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**President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR**  
(Federal Republic of Germany)

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Mitsotakis (Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): May I first express my congratulations to President von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session. As a representative of a country which has traditional ties of friendship with the Federal Republic of Germany, it gives me great pleasure to say that this election is a tribute to that country and to its growing contribution to the safeguarding of peace and international co-operation. Personally, as a former colleague, I rejoice that this is also a recognition of Ambassador von Wechmar's exceptional diplomatic skill.

2. I wish also to express our appreciation to the outgoing President, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the excellent and statesmanlike manner in which he presided over the work of the Assembly during the past year.

3. May I finally say, Mr. Vice-President, that I consider it to be a very happy coincidence that I address the Assembly while you are presiding. I hope this is a good omen for Turkish-Greek relations.

4. Let me welcome two new Members of our Organization: Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We extend to them our best wishes for progress and prosperity. We are certain that their contribution to the work of our Organization will be extremely valuable.

5. I speak from this rostrum only a few weeks after the Turkish armed forces took over the administration of the

country on 12 September. That move came about as a response to the total paralysis of the political system and of its institutions and processes, and in response to a situation characterized by increasing violence, terrorism and anarchy, as well as by the imminence of civil war. The immediate aim now is to eradicate violence and at the same time to devise new constitutional, electoral and institutional arrangements which will enable a return to civilian rule at the earliest time under a democratic system that would best serve the needs and aspirations of the Turkish people.

6. In the meantime, the foreign policy of Turkey will remain unchanged. Turkey will continue its attachment to the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and uphold all its treaty commitments. It will seek to develop its relations with the European Economic Community within the framework of an Association Agreement aimed at eventual full membership. Its relations with the Council of Europe will be guided by its dedication to democratic principles and its resolve to return to parliamentary rule. Its ties with the countries members of the Islamic community will be enhanced and it will endeavour to achieve further co-operation among them. It will strive for better relations with all neighbouring countries and pursue vigorously its efforts to settle pending issues with them peacefully.

7. As we hold the first regular session of the General Assembly in the 1980s, mankind feels deep anxiety over the present world situation, an anxiety compounded by new tensions and eruptions of armed conflict. World peace is becoming increasingly vulnerable as efforts towards a more balanced international order are stalled, the economic crisis deepens and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations are defied. These developments cast an ominous shadow over international peace and security.

8. In Europe my Government remains truly devoted to the process of détente. Yet we recognize that that process can only remain viable in a climate of mutual confidence and we regret that that climate has deteriorated seriously as a result of events taking place outside Europe.

9. It has indeed proved impossible to confine détente to one geographical area. Détente by its very nature is indivisible. All countries should therefore act in recognition of that fact and make their contribution to the removal of impediments to the relaxation of tension and restore the process to its previous vitality and dynamism. We should consistently be guided by the awareness that there is no alternative to détente as the basis of a stable peace. In that context we are convinced that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki in 1975, should fulfil an important role in the process of détente and in the conduct of relations among European countries. We hope

that the second review session of this Conference, to be held at Madrid in November, will constitute a useful step on the path towards the reinforcement of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

10. At a time when our attention is focused on armed conflicts in several parts of the world, on the unabated arms race and on blatant violations of the Charter of the United Nations, disarmament can be seen as a Utopian objective. Yet we know that for the sake of future generations we have no choice but to persevere in the pursuit of general and complete disarmament. We shall not attain that goal in a foreseeable future, but we can strive nevertheless to achieve it gradually. For the decade of the 1980s our agenda should therefore read "arms control".

11. The United States and the Soviet Union bear special responsibilities in the field of nuclear disarmament. We were gratified by the statement they issued concerning forthcoming discussions at Geneva on the limitation of nuclear arms. We further believe that the SALT II agreement<sup>1</sup> constitutes a significant stage and we urge its early ratification. We further hope that it will be complemented by SALT III negotiations.

12. We are disappointed by the considerable delay in the conclusion of a treaty on a complete nuclear-test ban. As long as that treaty is not completed, efforts aimed at ensuring the non-proliferation of nuclear arms will not carry the weight and credibility necessary to persuade all countries to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

13. The SALT process on the one hand, and a ban on all nuclear tests on the other, constitute the basic elements of progress towards a world free from fear of a nuclear holocaust. They constitute furthermore a necessary precondition of other efforts aiming at reducing arms of all kinds.

14. Détente has come to life in Europe. We sincerely hope that this example will be followed and that the first significant measures of disarmament will also be adopted and implemented on European soil. In this respect we detect some encouraging signs. We hope that the forthcoming negotiations on the stabilization and reduction of intermediate range nuclear missiles and their delivery vehicles will pave the way for a real process of arms reduction in the continent.

15. Secondly, the convening of a disarmament conference in Europe, which will have the task of discussing various confidence-building measures among States, might create the necessary climate for further efforts in the field of disarmament.

16. These two developments will indeed complete the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, which have in fact been stagnating for a long time. Turkey hopes that there will be a new impetus to the efforts made in all these

fields and that the progress achieved on the European continent will encourage countries in other parts of the world to commit themselves to the disarmament process.

17. The Middle East conflict continues to threaten world peace and security. We are particularly alarmed by recent developments which reflect Israel's intransigence. Israel persists in its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories in total disregard of repeated United Nations resolutions and of world public opinion. Recently it provoked widespread indignation by proclaiming Al Quds as the indivisible and eternal capital of Israel. This is an arbitrary and unilateral action which is totally incompatible with the principles of international law.

18. I need to emphasize that Turkey feels a very strong commitment to Al Quds Al Sharif on historical, spiritual and moral grounds. Al Quds has special significance to all the three monotheistic religions. It has been an Arab and Islamic city for centuries; it will have to remain so.

19. We note with satisfaction that since the adoption of Security Council resolution 478 (1980) all embassies located in Al Quds have moved out. The whole world has now been duly alerted to the potential dangers involved in the present course of Israeli policy.

20. As for the Middle East conflict itself, the core of which is the problem of Palestine, we have on several previous occasions, and most recently during the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Palestine, reiterated our well-known position.<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive, durable and just solution of the Middle East conflict should consist of the following elements: withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Al Quds; recognition and realization of the inalienable legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to establish an independent State; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Palestine, in all peace efforts on an equal footing with the other interested parties to the conflict; and recognition of the right of each State in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

21. We should like to emphasize, once again, that Israel cannot attain security by denying to the Arab people of Palestine the right to create its own State. We certainly hope that the international consensus that is evolving towards the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine will induce Israel to adopt a realistic and constructive attitude as regards a comprehensive, just and durable solution in the Middle East.

22. Another source of deep concern in the Middle East is the prevailing situation in Lebanon. The events of recent years, which have caused great suffering in that country, continue to jeopardize its territorial integrity and national unity. The situation in Lebanon is itself inextricably linked with the over-all conflict in the Middle East. Repeated attacks by Israel further aggravate the situation in Lebanon and constitute another serious impediment. We also believe

<sup>1</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.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting.

that all parties concerned must co-operate in creating the conditions which would enable UNIFIL to carry out effectively its mandate in southern Lebanon.

23. We are distressed by the fighting between Iran and Iraq. Both are our neighbours, to which we are bound by traditional ties of friendship, and we can only feel alarmed at the serious situation which has developed in that most sensitive region of the world. It is with these considerations in mind that we support the goodwill mission undertaken on behalf of the Islamic Conference and the efforts of the Secretary-General.

24. In his inspiring address this morning [18th meeting], the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, reported that during his mission he was able to ascertain the views of the two countries in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. We equally welcome resolution 479 (1980) recently adopted unanimously by the Security Council. We particularly note paragraph 3 of that resolution, which calls upon all other States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to a further escalation and widening of the conflict.

25. Turkey, as a forerunner in the liberation struggles against colonialism at the beginning of this century, continues to follow the prevailing situation in southern Africa with close interest and concern.

26. First of all, I should like to note with great satisfaction the historic accession to independence of Zimbabwe and its admission to membership in the United Nations after a long and valiant struggle by its people. This outcome represents a victory for diplomacy, to which the statesmanship of all the parties concerned contributed.

27. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we believe that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa must be terminated. We also believe that Walvis Bay is an integral part of the Territory of Namibia. We fully support the people of Namibia in their just struggle to attain self-determination and genuine national independence under the guidance of their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

28. We hope that Namibia, following the example of Zimbabwe, will soon achieve genuine independence through the implementation of the United Nations plan on the basis of free and democratic elections to be held under the supervision of the United Nations in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We equally support the view that the international pressure on South Africa should be increased until a final solution of the question of Namibia is reached in accordance with the principles contained in the United Nations plan.

29. Having institutionalized the abhorrent policy of *apartheid*, the Government of South Africa continues to be undeterred by the repeated demands of the international community. South Africa persists in its oppressive measures and continues its policy of bantustanization. Those developments further aggravate the situation prevailing in southern

Africa. We strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid* and advocate continued United Nations efforts to eliminate that policy. We are firmly convinced that further effective measures to that end should be adopted against South Africa.

30. During recent years important events have taken place in South-East Asia. The developments in Kampuchea, with their appalling and disastrous consequences, are a source of serious concern.

31. We believe that a political settlement of the crisis in Kampuchea should enable the people of Kampuchea to choose their own Government without outside intervention or coercion. The United Nations has already called for such a settlement and asked for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country.

32. We should like to commend the efforts of the international agencies which are trying to alleviate the sufferings of the people of Kampuchea and those of the refugees. We favour the continuation of such humanitarian aid.

33. We observe with satisfaction that the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], with which we have excellent relations in all fields, constitute a community which not only strengthens economic ties among its members but also makes a contribution as a factor of political stability in the region.

34. The events in Afghanistan, a country with which Turkey has traditionally enjoyed fraternal relations and wide co-operation, are a source of special and direct concern. We are deeply sensitive to the ongoing tragedy of the Afghan people as well as to the plight of the 1 million Afghan refugees.

35. A speedy political settlement in Afghanistan is imperative—a settlement which will ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country, the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of that fiercely independent-minded people and the restoration of their right to self-government.

36. In line with those objectives, Turkey fully supported General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 adopted nine months ago, as well as the resolution adopted at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980 [A/35/419-S/14129, resolution 19/11-P]. Once again we call for their immediate implementation.

37. It is evident that the world economy is in a deep crisis. The serious slow-down in the average growth rate and unabatable inflation are symptoms of enduring problems in the industrial countries. The world energy situation greatly compounds this crisis and no country can escape from its effects, irrespective of its level of development or the degree of its dependence on oil.

38. Oil price rises regularly follow periods of high inflation in the industrialized countries. Such rises bring about inevitable financial stability programmes with deflationary effects, which reinforce recessionary forces. The world economy is thus trapped in a vicious circle of continuous inflation and slow growth.

39. The non-oil-exporting developing countries are confronted with the worst of both worlds. Unpredictable oil price increases and occasional supply uncertainties are added to the steadily rising costs of the essential intermediary and capital goods they import from the industrial world. Notwithstanding partial and temporary recoveries, their terms of trade deteriorate. Their products either face pervasive protectionist practices or are compelled to compete in shrinking markets. Their piled-up debts in this contracting global economy are considered a serious constraint for the further transfer of resources, especially transfers of a non-concessionary nature.

40. The New International Economic Order, which has the aim of narrowing income differentials between rich and poor countries, appears under the present circumstances a remote prospect. This realization is in sombre contradiction with the urgency of the situation.

41. In view of the structural nature of the global growth and development problems, partial, parochial and conjunctural measures are evidently insufficient. What we need are structural measures conducive to a short-term improvement in the world economy and commensurate with the challenge of the crisis.

42. The major problem is how to deal with huge deficits in balances of payments. At the national level, countries should unequivocally embark upon financial stability programmes, which will inevitably imply painful structural adjustments. At the international level concerted efforts should be deployed to back up national programmes and help to alleviate inherent social and economic strains.

43. Nevertheless, individual efforts supported by international assistance cannot be expected to remedy the global crisis. What is needed is to impart a new impetus to world economic growth by utilizing the idle productive capacities in the industrialized countries without increasing inflationary tendencies. We do not entertain any illusion as to the possibilities of raising adequate funds for massive transfers. We know that, in spite of the easy liquidity conditions, an international financial co-operation of the scale required, involving the participation of international banks, countries with surpluses and international monetary authorities, could not readily be organized. Yet the transfer of large-scale resources is imperative. New available resources should be allocated to the creation of viable production capacities in developing countries. For that purpose those countries need capital and sometimes intermediary inputs from developed countries, to which their final products should, at least in part, be exported. That would unavoidably necessitate further world-wide structural adjustments involving well-known difficulties. None the less, it is clear that in the long run those adjustments would serve the interests of both developed and developing countries.

44. Regarding the global negotiations, we take the view that procedural issues are of secondary significance and that they should not hinder the launching of the negotiating process. The life span of one year envisaged for those negotiations seems to us to be too short to bring about a radical change in the relevant international institutions. It is disappointing that there has been a tendency to reduce the prob-

lem to a futile debate on the competence of some specialized agencies.

45. In that connection, we support the compromise formula worked out by the Chairman of Working Group I of the eleventh special session and we sincerely hope that a consensus will be worked out at this session along those lines. We are concerned that lack of progress in launching global negotiations would inevitably produce serious repercussions and adversely affect the world economy as a whole.

46. On the other hand we welcome the agreement on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464], as well as resolution S-11/4 concerning the least developed countries. I take great pleasure in paying a tribute to those who have actively contributed to those agreements.

47. Turning now to the question of Cyprus, I should like to express our satisfaction at the recent resumption of the international talks at Nicosia. May I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts to revive the intercommunal negotiating process on a common basis. As we have already stated on numerous occasions, my Government entirely concurs with the Secretary-General's view that a just and viable solution of the Cyprus problem can be achieved only through negotiations between the two communities in the island.

48. Therefore, we shall continue to lend our support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices [see A/35/659] and to encourage the intercommunal talks with a view to achieving progress towards a final comprehensive solution.

49. In view of the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the substantive issues on 16 September, it would no doubt have been preferable not to include the question of Cyprus in the agenda of this session. However, we find it encouraging that the General Assembly has, at its 2nd meeting, concurred with the decision of the General Committee to defer the consideration of the allocation of the relevant item to an appropriate time after the conclusion of the general debate. We are of the opinion that all the interested parties, as well as the entire membership, will still have an opportunity to contribute significantly to the conduct of the intercommunal talks in a constructive manner, by avoiding an unproductive debate on this question this year.

50. The General Assembly must be familiar by now with all the aspects of the Cyprus problem. I need not therefore make a lengthy statement on the subject. However, I should like to reiterate briefly that, in the light of past experience, my Government's view on this issue is based on the principles of justice and equity, namely, on ensuring the fundamental legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriot community that aspires to live side by side as equal partners with the Greek Cypriot community in the framework of an independent, sovereign, bi-communal and bi-zonal federal State which, we hope, will adopt a policy of non-alignment. The Turkish Government sincerely wishes to see this problem completely eliminated from our agenda in the context of such a solution. We believe that this would also pave the way to better relations and co-operation in the region. The reali-

zation of this objective no doubt requires goodwill, understanding and patience on the part of the two negotiating partners, namely, the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus.

51. We hope very much that the resumption of the inter-communal talks in Cyprus marks a turning point, and that this will at last enable the two communities to break with a tormented past, to reconcile their differences and to live in harmony in this beautiful Mediterranean island.

52. In recent years, the international community has witnessed an alarming escalation of violence. Terrorism has taken a toll of thousands of innocent victims and fundamental rights of individuals and States have been flouted. There seems to have been no community or region which has escaped this ordeal. International terrorism in our time is primarily directed against diplomatic and consular agents. For a number of years missions and diplomats of my country, as well as members of their families, have repeatedly been the targets of inhuman brutality. We fully support the initiative of the Nordic countries [A/35/142] that led to the inscription on our agenda of a new item entitled "Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives".

