like to mention the second round of SALT as a good sign.

144. In the coming phase we should, in my opinion, pay greater attention to the substantive work of the Disarmament Commission and to the removal of the obstacles which, as a consequence of big-Power rivalry, obstruct the work of the Committee on Disarmament.

145. Our priorities should also encompass full guarantees to countries which do not produce nuclear weapons, the prohibition of the use of these weapons and the initiation of genuine nuclear disarmament. Otherwise, there is a danger that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will be transformed into the monopoly of those who possess nuclear weaponry or be misused as a monopoly for developing and using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This would lead to a new form of technological colonialism.

146. The issue of the liquidation of foreign military bases and military presence from other countries remains unresolved, as does that of confidence-building measures. Closely related to these are the issues of zones of peace, and co-operation, which we consider to be of exceptional importance. We therefore strongly support the establishment of such zones in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. The slow progress towards the genuine security and well-being of all mankind is also demonstrated by the absurdity of the aggravation of the economic crisis seen in relation to the enormous increase of expenditure on armaments.

147. The disquieting state of the world economy, the profound crisis of the international economic system and the persistent deterioration of the position of developing countries threaten to become a constant source of instability and new political tensions, with unpredictable consequences. The world has become so interdependent, especially in the economic field, that long-term solutions of common interest can be found only through equitable dialogue and over-all co-operation.

148. It is essential that the industrially and technologically most developed countries, which possess the greatest economic and financial potential, should desist from seeking partial solutions to their specific problems within closed economic groupings. It is also essential to realize that the true problem does not consist in finding culprits responsible for the inherited state of affairs, but that the new system of international economic relations should be accepted as a common need and a shared commitment of all.

149. Regrettably, even today we find ourselves at the point which we had reached five years ago when we adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. We can break this stalemate only through a persistent search for common solutions, which must encompass all the vital elements of the New International Economic Order—ranging from trade, commodities, manufacture and energy to finance, prices, transfer of technology and the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

150. This calls for greater activity by the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174; for a new round of global negotiations, which were initiated by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries; and for the elaboration of the strategy for the forthcoming development decade.

151. Human rights is one of the topics which has engaged the attention of this Assembly. We all know that this question has quite often been the subject of political confrontation. We have noted that the political aspect of human rights is fortunately ever more frequently linked with its economic and social aspects, which we consider to be a correct approach.

152. We should like, however, to go even further and to sound a warning that it is very difficult to promote human rights unless those rights are treated within the context of the right of nations to independence, sovereignty, free national development and the right to lead their own life without outside interference; unless those rights are treated within the context of racial equality; unless they are linked to the rights of national minorities, ethnic, religious and other groups; and unless they enable the individual to determine the conditions of his life and to be a free person without being exposed to any system of discrimination.

153. My country attaches exceptional importance to the role of the United Nations in solving the major problems which beset our world, in removing focal-points of crisis, in strengthening peace, security and equitable co-operation among peoples, and in democratizing international relations.

154. In our view, the United Nations has an irreplaceable role to play in the new system of international political and economic relations. We must therefore continue to oppose the tendency of withdrawing vital global issues from the United Nations and of bypassing our Organization in solving them. Today, the United Nations is a genuinely universal Organization which faithfully reflects the situation in the world.

155. We do not wish to see the United Nations being used as a place for propaganda confrontation. We believe it is essential that this Assembly should be inspired by our common aspirations and readiness to create a climate of tolerance and confidence; that we should not conceal differences, but exert maximum goodwill so as to contribute to the full affirmation of the principles enshrined in the Charter when dealing with any specific issue that we have to consider.

156. The non-aligned movement has made its greatest contribution precisely to such a role for the United Nations. I am confident that the decisions adopted at the recently concluded Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries will also contribute to the success of the present session of the General Assembly. We consider that the results of the summit meeting are positive. First and foremost, the Conference reaffirmed the authentic principles and objectives of the policy and movement of non-alignment as an independent, non-bloc factor which plays a significant and irreplaceable role in international relations. The non-aligned countries have thereby strengthened the basis on which they can continue to build their solidarity and unity.

157. We rightly entertain great hopes and hold the firm belief that genuine progress is possible. Let us persevere in our quest for peace and security in the world. Let us exert maximum efforts so that the world of tomorrow may be a world of justice, independence, equality and progress for all.

