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**AGENDA ITEM 18**

**Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:**

(a) **Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I)  
(A/36/541)**

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon I invite members to turn their attention first to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/541] on agenda item 18 (a), in paragraph 4 of which the Committee recommends the appointment of Mrs. Virginia Householder of the United States of America to fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of Mr. George F. Saddler's term of office in 1981 on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 36/305).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

2. Mr. JOHANNESSON (Iceland): Mr. President, I should like to join my colleagues who have congratulated you upon your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that your experience and wisdom will greatly help you in finding solutions to the many problems which will be debated at this session.

3. I should also like to welcome to our Organization a new Member State, Vanuatu.

4. The Secretary-General and his entire staff have continued with devotion and steadfastness to work at the tasks given them by the United Nations. Allow me to express my thanks for their efforts and to promise to the Secretary-General full support for his ceaseless activities in his important position.

5. When the victors in the Second World War met at San Francisco in 1945 to build the foundation of a new and better world, the representatives of all the Member States signed the Charter of the United Nations. Its purposes and principles are to be found in the Preamble and Chapter I, including solemn declarations on fundamental human rights and basic rules for international relations. Since that time representatives of all new Member States have also accepted their obligations under the Charter. We are not a small group of States that have to stand together and resist the transgressions of other powerful States and groups of States when they do not respect the solemn declarations we have made individually and confirmed collectively.

6. The United Nations is almost universal in membership and the danger from those outside the Organization is minimal. Can we then ask ourselves whether we have not already attained some of the goals set in the original Charter and whether we do not after 36 years have the others within our grasp? I shall let each man answer for himself and I myself shall not attempt now to give a comprehensive answer to those questions.

7. Thirty-six years are not a long period in the history of mankind and some of the solemn declarations in the Charter certainly take time to put into practice. However, others need no time, but only the will to live in accordance with the agreement we have all signed. It is the lack of the will to honour those obligations of the Charter that is the main reason for the situation existing today in international relations.

8. It is almost two years since the invasion of Afghanistan began. We all have fresh in our memory the emergency special session of the General Assembly that was convened for this reason in January 1980. Then an overwhelming majority of all the Member States adopted resolution ES-6/2 in which the Assembly confirmed in clear terms that the sovereignty and political independence of all States is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations. The violation of that basic principle, whatever the pretext, is a breach of the Charter. Therefore, all foreign military forces should be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally. A similar resolution was again adopted by the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly last year, but unfortunately those resolutions have not had any tangible effects.

9. There has to be respect for the sovereignty and political independence of all States if we are to succeed in lessening the dangerous tensions that exist today in relations between States and in maintaining international peace and security, which is one of the primary purposes of the Organization. All nations, large and small, will have to work in earnest towards that goal. And I refer again to the principles of the United Nations as stated in the Charter. We have to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. There has hardly ever been more reason than there is today to recall these words, to remember them and to try to live up to them.

10. During the past few months, European and North American representatives have been meeting at a conference to discuss the follow-up to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. When the Final Act of Helsinki<sup>1</sup> was signed in 1975 it was the formalization of the results of the policy of détente, which had been practised from the latter part of the 1960s. Unfortunately, some of the States that have participated in the work of the conference have shown a rather limited determination to carry out in earnest certain important elements of the Final Act. However, it is much more serious that faults are beginning to appear in the basis for improved relations: the mutual confidence on which increased co-operation has to be built.

11. The Madrid conference will reconvene next month. There, all participants have to unite their efforts to strengthen the confidence necessary to promote a policy of genuine détente. If we are successful in building confidence, then it will prove easier to take effective measures to reduce armaments in Europe by negotiating agreements within the framework of a conference on disarmament and security in Europe.

12. This conference to which I have referred is certainly an important factor in the efforts to reduce armaments in the world. However, it would only be one part of the extremely important field of disarmament and arms control. It is no less important to achieve concrete results in the negotiations soon to be initiated between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear weapons in Europe. The arsenals of the super-Powers are such a great part of the total armaments in the world that there is no hope for disarmament if they are not willing to co-operate. If the super-Powers do not agree, there can be no progress in international negotiations, whether in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to be held next year, or in the negotiations in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions.

13. The arms race is different from other races in that the faster the pace the greater the probability that all participants will lose. Therefore, the question of security must not revolve around the attainment of military superiority. Increased security must be attained through military balance at the lowest possible level of armaments and forces.

14. Many serious problems will be debated at this session, and most of them have been discussed in the General Assembly for years or even decades, and yet no solutions have been found. Some of those problems have even become

more difficult to solve as time has passed. This is notably the case with the developments in the Middle East.

15. The situation in the Middle East is a constant threat to world peace. That is why our Organization must do everything possible in order to find a solution to the problem. On earlier occasions I have stated what I will reaffirm again here: that a solution to the Middle East problem must be found on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In order to arrive at a comprehensive peace in the area, the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be respected as well as the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians. And in accordance with the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, they must also participate in negotiations concerning a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problems.

16. It is regrettable that no changes seem to be in sight in the *apartheid* policy of the South African Government, and South Africa continues to resist the implementation of the declared policy of the United Nations about the independence of Namibia. To boot, South Africa recently carried out a military attack on Angola. I condemn in the strongest terms this military intervention and call for the immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign military forces, just as I support wholeheartedly the demand for total withdrawal of all Vietnamese invasion forces from Kampuchea where a war-torn nation should be allowed to organize free elections. We must constantly insist that all States Members of the United Nations abide by the fundamental principle of refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

17. We also have other aims and fundamental principles in the United Nations, future goals that we knew in the beginning would take a long time to reach. And today we are possibly farther away from reaching some of those goals than at the time of the establishment of the Organization. Here I refer to international solutions of economic, social and cultural problems as well as to respect for human and civil rights.

18. The development of international economic relations in the past few decades and the serious energy crisis of recent years have made it more necessary than ever before to organize closer co-operation between the industrial and the developing countries. New methods must be found to divide the riches of the earth in order to ease the suffering and scarcity which a great part of mankind endures.

19. My country is among the fortunate, economically speaking, and the Icelandic people have come to realize more and more our obligations to assist those who are less fortunate with larger contributions towards their development.

20. Next month the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development will be held at Cancún, and recently we held in Paris the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries and at Nairobi the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. The problems of the developing countries will also occupy a large part of the debates at the present session of the General Assembly. I should like to express the hope that all the efforts expended in those activities will result in substantive solutions, although it is obvious that

the problems are so great that they will not all be solved in a short space of time.

21. In the Preamble to the Charter, we state that we are determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. To reiterate that determination, we have solemnly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. With that in mind, it is extremely depressing to have to observe the fact that violations of that fundamental principle of the Charter have become more and more frequent in vast areas of the world. Violence and force are openly used at will by governments, whether to compel individuals, minorities, or entire nations to accept the political opinions of the authorities, their religious beliefs, or whatever pretext they use to force obedience. Imprisonment, torture, and capital punishment have become part of daily life in many Member States, in spite of the clear obligations all of us accepted upon becoming Members.

22. I want to stress here that I consider it one of the main tasks of the United Nations in the immediate future to stop that negative development. We should, rather, use all our collective strength to press for improvements regarding human rights. My Government will wholeheartedly support such efforts. Iceland would want to promote an agreement on the abolition of capital punishment. Iceland would want to conclude the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of torture and, along with the other Nordic countries, actively work for the final adoption of the Nordic proposal submitted to the Commission on Human Rights<sup>2</sup> to establish a universal fund for the victims of torture.

23. Before closing, I must refer to one field of the work of the United Nations—one which my country has long considered among the most important. Here I am referring to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, dealing with two thirds of the surface of the earth. When I addressed this Assembly at its last session [5th meeting], I thought the prospects for finally concluding the drafting of a treaty which all nations of the world would accept and sign were bright. Unfortunately, there are now clouds on the horizon which, if worst comes to the worst, could preclude the wide international support necessary if the convention is to serve its intended purpose, i.e., to ensure the application of international law in that large area of the globe and prevent disputes which might endanger good neighbourly relations and international peace.

24. I should like to use this opportunity to urge the representatives of all nations present here to do their utmost to ensure that all nations of the world can sign a new Convention on the law of the sea next year. If we succeed in that endeavour, we will have shown what our nations can achieve if they stand united, as the United Nations should.

25. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Finland, I wish to extend to you our congratulations on your election as President of this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. You bring to your high office unique knowledge and experience based on service in various capacities spanning more than two decades. Those qualities will stand us in good stead during a session which may have more than its normal share of difficulties.