53. We strongly urge that the United Nations take firm and concrete measures in the course of the present session to counter the global threat against diplomatic and consular agents. All States should unequivocally condemn acts of terrorism wherever and whenever they occur, as an expression of solidarity and determined action. They must intensify measures taken at the national level, promote their bilateral and regional co-operation and exchange information concerning in particular the utilization of new techniques to combat terrorism.

54. Before I conclude my remarks I should like to recall Kemal Atatürk, whose legacy continues to inspire and guide us in Turkey. The founder and first President of the Turkish Republic stated that "of the two conquerors in the history of mankind, the plough is surely destined to be the ultimate victor over the sword". The Republic of Turkey, very much a creation of Atatürk, remains committed to this dictum.

55. Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): It gives me great pleasure to express to Mr. von Wechmar the warm congratulations of the Algerian delegation on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session. In choosing him, the General Assembly has done honour to his rich experience of international affairs which, I am convinced, has made him equal to the delicate but most exhilarating responsibility that has fallen to him. Our wishes for full success accompany him in his lofty task.

56. He is taking over from Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who presided with competence, authority and devotion over one regular session, one special session and two emergency special sessions, all exceptionally full.

57. The many upheavals that mark our time reflect a need which has now become irrepressible, the need for profound change, for a radical transformation in the framework of our lives so that we can be equal to the renewed aspirations

of man, of all mankind. This need has found expression in the dynamic process embarked upon by the peoples of the third world to build foundations of peace in justice and freedom. Our Organization was in duty bound to undertake this great project because it merely re-established the great ideals enshrined in our Charter.

58. If, in this thirty-fifth anniversary year of the United Nations, war and famine are still the lot of a large portion of mankind, the undeniable reason for that is the system of international relations itself, based on institutionalized disorder, supported by positions of strength, built upon power relationships. This intrinsically inegalitarian system, furthermore, breeds troubles, even among its founders.

59. The present worsening of the international political climate is far from being the product of mere transient misunderstandings or chance conflicts of interest. In fact, it arises directly out of the very foundations of the existing system. It is logical for such a system to concentrate power and prosperity in an oligarchical manner, to the detriment of the vital interests of the third world and, ultimately, to the detriment of the interests of humanity as a whole. It was in order to put an end to such a process, which was beginning to seem irreversible, that the peoples of the third world applied themselves, from the moment they burst onto the stage of history, to promoting a new and expanded vision of international relations.

60. That was one of the goals of non-alignment, nourished by our faith in the common destiny of all peoples. Indeed, our non-alignment has not merely served the will of our peoples to affirm their identity and to take over control of the conditions of their own lives and their prosperity. From its outset, it aspired to go beyond the organization of the world in hostile blocs and to replace that with an international society truly free from power relationships.

61. However, this dynamic perception of international relations is still encountering the resistance of those who support political monopolization and economic domination and do their utmost to perpetuate the unequal machinery and organizations that now exist and therefore to isolate the third world. This is the background of the re-emergence of gunboat diplomacy and the practice of policies of destabilization and pressure on our countries in the name of doctrines based on so-called vital interests and aimed at securing control or even expropriating raw materials in general and energy resources in particular.

62. Non-alignment is not a short-term phenomenon. It has a permanent role that is salutary for the depolarization of our world and for the democratization of international relations. Obviously it is fighting for the abolition not only of bloc rivalry but also of the blocs themselves. Based essentially on the quest for peace and international co-operation, non-alignment could not remain insensitive to the end of the cold war and the positive evolution of East-West relations towards détente, which is considered an important stage on the way to the realization of our shared ideal of peace throughout the world.

63. Therefore we can only deplore the renewed tension in international relations, which has struck a brutal blow at the détente process, at least that which was developing in East-



West relations. That challenge, which has been illustrated in a disquieting manner in 1980, has been accompanied by the strengthening of the bloc policy, an acceleration of the arms race and the reactivation of military bases. The growing deterioration which now marks international affairs shows further the fragility and the limitations of the détente process, as it has been conceived thus far, because we can now quite easily see that it is suffering from the repercussions of its own defects. It is the duty of the international community and in particular of the United Nations to make every effort to put an end to this worsening situation that is dangerous for peace in the world and for the security and independence of small States.

64. We have always welcomed détente between the blocs as an important contribution to the establishment of an improved climate which would benefit the entire international community and, therefore, we feel we are quite right in stressing once more today that real peace can only be global and universal and that this implies its indivisibility. This peace cannot be reduced to the preservation of the political and economic *status quo* in international relations; even less can it permit the transfer of further turmoil to that immense stormy zone that the ever-coveted third world has become.

65. Non-alignment, which in the most critical moments of confrontation between the blocs has amply demonstrated its devotion to peace by a thoroughly principled attitude, cannot today allow certain situations to worsen and is in a position to play its rightful role. A constantly living incarnation of mankind's aspirations to peace and progress, the non-aligned movement is, as in the past, capable of emerging all the greater from every trial, if it takes care that subjectivism does not outweigh the persistent quest for effectiveness.

66. In that regard, the situation in Afghanistan, a non-aligned country to which we are bound by ties of fraternity and friendship, is quite naturally of great importance to us. The disturbing development of the situation, regionally and internationally, emphasizes the urgency of a political solution which would restore peace in Afghanistan and throughout the region.

67. In Korea also, only a political solution, that of its reunification by peaceful means, can ward off the more and more obvious dangers of the partitioning of that country and guarantee a just and final solution.

68. It is with great concern that we have been following the developments in the conflict between two countries of the Islamic community, Iraq and Iran, members of the same political family.

69. Being profoundly pained by these bloody confrontations, we ardently hope that the war will cease, that all differences can be resolved peacefully and that finally, in new trust and concord, our common struggle for the attainment of the objectives and the triumph of the ideals required by the common destiny of our peoples will prevail.

70. We hope that Iraq and Iran, going beyond these present rifts, can meet once more in the real struggle which is

ours: the struggle against imperialism and zionism and for the economic liberation of the third world.

71. In the Mediterranean, the island of Cyprus, which in its inalienable sovereignty has a natural inclination to remain generously and peacefully open to the two peoples that possess obvious ethnic affinities with its own, has for six years seen its independence and national unity placed in jeopardy. The international community, which defined ways and means for a final solution of the problem of Cyprus, is placing great hopes in the resumption of the intercommunal talks. We venture to believe that they will rapidly achieve agreement on the future of that land, whose destiny remains conditional upon the capacity for coexistence of the two communities which formed a nation and a State whose endangerment neither can accept.

72. It is a fact that, thanks to subtle dialectics of calculated risk, an open world war has so far been avoided. However, the danger, far from being removed, has increasingly taken on the disturbing appearance of being inevitable in a world which seems tempted to suicide.

73. Because the exacerbation of tension spares no sphere of international life, because the paralysis of the collective security system has shown that the regulatory machinery of the existing international system is ill-adopted, it is urgent to respond to the elementary need to make the security of the world the concern of everybody. Responding to that positive demand means having the courage to break with traditional approaches, so as to get back to the primary causes of the conflict and eliminate the manifestations of that conflict.

74. This kind of quest for international peace and security requires global solutions which necessarily include the completion of the decolonization process, the full prosperity and sovereignty of States, recognition of and respect for the right of development exercised in independence and freedom and protected from all kinds of interventions and pressures. This obviously presupposes the dismantling of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dissolution of military alliances, so as to bring about general and complete disarmament.

75. Whereas general and complete disarmament during the first years of our Organization was the subject of precise and specific negotiations, since that time we have been led more and more towards partial negotiations on limited measures without any significant effect on a real disarmament process. Measures for controlling armaments have been adopted but, to say the least, they have not triggered an irreversible movement towards the halting of production, and the gradual reduction followed by the complete elimination of stockpiles and existing nuclear-weapon carriers.

76. In this respect, while the signing of the SALT II agreement led us to believe that a ceiling would be placed on nuclear armaments, the postponement of ratification portends, on the contrary, that there has been a dangerous acceleration in the arms race.

77. This renewed spirit of confrontation has already been reflected by an increased military presence in regions which are considered to be nerve centres. This redeployment of the forces of imperialism by a feverish quest for new bases, in

particular in the Middle East, in Africa and in the Indian Ocean and by the establishment and consolidation of rapid means of intervention, as well as the right that those forces disdainfully arrogate to themselves here and there to protect the maritime routes and supply sources of raw materials and energy, disregarding the sovereignty of States, are harbingers of new attacks upon the security of our countries.

78. The third world places great hopes in the attainment of the objectives, albeit modest, of the first Disarmament Decade, and finds in the reasons for its undeniable failure fresh proof of the inadequacy of any approach bereft of imperative goals in a binding time frame, the effect of which would allow the progressive succession of various stages leading to general and complete disarmament.

79. That is why the second Disarmament Decade, conceived as an operational stage to attain the ultimate objective, must necessarily lead to the conclusion of the ongoing negotiations in respect of the priorities established by the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [*see resolution S-10/2*].

80. The coincidence of the second Disarmament Decade and the Third United Nations Development Decade shows the close dovetailing of problems confronting humanity, calls for bold and forthright action to establish a climate of peace which would wrench man's genius from his destructive folly and place it at the service of development and the growing prosperity of peoples.

81. Disorder and injustice which mark international relations are reflected even more blatantly in the world economy.

82. The basic demand for a new international economic order, in consonance with the needs of a world in constant flux, has regularly met with a lack of political will among certain developed countries.

83. This attitude reveals tenacious resistance to the re-fashioning of the present structures, re-fashioning which is seen as an unacceptable challenge. At the same time, this attitude shows a will to perpetuate a system of international relations although it has amply demonstrated its incapacity to promote a fair distribution of well-being and prosperity.

84. It is in this context that we see renewed attempts to conceal the real problems of the new international economic order by actions that would try to focus dialogue on a partial vision, underscoring the warped idea of interdependence and a false approach to development perceived as the mere satisfaction of essential needs.

85. The fact that over the last six years the General Assembly has met three times in special sessions devoted to development shows clearly the will of the international community to make this forum a universal crucible where the new international economic order could take form, a new order based on a new idea of a solitary and united future of our world.

86. The fact that the United Nations has been opposed in its new historic mission by some of the founding Members themselves and that the question of the legality—even the

legitimacy—of the mandate for the implementation of the new international economic order entrusted to it is being challenged does not at all shake our faith in the ability of the General Assembly to complete, in equity, equality and respect for mutual advantage, a necessary work for the benefit of all.

87. The eleventh special session was held in a critical environment marked in particular by deepening structural imbalances in the world economy and a reaffirmation of an ever obvious phenomenon: the "development of under-development" in ever more vast areas of the third world. It was to contribute, on the basis of a calm evaluation, free of complacency, of the implementation of the new international economic order, to bridging the wide gap separating statements of intent from effective action; it was to bring about a qualitatively new stage in international co-operation for development.

88. We had hoped at the time that the special session could launch the process of global negotiations and that an international strategy could be adopted that would lead to real universal action for development. It would have thus breathed new life into the work of restructuring the current world economic order.

89. Once more people failed to see reason, to the great detriment of all.

90. What lessons can we learn from the North-South dialogue and, beyond that, the establishment of the new international economic order?

91. The fact that three countries, by their rejection of a text which went far along the path of compromise, impeded the attainment of consensus on procedural aspects of the global negotiations highlights the disquieting existence of the tyranny of the "minority of a minority" exercised against the vast majority.

92. In truth, the process of democratization of the international economic decision cannot remain eternally blocked by a policy of "enclaves". Actions which have an impact on all aspects of international economic relations cannot continue to fall exclusively within the purview and competence of private clubs.

93. In the same way, it would be serious were we to take into account only the renewed strength of the world economy as a central element in the global negotiations. While it is true that the crisis is serious and affects all our economies, nevertheless we should not ignore the fact that under-development preceded it and will survive the crisis if the restructuring process and the institutional change which are so necessary are not undertaken.

94. Accordingly, the establishment of the new international economic order, with the need to restructure and recast our institutions, cannot be satisfied with an initiative directed towards meeting essential needs only. Although those problems are important, they should not side-step the main issue, that is, the fact that they are only the most disgraceful manifestations of the state of under-development that this present system of international economic relations has created, perpetuated and aggravated.

95. In the final analysis, the Strategy for the Third Development Decade is in danger of side-stepping its primary vocation, which remains the development of the developing countries. A move is being made to make it seem as if the world economy is being managed jointly; it is part of the initiative to pervert interdependence, because interdependence hides the difference in structure that exists in the economies of various countries.

96. It is an understatement, therefore, to say that the eleventh special session has not lived up to the expectations of the developing world.

97. We remain, for our part, staunchly devoted to the proposal for global negotiations. Likewise, we remain convinced that this initiative, provided that we want and know how to seize the opportunity, can contribute in a decisive manner to the promotion of genuine international co-operation and the establishment of an international strategy restored both in its dimension and its primary vocation. In this respect, coming shortly after the failure of the eleventh special session, the support and commitment pledged by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC]—which met recently at Vienna in a triministerial conference—to the global negotiations process, within the framework of the United Nations, have assumed a particularly important meaning.

98. In this context we remain ready, for our part, to pursue consultations on the global negotiations during the current session so that those negotiations can be launched on the date originally scheduled.

99. This willingness stems first and foremost from our faith in the capacity of dialogue and concerted action to resolve problems, provided that the necessary political will exists to do so. It also shows our conviction in the capacity of dialogue to promote the quest for the solutions necessary to handle the world economic crisis and to overcome the structural obstacles to development. It proceeds, finally, from our faith in the inevitable advent of what we are fighting for: the establishment of the new international economic order which global negotiations can and must accelerate.

100. Among the great causes that the United Nations has favoured, we must mention specifically the work of decolonization, which has been incessantly fuelled by the vigour and unshakeable determination of peoples fighting for their national liberation.

101. In congratulating ourselves today on the admission to our Organization of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, a country to which we wish a warm welcome to the concert of nations, we are, by so doing, noting with satisfaction both the progress of peoples in the reconquest of their freedom and a new step towards the universality of the United Nations.

102. Twenty years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which it would be appropriate to hail in a special resolution of our thirty-fifth session, the restoration of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence has obviously imbued our

society. However, there are still peoples today who continue to be deliberately held away from the light of history by force of arms.

103. In Palestine as in South Africa, in Namibia as in Western Sahara, the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination is the direct source of conflict situations which, through bloody confrontation and ferocious repression, condemn men to suffer physically the scourge of oppression and war. Although these colonial wars act as catalysts of the energies of the popular masses determined to shake off the yoke of bondage, they none the less constitute, because of their magnitude and their growth, serious threats to international peace and security.

104. The same is true for the dangerous evolution of the situation in the Middle East. While the Palestinian people continues to be deprived of its inalienable right to independent national existence, while Arab territories remain occupied despite the constantly repeated injunctions of the international community, the pursuit of a partial arrangement flouting the rights of self-determination and sovereignty and the independence of the Palestinian people has only encouraged the policy of *fait accompli* and increased the intransigence and expansionist appetites of the Zionist entity.<sup>3</sup> The international community is more than ever capable of appreciating the fallacious nature of the imperialist-Zionist initiative and the extent of the surrender of the Egyptian régime. The situation which resulted from the Camp David accords<sup>3</sup> and the Washington Treaty<sup>4</sup> is not peace. Indeed, exploiting the neutralization of the human and material potential of Egypt, the Zionist entity has been pursuing with ever greater determination its policy of aggression, conquest and Zionization of the entire Palestinian homeland.