158. Mr. PHAN HIEN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): May I first convey to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations on your brilliant election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

159. May I also pay a deserved tribute to Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. We wish particularly to express our sincere thanks to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, and to his colleagues for the devotion and wisdom shown in their fruitful activities in the service of the interests of the international community.

160. The Vietnamese delegation extends its best wishes and welcome to Saint Lucia on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations.

161. It is with profound sadness and boundless grief that we learned of the premature death of the beloved leader of the Angolan people, a worthy son of Africa, a great friend of our people, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto, whose image is forever engraved in the heart of every Angolan and of every Vietnamese.

162. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet

Nam warmly welcomes the great victories registered by the forces of national independence, peace and social progress throughout the world during the period following the thirty-third session of the General Assembly up to now. These resounding victories contribute to the downfall of a series of seemingly impregnable forts of imperialism and international reaction in vital positions, eliminating dangerous hotbeds of war and strengthening the potential for defending peace and the security of the peoples.

163. In Latin America, the glorious victory of the Sandinist fighters and the heroic people of Nicaragua over the Somoza dictatorship has opened up a new page in the history of that nation. The heroic people of Grenada have overthrown the dictatorial Eric Gairy régime and continue their resolute struggle to safeguard their national independence and build their beautiful country.

164. The Latin American countries, including those of the Caribbean region, are waging a tenacious struggle to consolidate their political and economic independence, to recover and preserve their natural resources and to promote their multifaceted co-operation. Joining the fraternal Cuban people, we demand an immediate and unconditional end to the encirclement and blockade of Cuba, compensation for the damages it has caused and the restoration of the Guantánamo naval base to that country. We support the rights of Panama to its absolute sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

165. We reaffirm our active solidarity with the Chilean people, who are waging a valiant struggle against the Fascist clique in power. Likewise we energetically support the struggle of the peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize and other peoples still living under colonial domination for their right to self-determination and independence.

166. We are elated by the excellent results of the visit by our Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, to Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Jamaica. This visit to several countries in Latin America has opened up new prospects for relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation between Viet Nam and the countries of that region.

167. In southern Africa, neither the ferocity of the racist and *apartheid* régimes nor their collusion with imperialism to impose so-called "internal settlements" can check the persistent struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa, respectively, for their independence, freedom and dignity.

168. The agreement on cessation of hostilities between the Frente POLISARIO and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania [A/34/427 - S/13503, *annex I*] constitutes an important victory for the Saharan people in their struggle for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

169. The separate arrangements in the Middle East only further strengthen the solidarity of the Arab peoples and international support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, whose sole authentic representative is the PLO, for the respect of their inalienable national

rights. We join the international community in condemning the Camp David agreements and the so-called Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel and we reaffirm our unreserved support for the just claims of the Palestinian people in demanding the return to the Arab countries of their territories illegally occupied by Israel, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

170. In Asia, imperialism and international reactionaries have sustained the heaviest defeats at the very places where their collusion is closest and their efforts most intense. The revolutionary impetus of the Iranian people has put an end to the tyrannical régime of the Shah, thereby causing the collapse of the Central Treaty Organization. The people of Afghanistan have foiled all attempts at foreign intervention and subversion, thereby consolidating the gains of the April 1978 Revolution.

171. In the region of the Indian Ocean the struggle of the peoples of the littoral countries has been stepped up with a view to turning that ocean into a zone of peace and demanding the withdrawal of imperialist military bases, in particular those on Diego Garcia, while in east Asia the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is sternly condemned by the international community. In South-East Asia, the peoples of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam, overcoming countless difficulties, have scored resounding victories in the field of reconstruction as well as in that of national defence. The events of the past year have shown once again that the friendship and solidarity among the three countries of Indo-China constitute a vital question for them and at the same time a factor for peace and security in that region.

172. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, which has just ended successfully in Havana, represents one of the most eloquent expressions of the determination of the peoples of non-aligned countries to strengthen their solidarity and develop their co-operation with other democratic and progressive forces in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism, racism, including zionism and *apartheid*, and for the people's independence and freedom, for world peace and international security and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

173. Together with peace-loving forces the world over, we warmly hail the signing of the SALT Treaty, which we consider an important contribution to international détente that would create favourable conditions for future negotiations on general and complete disarmament. We sternly condemn those who are stepping up the arms race and accelerating war preparations, thereby endangering world peace and international security. We support the consistent policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in favour of peace, détente, the strengthening of the security of the peoples and international co-operation. In this connexion, we welcome the initiative of Czechoslovakia in requesting the inclusion on the agenda of the present session of an item entitled, "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" [A/34/147].