26. May I also extend a warm welcome to Vanuatu, the one hundred and fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations. The accession of that country to sovereignty and membership of the United Nations is yet another proof of the success of the Organization in the peaceful dismantlement of erstwhile colonial empires.

27. Twenty years have passed since the death of the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, and those who died with him. Both in life and in death, Hammarskjöld was the incarnation of the immutable ideals of the United Nations. Today the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld should stand as a constant reminder and an inspiration to us all in a quest for a more rational and peaceful world order as prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations.

28. The present world situation causes profound anxiety, which runs deeper than it has in years. Its cause is not a sudden change in the realm of realities. The threat of a major war has not become imminent. Regional conflicts, while acute, have remained regional. The sharp increase in tensions therefore has other causes—less tangible, yet of equal impact. What I have in mind is a change in political perceptions and attitudes. The policies resulting from that change could bear the name of confrontation. As a consequence, the East-West dialogue and co-operation have reached their lowest level for well over a decade.

29. Confrontation pits against each other two major Powers with a preponderance of military might. Less than 10 years ago, the same two Powers solemnly declared that in the nuclear age there was no alternative to peaceful coexistence. At the same time they committed themselves to refraining from seeking unilateral advantage at the expense of each other, to co-operation in preventing conflicts that could increase international tension and to limitation of armaments bilaterally and multilaterally. Today confrontation seems to have overtaken these pledges.

30. But confrontation does not exist in a void. It is a complex phenomenon, with elements of historical legacy, ideological convictions, political and economic interests. The consequences of confrontation are global. No one is totally immune from its impact. Confrontation fuels the arms race, while the arms race feeds on confrontation. The disarmament process has come to a halt and even retrogressed. Policies of confrontation aggravate regional conflicts and further complicate their peaceful resolution. Tensions become endemic. International economic exchanges suffer. Problems of the developing world are either ignored or seen in the distorting light of East-West confrontation.

31. Policies of confrontation generate a sense of uncertainty and insecurity. The risks involved are compounded by unpredictability. Confrontation is thus inconsistent with the quest for a stable international order. The time has come for a reassessment in the search for a new international consensus. The basis for such a consensus exists. It is the Charter of the United Nations and a strict respect for its provisions by nations large and small, respect not only in word but in deed. The broad objectives of this action should remain détente, disarmament and development. The instruments for this purpose are readily available. They consist of dialogue and negotiation. The very essence of an orderly conduct of international affairs is a

continuous and unhindered communication between States. The responsibility lies, in the first instance, with those Governments that, because of their overpowering military might, hold the balance of peace in their hands.

32. In spite of these troubled times, Finland has managed to enjoy both external and internal stability. Pursuing a policy of neutrality, Finland continues to stay outside the conflicts of interest between the great Powers and maintains good relations with all countries. Finland has made use of its international position for the benefit of the entire international community in actively promoting international peace and co-operation, particularly in the United Nations and at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Finland will continue to pursue this policy.

33. Finland is part of the Nordic region, which during the whole post-war era has remained largely untouched by international tensions. This has been the result of the endeavours of the Nordic Governments and the willingness of the great Powers to preserve the stability of the Nordic region. At their meeting at Copenhagen on 1 and 2 September this year, the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries confirmed again the importance of the stable and balanced security situation of the Nordic region. They underlined its contribution to the maintenance of peace and security also in a wider international context. The continued absence of nuclear weapons in these countries is a vital element in this regard. In order to strengthen further the existing security policy situation, the Nordic countries have also agreed to continue their contacts concerning the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Nordic area.

34. Policies of confrontation and lack of trust have brought disarmament negotiations to a virtual halt. Arms negotiations are fewer and results almost non-existent. Conversely, military imbalance, real or perceived, leads to new rounds of the arms race. Pursuit of military superiority, in whatever form or for whatever purpose, is as futile as it is dangerous. Security is in disarmament, not in arms.

35. The gap between achievement and aspiration in disarmament is wider than ever. Weapons of increased sophistication are developed, produced, deployed. Military doctrines are adjusted in response to new technologies. Ultimately, advances in military technology may prove upsetting to global strategic stability, an outcome that would have incalculable consequences.

36. Whatever the commitment to curbing the arms race, the perilously advancing military technology will make all efforts in future more complex than hitherto. It will be ever more difficult to agree what weapons should be limited, and how. Verification may prove increasingly complex. Entirely new mechanisms may be necessary.

37. The continuing arms race threatens the security of Europe. Nuclear weapons in Europe have become a subject of acute controversy. Whatever the merits of the claims and counterclaims concerning military balance in this field, the end result is the same: less security for all. There is only one way out: negotiations in good faith, and the sooner, the better. As for the Finnish Government, we have consistently opposed the development and deploy-

ment of all new nuclear weapons, their spread to new owners and their deployment on new territories.

38. Direct negotiations between the two major Powers on these questions are urgently called for. Every effort should be made to reach a decision on comprehensive talks on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, as envisaged in the ongoing talks at the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

39. A successful outcome of the Madrid follow-up meeting as a whole is of the utmost importance in the light of the present international situation. The persistent efforts of this meeting, which has already continued for over a year, and the results achieved so far reflect, in our opinion, a widely and seriously felt need to preserve the process itself in order to revive and enhance its contribution to détente in Europe. Positive results from Madrid would not merely have an effect on relations among European States but would make an impact on the international situation as a whole.

40. In a world of scarce human and natural resources, the arms race is a crippling economic strain, both globally and within national economies. The arms race is a choice against development and, ultimately, a choice against the needs of people everywhere, particularly in the developing world. We should also bear in mind that the production of arms is a senseless waste of resources and is destructive to the environment. In view of the vulnerability of the environment and the scarcity of resources, the potential for industrial growth should be used for the purposes of development.

41. Despite the unpromising outlook, the search for security through disarmament must continue. Efforts to limit nuclear arms must be revitalized. Strengthening the non-proliferation régime is more imperative than ever. The United Nations disarmament machinery must proceed with its work. Its priority items should remain a comprehensive test-ban treaty, a chemical weapons treaty and security guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States. Progress on these items is essential if next year's special session on disarmament is to provide a new momentum for international disarmament efforts.

42. The questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea remain on the agenda of the General Assembly. A peaceful settlement of those conflicts has not been reached. They therefore constitute a severe strain on relations between major Powers and thereby on the international situation as a whole. At the same time, some new elements have been injected into these questions in the form of proposals from various quarters. Efforts in the direction of a peaceful settlement should be pursued in the interest of strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

43. The situation in the Middle East is increasingly critical. Many developments in the area have no direct link with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Yet this problem, as long as it remains unsolved, is the key to the situation and a constant threat to peace and security not only in the region, but in the world as a whole. Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and actions to change the status of Jerusalem are in conflict with the efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The recent raids on Beirut and Baghdad have further ag-

gravated the situation. The cycle of violence must be brought to a halt.

44. The Finnish Government continues to consider that a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel has to withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 1967. Acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. The right of Israel and all other States in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries must be guaranteed. Furthermore, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], as the most significant representative of the national aspirations of the Palestinians, has the right to participate in negotiations on a comprehensive settlement. The implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination, is an essential part of the settlement.

45. As long as a comprehensive negotiated solution has not been reached in the Middle East, the United Nations must continue its vital task of peace-keeping in the region. The necessary conditions for this activity have to be secured, in particular in Lebanon, where they are in jeopardy. Finland, for its part, continues to contribute to the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East.

46. Southern Africa is another region of protracted conflict. South Africa's policies of *apartheid* have created tensions in the region. Not only does South Africa continue its illegal occupation of Namibia; its attacks on Angola are a serious escalation of violence. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, has strongly condemned the South African military attacks against Angola.

47. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis of a peaceful solution of the question of Namibia. South Africa has committed itself to the United Nations plan for Namibia, which the Council approved by this resolution. Yet, three years have gone by since the adoption of the plan without its implementation. It is understandable that the African nations begin to despair of the prospects for a negotiated settlement. South Africa must be made to realize that its attempts to prevent the independence of Namibia run against its own interests.

48. Human rights are closely related to peace, security and prosperity in the world. The record of the United Nations in creating a viable code of conduct for nations in the field of human rights is impressive. Genuine observance of human rights in most parts of the world falls well short, however, of the advanced norms to which the States Members of the United Nations subscribe. Human rights must be respected everywhere without any conditions or qualifications. Disregard of human rights is itself a cause of tension within and between countries.

49. One aspect of the general question of human rights concerns refugees. The international community has been able to alleviate to some extent the suffering of refugees and displaced persons. The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held last April, was evidence of that. Unfortunately, most of the great human tragedies of our time are deeply rooted in political and military developments. While humanitarian assistance to refugees must continue, the underlying causes must be removed.