105. Concomitant with the unending attacks by the forces of Zionist aggression on martyred Lebanon with the obvious aim of breaking the solidarity among fraternal Arab peoples, the Zionist attempt to provide a legal foundation for its annexation of the holy city of Al Quds stems from the same ideological and strategic aspirations and shows the utter scorn of the Zionist leaders for the norms of international law and ethics. Coming as it did when at its seventh special emergency session devoted to the question of Palestine, the General Assembly, in its resolution ES-7/2, was setting 15 November 1980 as the date for the withdrawal of the Zionist forces of occupation and administration from all the Arab occupied territories, the annexation of Al Quds quite rightly gave rise to universal obloquy. Once more paralysed by the abuse of the right of veto, the Security Council, whose very credibility called for an energetic reaction, finally, after a hesitation that was scarcely justified in view of the gravity and obviousness of the crime, associated its voice with the concert of verbal condemnations, whereas the situation created required the adoption of mandatory sanctions.

106. In the face of the upsurge of perils in this sorely tried region, the only alternative left for genuine peace with the

<sup>3</sup> Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.



re-establishment of the national rights of the Palestinian people, seems to be, obviously, general conflagration—which is virtually happening, as no one can pretend to be unaware. These gloomy prospects, while they give the lie to the trumpeted optimism of the supporters of the Camp David process, place the responsibility of the international community in its rightful context. The latter, through the voice of the General Assembly, has, moreover, charted the path of a just and final solution by a series of resolutions, the application of which is encountering Zionist obstruction. The Palestinian people, whose just cause has been ever more widely recognized, is resolved, under the guidance of the PLO, its sole authentic representative, to secure its national rights. From its heroic combat, which has already marked a milestone in the epic of the liberation of peoples, victory will inevitably ensue.

107. In the imperialist strategy—which by creating hot spots seeks to prevent the peoples from controlling the conditions of their existence—the state of insecurity established in the Middle East quite naturally finds its counterpart in southern Africa.

108. The odious policy of *apartheid* which, in this latter part of the twentieth century, is without question one of the most cruel insults to man's dignity, and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia would hardly have been possible without the complacent attitude in the Western world from which the racist régime of Pretoria benefits. Strengthened by this support, South Africa is still trying to contain the inexorable tide of the liberation of peoples, despite the fact that the brilliant victory of the people of Zimbabwe has reduced the area of colonial domination on the continent and confirms the pointlessness of such persistence condemned by the march of history. The incessant acts of aggression against the territorial integrity of Angola, Botswana and Zambia stem from hegemonistic designs, to which nuclear armament gives a disquieting magnitude, and require drastic measures on the part of the international community so that international law may triumph.

109. In the situation in Namibia there is hardly any movement towards the exercise of the right of self-determination and independence by the people of that Territory. On the contrary, recent unilateral measures, such as the establishment of the so-called "Council of Ministers" at Windhoek, confirm the apprehensions that we voiced when a settlement plan was put forward by five Western Powers.

110. Notwithstanding the laudable efforts of the front-line countries to make a contribution to the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the decolonization of the Territory and the responsible willingness of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, Pretoria continues to wreck by its intransigence any serious, definitive solution. The dilatory tactics of South Africa and its allies highlight their strategic aim—which is, in Namibia as elsewhere, to set up authorities there which give the illusion of change while entrenching their own position of domination and exploitation of peoples.

111. The United Nations Council for Namibia, the sole Administering Authority of the Territory until it attains independence, fully understands this and advocated in its Algiers Declaration, adopted during its last extraordinary

plenary meetings held at Algiers from 28 May to 1 June 1980 [A/35/285-S/13991, annex], the use of binding economic sanctions against South Africa.

112. In that Africa which is still marked by the stigmas of colonization and which is making every endeavour to achieve its emancipation, Western Sahara was occupied at the very moment when its people were getting ready to acquire freedom as the fruit of their struggle.

113. In adopting at its thirty-fourth session resolution 34/37 on Western Sahara, the General Assembly, as in previous resolutions, put the problem of thwarted decolonization back into its true context. It has never ceased to recognize the basically colonial character of the situation prevailing in this Territory. Its responsibility, therefore, with respect to a just and final solution, remains complete.

114. In reiterating its unswerving devotion to the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara, in recognizing that the struggle that it is waging is legitimate, in requesting Morocco to withdraw its troops from the Territory and in associating with the POLISARIO<sup>5</sup> Front in the search for a just and final solution of the problem, the United Nations has taken upon itself the commitment to see to it that the process of the liberation of that Territory is completed.

115. Already recognized by at least 42 States Members of our Organization, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic has asserted its existence by its military victories and diplomatic successes, which is striking confirmation of its attainment of the majority required by the Charter of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] for its accession to the continental organization.

116. The OAU outlined the principles for a just settlement of the question of Western Sahara and entrusted an *ad hoc* Committee, which has already completed its task, with working out the modalities for the exercise by the Sahraoui people of its right to self-determination and independence.

117. The United Nations, whose competence and responsibility in the matter of the decolonization of Western Sahara remain complete, is duty-bound to draw all the necessary consequences from the persistent refusal of Morocco to recognize that the Sahraoui people have a right to self-determination and independence.

118. This thirty-fifth session is an opportunity to engage in a mature and responsible evaluation of our collective experience within this universal body and to reflect on the ways in which we can strengthen its role and enhance its effectiveness.

119. If the primary advantage of our Organization is the fact that it exists, fidelity to the profession of faith of its peoples opened up by its Charter requires that we be ever more exacting with respect to our Organization. As strong as our belief in its ability to fulfil its mission of transforming international relations is our apprehension at seeing it confined to the minor function of a mere forum, where the

<sup>5</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

aspirations of the greater number of States are confronting the obstacle of a private club of Powers.

120. The necessary changes in its structure should be made, without delay, as should the indispensable improvements in its working methods.

121. The legitimate anxiety to improve our Organization is justified not only by the fact that its foundations were laid in the absence of two thirds of the present membership, but also by the quest for a new impetus, the need for which is felt with ever greater acuteness. Such an undertaking requires a renewed vision on the part of all Member States, and in particular of those whose dominant position in the concert of nations is established by the Charter. That vision should not be limited by the defense of purely national interests. This should give way to an awareness of the contribution that all can make to building a common peace based on justice and freedom. There is an urgent need, therefore, to redress the imbalances between principles and actions in order to give meaning to the sovereign equality of all States, and therefore, to promote the collective responsibility with regard to the future of mankind.

122. The democratization of international relations presupposes, quite naturally, the democratization of the Organization itself. This stage in the life of the United Nations is not merely a moral imperative. It is also the guarantee of a greater scrupulousness and, through a true fellowship of nations, responsibility for the interests of the majority without ignoring those of the minority. The effectiveness of the Organization can only be increased by this process.

123. Because it was itself so long oppressed, Algeria has always considered it its sacred duty to give expression in this body to the cries of the oppressed of this world for the establishment of a new international order that would banish for ever colonialism, racial discrimination, the exploitation of man by man and the law of the strongest.

124. We are fully aware that the United Nations directs its action along these lines. But that impetus given it for two decades now by the "forgotten people of history", who, directly they became masters of their own destiny, turned to the United Nations, has unfortunately been slowed down by the heavy burden of uncompleted work and imperfect achievements.

125. In a universe where the prodigious conquests of science have given man the means of succeeding in the preparation of a better future for coming generations as well as, alas, in driving mankind to its own destruction, the United Nations has more than ever the duty to meet the aspirations of the peoples.

126. Bearer of our hope because it shows the constancy of the universal accession to the ideals that we celebrate at each of our sessions, this session, which marks 35 years of existence of the United Nations, is an ideal moment for renewing our commitment to work resolutely for the well-being of all in an era of peace, justice and co-operation so as to open up a page of history that is at last human.

127. Mr. MAYE ELA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I begin by extending to the President, on behalf of Lieutenant-Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Supreme Military Council, his Government and my delegation, and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session. His outstanding qualities as a diplomat, added to his skill and experience in international political affairs, are sufficient guarantees of the success of our deliberations.

128. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, outgoing President of the thirty-fourth session, for his valuable contribution to the solution of the pressing questions that arose during his tenure. Mr. Salim discharged with dignity, impartiality, dedication and dynamism the arduous task of conducting the debates of this General Assembly.

129. May I likewise extend my congratulations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of this Organization, for his exhaustive, objective and lucid presentation of the report on the activities of the United Nations during the period under review [A/35/I]. As always, Mr. Waldheim has spared no effort in his search for solutions to the socio-economic problems and international disputes besetting the world today. Our tribute to the Secretary-General is based on the fact that he has honoured with his presence in Africa, Europe, Asia and America all those international events that made his presence necessary and where his contribution was always highly appreciated.

130. I should like to take this opportunity to convey our sincere congratulations and to extend a welcome to the representatives of the fraternal peoples of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose countries have increased the membership of the great family of the United Nations. We are convinced that their presence not only reaffirms the universality of our Organization, but also will help to strengthen its effectiveness.

131. A year ago, the delegation of the Government of the Supreme Military Council informed this Assembly of the changes that had taken place in Equatorial Guinea after the blow struck for freedom on 3 August 1979. Today we have come here to reaffirm before this Assembly our deep satisfaction with the peace, calm and harmony which at present reign in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

132. We must not forget that our country was bankrupt, without economic reserves, without international credibility, because it was unable to meet its commitments, and with its best cadres either in jail or in exile. That was the situation which we had to confront with determination and in an orderly manner. For that reason, it is no secret to anyone that our country, in this initial period of hopeful national reconstruction, is encountering serious difficulties of every kind: administrative, economic, financial, social, and so on. It is precisely within this context that we wish to present to this Assembly an account of the efforts being made by the Government of the Supreme Military Council to rehabilitate and rebuild our people.

133. In the educational sector, in order to restore an organized system of education in the country, we have

resumed activities and intensified them with the signature of co-operation agreements with a number of friendly countries and international organizations.

134. In the field of health, my Government, barely one year after it took office, has rehabilitated all hospitals and dispensaries. In the context of these efforts, a bill was enacted to regulate free medical and pharmaceutical assistance to various sectors of the population, in particular children and pregnant women. We have intensified and improved considerably our relations with international organizations, such as UNICEF, WHO and many others in the health field. We have received humanitarian and medical assistance from the World Food Programme and WHO. Lastly, may I point out that, after overcoming great difficulties, given the scarcity of our present financial resources, but constantly bearing in mind its social duty, the Government of the Supreme Military Council has made purchases of medical supplies and hospital equipment amounting to over \$2 million.

135. As we are primarily an agricultural country, our action has focused on the improvement of the rural sector, which we regard as indispensable for our economy if we are to ensure the viability of this vital activity which was abandoned during the last decade. We have reached the conclusion that a coherent agricultural programme is basic to the economic development of our country. Thus the Government of the Supreme Military Council has granted credits to farmers amounting to \$5 million for the purpose of restoring our plantations. Bearing in mind the importance we attach to the recovery of agriculture, we have also decided to return to their former foreign owners their agricultural properties. With the help of FAO, the Government of Equatorial Guinea has begun to restore the poultry farms which were in a state of great neglect. In the context of these endeavours, we must however emphasize the enormous difficulties that the shortage of labour causes to the effectiveness of our work in all sectors.

136. We attach equal importance to the fundamental right to information, and in this connection the Supreme Military Council has decided to inject new life into the media of social communication, especially the press, radio and television, which had remained silent during the decade of dictatorship.

137. In the labour area, and to redress the shortcomings and arbitrariness which prevailed in this sector, the Government has enacted a decree on the general organization of work. Thus, workers' salaries have been considerably increased and labour conditions improved.

138. In the industrial sector, we are laying emphasis on the restoration of installations which were inactive during the last decade, and the city of Malabo, the capital of the nation, which had been plunged into darkness for eight years, has been electrified and illuminated. In this same context, a hydroelectric plant is being built on our continent.

139. In the social sector, we are beginning the task of national reconstruction by imposing scrupulous respect for human rights and social justice. Thus, the first question tackled by the Government was the reorganization of the State and, within that spirit of reconciliation, it ordered the immediate release of all political prisoners who filled the

jails and concentration camps in the country; the reinstatement in their jobs of all civil servants dismissed from their posts for political reasons; the reopening of all churches, thus restoring freedom of worship; and, in particular, it decreed a general amnesty, allowing the return to our country of all those nationals who had taken asylum abroad as a result of the brutal oppression, the persecution of every kind, the hunger and the poverty that then prevailed in Equatorial Guinea.

140. In the public works, housing, urban planning and transport sectors, major infrastructural work is being carried out, such as the repairing of the road network, airports and ports, the building of new houses and urbanizing of the main towns; and similar efforts are being made to endow the country with sufficient means of transport by land, air and sea.

141. As regards the integration of Guinean women into the national reconstruction process, the Government of the Supreme Military Council has set up a State Secretariat for the promotion of women and their integration into Guinean society. We intend thereby to express in practical terms the importance we attach to the participation of Guinean women in the national development process.

142. In the private sector, we have restored to Guinean and foreign citizens the property which was taken away from them by the former régime. At the same time, we have adopted a policy of free trade and granted important credits to Guinean and foreign citizens engaged in trade.

143. I have provided a brief summary of the efforts made by the Government of the Supreme Military Council in the short span of the one year of its existence. However, I should like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of this Assembly to the fact that, despite our efforts, the crisis continues and this demands our unflagging pursuit of the line of conduct we have set ourselves and requires that, in a spirit of solidarity, we request international collaboration and co-operation in the quest for a solution to our problems.

144. Thus, from this rostrum, I wish to express the profound and sincere gratitude of the Government of the Supreme Military Council to all the friendly countries and international organizations whose valuable assistance is making a significant contribution to the process of national reconstruction that we have undertaken.

145. Despite the persistent efforts of the Supreme Military Council to overcome the difficult situation that our country is experiencing, there is still much to be done. The various problems confronting my Government in its efforts to achieve the normalization and reconstruction of my country are so many and so acute that, for lack of time, we shall refrain from giving an exhaustive list of them here. However, for your information, I should like to refer to the report prepared by the United Nations mission headed by Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, who recently visited my country. That report, contained in document A/35/447, clearly and concisely reflects the situation actually prevailing in Equatorial Guinea at present. May I therefore take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government our sincere gratitude to Mr. Farah and his delegation for the quality of the work he has

submitted to us and for the great dedication with which he endeavoured to become personally acquainted with the difficulties of every kind that at present beset my country. The sacrifices made by Mr. Farah in the fulfilment of his mission have won him the praise and admiration of the people and of the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

146. The Supreme Military Council, an institution born of the will of the people to improve the image of Equatorial Guinea which, for one long decade, had been the symbol of anarchy and of a retrograde policy of total isolation, has set itself the priority task of regaining for our country, through a sincere, coherent and objective foreign policy, sufficient credibility in the community of nations, so as to be able to return to it proudly as a free nation, free not only because of the fact of its independence, but because it seeks the freedom of all its citizens as a priority.

147. From the very first moment the Government of the Supreme Military Council undertook, with firm determination and conviction, the process of opening fruitful relations with all peace-loving countries, while scrupulously respecting the principles and objectives proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, that of the OAU and that of the non-aligned movement.

*Mr. Niasse, (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

148. We wish to make special mention of the importance that the Government of the Supreme Military Council attaches to the continued development of fruitful good-neighbourly relations with the fraternal peoples of Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe, Cameroon and Nigeria, with whom we feel indissolubly linked by tradition and history. These age-old relations of brotherhood deteriorated sharply under the former régime. For this reason and in order to revive peaceful coexistence among our peoples, the President of the Supreme Military Council paid state visits to Gabon and Cameroon and took part in the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

149. In parallel to the fraternal and good-neighbourly relations which I have mentioned, the policy of *rapprochement* of the Government of the Supreme Military Council is invariably directed towards all the other sister African nations, while at the same time we are establishing fruitful relations of co-operation in other continents with countries, which are determined to contribute to the national reconstruction process that we have undertaken.

150. We must praise here the great encouragement that the people of Equatorial Guinea have drawn from the presence and active participation of the Kingdom of Spain in the work of reconstruction that we have undertaken.