174. The peoples' struggle for their complete economic independence, for the recovery of their natural resources and for the establishment of a new,

just and equitable economic order has developed unceasingly. However, it is a hard fact of life that in many developing countries the economic situation continues to deteriorate. The maintenance of an unjust international economic order has increasingly widened the gap between the exploiting developed countries and the developing countries. The deadlock in the North-South negotiations and the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD confirm that the exploiting countries are trying by every means to perpetuate their selfish interests, while blaming the developing countries for the consequences of the world economic crisis, the energy crisis, inflation and so on.

175. My delegation is glad to note that in this year of 1979 we have witnessed many great successes achieved in all regions of the world by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. This is the essential direction for the development of the world situation at present. Nevertheless, imperialists, in collusion with international reactionaries, seek by every means to obstruct the advance of mankind, to try to regain their lost positions and to prepare new interventions and aggressions against the peoples that refuse to submit to their dictates.

176. After more than three decades of undaunted struggle full of sacrifices to regain their independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people in the spring of 1975 won complete victory and achieved the reunification of their country. They thought that from then on they could devote themselves fully to the work of reconstruction in peace.

177. However, our independence was once again threatened and peace jeopardized, and this time the aggressors were precisely those who had in the past vociferously condemned United States aggression in Viet Nam and repeatedly pledged their fidelity to the cause of Viet Nam, namely, the Peking [*Beijing*] authorities.

178. One may wonder then why Peking hurled 600,000 troops against Viet Nam when a deep friendship existed between those two neighbouring peoples; why, overnight, Peking treated a friendly neighbouring country as its worst enemy. It is indeed difficult to understand this, unless one knows that for a long time Peking has been hatching a global plan to bring Viet Nam under its heel and turn it into a tool of its hegemonistic and expansionist policy in South-East Asia and in the world. Those in power in Peking have always considered South-East Asia as their zone of natural expansion. In comparison with a big, overpopulated China with a "superior culture", these are but small countries, under-developed but rich in resources. They looked especially to those countries where there are strong Chinese communities and Maoist subversive groups that provide two choice means of expansion for Peking. Because of its strategic position, Viet Nam constitutes for China the natural door through which to penetrate South-East Asia. Therefore, China scrupulously prepared plans to bend Viet Nam to its will.

179. That plan comprised all kinds of manoeuvres, from giving assistance to Vietnamese resistance, to the use of that assistance as a means of control and pressure to make Viet Nam give up its policy of independence and toe the Peking line; from using the gains won by the

Vietnamese people in their struggle as bargaining chips in bartering with imperialism, to committing aggression by proxy, and finally ending up with direct aggression. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the early 1970s, when the victory of Vietnamese resistance was certain, the Chinese leaders made a deal with their new allies with a view to perpetuating the division of Viet Nam and sharing zones of influence in that part of the world. The occupation by Chinese forces in 1974 of the Hoang Sa—or Paracel—lands of Viet Nam is clear evidence of this, among other proof.

180. The total liberation of South Viet Nam in 1975 completely upset Peking's plans. Since then, the reactionary Chinese authorities have intensified their preparations for aggression against Viet Nam. They have thought they could exploit to the full the multiple difficulties that Viet Nam faces after 30 years of war. The prospect of an independent, unified and prosperous Viet Nam enjoying friendly relations with all countries seemed unacceptable to them. In their eyes, Viet Nam, which fiercely defends its independence and sovereign policy, constitutes a "bad example" for the South-East Asian countries and thus becomes a major obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonistic designs. Therefore, Peking had to eliminate this obstacle at any cost.

181. Being more sophisticated and more cruel than their predecessors, the Chinese expansionists have chosen a new strategy—that of launching a two-pronged attack against Viet Nam on its south-western and its northern border, while seeking to foment disorder inside the country with the so-called Hoa problem, concerning persons of Chinese origin living in Viet Nam. They thus decided to utilize Kampuchea, which they totally controlled with the help of their henchmen, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, as a base for their attacks against the south-western part of Viet Nam, thus striking at it from the rear and on its flank, choosing a place they thought was the weakest point in Viet Nam, namely, the newly liberated region in the southern part of our country.