50. East-West political confrontation, to which I referred at the beginning of my statement, has pushed the question of North-South co-operation into the background. Yet if we do not urgently tackle the problems of development and poverty we shall be heading towards another confrontation, a confrontation between North and South. The danger of such a development for world peace and stability is manifest. Therefore urgent and determined action is now necessary. This is the responsibility of all Member States of the United Nations. In particular, all developed nations must assume their equitable share of that responsibility.

51. The dimensions of international economic problems are immense. Population pressures continue; abject poverty, hunger and malnutrition prevail; the human environment deteriorates; and the limits set by the scarcity of natural resources are evident. Radical change is imperative. Priority must be given to mobilizing all our resources for the fight against these problems. This requires structural change in the world economy and increased transfers of resources, as well as a profound change in attitudes and internal economic adjustments, particularly in the industrialized countries.

52. New efforts must be made to revitalize negotiations on international economic co-operation and development. In this respect, my Government shares the hopes which have been placed in the meeting of Heads of State in Cancún next month. We hope that that meeting will provide new impetus for the launching of the global negotiations by the General Assembly later this year.

53. Two major United Nations conferences on development have taken place this year. They have demonstrated that significant progress can be achieved through negotiations within the United Nations in areas which are central to international economic co-operation.

54. Sustained international economic development cannot be achieved without extensive global co-operation on energy. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy held at Nairobi was a first step on that road. Finland will, for its part, work actively for the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference.<sup>3</sup> Increased Finnish development assistance will be allocated for the transfer of advanced technology in the field of energy. In this context, an international symposium organized by the Nordic countries and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] on the financing of new and renewable sources of energy in developing countries will be held in Helsinki in a few weeks' time.

55. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held at Paris was a success. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries adopted by the Conference<sup>4</sup> is an important political recognition of the legitimate requirements of those countries. I pledge the full support of my Government to the New Programme of Action. In addition, it is the firm intention of my Government to continue its policy of channeling at least 30 per cent of its bilateral development assistance to the least developed countries.

56. I should like to recall my statement at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly [10th meeting].



At that time, four years ago, I announced my Government's decision to double, over a period of five years, the share of its gross national product allocated to official development assistance. I am happy to state now that according to the budget bill which my Government has decided to submit to Parliament that target will be achieved in 1982. Thus we have practically reached the half way mark towards the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, a target to which my Government remains fully committed.

57. Finally, I should like to draw attention to a specific issue which is both topical and important—the problems of disabled persons. The proclamation of this year as the International Year of Disabled Persons reflects the resolve of the international community to work for their welfare as a measure of social justice. Disabled persons, as well as others, are entitled to full respect for their rights as integrated and equal members of their community. Our main task now is to ensure that the momentum of action generated is sustained after the year 1981. The ongoing work towards a long-term solution of the problems of the prevention of disability and the rehabilitation of disabled persons must be pursued.

58. Lord CARRINGTON (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom currently occupies the presidency of the European Community. My statement this year is therefore made on behalf of the Community and its member States and in the interests of brevity I shall not make the customary remarks on a national basis.

59. In this capacity, it is a particular pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, at the outset of the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly, our very sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency at this session. I know that with your distinguished career and your considerable experience in the Organization you will guide our proceedings with skill and authority.

60. I should also like to convey my warmest congratulations and admiration to the outgoing President for his efficient and capable conduct of the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and also the eighth emergency special session.

61. The 10 members of the European Community also wish to express their gratitude to the Secretary-General for a further year of strenuous efforts in the cause of peace, and I should like to join with my other colleagues who have congratulated the Republic of Vanuatu on its independence and its membership of this body.

62. Three principles are fundamental to the European Community and underlie its activity in the world today and the role it seeks to play in the United Nations. First, the community was born from a determination to avoid the recurrence of war and from a desire for permanent and fruitful reconciliation. Secondly, it looks to partnership and collaboration between neighbours as a way to stimulate social and economic progress. And thirdly, it is based on a belief in the fundamental importance of human rights.

63. The first principle, its commitment to international reconciliation, explains why the European Community feels a duty to help where it can with the problems that afflict the world. All conflicts, local, regional or global,

adversely affect the possibilities for peace and progress throughout the world. All of them add up to the sum of human misery.

64. The conflict which perhaps poses most dangers is the Arab-Israeli dispute. The European Community believes that it has a distinctive role to play in the search for a negotiated, comprehensive settlement which must be both just and lasting. The Community's view of the principles according to which a settlement can be devised, starting from Security Council resolution 242 (1967), was set out in the Venice<sup>5</sup> and Luxembourg<sup>6</sup> Declarations of 13 June and 2 December 1980 respectively. The starting point must be the right to existence and security of all States in the area, including Israel, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination. Acceptance of these principles by the parties concerned would remove a major obstacle to progress.

65. The members of the Community will pursue their efforts to promote a peace settlement energetically. Nevertheless, we must be clear about what the European Community can and cannot achieve. Ultimately it is for the parties to negotiate a lasting settlement themselves. In our view, a comprehensive settlement can only be negotiated if all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people and the PLO, which will have to be associated with negotiations, accept the principles which we set out in the Venice Declaration and play their full part. One of Europe's main aims is to facilitate such negotiations, complementing the efforts of others towards the same objective. These thoughts underlay the Venice Declaration and the subsequent diplomatic efforts of the Community, notably the contacts made by Britain's predecessors in the presidency.

66. If a settlement is to be possible a climate of confidence must first be built up between the parties. Both sides must refrain from words or acts, particularly acts of violence as in recent months, which only complicate the search for a settlement. The Community members are bound to repeat that the Israeli policy of settlements is contrary to international law and a major obstacle to progress towards peace. While pursuing its efforts in every other possible way, the European Community will work to encourage a climate of confidence as a contribution to a comprehensive settlement. The Community therefore welcomes all clear statements of interest in a peaceful settlement, including that made last month by Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

67. I should like to put on record the European Community's sympathy for human suffering in Lebanon and our support for the efforts of the Lebanese Government to promote security and national reconciliation. We believe that the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon can only be assured if all concerned uphold the authority of the legal Government and avoid all actions tending to undermine it. In this context, the Community values the work of the Quadripartite Committee of the Arab League. In south Lebanon, the cease-fire has been a valuable achievement and we hope it will be possible to reinforce it and build upon it. The Community members welcome and support all diplomatic efforts to this end. In particular, they believe that UNIFIL should be enabled to carry out in full the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council and, we applaud the courageous

and responsible work of the Force and express our sympathy for its losses; and I take this opportunity to reaffirm the Community's support for the valuable peace-keeping work of the United Nations in other areas.

68. If history and traditional and geographical proximity make the Middle East of particular concern to Europe, we are no less concerned about the other crises which strike at the very basis on which international peace and stability must rest.

69. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which constitutes a grave breach of the Charter, is one such crisis. It is an affront to international opinion that the Soviet military occupation there should continue. It has brought untold suffering for millions of Afghan people and untold problems for the countries to which large numbers of them have fled. It is to seek relief for that suffering and to contribute to international peace and stability that the European Council put forward its plan for a two-stage conference on Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup>

70. The Council's proposal for such a conference has received widespread support. It is therefore a great disappointment that the Soviet Union's response has so far been negative.

71. If the Soviet Union is sincere in its stated desire to withdraw its troops in the context of a political solution, then the proposal of the Council offers a way for negotiations to begin. If, however, the Soviet Union's only real concern is to obtain the acquiescence of the international community in its occupation of Afghanistan, and increased status and recognition for a régime which is rejected by the Afghan people and world opinion, then the outlook for any negotiations is grim indeed.

72. The members of the European Community support any efforts which will bring foreign intervention in Afghanistan to an end and allow that country to return to its traditional independence and non-aligned status. It is essential that the principles of the resolution of the Assembly should be observed. We support the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the United Nations Secretary-General to find a way to a peaceful settlement in accordance with those resolutions.

73. Another country which has been invaded and then occupied by a more powerful neighbour is Kampuchea. Thanks to the admirable efforts of the international emergency relief operation led by UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the physical condition of much of the population of Kampuchea has been transformed in the last two years. The European Community and its member States have played a major part in the financing of the relief.

74. But now that the immediate cause of suffering has been removed, it is time to turn to the political problems that still afflict that country. As with Afghanistan, the aim of the international community must be a comprehensive political settlement. The basis of that settlement should be an independent and neutral Kampuchea with a genuinely representative Government. The position of the European Community was set out fully in the statement which, as President of the Community, I made to the International Conference on Kampuchea held here last July.