151. Spain provided valuable assistance to our country in all sectors after the changes that took place on 3 August 1979 and the future prospects for our co-operation appear to be very promising. I cannot fail to state from this rostrum the sincere gratitude of the people and the Government of Equatorial Guinea to the people and the Government of the Kingdom of Spain for this fraternal gesture that they have made and are still making in our regard.

152. In the context of hispanic integration and as was emphasized by the President of the Supreme Military Council during his visit to the Kingdom of Spain last May, Equatorial Guinea has undertaken to work for the establishment of relations with the Ibero-American countries, while at the same time advocating the doctrine of Afro-Ibero-Americanism.

153. We likewise highly appreciate and attach great importance to the political credibility and confidence that the Government of the Supreme Military Council has earned for itself in international bodies, at the political, economic and social levels. At the economic level, we must stress here the valuable aid, credit, subsidies and technical assistance granted by UNDP, IMF, the World Bank, UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, FAO, the European Economic Community, the African Development Bank, the League of Arab States and OPEC, all of which contribute considerably to the national reconstruction process.

154. The international situation as a whole is one of our greatest concerns, as a result of the serious and many problems that characterize it at present. The hotbeds of tension and hostility that exist in vast areas of our planet; the injustice that persists in trade systems; the increasingly unfavourable imbalance in our balance of payments; the galloping inflation which assails our economies—these, in our opinion, constitute the fundamental causes of the alarming situation we have mentioned. We believe that the elimination of that situation of generalized crisis should be one of the priorities of our Organization. The solution of this international crisis could depend to some degree on the sincere political will that should govern negotiations between the industrialized nations and the third world.

155. We reaffirm that our foreign policy will in no way change in its orientation and its concept of scrupulous respect for the principles of peaceful international coexistence and the establishment and strengthening of more just and effective relations of friendship and co-operation among nations.

156. Despite the moderation shown by the leaders of the nationalist movement SWAPO, in accepting the United Nations plan for Namibia, South Africa obstinately continues its illegal occupation of the Territory and the perpetuation of its ignominious policy of *apartheid* and racism, with the creation of puppet movements as instruments used by the racist South African Government to continue its illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia. The Government of the Supreme Military Council strongly condemns the dilatory manoeuvres of the racist South African Government to hinder the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. We resolutely support the armed struggle to which SWAPO is committed as the only means of establishing the sovereignty and independence of its people.

157. We also condemn most strongly the military incursions made by South Africa into Angola, using the territory of Namibia as a launching ground. In view of the continued refusal of the racist régime of South Africa to respect the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement, the delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea considers that this Assembly



should adopt much more vigorous measures against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. The Government of the Supreme Military Council and the people of Equatorial Guinea are in full solidarity with the Namibian people in its just and legitimate struggle for its sovereignty and independence. In this connection, we resolutely support the resolutions adopted by the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, which was held at Paris from 11 to 13 September 1980 [see A/35/539-S/14220, annex].

158. The continuing demonstrations and demands in Soweto, as well as in other South African cities, are eloquent testimony to the suffering of the people of Azania in their struggle against *apartheid* and the abominable racial system established by the white minority in South Africa.

159. Massacres of the peaceful people of Azania, brutal racist repression, imprisonment and the persistent violation of human rights to which our brothers in Azania are subjected have not prevented them from intensifying unhesitatingly its authentic struggle to win its emancipation and abolish the odious system of *apartheid*. We express our unconditional support for the struggle waged so courageously by the nationalist movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

160. In the context of this struggle for liberation and for the recovery of honour and dignity, I should like to express again our feeling of joy at the recent victory of the heroic people of Zimbabwe, in the belief that its example will bring about a radical change in the obstinate attitude of the racist régime of Pretoria regarding the oppressed people of Azania. The independence of Zimbabwe represents one of the greatest lessons of patriotism of recent years. To that brave people, from this historic rostrum, I extend our warmest congratulations on behalf of the Supreme Military Council and the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, and especially of its President, Lieutenant-Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo.

161. Our continent is passing through crucial moments in its history, with the intensification of hostilities which threaten the destruction and annihilation of our peoples: from the situation in Chad, through that in Western Sahara, to that in Ogaden, we are witnessing a great scenario of fratricidal wars which threaten not only the existence of the peoples of those regions but also the stability and security of our continent.

162. In connection with these hotbeds of tension, the Government of the Supreme Military Council considers that our efforts should be concentrated on the search for an African solution to those problems.

163. With regard to the Middle East, we are convinced that we shall be unable to achieve a just and lasting peace in the region as long as the rights of the Palestinian people continue to be trampled underfoot by Israel. My Government considers that stable peace in that region will be possible only through a comprehensive solution to the problem, with the participation of all the parties involved, including the PLO. The continued unlawful occupation by Israel of Arab territories and its refusal to recognize the inalienable

right of the Palestinian people to establish a State on its own territory constitute the greatest obstacle to the achievement of a viable settlement of the Middle East conflict. This situation was aggravated again by the recent decision of the Israeli Government to make Jerusalem the eternal capital of its State. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and defiance of international conscience and morality. On the other hand, we recognize that the comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem requires the recognition by all States of the region of the legitimate right of Israel to national existence within secure boundaries.

164. The peaceful, negotiated resolution of international disputes and the non-use of force or the threat of use of force for the solution of conflicts continue to constitute one of the bases on which rests United Nations action to guarantee peace, stability and peaceful coexistence among nations.

165. For this reason, the Government of the Supreme Military Council of Equatorial Guinea expresses its concern at the latent situation prevailing in Afghanistan, which is likely to bring about a crisis with unforeseeable consequences for mankind.

166. In this context, we also view with concern the holding of American hostages in Teheran, an act which not only constitutes a flagrant violation of international law but also represents an ostensible failure to respect human rights. We consider that the immediate release of the hostages would make an important contribution to the just cause of peace and respect for fundamental human rights.

167. I cannot fail to draw attention to something which I believe is on all our minds at this meeting. Simultaneously with the opening of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, a new situation of conflict arose which threatens world peace and security. I am referring, of course, to the conflict between two countries, Iran and Iraq, whose peoples, however, are united by a common faith.

168. My delegation has confidence in the machinery of the United Nations which it hopes will suffice to restore peace to the region. But I cannot fail to applaud and support the prompt initiative taken at the Islamic Conference in its quest for a rapid settlement of this serious conflict, which adds to the long list of situations endangering world peace and security.

169. Last, and no less disquieting, is the problem of Kampuchea. My country considers that the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the consequent establishment of a climate of mutual confidence among all States in the region would enable the people of Kampuchea to decide on its future freely, without interference.

170. Every day the international economic situation becomes more alarming. We are witnessing a progressive and unbridled deterioration in trade relations between rich countries and developing countries. Our countries, the non-oil-producing developing countries and in particular the least developed countries, are in a desperate situation. These countries are the victims of all kinds of difficulties: balance-of-payments deficits, considerable increase in their external debts, galloping inflation in their economies, and so on.



And, given the insufficient progress achieved in the search for a just and equitable world economic situation, we consider that it is more than ever necessary that this Assembly work out new formulas which will enable the developing countries to reduce and even eliminate the trade inequities which exist today in their trade relations with the industrialized countries.

171. It is regrettable to note the manipulations of the industrialized countries in the North-South dialogue with regard to the Integrated Programme for Commodities;<sup>6</sup> it is essential to have a balanced relationship between the price of manufactured goods and the price of raw materials.

172. A new international economic order will never be achieved until new systems of financing are established, which allow for the continued and independent development of our economies. Such financing should be for long terms and at low interest; it should be placed at the full disposal of the least developed of the developing countries, which would enable us to establish in our development programmes those priorities that would help us overcome our dependency on the industrialized countries.

173. As we stated earlier, trade imbalances, balance-of-payments deficits, the progressive increase of external indebtedness as well as the galloping inflation besetting our economies originate in the international monetary system which currently governs the world. It is clear and obvious that the monetary system imposed over three decades ago no longer meets the current situations since the conditions which then prevailed have disappeared. For that reason, it is imperative to establish a new international monetary system which will prevent the disastrous fluctuations and the cataclysmic economic and financial consequences to which our currencies are today subjected: a new system, not of confiscation or subjugation of the sovereignty and independence of the countries of the third world, but a new international monetary system, with participation by all States in the elaboration and in the implementation of those norms which should govern the relations between rich and poor countries.

174. As regards industrialization, from the seventh special session of the General Assembly on development and international economic co-operation to the Lima,<sup>7</sup> Vienna<sup>8</sup> and New Delhi<sup>9</sup> Conferences, we have always reaffirmed that the industrialization of the developing countries could make a valuable contribution to the raising of the living standards of our peoples. We have repeated in all international forums that, in order to achieve the objective of the industrialization of the third world by the year 2000, the question of the financing of industrialization should take priority in the policy of international development. We have stressed that

there should be an increase in the volume of North-South, East-South and South-South financial contributions necessary for the achievement of the general objectives of development that we have set ourselves.

175. In the African context, we are gratified at the success of the Lagos economic conference, which is the first demonstration of the African will to economic emancipation. We are convinced that the Plan of Action adopted at that conference<sup>10</sup> represents for the United Nations a valuable contribution to the working out of a new international economic order to which we are committed and which will meet the true aspirations of all countries.

176. Despite all the joint efforts and despite the moderation and understanding shown by the developing countries during the current negotiations on the establishment of a convention on the law of the sea, the industrialized countries are still showing their arrogance in attempting to create a selfish law of the sea, by placing their technological potential above the just claims of our peoples. A new international economic order cannot be fair or just until such time as the sovereignty of States over all their natural resources is reaffirmed.

177. Economic justice should be the slogan of the decade which is beginning. So long as injustice and the present economic disorder continue, all our efforts with the objective of establishing a new international economic order will prove fruitless.

178. As regards the recent eleventh special session, devoted to economic problems, we regret to note the abyss that still separates the intransigent and arrogant position of the industrialized countries and the just claims of the developing countries. However, we consider that that special session will no doubt mark a new milestone towards the balanced readjustment of international economic relations and will certainly represent a decisive and laudable step in our collective efforts to establish the new international economic order we have sought to bring about.

179. I should not wish to end this statement without reaffirming on this solemn occasion our conviction of the imperative need to intensify co-operation among nations in the quest for adequate solutions to the problems of development raised by the characteristic features prevailing in each of our countries. We believe that the time has come to move on to the implementation of the principles and ideals we have proclaimed: the ideals of freedom for all, co-operation at all levels, sincere solidarity within reciprocal respect for the independence of each State, and the establishment of a new, more just and more balanced world.

180. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):<sup>11</sup> I should like first of all, Sir, to voice my heartfelt congratulations to Mr. von Wechmar on his unanimous election to the lofty post of President of this session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that with his vast experience of the United

<sup>6</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one, sect. A, resolution 93 (IV).

<sup>7</sup> Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975.

<sup>8</sup> United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979.

<sup>9</sup> Third General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at New Delhi from 21 January to 9 February 1980.

<sup>10</sup> Document A/S-11/14, annex I.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Sipraseuth spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Nations he will guide the work of the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly to fruitful results.

181. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his eminent predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who conducted the work of the last session of the Assembly with skill and devotion.

182. Permit me also to express the great appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his tireless efforts to promote the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

183. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly has opened at a time when the new Disarmament Decade has begun and on the eve of the Development Decade which we hope will mark a new era that will bring humanity peace, justice and progress. The present session will also observe the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, an historic declaration which is due to the fortunate initiative taken by the Soviet Union<sup>12</sup> and one which marked a decisive turning point in the heroic struggle of peoples of several countries in our world to bring about their emancipation. On this occasion we welcome with joy to the United Nations Zimbabwe, which has just recovered its independence, the fruit of a long struggle full of sacrifices. We also welcome the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to our Organization.

184. The decade just ended has left us with a positive balance-sheet of the struggle of peoples for their liberation. The historic victory of the peoples of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam represents a decisive stage in the bankruptcy of the policy of aggression and expansionism of imperialism and international reaction. The victory of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and the recent victory of the people of Zimbabwe in Africa have further strengthened the determination of those still subjected to oppression, colonial domination and anti-democratic régimes to continue their struggle.

185. The victory of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan ushered in a new era of profound political, economic and social changes leading to democracy and progress for the Afghan people. The victory of the Iranian people put an end to Iran's long dependence on American imperialism and to the backward feudalist régime that had held sway for centuries. The victory of the people of Nicaragua set a brilliant example for the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against the Fascist dictatorial régimes in that continent. The great victory of 7 January 1979 of the people of Kampuchea and the victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people against Chinese aggression in February 1979 have inflicted an ignominious defeat on the expansionist and hegemonist policy of the leaders of Peking in collusion with the imperialists.

186. The decade just ended has also provided us with numerous proofs that, despite their successive defeats, the forces of imperialism and international reaction are still bent

on perpetuating the old, retrograde political and economic order, indulging in the frenetic arms race, creating tensions and hotbeds of war and interfering in the internal affairs of States. However, a glance at the international situation since the last session of the General Assembly enables us to state that it has undergone a positive evolution towards peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

187. Nevertheless, the imperialist circles and the forces of international reaction have tried to revive the climate of the cold war and to sabotage the peaceful development of peoples. This dangerous attempt, unless it is countered, may well challenge the cause of peace and international security and plunge the world into a new disaster. The peoples of the world must redouble their vigilance and act energetically to suppress this negative trend and guarantee peace and security to mankind.

188. In South-East Asia, after the brilliant victory won by force of arms over the American imperialists, the three peoples of Indo-China, instead of being able to enjoy their new-found peace and independence, are now faced with the danger of aggression and expansion.

189. The leaders of Peking have for some time now been pursuing towards the three countries of Indo-China an openly hostile policy aimed at sabotaging peace and the building of socialism in those countries and at dominating them and using them as a bridge-head for their expansionist designs in South-East Asia. In order to achieve their evil purposes, they have tried, in collusion with the imperialists and other reactionaries, to pit the other countries of South-East Asia, in particular Thailand, against the three countries of Indo-China, to divide the three, Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese nations, to sow discord and division among each of these three peoples. These activities, which have bred tension in South-East Asia, endanger the peace and security of that part of the world.

190. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, in joining several other countries to request the inclusion on the agenda of the present session of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119], intends to work positively to establish in that region a climate of peace and co-operation that will put an end to the tension that now prevails there. We attach great importance to the debate in the General Assembly on that item, and we hope that a positive outcome will result from it.

191. After an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle lasting more than 30 years, the Lao people is deeply committed to peace in order that it may turn to the work of national defence and construction. The three peoples, Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese, united in their struggle for peace and national liberation, are more than ever determined together to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity won at the price of such great sacrifices. They are determined to defend at all costs their peaceful work to consolidate peace and stability in the region, together with all the peoples of South-East Asia. The Declaration issued at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 17 and 18 July 1980 [A/35/347-S/14071, annex I], sets forth constructive and reasonable proposals that have received the increasingly

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

active support of peace-loving countries and forces throughout the world. They reflect the will of the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples to live on good terms with their neighbours in South-East Asia and to seek the settlement of all questions, whether they be bilateral or of common interest to the region, through peaceful negotiations based on mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political persuasion and on non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

192. But it is extremely regrettable that the goodwill of the Governments of the three countries of Indo-China have come up against the obstacle set in their path by the leaders of Peking who, acting in close collaboration with the imperialists and using a group of extreme-right reactionaries in the Thai governing circles as pawns, have mounted a vast conspiracy against the peoples of Indo-China. The armed acts of provocation on the Thai-Kampuchean border in June this year, provocations which took place at the same time as the so-called "voluntary repatriation" operations of the Kampuchean refugees launched with inflammatory propaganda, the campaign of slander and denigration waged by the leaders of Peking and the extreme-right reactionaries in the governing circles of Thailand against Viet Nam and the armed acts of provocation against Laos of 14 and 15 June this year emanating from the Thai side and leading to the closing of the Thai-Lao border on the very eve of those that occurred on the Thai-Kampuchean border—all are an integral part of the aforementioned conspiracy. The peoples of Indo-China, who have suffered through many years of war against imperialist aggression, are fully aware of these manoeuvres, which are irrevocably doomed to failure.