182. It is therefore not surprising that as early as 1965, taking advantage of the fact that Kampuchea was the weakest link of the three countries in this region and acting through its henchmen and using subversive methods, Peking was able to turn that country into a base for expansion in the region. After the liberation of Kampuchea that brought Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to power in that country, Peking brought in tens of thousands of Chinese military advisers and a huge amount of weapons and ammunition in order hastily to set up there an army 23 divisions strong.

183. On the border of Northern Viet Nam, Peking massed hundreds of thousands of troops which carried out daily provocations and incidents, creating permanent tension, and stood ready to invade North Viet Nam.

184. As the preparations were completed, the time for these two almost simultaneous attacks was set for the end of 1978 and the beginning of 1979. However, the aggressors, blinded by their ambitions of conquest, committed a grave strategic mistake in underestimating the Vietnamese forces and thus concentrating the bulk of their combat forces—19 out of their total of 23 divisions—in the border zone to launch an attack in the direction of Ho Chi Minh City. Faced with the rapid

defeat of the Pol Pot army and the solidarity of the three peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, as well as with the firm support extended to Viet Nam by the socialist countries and peoples of the world, the Chinese authorities, before themselves plunging into the adventure, had to seek some blessing from their new friends across the ocean who are quite ready to play "the China card".

185. The short time that elapsed between 23 December 1978, when the Pol Pot forces attacked Tay Ninh in the direction of Ho Chi Minh City, and 17 February 1979, when 600,000 Chinese troops were marched into North Viet Nam, clearly showed that Peking's two-pronged plan of aggression was carefully prepared long in advance. So it is clear that late in 1978 the Vietnamese people were faced with an extremely serious, life-or-death situation—their territory was threatened with invasion, their national rights trampled underfoot and the freshly-won peace suddenly lost. Endowed with a time-honoured tradition of a nation for which nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people once again took up arms to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

186. Exercising their right to self-defence, our people responded vigorously, smashing the Pol Pot forces that invaded Tay Ninh late in 1978, thus avoiding being caught in Peking's two-pronged attack and creating favourable conditions to repel victoriously the open aggression of 17 February 1979 launched by the Chinese expansionists.

187. Had our people not acted thus and held firm, what would have become of the situation in the region? A conflagration would have broken out, possibly drawing into the flames many other countries and destroying peace and stability in the whole South-East Asian region.

188. These developments have unveiled the aggressor's fallacious allegations about Viet Nam "daring" to provoke China by which it tried to justify its purpose of "giving Viet Nam a lesson". Those allegations are by no means different from those made by Hitler, who arrogated to himself the "right" to punish other nations.

189. Was it because the Peking rulers take pride in having a human force of a billion inhabitants and having nuclear weapons at their disposal that they dare claim the arbitrary right to teach a lesson to another country?

190. Whatever the real motivation of the hegemonistic Peking authorities may be, their behaviour is nothing but a revival of the concept of former Chinese emperors, who considered the people of countries around their "Celestial Empire" as barbarians or, at best, as vassals who had to be placed under feudal domination.

191. One may wonder how in our era, in which the principle of relations between sovereign States is well established, and in which the principle of the equal sovereignty of States and the equal rights of people are enshrined in the United Nations Charter as basic tenets, a country—in this case China—can have acted in so arrogant, if not insolent, a manner, arrogating to itself the "right" to punish another country and to

“teach it a lesson”. Does Peking, in so doing, wish to set mankind back thousands of years? Can ethics and justice be discarded with impunity from international relations?

192. We the Vietnamese people, victims of Chinese aggression, are entitled to ask the international community if it can tolerate such a thing. We appeal to it to condemn strenuously the Peking expansionists and not to let them arrogate to themselves the arbitrary “right” to “teach a lesson” to other countries, in defiance of the entire international community.

193. We also demand that the Peking authorities halt immediately all their preparations for further aggression against Viet Nam, evacuate the points they still illegally occupy on our border, return to us the Hoang Sa—or Paracel—Islands and compensate us for the material losses they caused in their recent war of aggression in our six border provinces.

194. During that aggression, Chinese troops brutally massacred civilians, destroyed all their means of livelihood, systematically razing to the ground commercial establishments, hospitals and schools. Those monstrous crimes not only caused immense suffering to the population of the six border provinces of Viet Nam but, what is worse, have cruelly impaired the economic reconstruction of Viet Nam, which still has to overcome the dire consequences of 30 years of war. The criminals must be punished for their crimes.