75. The Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by that Conference<sup>8</sup> puts forward a reasonable and practical basis for a settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Community endorsed that Declaration, which we believe would protect the legitimate rights of all concerned. We call on Viet Nam to agree to withdraw its forces and join the process of peaceful negotiations set in train at that meeting. The Kampucheans must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion.

76. The Community members are also very concerned at the continuing denial of the right to self-determination which lies at the root of the problem of Namibia. We deeply regret that the settlement leading to the independence of Zimbabwe has not been followed by further progress towards a speedy solution of the problems in that region.

77. The outcome of the pre-implementation meeting on Namibia at Geneva in January was a great disappointment. We saw no justification for South Africa's prevarication. We hope that the renewed efforts of the five Western States will succeed in finding an acceptable basis for pursuing negotiations on the implementation of the United Nations plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This provides the only possibility of a peaceful transition to internationally recognized independence for Namibia in accordance with a precise and rapid time-table.

78. The European Community has condemned the South African incursion into Angola, the violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity which it has involved, and the loss of life and suffering it has brought. We have demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Angola.

79. Within South Africa itself, the Community can find little cause for optimism. Virtually none of the expectations of worth-while change in recent years have been fulfilled. Reforms promised by the South African Government, mostly still not implemented, do not deal with the fundamental problem of the political as well as the social and economic aspirations of blacks, coloureds and Asian South Africans.

80. Without an early move towards government by consent and the abandonment of the system of *apartheid*, which we all abhor, the trend in South Africa can only be one of accelerating conflict and violence. The European Community appeals with the utmost urgency to those in South Africa who can act decisively to face this reality, and to show the imagination, the boldness, and the leadership that are necessary to reach a political solution. In the meantime, the members of the Community continue to press South Africa to bring about peaceful change in that country.

81. In this catalogue of unsolved problems I am glad to be able to mention one small chink of light. The European Community commends the efforts of the Secretary-General on the question of Cyprus. Under his auspices the intercommunal talks have been established on a regular basis and conducted in a constructive manner. We have been pleased to note that there have been encouraging developments recently. We earnestly hope that there

will be further progress towards a just and lasting solution to this grave problem.

82. Simply to discuss specific crises does not give an adequate impression of the Community's approach to the problems facing us all. To be faithful to the principle of reconciliation we must work not just for the resolution of conflicts when they occur, but to lessen the tensions that give rise to them.

83. Europe is fortunate to have been free from war for 36 years, but it is the area where the tension between East and West is felt most strongly. It contains the greatest concentration of military forces in the world. Community members recognize the need to lessen tension by maintaining a dialogue between East and West. Efforts must be intensified to reduce the appallingly high level of armaments on both sides, while maintaining undiminished security for all States.

84. Many of the hopes that we entertained for concrete measures of arms control and disarmament as we entered the 1970's have been cruelly disappointed. Nevertheless, the members of the European Community believe that there can be no substitute for painstaking negotiation resulting in agreements which tackle specific problems of arms control in a way which increases confidence and assures the security of all States.

85. We strongly support negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the mutual limitation of nuclear forces, and in particular the forthcoming negotiations on theatre nuclear forces. Success will not be easy. Despite the difficulties, we believe that the objective should be to strike the balance at the lowest possible level. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons remains a vital element for the security of us all.

86. The control of nuclear forces, in Europe as in the rest of the world, is only one side of the coin. It is equally important to reduce the size of conventional forces. In Europe the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions continue to work towards that. The members of the European Community have also given their full support to the French proposal for a conference on disarmament in Europe<sup>9</sup> to negotiate confidence-building measures of real military significance, which will be binding, verifiable, and applicable to the whole of Europe. We are seeking agreement on this important proposal at the Madrid review meeting on the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and we remain convinced that confidence-building measures which meet these criteria will make a real contribution to reducing the tensions and dangers of armed conflict. Such an approach could be useful in other regions of the world.

87. The European Community's second principle is co-operation. Here, duty and inclination point the same way. The Community is the world's biggest international trader. The handling of economic questions in harmony goes to the heart of the Community's interests.

88. To draw harmony from a variety of existing instruments is a challenge for the whole world community. The International Development Strategy, to take one example, is addressed to developed and developing countries alike, and recognizes their mutual interdependence. The greatly

increased assistance provided by IMF and, especially, the World Bank, to take another, deserves acknowledgement and support, and we welcome both.

89. The current problems of the world economy accentuate the need for co-operation. They do not automatically make it easier. Adjustment to slower or negative economic growth, higher energy prices and weaker demand is taking time. Inflation, unemployment and interest rates remain high, and exchange markets volatile. The shoe pinches very hard for many countries, especially in the developing world. As was stressed at the European Council at its meeting last June, the Community is of the opinion that co-operation with developing countries and the intensification of international economic relations serve the interest of all concerned, and that they are necessary not only to strengthen the economies of the developing countries, but also to promote the recovery of the world economy.

90. We in the Community see no room for defeatism. I shall examine some issues which are getting our active attention.

91. Trade is vital if the developing countries are to achieve sustained economic growth. This concept underpins the close and friendly ties we have with the developing countries, reflected in the Lomé Convention,<sup>10</sup> the generalized system of preferences and the Community's other arrangements. The Second Lomé Convention<sup>11</sup> has further improved the trade advantages extended by the Community to the African, Caribbean and Pacific signatories. It has also made available substantially increased amounts of aid.

92. Meanwhile, the Community stands firm for the maintenance of an open trading system and continued resistance to protectionism. GATT has served the international community well. The Community attaches importance to the full implementation of the Tokyo Round. It endorses the broad agreement within GATT that the contracting parties should envisage a ministerial meeting in the coming year to consider the over-all condition of world trade.

93. Let there be no doubt, equally, about the importance we attach to official development assistance. We welcome the intense diplomatic activity surrounding the problems of development. Despite real budgetary difficulties, we in the Community remain committed to the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product and have accepted the target of 0.15 per cent as aid for the least developed countries. The Community and its member States individually already provide development assistance worth over \$12 billion a year. This is 39 per cent of all aid given to the developing countries, more than half the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development total and six or seven times that given by the countries of Eastern Europe. We see room for a matching effort here.

94. The Community was pleased to see the progress made at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy at Nairobi last month. This was the beginning of a long but vital road. We were closely involved in the preparation of the Programme of Action, and we welcome its adoption. The Conference will be seen as a milestone in the search for global solu-



tions to energy problems that affect developed and developing countries alike.

95. We in the Community know full well that the problems of the world economy, which affect us all, create a particular hardship for developing countries, and especially the poorest among them. That is why we welcomed the successful conclusion of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held at Paris and will do our best to ensure that it is followed by positive and concrete results which will help the least developed countries to overcome their fundamental problems.

96. No discussion of the international economy would be complete without a tribute to the efforts of the outgoing President of the General Assembly to bring all sides together in order to launch a new round of global negotiations. Last June the European Council expressed the view that preparations for the new round of global negotiations should be completed as soon as possible and called on the summit conferences in Ottawa and Cancún to give a positive impetus to those preparations. The Community wants to see relations between developed and developing countries take a new and constructive course.

97. In this connection, we were happy to note that those countries attending the Economic Summit at Ottawa declared themselves ready to participate in a mutually acceptable process of global negotiations in circumstances offering the prospect of meaningful progress. We welcome the recognition at the Ottawa summit of the importance of making increased resources available for the purposes of accelerated food production and food security in the developing world.

98. The Cancún summit will provide an exceptional opportunity, and we hope that the exchanges there will be imaginative and spontaneous. A two-day summit cannot achieve miracles, but the discussion could mark an important step forward in mutual understanding and provide a political impetus in the North-South dialogue. The atmosphere of the preparatory meeting for Cancún was an encouraging augury.

99. The third principle which governs the European Community's activities on the international stage is the defence of human rights. The Community is a group of States founded on a commitment to democratic principles. Our citizens participate in a political system which guarantees and respects the fundamental freedoms of the individual. Inevitably, therefore, the defence of human rights is a matter of concern to them.

100. We stand for the promotion and protection of all categories of human rights: civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. We especially condemn cases of torture, detention without trial or arbitrary execution. We think it deplorable that there should still be situations where people disappear without trace, or where they are persecuted on grounds of race or religion, or for defending human rights.