193. Because they fought for decades against colonialist and imperialist aggression and oppression, the peoples of Indo-China attach inestimable importance to peace and cleave to independence, freedom and the construction of a better life in their respective countries. And more especially as Laos, a country with just over 3 million inhabitants, has never been and never will be a threat to any neighbour whatsoever. That is why we have, along with Kampuchea and Viet Nam, called upon the countries of South-East Asia to work together with us for the consolidation of peace and stability in the area and for a mutually advantageous co-operation. In proposing the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral treaties of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence between ourselves and the countries of ASEAN and other countries in South-East Asia, the settlement of differences through peaceful means and the creation of a zone of peace and stability, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are convinced that such proposals provide solid bases which will lead to a genuine and lasting peace.

194. The negative reply to these proposals only helps the manoeuvres of the imperialists and international reactionaries for maintaining the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" [item 22] on the agenda of this session. It does not create a climate propitious for dialogue; it is an attempt to mislead world opinion regarding the real situation in Kampuchea. Their propaganda and their treacherous manoeuvres attempt to create confusion, to preserve the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations for a criminal gang, that of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, and to interfere in the internal

affairs of Kampuchea and other countries in the region, and those manoeuvres will not be able to deceive peace-loving and justice-loving peoples.

195. The facts with regard to Kampuchea are that, after having risen *en masse* against the genocidal régime and after having toppled it once and for all, the Kampuchean people is now exercising its right to self-determination and has become the master of its own destiny. At the present time, under the guidance of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the only legitimate and legal representative of the country, it has made immense efforts to reconstruct the country and normalize its life after long years of war against imperialist aggression and three and one half years of the genocidal régime. The Kampuchean people is now in full control. Persisting in its wish to resuscitate a régime which has been condemned by the whole world and to have it represented in the United Nations, is not only contrary to the legitimate rights of the Kampuchean people and the Charter of the United Nations, but also an insult to the conscience of those peoples who are imbued with the love of peace and humanity in the world.

196. My country, as many other countries, deems that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea must occupy its rightful place in our Organization. That Council, apart from the fact that it is the sole legitimate and legal representative of the people of Kampuchea, is constantly animated by the sincere desire to live on good terms with its neighbours and to settle all differences through peaceful negotiations.

197. This attitude is clearly reflected in its statements and in its foreign policy. Its four-point proposal, which was endorsed by the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane in July this year, is a just and realistic proposal which seeks to reduce tension and establish a climate of trust between Thailand and Kampuchea, as a prelude to a mutually advantageous co-operation between the peoples of those two countries. Not to take this constructive proposal seriously into consideration is not only to reject peace and stability, the noble objectives for which the peoples of the region have ceaselessly worked, but also to fall into the trap of the expansionists and imperialists who wish to fish in troubled waters and accomplish their evil designs. This attitude is not in the interests of the peoples, nor is it in the interest of the peace and security of South-East Asia and of the world.

198. The Republic of India, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, which has just officially recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has shown itself to have a wise and realistic policy.

199. My country supports the just position and the conciliatory attitude of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has striven to settle through negotiations the problems between its country and the other countries of South-East Asia. My country also strongly supports the just struggle being waged by the fraternal Vietnamese people to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the acts of aggression and subversion of the reactionary holders of power in China. We support the just position and the attitude of goodwill of the

Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in its efforts to settle through negotiations the disputes between that country and the People's Republic of China. We demand that the reactionary Chinese authorities immediately end all acts of hostility towards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and make possible the immediate opening of the third series of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, as the Vietnamese Government has many times proposed.

200. Since the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic five years ago, the Lao people have made enormous efforts in the task of our country's defence and national construction along the path of socialism which it freely chose. Our choice gave rise to a strong reaction on the part of international reactionaries and imperialists, who have throughout these five years done their utmost, at all levels, to destroy our work of peaceful reconstruction, as they are doing also in the cases of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Notwithstanding all this, the Lao people, united as one man, has succeeded not only in safeguarding its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity but also in achieving successes in several spheres of national construction. These successes are due to the consistent efforts of our whole people under the wise guidance of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. They are inseparable from the militant solidarity and multifarious co-operation between the Lao people and the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, the fraternal and unselfish assistance given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the aid from friendly countries and international organizations, including the United Nations, to which we should like at this time to express once more our profound gratitude.

201. The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has always implemented a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment, a policy of peaceful coexistence and co-operation with neighbouring countries, on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. We welcome the development of special relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, relations of friendship and many-sided co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and relations becoming daily closer with friendly countries. We have developed our relations of friendship and good neighbourliness with the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and other countries of the region. However, we regret that our relations with Thailand, our immediate neighbour, have seriously worsened recently despite our persistent efforts to resolve questions in dispute between the two countries through peaceful negotiations and in a spirit of good neighbourliness. Notwithstanding the recent opening of a crossing point on the border by the Thai authorities, normal relations between the two countries have not yet been re-established. Only the full implementation of the joint communiqués of Laos and Thailand of January and April 1979 will, in our opinion, contribute to improving the relations between the Lao and Thai peoples, who have always been good neighbours.

202. During the past year the imperialists and reactionaries have likewise stirred up tension and created pockets of

discord in other parts of the world, threatening the peace and security of peoples.

203. In South Asia, in particular in Afghanistan, imperialists, together with international reactionaries and others, have exacerbated and continue to exacerbate the crisis by indulging in all sorts of intrigues to promote conflicts that would destroy the achievements of the April 1978 revolution of the Afghan people. We demand that an end be put to all those activities which are acts of interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people, which is entitled to appeal to all friendly countries to defend its independence and sovereignty.

204. We highly appreciate the legitimate and necessary assistance given by the Soviet people to the Afghan people, in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of 5 December 1978 between the two countries as well as with the Charter of the United Nations. We staunchly support the just proposal of President Babrak Karmal designed to settle with neighbouring countries, through peaceful negotiations, all problems concerning peace and security in that region.

205. In the Middle East, the Camp David agreements have led to a complex situation which shifts from day to day in favour of Israel's goals of expansionism and domination over neighbouring Arab territories. Ignoring universal condemnation, the Zionist leaders have ceaselessly proliferated their acts of aggression against the Arab peoples, the last of which was the Israeli decision to make the city of Jerusalem the capital of the Zionist State. Our delegation vehemently condemns that decision, which was declared null and void by the Security Council when it considered that issue. We staunchly support the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to recover their inalienable rights, including the right to establish an independent and sovereign State. My delegation firmly supports the struggle of the other Arab countries to recover all their territories occupied by Israel and to counter the plots of imperialism.

206. We are in favour of respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and condemn Israel's attempts to sabotage and destroy that peaceful little State.

207. We support the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their homeland and for the withdrawal of United States troops stationed in South Korea. We condemn the barbaric acts of repression perpetrated by the authorities of Seoul against the South Korean population.

208. We are profoundly concerned by the strengthening of military bases and the increase in military activities of the United States in the Persian Gulf and in the Indian Ocean, and by the creation of the so-called "rapid deployment" force to defend its allegedly vital interests. These activities constitute a serious threat to the peace and security of all peoples throughout the world. We demand that an end be put to them in order to permit progress towards the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, in accordance with the profound aspirations of the peoples who live on its shores.



209. We should like to assert our unswerving support of the resolute struggle waged by the people and Government of Ethiopia against open acts of aggression by imperialist and reactionary forces to defend the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

210. We are in favour of the full and rigorous implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus.

211. We support the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia, under the guidance of SWAPO, for their national independence and strongly condemn the *apartheid* régime for its obstinate refusal to implement United Nations decisions concerning Namibia, as well as for its criminal racist practices in South Africa.

212. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic which, under the guidance of the POLISARIO Front, has been waging a resolute struggle to bring about the exercise of its basic and sacred national rights.

213. We firmly condemn the acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of Pretoria against the people of Angola and voice our full solidarity with that people, which has been courageously fighting to defend its independence and sovereignty.

214. In Latin America the Cuban people continues to be the victim of an arbitrary blockade by the United States, and a part of its territory is still under the latter's occupation. We side with the Cuban people and demand that the United States put an end to that blockade, give back the Guantánamo base to the Republic of Cuba and stop any attempts to destabilize that part of the world.

215. We welcome the efforts that have been expended for a year now by the people of Nicaragua to rebuild its country and to consolidate the achievements of its revolution, and we wish it even greater success in that work.

216. Puerto Rico is still under colonial domination. Accordingly, we should like to assure the Puerto Rican people of our sympathy and support in its struggle for self-determination and independence.

217. Likewise, we support the valiant struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Bolivia for the full enjoyment of their democratic rights and freedoms.

218. The people of Chile continues to be the victim of the bloody repression by the Fascist régime of Pinochet. Accordingly, we support the valiant struggle of the people of Chile to recover its genuine democratic rights and freedoms.

219. We fully support the tenacious struggle of the peoples and Governments of Grenada, Jamaica and other countries of the region against the manoeuvres of intervention and subversion of the imperialists and their lackeys and in defence of their independence and sovereignty.

220. The negotiations on disarmament measures are progressing too slowly, whereas the arms race is being stepped

up and military expenditures for this year have exceeded the astronomical figure of \$500 billion. This situation cannot go on without doing serious damage to the future of humanity. The will to engage in dialogue on disarmament and on genuine détente should prevail, and the desire to be assured of superiority in arms should be eliminated. That was the attitude that led to the Soviet-United States negotiations on strategic weapons and to the conclusion, last year, of the SALT II agreement, which was applauded by the whole world. But it is extremely regrettable that thus far the agreement has not been ratified by the United States, which does great damage to the climate of détente between East and West and has seriously affected negotiations on disarmament measures decided on at the tenth special session, which was devoted to disarmament.

221. We highly commend the sincere efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the peace-loving countries that have worked resolutely to bring a halt to the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty also have worked with the greatest determination to consolidate international security, strengthen détente and reduce the danger of war, both in Europe and throughout the world. The submission last May by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of a set of peace initiatives, designed to achieve détente in the military sphere and disarmament, was a constructive act firmly supported by my delegation. Likewise, we warmly support the initiative of the Soviet Union to submit for consideration by the current Assembly, as an important and urgent matter: "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" [A/35/241], and the question entitled "Historical responsibility of States for the preservation of nature for present and future generations" [A/35/194]. We hope that the debate on these items will yield positive results. We also support the efforts of the African and Arab States to make Africa and the Middle East nuclear-free zones and we deeply deplore the collaboration of certain Western countries with South Africa and Israel in the sphere of nuclear weapons. We request those countries to put an end to that collaboration, which merely fosters the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

222. Another cause for concern for the developing countries is the protracted crisis besetting the present world economic situation, a crisis bred by the market-economy developed countries, but which has had more serious repercussions on all the developing countries, particularly the least advanced. Undeniably, this crisis stems from the unjust international economic relations at present in force. A remedy must be found. The adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order which would be more just and more equitable gave a glimmer of hope to the developing countries. But the attempts to implement the Declaration and the Programme of Action—contained in General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)—have not yielded any significant results so far. The negotiations embarked upon both within the United Nations context and in the various specialized agencies have led to only meagre results, and the reason for this is the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed capitalist countries, which are clinging to their unjustly acquired privileges. The failure



of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, and the stalemate in the subsequent negotiations held at Geneva are eloquent proof of that.

223. Similarly, the intransigent attitude adopted by certain developed Western countries at the eleventh special session, devoted to economic issues, which has just ended rather ignominiously, only reaffirmed once more the obstinacy of those countries in clinging to the *status quo*. As long as that unreasonable position is maintained, the world economic crisis will only worsen, thus ceaselessly widening the gap which separates the poor countries from the rich countries. This situation is not without risk for international peace and security and can be redressed only by a thoroughgoing and prompt restructuring of the present system of international economic relations. It is therefore in the interests of all States to realize these facts and to adopt an attitude consistent with them.

224. Given the complexity of the international situation, the work of the thirty-fifth session is bound to be difficult. However, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will spare no effort to co-operate with the President so as to contribute to the success of the work of this session.

225. Mr. DIALLO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Our brother, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, to whom I am happy today to pay a tribute, conducted, step by step, with the competence, tact and good humour with which we are familiar, the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions, devoted respectively to the situation in Afghanistan and the question of Palestine, and, finally, the eleventh special session, on international economic co-operation for development. He hands over to Mr. von Wechmar the task, at once enviable and redoubtable, of presiding over the work of the General Assembly. For more than one reason my delegation is happy to see Mr. von Wechmar assume the presidency of the current session because he is, first, the representative of a friendly country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country maintains close and mutually advantageous co-operation. But he is also a talented diplomat, profoundly acquainted with international problems and full of wisdom and experience, all of which are reasons for believing in the successful development of our work. He may be assured of the active co-operation of my delegation.

226. On 24 October the international community will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter of the United Nations, by the adoption of which, in the wake of one of the greatest scourges ever known to mankind, our Governments aroused in the hearts of millions of men and women a ray of hope for a better life, a world of peace and security, justice and equality and economic and social progress for all peoples and countries. What remains of that hope? Very little, unfortunately, because things are not going well.

227. If we take an objective look at the present state of the world at the dawn of the decade of the 1980s, we are obliged to note some bitter facts: that serious hotbeds of tension are

developing, which scarcely give cause for optimism, and that a serious structural crisis is shaking the world's economy.

228. At a time when our Organization is getting ready to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is with bitterness that my Government notes that in Namibia and in South Africa the situation remains dangerously blocked as a result of the delaying tactics of the racist Government of Pretoria. Thus, at the cynical will of the advocates of *apartheid*, African patriots are still subject to the humiliating yoke of colonialism and racial discrimination.

229. The international community has always regarded this state of affairs as prejudicial to international peace and security. It has recognized in *apartheid* a crime against humanity and has expressed unreservedly its moral, material and political support for the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa. Countless resolutions, programmes of action and restraining measures have been adopted in order to eradicate colonialism, racism and *apartheid* from that part of Africa. But despite all efforts, South Africa, knowing it has the support of certain Western Powers, continues insolently and contemptuously to trample underfoot the most elementary principles of law and morality. My Government will never cease to proclaim the profound aversion and disgust it feels regarding racism and *apartheid*, to decry the collaboration which South Africa enjoys and to support unfailingly the liberation struggle carried on by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to recover their dignity, to win their freedom and to participate democratically in the affairs of their country.

230. I am happy in this connection to avail myself of this opportunity at this session to reiterate to the friendly delegation of Zimbabwe the warm congratulations of my Government on its recent admission to this Organization. This is a just tribute paid to the brave people of Zimbabwe, which fought for so many long years for the triumph of freedom and justice.

231. The situation in the Middle East constitutes for my Government another source of concern and disquiet because it is potentially explosive and dangerous for international peace and security. Situated squarely at the crossroads between North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara, having had, since time immemorial, fruitful relations with Arab nations with which it shared a common Islamic culture and civilization and inspired, in all its international actions, by the principles of non-alignment, Niger cannot remain indifferent at the continued occupation of Arab territories by the State of Israel, the latter's repeated aggression against Lebanon and the tragedy of the Palestinian people.

232. It will be readily understood that my Government proclaims its rejection of any acquisition of territory by force, its condemnation of the desecration by Israel of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the transfer to that city of the capital of the Zionist entity, as well as its full support for all the resolutions adopted in various international bodies calling on Israel to withdraw unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since 1967.