195. After being defeated in its aggression against Viet Nam, China agreed to enter into negotiations with Viet Nam beginning on 18 April 1979. Yet, after more than five months and in the course of 12 negotiating sessions in Hanoi as well as in Peking, the Chinese side has consistently refused to respond positively to the logical and reasonable proposals put forward by the Vietnamese side on such urgent measures as the separation of armed forces and the creation of a demilitarized zone, so as to prevent a resumption of hostilities, preserve peace and thereby create conditions conducive to the solution of other issues and the normalization of relations between our two countries.

196. On the contrary, Peking has, during this time, been feverishly engaged in war preparations and has created a most grave and explosive situation apt at any moment to turn into a major war in the Indo-China/South-East Asia region. Peking is continuing to mass 12 divisions of its troops on the Viet Nam/China border; moreover, it has been stationing more than five army corps in the military regions adjacent to Viet Nam. Recently, it has been concentrating additional troops in the region of Hai Nan Island. Those Chinese armed forces have been engaged in daily provocations and in attacks on Vietnamese territory, causing us losses in human lives and property. In addition, Vietnamese air space and territorial waters are being repeatedly violated. At the same time, Peking has intensified its hostile acts against the Lao People’s Democratic Republic, massing many divisions of Chinese troops on the borders of that country, and engaging in subversive activities and war preparations against Laos. In Kampuchea, Peking persists in its attempts to revive the last vestiges of the Pol Pot army, driving them to sabotage the peaceful reconstruction of that country. To top it all off, the men in power in Peking have been constantly threatening “to teach Viet Nam another lesson”.

197. These facts amply prove that China is feverishly hatching new aggression against Viet Nam—aggression which could be launched at any moment. No man of conscience can have any doubt about this. One may well wonder what country will be Peking’s next victim after Viet Nam.

198. Along with all those war preparations, in order to cover up their dark designs, the Peking authorities have mounted a campaign of slander against Viet Nam with the vociferous support of certain Western circles.

199. This propaganda daily harks back to the allegation that Viet Nam “invaded” Kampuchea, that Viet Nam is “responsible” for the refugee problem, that Viet Nam has become “an instrument of the Soviet Union”.

200. Through this slanderous campaign to sully the image of Viet Nam and to isolate it internationally, Peking is aiming precisely at preparing world opinion before launching new act of armed aggression against our country.

201. In the interest of peace and in the name of justice, we urgently call on the international community and on world public opinion to be vigilant, because behind all these Peking intrigues lurks a grave danger to peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.

202. In the face of this confusion created by Peking, we deem it necessary to shed light on the whole truth.

203. Since the days when the Pol Pot régime committed genocide against its own people, it has become a renegade, and the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, which rose up to overthrow it and to save the Kampuchean people, represents revolutionary legality. Hence it is fully in keeping with international law and the United Nations Charter for Viet Nam to lend its support to this just struggle.

204. In December 1978, while Pol Pot was massing 19 of his 23 divisions on the border ready to invade Viet Nam, leaving the rear unprotected, the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, taking advantage of that military blunder, as well as of the favourable strategic moment created by the rapid collapse of the Pol Pot fighting force in the face of the Vietnamese riposte, launched a general insurrection culminating in the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, and thus put an end to the almost four years of nightmare for the Kampuchean people. That is the triumph of the revolution of the Kampuchean people in exercise of its right to self-determination. The world has witnessed the resurrection of a people that has, by upholding justice, escaped total annihilation. This resurrection contributes to wiping out one of the greatest shames of mankind, unprecedented in history, the abominable Pol Pot régime, and paves the way for the Kampuchean people “to go in search of light, to go in search of life”, as said by the great Angolan poet Agostinho Neto. Let the valiant people of Kampuchea be allowed to rebuild its life in peace and to settle its own affairs as sovereign master of its own destiny.