101. It is now accepted that these and other violations of human rights are a subject of proper and necessary concern for discussion at the United Nations. As States Members of the United Nations we all have the obligation to promote the protection of human rights in our own coun-

tries and in the international community as a whole. We shall continue to speak out against violations of human rights in appropriate United Nations forums and also at the Madrid review meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

102. Too often in the past the United Nations has been unable or has failed for reasons of political expediency to respond to flagrant violations of human rights. This undermines the credibility of the United Nations. We must not overlook such violations of human rights no matter where they occur. Rather, we should work together to protect the victims and to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to promote respect for human rights.

103. I hope that I have demonstrated that the European Community is a force for peaceful progress in a turbulent and troubled world. We threaten the security of no one. We have no ideology or system that we wish to impose on those of other cultures and traditions. We respect the right of all nations to self-determination and freedom from foreign interference, and we wish to help them in their pursuit of stable economic growth. It is our conviction that among the vast majority of the members of the Assembly there is an enormous potential for common understanding and co-operation which could only be for the benefit of all mankind.

*Mr. Hodoul (Seychelles), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

104. Mr. SONODA (Japan):\* On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I should like to extend heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Kittani on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that with his abundant experience in the United Nations and his manifest wisdom this session of the Assembly will prove to be a most fruitful one. The delegation of Japan, which shares his Asian heritage, will spare no effort in co-operating with him in the performance of his important duties.

105. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for his extraordinary accomplishments. We have been greatly impressed by his decisiveness and outstanding leadership throughout his tenure as President.

106. At the same time, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General. It was a great pleasure for me to be able to invite him to my country last June for an exchange of views on various questions with which the United Nations is engaged.

107. I wish also to take this opportunity to extend a most cordial welcome to Vanuatu, a friendly country in the South Pacific, on its admission to the United Nations. My country looks forward to promoting relations of friendship and co-operation with this new Member State, both within and outside the United Nations.

108. Today's world is characterized by flux and instability in political situations as well as in international economic relations. I should like to take up, first of all,

\* Mr. Sonoda spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

the question of disarmament as a means of reversing the trend of world instability and setting the international community on a more solid foundation.

109. The awesome development in recent years of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems could lead to the danger of instantly bringing mankind to the brink of total annihilation. It is the most urgent task for the sake of world stability and development to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, including the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

110. Today, while the dialogue between East and West is stalled, nuclear testing continues to be conducted, the production of nuclear weapons accelerated, their sophistication and diversification further promoted, and their deployment rapidly increased. Indeed, the total strength of the nuclear arsenal in the world today is said to be equivalent to about one million Hiroshima bombs. And yet there seems to be no cessation of the nuclear arms race. This situation gravely threatens mankind. Japan strongly urges all nuclear-weapon States to recognize their grave responsibilities to future generations and to make utmost efforts, from a broader perspective, towards the promotion of nuclear disarmament for the peace and security of the world.

111. In particular, Japan implores both the United States and the Soviet Union to be mindful of their crucial responsibilities and to make every effort in promoting negotiations aiming at the limitation and substantial reduction of strategic weapons. In this connection, I welcome the recent indications that negotiations may begin between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of theatre nuclear forces. It is my earnest hope that the two countries will take advantage of the opportunity to promote the dialogue for strengthening world peace and stability.

112. In my statement on the occasion of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first devoted to disarmament, in 1978, I made an appeal to the effect that: "If we wish to move towards the realization of general and complete disarmament, there is no way open to us other than to keep this ideal always in mind and to proceed step by step with concrete and feasible measures". [9th meeting, para. 116.]

113. While the attainment of general and complete disarmament is the common goal of all mankind, at the same time disarmament is inseparable from the maintenance of the security of each State, and therefore, needless to say, it is difficult to promote. It should be frankly admitted that in the present international community, the balance of power among countries, whether on a regional or a global scale, constitutes a basis for the maintenance of international peace and security.

114. However, in order to place the international community on a more stable foundation in the long run, Japan considers it essential to pursue genuine disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, so that peace and security can be secured at a lower level of armament while maintaining the balance of power. Keeping this goal in mind, we should make efforts, step by step, towards disarmament measures accompanied by effective means of verification. I earnestly hope that resources will be released by disarmament efforts and reallocated for promoting in-

ternational cultural exchange, and for contributing to a solution of the North-South problem as well as to the development of the world economy.

115. Japan is of the view that a comprehensive nuclear test ban constitutes the first step in halting the nuclear arms race: it is the most urgent task among all concrete disarmament measures and should be realized as soon as possible. I also strongly urge that negotiations be expedited towards the prohibition of chemical weapons which, like nuclear weapons, are weapons of mass destruction.

116. Japan sincerely hopes that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to be convened next year will impel the international community to halt the continuing arms race which threatens mankind with unthinkable catastrophe, and initiate serious international efforts towards the ultimate elimination of all types of nuclear weapons. In this regard, Japan expects the second special session, to review the factors which have obstructed developments in the field of disarmament since the first special session and to conduct concrete and constructive deliberations on ways and means of making progress towards general and complete disarmament. Japan, strictly upholding the three non-nuclear principles—of not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing them and not permitting their introduction into Japan—and wishing to promote disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is resolved to play a positive role towards this goal.

117. It goes without saying that a stable and expanding world economy is indispensable if those forces unsettling the world today are to be eliminated and peace and prosperity are to be achieved. Since the two oil crises, many countries have been confronted with difficulties: severe recessions, increased unemployment, accelerated rates of inflation and a disequilibrium in their balance of payments. On the other hand, as the economies of nations become increasingly interdependent, the bond is becoming stronger between developed and developing countries, which are passengers sharing a common fate on the great ship of the world economy.

118. Under these circumstances, the one and only direction in which North-South relations can proceed is towards co-operation and mutual reinforcement by donor and recipient countries to improve the world economy and intensify the quest for world peace. We firmly believe that North-South confrontation must cease, and that the new relationship between North and South, in this period of transition into a new era, should be based on a spirit of interdependence and a mutuality of interests.

119. On the basis of this belief, Japan intends to deal vigorously with North-South problems and contribute to the promotion of a constructive North-South dialogue.

120. As is known, Japan supports the launching of the global negotiations at the earliest date possible as part of this North-South dialogue. With regard to the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held next month at Cancún, Japan will strive to make the most of this important opportunity to promote a North-South dialogue based on the recognition of our interdependence and mutuality of interests. I earnestly hope that one result of that meeting will be the creation of a

favourable climate for the launching of the global negotiations.

121. Japan has been actively promoting economic co-operation in order to contribute to the solution of the North-South problem and also to the maintenance of peace and stability in the world.

122. Japan therefore attaches great importance to the expansion and improvement of official development assistance, and in 1978 set as its medium-term target the doubling of its official development assistance within three years. In 1980, the final year, Japan surpassed that target in its official development assistance disbursements. In January of this year we established a new medium-term target, and, in striving to achieve that target, Japan will continue to improve its ratio of official development assistance to gross national product, and will make an effort, in the five-year period beginning in 1981, to more than double the total official development assistance disbursed in the five-year period 1976-1980; in other words, more than \$21.4 billion over the next five years. Despite its strained financial situation, Japan is sparing no effort to expand and improve its official development assistance.

123. In the implementation of assistance, Japan intends to continue to place emphasis on such areas as rural and agricultural development, development of energy sources, aid for basic human needs and co-operation for the development of human resources, since it is in those areas that a direct contribution can be made to the stabilization of the livelihood and improvement of the welfare of people in developing countries.

124. In the trade area, Japan decided this year to extend the application period of the Generalized System of Preferences for another 10-year period in order to help promote the trade efforts of developing countries. In addition, since April 1980 there have been in effect such special measures as free preferential rates of duty and the abolition of ceilings with respect, as a rule, to all products covered by the System originating from the least developed countries.

125. With regard to the Common Fund for Commodities, to the finalization of which Japan actively contributed, Japan became a party to the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund<sup>12</sup> in June of this year in the hope of facilitating its early inception. We believe that the Common Fund, which was agreed upon after long and difficult negotiations as a means to achieve the stabilization of the prices of the primary commodities developing countries produce, is a noteworthy achievement in the history of North-South relations. It is our strong hope that Member States will expeditiously become parties to the Agreement so that it can come into force by the target date of 31 March 1982.

126. Now I should like to take up the major problems which have brought about instability in the present international situation, and to present the views of my Government.

127. In considering the unstable situations in the world today, Japan, as an Asian nation, must first of all take up the situation in Kampuchea, which has gravely affected the peace and stability of South-East Asia. The core of

the Kampuchean problem lies in the fact that foreign military intervention has led to the denial of the Kampuchean people's right of self-determination and that, as a result, South-East Asia's peace and security have been threatened and its stability and prosperity disrupted.