233. In this same context, my Government denounces the repression, the harassment and the terror to which Israel has resorted against the Arab populations in the occupied territories, condemns its continued aggression against Lebanon and proclaims its unreserved support of the just cause of the Palestinian people in its struggle to regain its inalienable and imprescriptible rights. In this connection, it must be clearly understood that, in our view, there can be no just, comprehensive and durable solution of the Middle East crisis without the participation on a footing of equality of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all efforts, deliberations and conferences dealing with the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East.

234. While southern Africa and the Middle East call for and deserve greater attention by our Organization, it is equally true that many other hotbeds of tension continue to shake the world. The proliferation of such bloody, often fratricidal, confrontations constitutes a serious threat to the already frail balance that governs the survival of mankind.

235. How long will that balance hold?

236. Niger and its people, like the whole of the Islamic community and other peace-loving and security-loving peoples, deplore the conflict between two neighbourly sister countries with which my country shares the sacred values of Islam—that religion of peace, tolerance, brotherhood and love. I should like to reiterate, on behalf of my Government, the appeal addressed on 24 September last by President Seyni Kountche for an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of an appropriate framework for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq.

237. As we continue our analysis of the present world situation, we cannot fail to be struck with amazement and indignation at, and to express our total reprobation of, the all too frequent recourse to certain actions that are prejudicial to détente, peace and international security. Time after time, we have witnessed these past years the brutal incursion by foreign forces into sovereign and independent States Members of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement.

238. Those brutal incursions by foreign forces into the territories of the Afghan Republic and Kampuchea are, in our eyes, inadmissible and intolerable because they run counter to all the rules of international law. Niger firmly believes in the sacred and inviolable nature of sovereignty and independence of all States and in the right of each people to endow itself with the political, economic and social régime of its choice. Niger, together with nations that love peace, liberty and equality, will continue to strive for the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces and to oppose, as in the past, the recurrence of such actions.

239. I mentioned earlier the world economic crisis among the situations which diminish the hope born of the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, and which do not give us cause for optimism when we consider the present world situation objectively.

240. The continued deterioration of the world economy, accelerated by the steady worsening of the terms of trade,

the ever-widening scientific, economic and technological gulf between developed and developing countries, the disarray in the international monetary system, and the serious food problems confronting most of mankind will lead our countries and peoples, if we are not careful, towards a disaster whose consequences we have barely begun to assess.

241. Much has been written and said about this sorry state of affairs and its distressing prospects.

242. In particular, emphasis has been placed on the despair and poverty in which the greater part of mankind lives, the ever-increasing indebtedness and impoverishment of the third world countries, the implacable encroachment of the desert and the famine which besets or threatens entire populations in many regions of the world.

243. It has also been emphasized that the present international economic order is cynical and unjust, that it is the carrier of potentially dangerous germs, even for the seemingly uncaring empire of the rich.

244. We paradoxically note that all efforts made to remedy this serious situation have thus far been doomed to failure.

245. The First United Nations Development Decade ended without achieving its objectives. The launching, in the early 1970s, of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade suffered the same fate. The negotiations entered into following the sixth special session in 1974, and designed to provide new bases for economic relations between the States of the North and those of the South, did not lead, as was hoped for, to the gradual process of the establishment of the new international economic order. The fine plans of action so arduously and patiently elaborated at Lima, Buenos Aires,<sup>13</sup> Vienna and New Delhi have not yet begun to be applied. A few days ago, the eleventh special session, held to reactivate the North-South dialogue, ended its work in this same hall without there being agreement, after countless reports, on even the procedure to be followed during these global negotiations.

246. These repeated failures of the efforts made so far to establish the new international economic order may be explained by the delaying tactics and hesitation of the industrialized countries which, compared to the nations of the third world, do not show the same awareness of the grave dangers threatening the world or the same political will to face up to them.

247. The head of State of Niger, Colonel Seyni Kountche, stressed that state of affairs on 15 April last when he declared:

“The hopes for a solution at the world level will be disappointed so long as the industrialized States show the same inability to learn objectively the lessons to be drawn from the evolution of power relations in the world since 1973. Paralysed by an inward-thinking public desirous of

<sup>13</sup> United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

keeping what they have acquired in their consumer society, subjected simultaneously to the contradictory influences of antagonistic pressure groups, those countries are unable to contribute positively to the multilateral negotiations aimed at ensuring the stabilization of currencies, the regularization of raw materials markets and the establishment of trade on a basis of equality and mutual benefit."

248. Among those objectives, stabilization of prices of raw materials is for my Government a matter of special concern because the drop in the price of some of our products is distressing proof of the narrowness of vision and inability of the wealthy to give willing support to our attempts to move towards economic and social development

249. Niger nevertheless will continue, despite the disappointment and discouragement brought about by the stalemate in the world, to strive, together with other nations in the third world, for the establishment of a new international economic order. We still nurture the hope that despite the many obstacles and the lack of understanding we have noticed in the past negotiations, wisdom will finally prevail over the selfishness of groups, in the interest of mankind as a whole.

250. My country firmly believes in North-South co-operation, despite the present difficulties; but the nations of the third world must understand that the North-South dialogue cannot in itself bring a solution to the many problems which delay and complicate their development efforts. As stated by the head of State of Niger at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cuba from 3 to 9 September 1979:

"The trap in which we are in danger of remaining for a long time consists in believing that the future of the nations of the third world is in the hands of others, and that horizontal co-operation is a remote domain, only accessible in the future. We must see things as they are, but historical reality tells us unceasingly that our movement has no future if it does not take root and delays indefinitely the strengthening of economic solidarity amongst its members."

That is why my country is assiduously taking care of the close links of co-operation it has established with fraternal and neighbourly countries, in the framework of bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States, the Niger River Commission, the Conseil de l'entente and the Conference of Saharan States, to quote but a few.

251. That is why Niger is also gratified at the highly positive results of the first Conference devoted to economic problems convened by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU on 28 and 29 April this year at Lagos. The Lagos Plan of Action<sup>14</sup> represents in our view an unequivocal expression of the political will of our Governments to undertake, for the benefit of the peoples of the continent, concerted action for the endogenous and self-sustained development of our economies which will lead to the creation of an African common market and an integrated African economic community: the African peoples will not fail to keep this rendezvous with history.

252. Having benefited from the lessons and fruitful contributions of international co-operation, which it has duly appreciated during its trying years of drought, Niger has learnt first to rely on itself and its own strength. Inspired by this basic principle, the Supreme Military Council which governs the destiny of my country has undertaken, since it took office in April 1974, a vast programme of national reconstruction.

253. First of all, we had to take care of the most urgent needs, in other words, to rescue a whole people, threatened in its existence and dignity, from famine and the epidemics that accompany it; to save the capital represented by our livestock, which was being decimated by the implacable drought that afflicted the Sahelian countries.

254. Then we acted to reintroduce order into the affairs of State and to organize, on a healthier and more sound basis, the economic and social development of the nation.

255. The launching of a triennial programme, and then of a five-year development plan, enabled us to record significant results and encouraging successes on the road to the liberation of our economy from natural factors, alimentary self-sufficiency and economic independence.

256. Thus, thanks to the determination of our people, under the guidance of the Supreme Military Council, we have undertaken, very often successfully, to mitigate considerably the effects of the drought and relieve our people of the agonizing spectre of famine; to build up our livestock; to extend our arable land through a sustained policy of agricultural irrigation; to improve our health and educational infrastructure; to increase the purchasing power of our workers and peasants; to increase our budget and our national investment funds substantially; and to endow our country with the appropriate infrastructure for communications and telecommunications.

257. The results we have achieved, far from having gone to our head, have comforted us in our determination to press on.

258. It is in this context that the Supreme Military Council and the Government seek to establish in Niger, through an original formula, a society of development, that is, to use the words of President Kountche, "a morally healthy and balanced society, fundamentally united, which seeks the same ideal of justice and has the same will for progress". A national commission has been created for the establishment of that society of development.

259. That commission, which includes all social and professional strata of the nation, will have the task of studying and defining an adequate framework for a policy of accelerated development which will be coherent and harmonious for our country, and the end product of which will be the man of Niger himself. This policy of development will be the fruit of national consensus, obtained through new institutions such as to ensure the inclusion of all strata of our society, their consultation by the public authorities and their active and responsible participation in the actions to be planned and taken.

<sup>14</sup> See document A/S-11/14, annex I.

260. We have undertaken the organization of the rural sector throughout our vast country, as well as the organization of the youth of Niger and of all professionals.

261. We have undertaken to establish in our villages, districts and countries, development cells which will expand until they cover the whole of the national territory at its different community levels.

262. These organizations of peasants, of young people, of professional organizations and development cells will be the crucible for reflection and the guiding power of our developing future society, which we are building up in unity, with determination, and removed from ideological considerations. In this task, as was so rightly said by President Kountche, "our instrument of work will be, above all, good sense and the philosophy of the land".

263. This is the exciting experience of Niger at present. It is thus that it hopes to conduct its development, and it hopes to do so in peace and security, which is why it will unfailingly continue to support the work of the United Nations and its noble ideals.

264. As I come to the end of my statement, I wish to pay solemn tribute to the daily action of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has placed his rare intellectual and moral qualities at the exalting service of this historic task of justice, freedom and progress of peoples, a task of harmony and assistance between nations. May he rest assured of the continued support of my Government.

265. May the work of this Assembly enriched by the experience and contribution of the Republic of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, lead to the progress of the cause of peace and international security.

266. Mr. RITHAUDDEEN (Malaysia): I should like to congratulate Ambassador von Wechmar on his election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. My country considers him eminently qualified for the post and we are confident his presidency will be carried out with distinction. My delegation pledges full co-operation with his presidency. His election is an added honour to his country, with which Malaysia has close and abiding relations.

267. I also wish to pay a special tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who so ably guided the thirty-fourth session, two emergency special sessions and the recently concluded special session on economic matters.

268. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its membership in the United Nations. Malaysia wishes to assure that country of its full co-operation and of its friendship.

269. Before I proceed further, I should like on behalf of Malaysia to join the international community in a common appeal for a cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq. We welcome the initiative of the Secretary-General and of the Security Council in urging an end to the fighting. We support the efforts of the Islamic Conference in sending a goodwill mission to Iran and Iraq. The conflict between Iran

and Iraq can destabilize further the already serious situation in the Middle East with consequences that may threaten world peace. We sincerely hope that, whatever the issues between the two countries, urgent efforts will be made to negotiate a peaceful solution to the conflict.

270. This is again the occasion for us to declare our enduring commitment to the principles of international peace, security and co-operation. But even as we do so, as we must, it is with disquiet and anxiety that we realize that all our combined protestations have not advanced our search for a better world. The signs are not propitious at all. We have not moved forward. We may well have taken a slide backwards instead.

271. I am not being alarmist but the deterioration of the international situation due to increasing tension and rivalry between the major Powers, characterized by a tendency to use force in the pursuit of objectives, has taken on a very dangerous edge. The arms race which we are committed to reduce has been accelerated further, providing an inauspicious and grim start to the second Disarmament Decade. To exacerbate the situation, there is serious paralysis over the restructuring of the international economic order. The perspective of the South towards the North is becoming one of distrust. With zero growth and burgeoning poverty, the small and weak regard the established structures as far from friendly.

272. The earlier hope that the spirit of genuine détente, which brought about relaxation of tension and increased co-operation in Europe, would spread to other parts of the world has been dissipated. In the pursuit of national and strategic advantages, the major Powers have not hesitated to intervene directly in the internal affairs of another State, as events in Afghanistan have demonstrated. And if a major Power decides its interests could be advanced by supporting the regional ambitions of a State, then such support is readily rendered.

273. These are the aspects of major-Power rivalry that are holding the world to ransom now. The incredulous thing is that each action is carried out in the name of fostering and safeguarding peace and security when the contrary is the case. And the spiral grows. And action by a major Power invites corresponding action by another. Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan resulted in the United States withholding ratification of the SALT II agreement and increased military activity in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf area. Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea resulted in Chinese troops moving across the Vietnamese border.

274. Malaysia condemns these actions. The major Powers must show more responsibility. Malaysia rejects the thesis that the interests of major Powers transcend national boundaries and that the fate of independent countries must pivot on the derivatives of major-Power actions. Acceptance of, or even acquiescence in, that would put us all back to the cold war of a bipolar world and would rob us of our precious gains of independent action and the right to progress unthreatened and unimpeded. Together with the countries of the third world and within the non-aligned movement, countries like Malaysia have been able to determine perimeters of action, singly and collectively, that have



won for us a climate of stability and co-operation that has in turn contributed to international stability and progress. We are determined that these areas of positive action that we have gained shall not be whittled away as casualties of the interaction of major-Power politics. Malaysia therefore calls for serious stock-taking on the part of the major Powers. We do not expect them to be the policemen of the world. What we demand is the consciousness of their responsibilities and the exercise of restraint and co-operation in international relations. The trend towards using force as an instrument of policy must be arrested. There is no credible rationale that any country can provide for direct or indirect military intervention in the affairs of independent and sovereign nations.

275. In the present environment of such instability many problems remain unresolved. As we enter the second Disarmament Decade, the prospects of a hopeful, if not a final solution to the problem of building a world free from any awesome threat of mass destruction appear remote and elusive.

276. The qualitative and quantitative development of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction is escalating as the major Powers vie with one another for military supremacy. The vast sums of money and scarce resources spent in the process are as staggering as they are alarming. If only a fraction of the estimated \$400 billion spent annually by countries on military forces and armaments were to be channelled towards badly needed development projects, the benefits to mankind could be considerable.

277. Despite demands by the international community for a total and comprehensive test-ban treaty, nuclear testing continues unabated. In addition to that, more countries are developing or acquiring nuclear weapons. This dangerous trend goes against the spirit and objectives of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. My delegation cannot but view this with concern. It will only complicate the efforts of the United Nations to create a climate of confidence in which disarmament can proceed. The time for us to act is long overdue, but act we must if we are to avoid nuclear destruction.

278. I wish to join other heads of delegations that have addressed this Assembly in calling on all the nuclear Powers to work in earnest towards the realization of a comprehensive test-ban agreement which would represent the first step towards nuclear disarmament and a halt in the trend towards nuclear proliferation.

279. The Middle East conflict seethes in its intensity. Israel continues to defy the world, violating established principles and scorning United Nations resolutions at will. Jerusalem has been declared the capital of Israel, which is the most patent example of international irresponsibility in modern times, a direct challenge to the world, an action of extreme folly and an affront to Moslems all over the world. The people of Palestine are still being denied their inalienable rights to sovereignty and independence, which adds to the shameful catalogue of injustices being perpetrated in the Middle East. Malaysia calls on those countries which support and sustain Israel to desist from doing so and to join in the universal condemnation of Israeli actions. Together with other countries, especially those in the non-aligned movement and the Islamic Conference, Malaysia demands that

Israel heed the injunctions of this world body. To continue with its irresponsible actions is to put at risk the future of Israel itself.

280. I should like, on this occasion, once again to reiterate Malaysia's full support of the people of Palestine in its struggle to exercise its inalienable rights as recognized by the United Nations: the right to return to its homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to national independence. We assure the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, of our unflinching support for their cause.

281. In Asia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea stand out as examples of areas where, again, accepted international principles have been flouted, and the way opened to the exercise of military might and power imperatives. I must repeat here that no country, on any pretext whatever, can intervene in the affairs of another. In the case of Kampuchea, it has been argued that the Pol Pot régime had committed serious excesses. We are all agreed on this. Malaysia has condemned the killings and other atrocities of that régime, but this does not give any country the right to march into Kampuchea, remove a legitimate Government and install a puppet régime. A solution to the Kampuchean conflict must be found urgently, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/22 which was adopted overwhelmingly by the Assembly last year.