205. The situation in Kampuchea is stabilizing and settling down to normal. It is irreversible. As was indicated in the statement made on 26 September 1979 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic

of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is ready to accept, without political conditions, assistance given by all countries and international organizations which would be delivered directly to it as the only authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. It denounces:

“... the perfidious manoeuvre of the imperialists and of international reaction, which, exploiting the humanitarian aspect, poses the so-called problem of ‘aid to both sides’ or ‘provision of relief to the inhabitants.’ In fact, this manoeuvre is aimed at legalizing the provision of supplies to the remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary troops in their opposition to the Kampuchean people, at deceiving public opinion as to the existence of this overthrown genocidal administration, and at laying foundations for a so-called ‘political solution to the Kampuchean problem’. In this way they are interfering in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people.”<sup>8</sup>

206. No reason whatever is to be found for talking about solutions. What should be denounced is the Chinese intervention in Kampuchea, the Chinese responsibility for the genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against 3 million inhabitants of Kampuchea. Any manoeuvre aimed at reviving the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, any manoeuvre aimed at creating “two Kampuchesas”, constitutes an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and a gross violation of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination and it only prolongs the sufferings of a nation which has already suffered too much. No, there exists only one Kampuchea: the People's Republic of Kampuchea. There exists only one Government of Kampuchea: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole legal and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

207. For their part, the Vietnamese people, together with all justice-loving people throughout the world, greet the martyred fraternal people of a resuscitated Kampuchea. We pledge to extend all necessary assistance and support for the reconstruction of their country.

208. At the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and on the basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed between the two countries,<sup>9</sup> Vietnamese troops are in Kampuchea both to help the Kampuchean people oppose Peking's attempts to reimpose the Pol Pot régime and to ensure peace and security. This stems from the spirit of traditional solidarity between the three peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea—a solidarity which dates not merely from yesterday, but which has been tempered in each country by a century of struggle for independence and which is one of the determining factors in their successive victories over much stronger enemies.

209. On the refugee problem, we have said and now repeat that this is the consequence of the long years of wars of aggression which our people have undergone. The responsibility lies with those who invaded Viet Nam. At this moment Peking is seeking to exploit this

question for political blackmail, and to prepare for a new war. At the Geneva conference on refugees<sup>10</sup> as well as in co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Viet Nam has shown its good will and has taken humanitarian steps aimed at making a contribution to the settlement of this question. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the High Commissioner and world opinion have greatly appreciated our co-operation. It is deplorable that Washington—by sending warships of its Seventh Fleet to the vicinity of Vietnamese waters—and Peking continue to instigate the illegal departure of Vietnamese people from their country. No one can doubt that this is deliberate sabotage of the results of the Geneva Conference.

210. Viet Nam is an independent and sovereign country. Its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are relations of friendship and co-operation based on mutual respect for independence and sovereignty. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries effectively helped us during our national resistance and they co-operate fraternally with Viet Nam in the reconstruction of the country; therefore it is normal that we have excellent relations. The Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union<sup>11</sup> contributes to the cause of peace and international co-operation and is not intended to oppose any third country. What is abnormal and unacceptable is that Peking has arrogated to itself the right to dictate to Viet Nam the conduct of its international relations, to impose on Viet Nam the choice of such and such a country with which Viet Nam should maintain relations. Peking must remember that the Vietnamese people have amply shown their spirit of independence not only in our era but for millennia.

211. The recent painful ordeals of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, like other peoples' own experiences throughout the world, show quite clearly that a new danger is threatening the international community: Peking hegemonism, in collusion with imperialism, is challenging the peoples of the world. We must increase our vigilance and we must act in time to halt their dark designs. Mankind's fight has not ended against these scourges: imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, zionism and now the hegemonism of Peking which has been added to this list of ills. But we are convinced that the joint forces of peace, independence and freedom all over the world will be capable of taking up the challenge and winning.

212. We welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union in requesting the inclusion on the agenda of this session of the item entitled “inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations”. We unreservedly support the draft resolution submitted by Comrade Andrei Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, for adoption by the United Nations [A/34/243, annex].

213. We warmly welcome the resounding victories scored by the Lao people in their work of reconstruction as well as in their defence of their national independence, foiling all manoeuvres of the Peking authorities

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1979, document S/13562.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13101.