128. In this connection, we were gratified that, as a first step towards the solution of the Kampuchean problem, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened last July in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6, with the participation of two thirds of the States Members of the United Nations, including a large number of non-aligned countries. My delegation sincerely welcomed the adoption by consensus of the Declaration and the resolution of the Conference on Kampuchea.<sup>13</sup>

129. I strongly appeal to all countries concerned that they respect the principles and concrete measures contained in the Declaration of the Conference, which reflects the voice of the international community and aims at a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem. Also, we urge that negotiations be started promptly for the withdrawal of foreign forces and the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

130. Japan, as an elected member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the Conference, will contribute to the best of its ability to the earliest possible restoration of peace in Kampuchea.

131. In the process leading to negotiations on the solution, I believe it might also be useful if, for example, the Secretary-General, in close contact with the *Ad Hoc* Committee, would send to the countries concerned, including those absent from the Conference, a special representative who would convey to them the results of the Conference and explore means of facilitating negotiations for a comprehensive political solution.

132. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my deep sympathy to Thailand, which is bearing a heavy burden imposed by the influx of Indochinese refugees, including those from Kampuchea. The Government of Japan pays high tribute to the efforts of the United Nations in providing relief assistance to the Indochinese refugees and in expediting their voluntary return to their homelands, and further earnestly hopes that the Organization will play an even more effective role in the future. Japan has been actively extending relief assistance to the Indochinese refugees for humanitarian reasons and also in the hope of reducing the heavy burden borne by the nations of South-East Asia. However, in solving the refugee problem it is of urgent importance, not only to provide relief assistance to refugees, but also to find ways to eradicate the root cause of the refugee problem. Japan therefore renews its appeal to those countries from which refugees are fleeing to make further efforts to restrain their outflow.

133. I should like to say a few words about the Korean peninsula. I firmly support the proposal made recently by the Government of the Republic of Korea that a dialogue between the South and North be resumed, for example by exchanging visits between the top leaders of both sides. It is my earnest hope that continued efforts will be made for the realization of such a dialogue. The United Nations has so far played an important role in restoring and maintain-

ing peace in the Korean peninsula, and consideration should be given to utilizing the Secretary-General's good offices to enable South and North Korea to resume a dialogue.

134. I cannot help noting that serious events which have resulted in the destabilization of the international situation have centred on the South-West Asian region as well as the Middle East.

135. The Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan—an armed intervention by foreign troops denying a nation its right of self-determination—is an undisguised challenge to international justice and to the Charter of the United Nations. It can in no way be condoned. On this occasion, I should like once again to appeal, in the strongest terms, to the Soviet Union to heed the repeated calls of the international community and immediately withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and respect the Afghan people's right of self-determination.

136. My country fully sympathizes with the Government of Pakistan, which is experiencing manifold difficulties in receiving refugees from Afghanistan. It intends to continue for humanitarian reasons, as well as from considerations of regional peace and stability, to extend positive co-operation to relief activities through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as well as through other organizations.

137. We are deeply concerned by the continued fighting that unfortunately broke out between Iran and Iraq last year. I should like to urge those two countries to cease fighting as soon as possible and to settle the conflict by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Moreover, I should like to appeal to them to co-operate so that the conciliation efforts of the United Nations, through the Secretary-General's representative, may be successful.

138. The peace and stability of the Middle East are essential to the peace and prosperity of the world. Japan strongly hopes that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace will be achieved in the region by peaceful means and at an early date. It is of the view that such a peace should be achieved through the complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and through recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination under the Charter.

139. Japan further believes that in order to achieve a just solution to the question of Palestine, which constitutes the core of the Middle East question, it is necessary that both the Palestinian people's right of self-determination and Israel's right to exist be mutually recognized and that the PLO, which represents the Palestinian people, participate in the peace process.

140. Turning now to the situation in Lebanon, it was most gratifying that the efforts of those involved resulted in a cease-fire last July. The Government of Japan, as a sponsor of Security Council resolution 490 (1981) calling for an immediate cessation of all armed attacks on Lebanon, sincerely welcomed that achievement.

141. We consider it of the utmost importance that that cease-fire be maintained and that international efforts be

made to move from that first step towards the solution of the Middle East question as a whole. I should like to appeal to all those concerned to exercise restraint and to refrain from any acts which would destroy the atmosphere in which such international efforts can be made.

142. The Government of Japan will continue to support strongly the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, which are playing a vital role in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East. Moreover, it urges all parties concerned likewise to extend their support to those operations.

143. In June of this year, Israel undertook the outrageous step of bombing an Iraqi nuclear reactor, violating international law and the Charter. That act also constitutes a challenge to the efforts of countries promoting the peaceful use of atomic energy while committed to nuclear non-proliferation. Japan strongly condemns that act and calls on Israel humbly to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981), which was adopted unanimously and which represents the minimum demand of world public opinion.

144. Destabilizing situations unfortunately still persist in Africa. That the practice of racial discrimination in South Africa has not yet been eradicated is a particularly serious problem. Japan strongly urges the Government of South Africa to eradicate immediately the policies of *apartheid*, which run counter to the principles of the Charter.

145. Furthermore, it is utterly deplorable that, owing to the intransigent attitude of the Government of South Africa, free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations have not been held in Namibia, nor has Namibia achieved its independence. Japan reaffirms its view that the question of Namibia should be solved on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and wishes to express its earnest hope that the countries concerned will make further efforts towards an early solution of that problem.

146. Japan has declared its readiness to participate actively in the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group and hopes that the Group will begin its operations and that Namibian independence will be achieved at the earliest possible date.

147. I cannot help expressing deep concern at the current situation of the rapidly increasing number of refugees in Africa. At the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa held in April of this year, Japan declared its intention to extend positive co-operation to that problem. I believe that every country should continue to extend maximum assistance for the relief of those refugees, who are suffering from starvation and disease.

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

149. In accordance with that policy, my country sincerely hopes to develop relations of friendship and co-operation, based on true mutual understanding, with the Soviet Union, one of its most important neighbours. However, there still exists between the Soviet Union and Japan an unsettled territorial issue. The Northern Territories, reversion of which Japan has always demanded from the Soviet Union, comprise the islands of the Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu. It is clear from the historical as well as the legal viewpoint that those islands are not included in the Kurile Islands, to which Japan renounced its title under the Peace Treaty signed at San Francisco on 8 September 1951. A peace treaty has not yet been concluded between our two countries because the territorial issue remains unsettled. This constitutes a major obstacle to the development of our relationship on a stable basis. I must also point out that we have been confronted with an extremely regrettable situation whereby the Soviet Union has recently deployed and strengthened its military forces in the Northern Territories.

150. The Government of Japan demands that this situation be promptly rectified, and strongly urges the Soviet Union to come to the negotiating table with a view to settling the northern territorial issue and thereby concluding a peace treaty. I firmly believe that further development of relations of true friendship between Japan and the Soviet Union upon the settlement of this issue will contribute to the peace and stability of Asia and to that of the world as well.

151. Incidentally, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in his statement today [7th meeting] made a reference alleging that Japan is getting involved in the establishment of military co-operation between the United States and China. I must state clearly that this is an entirely groundless allegation.

152. It is my conviction that in order to enhance the stability and prosperity of the international community the United Nations should be utilized in a more positive way as a means of reversing current trends in the world situation. A number of difficulties and limitations certainly confront the United Nations in the actual performance of its functions. We must not forget, however, that the ability of the United Nations to play an effective role in settling the problems before us depends precisely on our attitude as Member States.

153. In establishing the United Nations mankind entrusted to it its hope for world peace and prosperity. I consider it extremely important today for each Member State to remember this original ideal. In order to revitalize its functions, the role of the United Nations must be considered not in a passive way by asking what can be expected of the Organization but in a positive way by seeking to utilize it effectively in solving problems.

154. I believe that in today's international community, where the interdependence of States and of regions continues to grow, important world problems can never be resolved without international effort. As mankind's only universal international Organization, the United Nations should be utilized in an effective way as a forum for the promotion of such international endeavours.

155. I should like to conclude my statement by appealing not only to the world's most powerful nations but to

all Member States to make joint efforts to eliminate the destabilizing elements in the world and thus attain the common goal of lasting peace and prosperity for mankind.

156. Mr. LEVI (Papua New Guinea): At the outset my delegation joins previous speakers in extending to the President our congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. With his vast experience and diplomatic skills he will ably lead us throughout his term. I should also like to extend our profound gratitude to his predecessor for the skilful and excellent manner in which he conducted the business of the last session.