282. Malaysia, in conjunction with its partners in ASEAN, is prepared to co-operate with all parties concerned to find a political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and to restore to that country its sovereignty and territorial integrity within the framework of the General Assembly resolution. We urge the Secretary-General to convene an international conference open to participation by all parties concerned to negotiate a comprehensive settlement of the conflict. I wish to stress that the essential point is to put an end to the foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and to ensure that a sovereign and independent Kampuchea will not be a threat to any of its neighbours. It is only on this basis that the seeds of future intervention and interference in the internal affairs of that country, either by regional or extra-regional Powers, will be removed and that South-East Asian countries can together determine factors of peace and security as envisaged in the concept of that region as a zone of peace, advocated by the ASEAN countries.

283. Afghanistan affords a parallel with Kampuchea. The common denominator of military intervention threatens to embroil both regions of Asia, affecting stability and order. Malaysia has deplored Soviet actions in Afghanistan and I reiterate the call here for an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces in order to enable the people of Afghanistan to decide their own future, free from interference and coercion.

284. Events in Kampuchea and Afghanistan pose a grave challenge to the United Nations. This challenge must be faced if we are to maintain the strength and credibility of the Organization as the guardian of international peace and security. To meet this challenge it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to agree on measures to secure full com-



pliance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2374 (XXV)*]. Such measures must leave no room for doubt as to what constitutes intervention and what constitutes co-operation. They must not allow countries to twist aggression into co-operation or intervention into assistance. My delegation pledges its full co-operation to ensure the implementation of such measures.

285. South Africa, like Israel, continues with impunity to violate United Nations injunctions. *Apartheid* debases human dignity. It calls in question not only the legitimacy of the white minority Government of South Africa, but also the basic values and ethical mores sustaining that Government. The actions of South Africa in resisting United Nations action in Namibia are equally deplorable. Malaysia reiterates its full support for the struggle of the people of South Africa for equality and justice and condemns South African actions in Namibia. South Africa should learn from the developments in Zimbabwe, a country that has written a new and positive chapter in the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence. In all its aspects, Zimbabwe's is a remarkable victory which enriches the human spirit and underscores the wisdom of collective negotiation.

286. I have dwelt at some length on the political situation facing us today. We are no less confronted by the world economic situation, and it is in no better shape.

287. Mass poverty, non-renewable natural resources, unpredictable food supplies, erratic monetary exchange régimes and world-wide inflation are some of the sorry aspects of the world economic scene. It was with the intention of collectively redressing some or all of these problems that we accepted the goal of working towards a New International Economic Order. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on international economic co-operation for development, was expressly intended to launch the global round of negotiations. Yet, sadly, what transpired falls far short of both our long-term goals and our immediate needs. Depending on one's position, either in the North or the South, one will take a stand in the continuing debate on what went wrong. But some truths are undeniable. The world cannot continue divided and organized into the rich and the poor, with no serious and continuing attempts to redress the situation. There can be no future, only chaos, in continuing to deny the imperative of negotiating and compromising with the aim of transforming and restructuring the international economy.

288. What is required is removal of obstacles to the goal that we already agree to. Resistance to restructuring and adapting to change, as evidenced by protectionism and obstructionism, clearly reflects a lack of political will or an unwillingness to broaden that will. It will only be on this basis that we can, as a community, work out lasting solutions to all the interrelated problems of growth, inflation, unemployment and monetary stability. The successful conclusion of the negotiations on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities is a significant landmark manifesting the presence of political will and international co-operation in both developing and developed countries.

289. Malaysia urges that the same spirit be maintained in the long and arduous tasks ahead. While these negotiations and issues are complex, and while there are no short cuts, those facts in themselves cannot be made reasons allowing for delays which clearly appear to arise from narrow national interests. Malaysia believes that national interests can best be served in a healthy environment of international interdependence. We therefore urge that determined and positive negotiations be resumed to bring about a convergence of the views held by the countries of the North and the South. We should all draw hope from the recent developments at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, when a multiplicity of views and interests were reconciled, which promises well for future co-operation.

290. I should like now to turn to a subject of special concern to Malaysia and which warrants the urgent consideration of all countries. I am referring to the problem of illicit drugs and drug abuse. Malaysia brought this matter up at the sixth special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, held at Vienna from 11 to 20 February this year. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, in turn, further underlined the seriousness of the problem at the meeting of the heads of Government of the Asian and Pacific States members of the Commonwealth, held at New Delhi in early September.

291. To date, international understanding has generally regarded drug abuse as a social problem and taken a humanitarian approach, as reflected in the deliberations of the Economic and Social Council and other related bodies. Permit me to say that such an approach is hardly adequate. There are no hopeful signs to indicate that we have been successful in containing, much less eliminating, this problem. On the contrary, illicit trafficking in drugs and drug abuse have mounted and spread. It is now timely for us to recognize illicit drugs and drug abuse as issues which must be confronted by us with utter seriousness and commitment, individually as Governments or collectively under the aegis of the United Nations.

292. It has been recognized that illicit drugs ravage the social fabric, debilitate the mind and spirit of people and corrode the values of individuals. While that is undeniable, it must be further recognized that drug abuse on a pervasive scale threatens and undermines the stability, resilience and national integrity of countries. In the hands of international syndicates and vested groups, illicit drugs and trafficking in them are sinister weapons that can pose serious security problems in some countries. There is a clear link between drug trafficking and other types of organized crime on an international scale, such as the illegal trafficking in firearms. In this context it is no longer just a question of social foundations being undermined, but of nations themselves, already weakened by various other problems, buckling and going under. Malaysia would like the international community to be clearly aware of this new dimension. Until the consequences of drug abuse are seen in this context, our actions will be neither corrective nor adequate: they can at best be only rehabilitative.

293. Malaysia is prepared to contribute to initiatives in the international context to bring about effective actions towards reducing, if not eliminating the problems of drug abuse. We appeal to all countries not only to exercise vig-

ilance but to co-operate closely to rid us of this problem in the same manner as we set limits to nuclear weapons and outlaw poison gas and germ warfare. We should like also to underline the international responsibilities of countries on this matter. We urge the United Nations to re-examine the magnitude of this problem, including that of drug abuse having a bearing on the security of nations, so that an effective framework of action, which can be endorsed by all countries as part of their international obligation, can be instituted urgently. We are calling here not only for common awareness but also for common strategy and purpose.

294. We are, without exaggeration, being buffeted by problems and issues on all fronts. Each aspect borders on the other and they are mutually reinforcing. Every issue is fundamental. This is the time to come to terms with our pledges to secure a better world that will endure, that will not throw us back to the dark ages of conflict and mutual destruction.

295. Mr. ODLUM (Saint Lucia): May I extend congratulations, on behalf of my country and myself, to Ambassador von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We have every confidence that he will carry out the tasks entrusted to him with appropriate diplomatic skills and objectivity.

296. This session has convened in a year already heightened by the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions, devoted respectively to Afghanistan and the question of Palestine, and the eleventh special session, on the question of economic development. Those sessions have focused on some of the economic and political crises that beset this international community and they emphasize the role that the United Nations must play in any effort to maintain and preserve peace in order to attain economic benefits for the poor and exploited people of this world.

297. We are particularly disturbed that the lessons of the 1960s and 1970s have not been learned. We are frequently faced with violations of the principles of territorial sovereignty, inviolability of diplomatic personnel and non-use of force in international relations. Those principles constitute prominent and notable corner-stones of international relations and law, to which the nations composing this international community continue to pay lip service while simultaneously flouting them with impunity. That is a sad commentary on the meaningfulness of international and diplomatic intercourse and the underlying values which are expected to provide a base of hope for our many destitute peoples.

298. The challenges facing the United Nations at this session are innumerable and perhaps most precariously poised. Never has there been such centrifugal force upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations since its signing at San Francisco on 26 June 1945. Perhaps we have reached the watershed: the point at which constraining interests almost make us ignore and forget the real objectives of this community of nations.

299. There are many instances that appear to contradict the intent of the original founding fathers of the United Nations. For example, the ease with which States set up human rights standards only to compromise them on the

alter of national and political interest; the reasons presented in convenient and different formats to justify intervention, which cannot be defended by logical, significant and acceptable argument; the use and misuse of the movement of persons to satisfy political interests, with little regard to the real issue in humanitarian and refugee terms; the problems that are created because the political interest negates the possibility of working out reasonable, logical and objective rules of procedure that will govern and reflect the existence of expanding interest groups within the Committees, the regional groups and the major organs of this Organization.

300. What they conceived was never intended to be a dogmatic, stultified Organization, but a dynamic entity with the ability to grow, expand and modify, realistically meeting the constraining pressures that inevitably arise and reflecting them within its own combustion in a distinct, sensible and objective manner.

301. While we must insulate succeeding generations from the scourge of war, while we recognize the reasons for the maintenance of international peace and security, while we strive to develop friendly relations among all nations based on mutual respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, while we understand the necessity for co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, the political will, as distinct from the political interest, to erect these pillars of our intercourse is not only weak but at times non-existent.

302. We have arrived at a point where we must effectively decide to survey the facts confronting our society and determine whether we have inherited the parameters and attitudes for inaction, or whether we shall lift ourselves from the ground and demand a proper, justifiable and significant consideration of our situation and the means by which we may achieve a fair measure of progress. This is now the beginning of the end of compromise, a word that is not lost on those who remember 1939. It is the end of glossing over the niceties of language and intercourse, and the commencement of a looking forward to a serious, concentrated, political involvement of those that have—and I include the haves even among the developing world—in redressing the plight, and the circumstances of the plight, of those that have not.

303. The questions of international security, territorial inviolability of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the non-use of force as a means of solving disputes are vital not only to the existence of States, but to their functional progression. The only way in which a State, and in particular a small island State, can make appropriate economic advancement is by the creation of both the fact and the atmosphere of peace.

304. To this end, the Government of Saint Lucia calls for a reaffirmation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which was adopted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations in 1970 and which focuses attention on the indivisible link between international security and economic and social development.

305. Within this same context, we fully support General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), adopted on 16 Decem-

ber 1971, declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We are following the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, and we look forward to the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean during 1981 at Colombo, and the implementation of that declaration.

306. It is indeed a truism that security for the small State lies within the United Nations system. This is even more pertinent for the small island State. Saint Lucia is a small island State and, as such, is vitally concerned not only for its own security but for that of every peace-loving nation. Moreover, whenever there are groups of peace-loving States, particularly those of the developing world, it is of paramount importance that their area should not be visited by the panoply of warfare. The means exist for the insulation of those areas from the unsettling strife of the super-Powers, which is not consonant with and detracts from the necessary environment for the economic development of those States.

307. In this context, Saint Lucia believes in and will work assiduously for the realization of a zone of peace in the Caribbean. This concept has already received the approval of the Organization of American States [OAS] at its ninth general assembly at La Paz, Bolivia. What is now necessary is the implementation of the considerations that have been put forward in that resolution and continually reiterated by most member States of the OAS system. Yet we see nothing that we can perceive to be the measure of a dominant will to effect the movements towards a zone of peace. Perhaps it is time that our leaders reached out at the summit level and gave life to this important concept, which must not be still-born.

308. Further, it is necessary that the States of our region and other States should observe the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),<sup>15</sup> of 1967. Saint Lucia is taking the necessary procedural steps to become a party to that Treaty. Similarly, Saint Lucia is intent on ensuring, through effective and appropriate measures, that the Caribbean basin does not become a depository for nuclear waste, which could seriously contaminate our environment and ecology, and will seek to obtain meaningful assurances from those nuclear States that have already set out to use the area in this way. It seems most retrograde that major maritime Powers should seek to use unsuspecting areas in this way simply because there is not the authority to refuse or the perspicacity to understand the inherent dangers.

309. In keeping with this approach, we support the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa,<sup>16</sup> the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and South Asia, and the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons.

310. It seems unnecessary to reiterate the plea for a diminution of expenditure on arms. We have to ask ourselves whether any plea for the cessation of mass production of the means of war is ever entertained. But we must not fall into

the politics of despondency and therefore must seek to keep up the continuing exercise of the dialogue of the deaf. Over \$500 billion has already been spent on military research and development this year, and there will be those who will argue that the safeguarding of democracy is based on military strength, and still others who will equally argue that the ideological battle can only be sustained from an armed base.

311. Be that as it may, in the end it will be the social and economic growth that can be achieved that will determine which, if any, ideology remains to dominate this earth, if the logical conclusion of the armaments race is realized. Is it not rather strange when a State finds it difficult to grant \$10 million for the economic development of a State but is prepared at a moment's notice to rush millions, unsolicited, to given areas simply because there is a supposed threat to its power balance? Or, alternatively, when the kind of strategic aid granted is inconsistent with and meaningless to the real needs or requests of the supposedly benefiting State?

312. The purchase of an XM-1 tank costs approximately \$1.5 million. We do not even have to consider whether it will work effectively for two hours at a time without major maintenance and the pertinent recurrent costs. Yet many aspects of economic, social and human development, at significantly less cost, if redirected from the armaments build-up, could be instrumental in lifting a section of a small State's economic growth to a reasonable take-off stage. Let the record show that Saint Lucia favours total world disarmament. However, in recognition of the fact that there has been no positive move on the part of any State to implement the disarmament strategy adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [see resolution S-10/2]—and as a consequence world disarmament at this time remains a myth, illusive and unattainable—Saint Lucia favours the concluding of an international convention to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

313. We are fully cognizant that a number of flash-points around the world, notably the Middle East, Namibia and Afghanistan, constitute grave dangers to mankind. It is imperative that acceptable and workable solutions be found, that States desist from furthering their power projections through a manipulation of these issues, and that the world community find the moral fortitude to confront the issues in an honest and objective manner.

314. On the economic front, the new Lomé II Agreement between the European Economic Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific States,<sup>17</sup> presents a new vision for international co-operation. We, in a small island State, are thankful for the existence of STABEX,<sup>18</sup> which will assist us in overcoming the ravages of hurricane Allen in our banana sector. We expect that the architects of the Lomé II Agreement and the appropriate United Nations agencies will consider similar formulas for our tourist and industrial sectors, for they are also extremely vulnerable to natural and human predators.

<sup>17</sup> Second Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Community Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979. See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

<sup>18</sup> Stabilization of export earnings.

<sup>15</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

<sup>16</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

315. We are most satisfied that the Tokyo round of negotiations, by far the most comprehensive held within the purview of GATT, reached an acceptable conclusion last year.<sup>19</sup> While we welcome the establishment of the Common Fund within the framework of UNCTAD, and recent moves by IBRD and especially IMF in mitigating their fundamental policies for alleviating the chronic balance-of-payments problems of the developing countries, we in Saint Lucia remain concerned that many of the developed countries will fail to meet the requisite recommendations of the international development strategy, leading to a further deterioration of the structural integrity of the world economic situation and consequently to a largely vitiated and ineffectual round of global negotiations.

316. It is pertinent that we should mention our increasing disappointment with the aid and assistance that is channelled to the small States from the developed States of the developing world. It is unfair only to point the finger in castigation of the aid policies of the developed world. While they must bear the brunt of the responsibility for our present economic morass, those of our developed brethren that have been fortunate enough, by way of resources, population or other pertinent factors, to show economic recovery and progress, should not turn aside and ignore our development needs. The same argument that they continue to address to the developed world can and must be addressed to them. Therefore they must show to the developed world, because they have an obligation to do so, that they can assist us in positive terms, even if their recovery and growth are not fully realized.