<sup>10</sup> Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12920.

aimed at fomenting troubles in the country and at preparing a large-scale attack against it. If the Peking authorities try to teach Viet Nam a "second lesson" by invading Lao territory, the consequences for them will be extremely serious. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will spare no effort to tighten the ties of friendship and militant solidarity with the fraternal people and the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

214. Viet Nam and China are neighbouring countries with historical, cultural and other ties which date back thousands of years. The two peoples—Vietnamese and Chinese—have lived the same past, and supported each other in their struggle against feudalism, colonialism and imperialism. In the course of this struggle an indestructible friendship and solidarity was forged. The Vietnamese people will never forget the fraternal sentiments and valuable assistance of the great Chinese people during the Vietnamese struggle for national salvation. That is why we cherish even more our friendship and solidarity with the Chinese people and why we are all the more determined to oppose the hegemonist and expansionist policy of the present Peking rulers, for it constitutes an offence to the sentiments of our two peoples and aims at destroying what we were trying so hard to build together.

215. To the leaders in Peking we make a pressing appeal: if they stop their hostile policy against Viet Nam, peace will be restored, relations will be normalized, and the two countries will live in harmony for the good of our respective peoples and in the interests of stability and prosperity in the whole region. We should like to proclaim our firm and unshakable will to defend our independence, national heritage and territorial integrity. Nevertheless, we wish to settle all disputes between our two countries by means of peaceful negotiations. We have proved our good will. Let the Chinese leaders do the same. Only in that way will negotiations progress and achieve the results so deeply hoped for by our two peoples and by all peace-loving peoples in the world.

216. The South-East Asian countries, including Viet Nam, have gone through the same painful past under colonialism. They have been victims of the same policy of "divide and rule" of the oppressors. Yet, in spite of the vicissitudes of contemporary history, our countries are called upon to live in good neighbourliness. As for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, it is determined to forget the past, to look forward to the future and to do its best to write jointly with other countries a new page in the history of the region. It is in this spirit that during recent years my country has taken the initiative to increase direct contacts at various levels with the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations with a view to establishing together a zone of peace, independence, freedom and neutrality, a zone of stability and prosperity, in conformity with the legitimate interests of each country and with those of world peace and international security.

217. In our relations with the countries of South-East Asia, we advocate the following principles which we scrupulously observe: mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the non-use or threat of use of force, refrain

from all forms of subversion—direct or indirect, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

218. However, it is regrettable that certain countries of South-East Asia which, during the years of our national resistance, had involved themselves more or less closely with imperialist aggression against our country have, at this moment, willy-nilly, allowed themselves to be drawn along in the wake of Peking against the peoples of Viet Nam and other countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is our sincere hope that those countries will pull themselves together in time, first of all in their own national interests but also in the interests of peace, stability and co-operation in the region.

219. Have not we countries of South-East Asia come to an understanding that it is desirable to consult with one another on problems of mutual interest? As far as Viet Nam is concerned, we have always favoured contacts and we want to maintain dialogue in order to achieve further mutual comprehension, avoid misunderstandings, narrow differences and increase similarities. Undoubtedly, that is the most appropriate way to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. In this spirit Viet Nam is prepared to sign treaties of peace and non-aggression with the other countries of South-East Asia.

220. We firmly believe that, by signing such treaties, the peoples of South-East Asia will show the international community that they are willing to contribute actively to the cause of peace and stability in the region and in the world at large.

221. Viet Nam has never harmed the interests of any country. In turn, it will not tolerate any violation of its independence and sovereignty. The more the Vietnamese people cherish their independence and freedom, the more they respect the independence and freedom of other peoples.

222. While fighting for its own salvation against Peking hegemonism, Viet Nam is contributing to the defence of the independence of peoples and the peace and stability of the region. The foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship, solidarity and international co-operation.

223. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam advocates the development of normal relations and a diversified co-operation with all countries, regardless of political systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

224. The Vietnamese people fully realize that the struggle which they waged in the past, like the one they are now carrying out for their national interests, is an integral part of the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, a policy which corresponds perfectly with the objectives of the non-aligned movement and with those of the United Nations as well.

225. On this occasion I should like, on behalf of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to express our sincere gratitude to our friends and brothers all over the world for the sympathy

and support which they gave us in the reconstruction of our country and in the defence of our national independence.

226. At present the United Nations has 152 Member States. The non-aligned movement, for its part, has 95 nations in its ranks. The forces which stand for the defence of peace and national independence against

aggression have experienced a new development. They also stand for foiling the designs of Peking hegemonism in collusion with imperialism, and for the establishment of a lasting peace for all nations. The Vietnamese people are more determined than ever to contribute with all their strength to this great cause of mankind.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*