157. On 15 September the General Assembly witnessed a momentous occasion, which marked the admission of the Republic of Vanuatu to the United Nations. It was a historic and joyous occasion, especially for those of us from the South Pacific. With great pride and pleasure, Papua New Guinea welcomes Vanuatu as the one hundred and fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations. Its joining this body is significant, because it adds to the small but growing community of South Pacific countries in the United Nations. We sincerely hope that Vanuatu will not be the last, and look forward to more of our neighbours in the South Pacific joining us.

158. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Walter Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu, and his people on their achievement. It is to their credit that through their skill and dedication Vanuatu was able to withstand some trying times at independence and establish a strong and stable Government. Vanuatu has been independent for just over 12 months. During that period it has taken giant steps in nation-building and has become a strong voice in regional affairs. We wish Vanuatu all success and look forward to working closely with its Government on many global issues, both in this forum and elsewhere.

159. The pursuit of international peace and security is the most fundamental task of the United Nations. When peace is threatened, all other development initiatives of this body temporarily cease to be important. Peace and harmony among nations is the greatest catalyst for developing an equitable international community, where any nation, no matter how large or small, how impoverished or wealthy, can fruitfully seek to improve the lives of its people.

160. Today we are witnessing a destabilization of international security brought about by territorial greed and ideological ambition. The haves are taking from the have-nots. Whole countries are being swallowed up. Tension grows between the super-Powers, bringing the world closer to the brink of nuclear confrontation. These tensions have affected and will continue to affect the majority of the world's population, the innocent bystanders, who have not contributed, and may not contribute, to these rivalries.

161. Faced with this prospect, we think it timely and indeed necessary to appeal to the super-Powers and those nations with a nuclear strike capability to weigh again the enormous responsibility that they carry for world peace.



162. Disarmament, as a realistic avenue to peace, does not seem to have achieved any positive results. As of today there has been no meaningful reduction in the manufacture, stockpiling and strategic positioning of intercontinental nuclear weapons.

163. The arms race, rather than being reversed or slowed, is escalating to new peaks of sophistication and destructive force, in both its conventional and nuclear aspects. Added to this already alarming situation is the production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. Recent press reports indicating the use of toxic chemical weapons in South-East Asia and Afghanistan are even more alarming. The use of such weapons is a flagrant violation of relevant international conventions prohibiting their use.

164. My delegation is dismayed by these developments and believes that there must be a point at which reason triumphs over suspicion where a common threat to mankind is honestly acknowledged and nations of influence resolve to redress this position with single-minded purpose.

165. In this respect, we urge the United States and the Soviet Union to approach future Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with a greater determination to achieve tangible gains for mankind. As two of the most powerful nations, they have a correspondingly sizeable obligation to ensure that peace and global stability are not compromised for purely strategic gains.

166. My delegation wishes also to draw attention once again to the enormous annual global expenditures on arms and defence. As a third world country facing a difficult economic decade, Papua New Guinea sympathizes with the least developed countries which have yet to overcome the far more basic problems of feeding and providing adequate health care for their people.

167. My delegation believes it is time that defence and the nuclear-arms race were looked at in a proper humanitarian perspective. While nations arm in the name of providing a deterrent to conflict so that lives may be saved, malnutrition, disease, floods and famine are claiming millions of lives that could otherwise have been saved with a little more humanitarian concern by the wealthy nations.

168. It is Papua New Guinea's intention to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We believe that efforts to curb the threat of nuclear warfare can be achieved by increasing collectively the desire of States Members of the United Nations which are concerned with the blatant misuse of nuclear technology.

169. One aspect of this abuse of technology which is of great concern to Papua New Guinea and other Pacific States is the continued testing of nuclear weapons in our region and proposals by other States to conduct experimental dumping of nuclear waste in our waters. I specifically refer here to France's testing of nuclear weapons at Moruroa Atoll and the intention of the United States and Japan to dump nuclear waste.

170. By their own admission these countries have said that these tests are experimental. The after-effects are not

known and nobody can say with certainty what the long-term effects will be on our peaceful region. Papua New Guinea is distressed by these developments and wishes to make clear that the actions of France and the stated intentions of the United States and Japan are morally wrong and a breach of accepted international conduct.

171. I repeat Papua New Guinea's position that, if these nations wish to conduct dangerous tests, they should do so within their own territorial areas. The Pacific Island States will not continue to tolerate abuses of this sort. Our peoples have a far greater affinity with the land and sea than peoples of the industrialized nations. To jeopardize these assets, which are the sources of our livelihood, can lead only to a straining of relations and rising antagonism.

172. I should now like to turn to the issue of decolonization and to reiterate Papua New Guinea's strong support for the principles of free determination of all peoples. We believe that colonialism is a thing of the past and that the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories should be granted their inalienable right to chart their own destiny, as stated in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In this respect we wish to draw the Assembly's attention to the position adopted by the Twelfth South Pacific Forum, meeting in Vanuatu last month, which reaffirmed our belief in the principles of self-determination and independence applying to non-self-governing Pacific island countries, including the French territories. Further, the South Pacific Forum decided to consult with the French President on the evolution of the new French Government's policy with respect to progress towards decolonization of the people of the French Pacific territories.

173. Papua New Guinea is particularly worried by the possible ramifications should France decide not to create a climate that will ensure that the people of New Caledonia are given the right to choose their own destiny. We sense that a continuation of the *status quo* will exacerbate the growing frustration and tension of the ethnic Melanesian population which could lead to instability, not only in New Caledonia itself but throughout the South Pacific region.

174. Papua New Guinea will also continue to support decolonization in other parts of the world.

175. The situation in Namibia continues to cause grave concern to my country. Even though we are far from the shores of Africa, we whole-heartedly support the movement in Namibia to free that Territory from the yoke of colonization by the racist régime in Pretoria. The Government of South Africa has no legitimate or even moral right to be in Namibia. The International Court of Justice has said so, as has the world community, which continues to say so. The South African Government also continues to ignore the people of Namibia as they cry out for freedom. The Organization has proposed peaceful means to resolve this dilemma in the form of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Even though the South African régime was amenable to that resolution and seemed to have been prepared to accept it, it suddenly made an about-face early this year. We question the true intentions and motives of the South African Government. Are they sincere or are they merely playing games? They fooled the United Nations and even the contact group. Despite the reversal of the South African position, some Members tell

us to exercise moderation in order to entice South Africa back to its 1978 position.

176. While we procrastinate, the people of Namibia continue to suffer. How long should such suffering be tolerated? We on the outside cannot, in reality, measure the pain that is being borne by the people of Namibia, a burden that should be removed quickly. There was hope early this year, but that has almost disappeared. In fact, South Africa's recent attitudes and actions seem to us to have jeopardized the last vestige of hope for an early peaceful settlement of the Namibia question. The world must act to assist the people of Namibia in achieving their independence. In fact, this Assembly has acted and continues to do so. The people of Namibia should not lose heart, since an overwhelming majority of the world continues to give them moral support. This is evidenced by the adoption of resolution ES-8/2 on 14 September 1981 by the General Assembly. It was supported by 117 Members, including Papua New Guinea; while 25 abstained, no one voted against it. Even though there were some elements which may have caused us to make some reservations in our position, we deliberately refrained from doing so. The situation in Namibia, in our view, has gone beyond the necessity for adhering to our reservations as they apply specifically to Namibia. We now regard Namibia as a special and unique case because of the present unnecessary prolongation of a peaceful settlement.

177. The continuing conflict in the Middle East has had a profound effect on the international community, and although we are geographically remote from that region we acknowledge the principle of interdependence of nations and support all initiatives to bring about a lasting and equitable solution.

178. We commend the United Nations for its efforts in attempting to resolve that conflict and urge that those efforts be redoubled as a matter of urgency. It is my delegation's view that the United Nations can play a constructive role and successfully mediate in bringing about a solution. However, we note with grave concern that efforts by the United Nations are threatened by the increasing sale of arms to Middle East States involved in the conflict. We believe that continued arms sales can only prolong the crisis and cause further division between the parties in conflict.

179. Efforts such as the Camp David agreements which aim to provide a basis for comprehensive and lasting settlement receive Papua New Guinea's support. We are mindful of other efforts towards peace in the region, and they too receive our endorsement.

180. I mentioned earlier Papua New Guinea's total and unqualified opposition to manipulation and interference in the affairs of small, underdeveloped States by nations possessing superior military and economic resources.

181. The most blatant examples of unprovoked aggression have occurred in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where puppet Governments supported by foreign military forces have been installed. Papua New Guinea does not recognize either Government. We believe that the situation in Afghanistan cannot be normalized while Soviet troops continue to occupy parts of that country.