317. This is the moral and responsible gesture that must come from these States, which in turn will underscore the feeble efforts of the developed world, which are not in keeping with the economic principles to which it pays lip-service. It is important that neo-colonialism not be evident in the approach of our more developed brethren; that there be no miniature power play that is nurtured through the granting of economic aid or energy agreements. We did not trade colonialism for neo-colonialism. Perhaps it may be relevant to re-emphasize and draw the attention of those States to the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

318. We in Saint Lucia are most gratified by the work of the United Nations programmes. The allocation of resources approved by the Governing Council of UNDP last June represents a significant step in the right direction but we do not agree with the *prima facie* criteria used to separate the "developing" countries from those which are designated as "least developed among developing" countries. However, we do welcome the new global programme of action for "the least developed countries" which was adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila last year.<sup>20</sup>

319. To belabour the issue, we cannot accept the superficial line which distinguishes the rather poor countries from the very poorest countries. As we all know, this designation

is made on the basis of gross national product *per capita*. However, it is a known fact that *per capita* gross national product is a most unreliable index for gauging the extent, or even the level, of poverty which exists within a given country. Furthermore, at today's inflation rates, many of the modest increases in gross national product and gross domestic product in many developing countries represent not real growth but rather inflation rates. To accept gross national product *per capita* as the sole index of wealth or poverty is to say that there is only one truly poor country in the Western Hemisphere. I do not feel that we have to argue that this is not so.

320. But the criteria must also be adapted in terms of a new dimension, that is, of the small island States. Only Maldives and Haiti fall into the category of "least developed among developing" States. But what about the 24 other Member States whose geography, geology and resources—human and financial—pose different considerations and a construction of factors that must be looked at anew and afresh? It is not only a case to be heard; it is a case to be met with adequate and proper provisions.

321. We must acknowledge that the work of UNIDO, that of the World Food Conference and that of the International Fund for Agricultural Development stand to be acclaimed. We may mention particularly the work of UNEP and that of IMCO in fostering co-operation for the prevention of marine pollution, an issue of which we in Saint Lucia are seized at present. Further, we pay a special tribute to the work of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, specifically in terms of its assistance in the wake of hurricane Allen. But we must add that it may be timely to indicate that disaster adopts varied dimensions, according to the resilience of the involved community and the nature of the cataclysm. Though it is an evil that is as significant to the land mass as it is to the island State, it cannot be met in the same way in both instances. There is a need to look at the procedures for disbursing aid to the island States which are ravaged by hurricanes, typhoons, cyclones, tidal waves and volcanic eruptions in a manner other than the accepted form that is now fashionable.

322. We in the Eastern Caribbean are a proud, hard-working people who recognize that the paucity of our number and the reality of our territorial constraints combine to create, at best, a difficult situation wherein economies of scale cannot be readily realized. This difficult situation is compounded by our sheer vulnerability to every natural disaster that cares to visit our area. We are not alone in this regard. Our sister island States in the Pacific and Indian Oceans share our fears and apprehensions. This Assembly must address itself precisely to the nature of this new dimension in much the same way as it has dealt with the land-locked States and the most disadvantaged States.

323. We do not wish to leave the impression that we view the events that marked the ending of the old decade and the point of departure of the new as allowing for only negative prognostications. The recent women's conference<sup>21</sup> holds much promise for the eventual elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

<sup>19</sup> General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, *The Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: Supplementary Report by the Director-General of GATT* (Sales No. GATT/1980-1).

<sup>20</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A, resolution 122.

<sup>21</sup> World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.



324. The independence of Zimbabwe and its subsequent admission to this Assembly are events which hold great promise for the future. We have heralded the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership which sets a trend, not only for Namibia, but also for a number of island States such as Antigua, Saint Kitts, Montserrat and others, and marks the end of the decolonization period. However, we can no longer submit to the policy that it is sufficient to make peoples believe that independence has been achieved, disregarding the fact that they remain shackled by the bonds of colonialism or neo-colonialism. The struggle for self-determination does not end when the last colony has been released from its bondage. Colonialism is still alive in every State where minorities remain castigated and are denied their rights, where only the accident of geography and delineation of boundaries has created their position or where administrative niceties have engulfed their freedoms. We will watch the proceedings in these areas most assiduously.

325. There have been five resolutions on Belize considered by the General Assembly since 1975. In view of the effort and time spent on this issue, Belize should have already been granted independence, it should have achieved United Nations membership and been well on the way to consolidating its achievements after independence. This Assembly should now be addressing the situation of post-independence Belize, not its pre-independence status. However, this is not the case and this Assembly must bear a fair proportion of the guilt for the omission of Belize from its ranks. The time has come for the cessation of words, of paper work and of inconsequential negotiations, and for a demand for the justice of Belize's proceeding immediately to independence and membership of our gathering, properly recorded. It is in this vein that we propose the submission of a resolution demanding, *inter alia*, that the metropolitan Power concerned convene with the shortest delay a constitutional conference with a mandate to set a date for Belize's independence before the end of 1981.

326. Only if that meaningful act is introduced can we realistically state that this forum is committed to the principles that it has itself established and applied in other instances. The diplomatic virtues of negotiation are not always beneficial, or expected to be beneficial, to the parties concerned and involved.

327. The recent session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea indicates that a final convention may be at hand. It has been a long road, but one that manifestly indicates that the international will to regulate and the desire to recognize growth in law and order have been rewarded. We will attempt to have that convention consider and take account of the real problems for small island States. The concept of the small island State does not exist *per se* in the convention, largely because in 1958, when the existing conventions on the law of the sea were negotiated, there was not a single small island State in existence. Today there are some 34 independent island States; they deserve proper recognition in much the same way as archipelagic States and land-locked States. In looking at the development of the law of the sea, we are mindful that a great deal of work has been devoted to the avoidance and mitigation of the effect of pollution. Our vulnerability is extremely acute in this area. We welcome any plan to mit-

igate the consequences of pollution, any measure to obviate the possibilities of oil spills, any consideration that will enable us to reduce the incidence of such disaster in given areas that are vital to our economy.

328. It is not responsible conduct for a State to look only at the omissions in behavioural terms of this community, without any introspection over the steps it has taken or will take in seeking to play a small but useful part in this world's problematic environment. Saint Lucia, bedevilled by hurricane Allen, has applied itself to an approach to the calamity that recognizes an acceptance of its responsibility to the community at large. For my Government accepts that it has to live with natural disasters, and therefore the emphasis must be placed on a preventive policy in development, with an accent on preparedness and resilience to disasters of this kind. It is within this framework that my Government has approached the States Members of the United Nations to assist in the sectoral infrastructural development of our State.

329. But we must not forget that what is tangible in our efforts is the values that we leave in the form of guidelines for generations yet unborn. This is the historical value of our existence as States in this international community. We were most happy when, in 1965, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples [*resolution 2037 (XX)*]; and later, in 1969, recognized the contribution of youth in the promotion of world peace, justice, social and economic rights, especially in the projection of the goals embodied in the Charter of the United Nations [*see resolution 2497 (XXIV)*].

330. We eagerly look forward to 1985, the year designated as International Youth Year by the General Assembly [*resolution 34/151*] with the aims of participation, development and peace. We have dedicated our programmes in Saint Lucia to encouraging and developing an ethos of productivity for our youth and some countries have perceived and understood the nature of this thrust and have given assistance to that enterprise. The fruits of such productivity must accrue to the youth of our State. The legacy is theirs; the future lies beyond.

331. Moreover, Saint Lucia recognizes that the individuality of approach to problems in our area is not readily rewarded with success. Therefore we have embraced and committed ourselves to the fullest integration in our region, by way of the West Indies Associated States, which association is at present being negotiated into the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, into the larger Caribbean Community entity and finally and futuristically within the complex Latin American entity that involves both the OAS and the Latin American Economic System. There is no ready and immediate satisfaction of geopolitical benefit within these communities. The roads are gradual, based on a necessary economic co-operation and co-ordination which are finally reflected in a strong political togetherness. It is an objective that we must all accept and towards the fruition of which we must all work.

332. The movement towards the interdependence of regions in the largest framework possible is even more important than the recognition of the interdependence of



States. We consider the exchanges among the OAS, the OAU, the Caribbean Community and the League of Arab States as evidence of the manifestation of the collective interest. The recent mini-summit Commonwealth Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Countries marks a direction in the search for regional identities. These are movements of hope, of unity, of realism. With these multilateral projections, the bilateral focus has a new meaning.

333. Therefore, it is necessary, as we enter the 1980s, for the vision of this community of regions to be centred on a policy of adherence to principles, dedication and conviction. There is a need to extend beyond the realism of nation-State politics and to enter into the statesmanship of community relations. The universality that will soon be evident in this United Nations will cause a serious reconsideration in respect of the significance of the nation State in universal terms. This is our challenge; the arena is the circumstance of this world; the finality is the survival and growth or, alternatively, the destruction of our universe.

334. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Two representatives have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

335. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): I make this statement with the greatest reluctance, but I must make it in order to rectify the confusion created yesterday [17th meeting] by the remarks of my brother, the representative of Morocco. In the exercise of his right of reply, with regard to earlier statements on the situation in the Western Sahara, the representative of Morocco made a curious reference to a so-called invasion of Uganda by Tanzania.

336. I cannot speak for Tanzania, but in speaking for the people and Government of Uganda I must set the record straight. It is a well-known and well-documented fact that towards the end of 1978 it was Amin's troops that invaded Tanzania and occupied the Kagera Salient. We cannot understand how anybody who is interested in either the truth or the legality of this situation could fail to take note of this clear historical fact. This is what in fact occurred, as opposed to what anybody here may wish to have happened. The attempt to reverse the roles of invader and invaded is both cynical and preposterous.

337. While Tanzania decided on the one hand to repel the invading army and prevent any future recurrence of the Amin nuisance, Ugandan resistance movements, on the other hand, saw a God-sent opportunity to move against the Amin régime.

338. The folly and territorial greed of Amin had at long last provided the people of Uganda with a long-awaited opportunity to strike against his Fascist régime. In this our interests converged with Tanzania, but our reasons were different. Tanzania, for its part, was fighting an invader, while we were fighting to liberate ourselves from the grip of a Fascist and murderous régime. In the event, the Fascist régime was swept from power.

339. I want this Assembly to understand that, upon the defeat of the Fascist régime, the people of Uganda stood free, but most vulnerable. We were vulnerable, first of all, to the external forces that had sustained and collaborated with the Fascist régime. Secondly, we were vulnerable to the vicious remnants of Amin's troops, who were scattered in hiding throughout the country. Our own guerrilla force was spread thin in the face of the enormous tasks before it. The Fascist régime had dismantled the police force. The liberation force, therefore, could not cope with both the problems of national defence and those of internal security. We needed somebody to help us while we reorganized our own security system. Tanzania was a natural choice because of the solidarity it had offered the Ugandan people during our years of struggle against the Amin régime.

340. It was therefore at the request of the Ugandan National Liberation Front that some Tanzanian troops remained in Uganda. It was for us a matter of survival. If we had acted otherwise, it would have been tantamount to a suicide wish and, having just emerged from the murderous oppression of the Amin régime, we were not well disposed to suicide.

341. There is a specific agreement between the Government of Uganda and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania stipulating the elements of this arrangement. There have already been significant withdrawals of Tanzanian soldiers from Uganda corresponding to our increasing capacity for self-reliance in the fields of both national defence and civil security. The withdrawal of Tanzanian soldiers is continuing and will be finalized as soon as we have completed the main programme for training our national army and police. This is the clear wish and understanding of both parties to the agreement. As my brother, the representative of Morocco, well knows, this kind of bilateral arrangement is by no means unique or novel on the African continent.

342. We find the concern of our brother the representative of Morocco rather interesting, though belated. We would have appreciated this concern more if it had come during the time of our greatest need. We would have been grateful if this concern had been demonstrated during our struggle against the Fascist régime. We would have been touched if the concern of the representative of Morocco had been expressed during the genocidal massacre of more than half a million of our people by the Amin régime. In place of concern, we witnessed a deadly silence.

343. It is obvious to all that the statement of the representative of Morocco was designed to achieve one purpose and one purpose only, namely, to divert the attention of this Assembly from a rigorous and sober consideration of the question of Western Sahara. This is a cynical device with which the name of my country, Uganda, should not be associated. The question of Western Sahara is far too serious a matter to be made the subject of such gimmicks. The question of Western Sahara must and will be considered on its merits and on the principles involved.

344. However, it is not my intention this evening to debate the question of Western Sahara. The comprehensive views of the Government of Uganda on this question will be enunciated at a more appropriate time.

345. I have no interest whatsoever in engaging in a war of words with my brother, the representative of Morocco. The purpose of my intervention has been simply to set the record straight as a matter of fidelity to history and fidelity to my people.

346. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Today I asked to be allowed to exercise my right of reply on a matter that has nothing to do with the statement that has just been made by my brother from Uganda. But I should like to make one point clear for the benefit of my colleague who has just spoken.

347. At no time in the course of my statement yesterday did I cast any doubt on the legitimacy of the Ugandan people's right to liberate themselves from what they call fascism and to choose the allies they desire. I want to make this point clear in order to re-establish the truth concerning the way in which that truth was distorted by the representative of Tanzania. My colleague from Uganda has just given us an historical survey of the situation that prevailed at one time in his country, and the clarification he has given us seems reassuring. My delegation is happy that the people of Uganda is now able to live in peace and tranquillity.

348. I should now like to exercise the right of reply, for which I inscribed my name this evening. Some African delegations whose naïveté or, perhaps, ill will is known to us keep raising the question of the so-called Western Sahara. My delegation reserves the right to return to this question at some future date to offer some clarification at greater length.

349. I should like meanwhile to draw the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi to his failure to take account of the recent evolution of the problem that he raised, pointing out to him that many countries which allowed themselves to be seduced by insistent propaganda, have now growing reservations about the existence of a so-called people of the Sahara. I refer both him and his colleague from Angola to the latest recommendation of the "committee of wise men" of the OAU, whose efforts to secure a reduction of tension in the north-west of Africa continue. They will see that there is no reference whatsoever to the existence of a phantom republic, to which Burundi has announced the nomination of an ambassador, to whom my delegation wishes a happy landing when he reaches his destination.

350. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, whose humanism is well known has not shown the intellectual honesty expected of a man of his stature. My delegation deplores the fact that he has joined in distorting the truth by denying, as regards the situation prevailing in north-west Africa, the dimension of bilateral conflict between Morocco and Algeria and the fact that the hegemonistic aims of the latter in the region have been thwarted.

351. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria also tried to represent the acts of aggression financed by his country as

the military victories of a so-called Sahraoui people. Everyone knows that the efforts made by Algeria to get the OAU to admit the phantom Algeria had created were rejected at Freetown, and now they present that rejection to us as a diplomatic victory.

352. Once again Morocco declares that the populations of the Saharan provinces have already exercised self-determination and have chosen to remain Moroccan. Morocco declares also that decolonization has been achieved by the completion of its territorial integrity, which it reaffirms its determination to defend against all attacks, the origin of which is known to the Algerian Minister.

353. Mr. MAGENGE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): I feel I must refer to the allusions made by the representative of Morocco to my country. The representative of Morocco has just attacked the African delegations as a whole. I will not answer him for those delegations; they will have an opportunity to do so themselves.

354. I wish to emphasize that Morocco follows its own course against the tide of history, so it is not surprising that it attacks the African delegations as a whole.

355. According to the representative of Morocco, the statement made by my Minister about this question of Western Sahara [*18th meeting*], demonstrated naïveté and bad faith, as if we were not aware of the evolution of the situation in that region. But I believe that these are rather misleading accusations on his part.

356. The head of the Burundi delegation simply referred to the question of the Sahara in order to express my delegation's view on the situation. My Minister simply stated the facts and recalled the relevant resolutions of the OAU and of the United Nations. I do not think the representative of Morocco can say that these resolutions do not exist, that they were invented by my Minister, because these are decisions that have been taken by our organizations. I do not know whether the delegation of Morocco considers that it is still a member of these two organizations or whether, while remaining a member, it simply wishes to ignore the decisions taken by them. I hope that the representative of Morocco is aware of the fact that the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic has been recognized by most African countries. Indeed, Burundi has invented nothing in its declaration. All representatives know that the majority of African countries recognize that republic.

357. I would confine myself to this point and simply ask the delegation of Morocco if it has any further information on any new situation to offer us. If not, I would just say that the majority of African countries support the POLISARIO Front and the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic.

*The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.*