182. In this regard, Papua New Guinea supports the efforts of the European Council to convene an international conference aimed at bringing all parties to the conflict together for negotiations. We also support initiatives to arrange talks between Afghanistan and neighbouring States.

183. We note that the Soviet Union has not responded to a United Nations resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's act of unprovoked aggression and its arrogant disregard of world opinion constitute a serious violation of international law and pose a marked threat to world peace and stability.

184. Similarly, Papua New Guinea continues to deplore the intervention of foreign forces in Kampuchea and will maintain its position of not recognizing the Heng Samrin régime installed by the Vietnamese.

185. We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, under General Assembly resolution 35/6, in hosting the recent International Conference on Kampuchea in July this year and we support the Declaration of that Conference.<sup>13</sup> My delegation believes that that Declaration embodies the prerequisites for a negotiated settlement in Kampuchea.

186. I should also like to commend recent efforts by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to unite the Khmer factions in their struggle to liberate Kampuchea from Viet Nam. The recent meeting of the three main Khmer factions in Singapore was significant. The Joint Statement issued as a result of that meeting [see A/36/498] demonstrates the continuing desire and willingness of the Kampuchean people jointly to work towards liberating their homeland from foreign aggression.

187. Papua New Guinea also wishes to reiterate its view that a meaningful and lasting solution in Kampuchea can only be achieved through the total co-operation of Viet Nam, and we strongly urge Viet Nam to adhere to the wishes of the international community as contained in resolution 35/6 and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

188. In the recent past the international community has realized that the economic welfare of each sovereign nation depends on a network of interdependence. At the same time it has noted that there is a widening gap between developed and developing countries on many economic issues. The new international economic order, when it was mooted in 1974 [see *General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], was intended to find ways and means to rectify the imbalance in economic conditions. The Government of Papua New Guinea is concerned that the progress being made in achieving the objective of a new international economic order has so far been slow.

189. The efforts that have been made at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation to bring about an equitable international economic order or changes in the existing world economic system have my delegation's support.

190. Papua New Guinea is appreciative of the progress being made through UNCTAD in achieving the objec-

tives of an integrated programme for commodities, particularly the arrangements on the Common Fund for Commodities and individual international commodities.

191. My delegation supports efforts by the international community to bring about a new structure to regulate trade in primary commodities with a view to achieving price levels which are remunerative for producers and equitable for consumers.

192. The Lomé Convention has assisted Papua New Guinea greatly in areas such as access to funds and technical expertise from the European Community countries to help implement development projects. Although Papua New Guinea's major export commodities have duty-free access to the markets of the European Community, my delegation has noted that the original purpose of the Lomé arrangement—to secure more balanced and fairer trade—has yet to be achieved.

193. We note with interest the set of concrete recommendations for a programme of action in several key areas of restructuring the international economy contained in the Brandt Commission report.<sup>14</sup> The report is complementary to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the Pearson report<sup>15</sup> sponsored by the World Bank. The significance of the Brandt report is based on the emphasis it places on mutuality of interest. The report is consistent with the decisions of the fourth session of UNCTAD and the new international economic order in that it calls for the restructuring of the international economic system so as to ensure a greater flow of benefits to developing countries. In addition, the report emphasizes the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers, which Papua New Guinea believes is a prerequisite for improving terms of trade for both developed and developing countries.

*Mr. Kittani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.*

194. As a developing country, Papua New Guinea supports the recommendations of the Brandt Commission report, in particular those covering trade and development finance.

195. We note that most codes or agreements on non-tariff measures that have been concluded are now in force, yet some developed countries have not applied them. Despite the marked achievements in multilateral trade negotiations, developing countries continue to face undue restrictions in developed market economies.

196. My delegation notes with dismay that in international economic relations increasing protectionist tendencies are shown by developed countries. Most industrialized countries maintain comparatively low average tariff levels, yet some individual tariffs remain high, especially for products of export interest to developing countries. Papua New Guinea opposes protectionism and supports the efforts made in multilateral trade negotiations to achieve freer world trade.

197. My delegation would like to see the implementation of the various plans of action proposed by the United Nations and its agencies. The Lima Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation<sup>16</sup> and related new international economic order proposals for a substantial acceleration in the industrialization of the developing

countries clearly imply major structural shifts in the patterns of world production and trade in manufactured goods. In particular, a rapid increase in industrial capacity and in the availability of manufactured goods for export from developing countries would require a restructuring of the industrial sector of developed countries to accommodate a large expansion in imports from developing countries.

198. Although Papua New Guinea does not have a large manufacturing sector, we support the Lima Plan of Action and hope that in implementing that Plan the rural needs and aspirations of the developing countries will be given due consideration.

199. Papua New Guinea also supports the principle of economic co-operation among developing countries. We have become a member of various regional groupings and of a selected number of United Nations specialized agencies in an attempt to achieve our aims.

200. It should be remembered that the slow progress in achieving the aims of economic co-operation among developing countries has been the direct or indirect result of the negative attitude shown by industrialized nations. For example, during the 1970s and early 1960s the issue of decolonization was the major concern of the emerging States. Political currents at the time had induced third world countries to adopt positions of confrontation towards industrialized nations. As a result very little or no effort was directed towards meaningful co-operation in the fields of economic and social development. In this connection my delegation believes that a positive attitude by developed and developing countries in playing their part in development issues will pave the way to achievement of the aims of a new international economic order.

201. I should now like to make a brief reference to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has been meeting since 1974. The objective of the Conference is to produce a universally accepted convention that will govern the uses of the sea and its resources.

202. However, we are disappointed that the Conference was not able to implement the programme of work which it adopted during the second half of the ninth session at Geneva in August last year and which called for the conclusion of the Conference and adoption of a convention during the tenth session in March-April 1981. The delay in the conclusion of the work of the Conference and the adoption of a convention has been caused by the United States Government's desire to review certain provisions of the draft convention. It is my delegation's hope that the United States Government's review will not call for renegotiations on provisions that have already been agreed upon by the Conference. To do so would jeopardize the results achieved so far through the painstaking negotiations over the past decade and prevent the early adoption of a convention on the law of the sea. My delegation therefore supports the early conclusion and adoption of a convention on the law of the sea by the end of the eleventh session, which is to be held in New York during March-April 1982. The convention should be open for signature in Caracas in the autumn of the same year.

203. I have touched upon only some of the issues that beset the world today. These problems, in my Govern-

ment's view, are serious. They must be solved. It is our duty to solve them. No other people will do that for us. But to do so, we must be practical and realistic. We must co-operate with each other to the fullest extent. If we do not, these problems will increase to the point where it will be too late to find solutions to them.

204. Mr. OLESEN (Denmark): First of all, Mr. President, I want to offer my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The professional and personal qualities which you have so clearly demonstrated make you eminently qualified.

205. Secondly, I wish to extend a most sincere welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu to our global family of nations.

206. The perspectives for the future are gloomy. More than ever we, the Members of the United Nations, are obliged to devote all our attention to finding peaceful solutions to the world's problems in strict accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

207. International tension is mounting and the arms race is accelerating despite efforts to the contrary. Fundamental principles of the Charter are still being violated by the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan and by the presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. The continuing tension in the Middle East, which has recently been increasing, endangers peace not only in the region itself. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its oppressive system of *apartheid* pose an ever-increasing threat to peaceful developments on the African continent. In El Salvador, the population is suffering from a brutal civil war with a Government offering no peaceful solution.

208. The world-wide economic recession has become a critical factor for us all. And even more so has the growing gap between rich and poor nations of the world. As was stated in the report of the Brandt Commission, this problem constitutes one of the most serious challenges to the international community in the years ahead. A solution of the North-South problem is not only necessary for building a more equitable world economic order. It will play a key role in the maintenance of world peace as well.

209. Another most distressing factor is the increasing violation of fundamental human rights in many parts of the world.

210. I have mentioned only a few factors contributing to the deterioration of the international situation. Another major disturbing factor is, of course, the growth of a climate of distrust between East and West. There is an urgent need to halt this trend and re-establish a comprehensive dialogue. Only thus will it be possible to maintain and further the efforts towards détente, to which there is no reasonable or acceptable alternative.

211. One component of the ongoing East-West dialogue to which we attach particular importance is the follow-up to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975. We earnestly hope that it will prove possible to

reach agreement in Madrid on a balanced and substantial concluding document, including progress on human aspects of détente and a concrete mandate for a European disarmament conference. A result along these lines would also contribute substantially to improving East-West relations and the international situation as a whole.

212. Unfortunately, the current international tensions have a marked negative impact on the disarmament efforts within and outside the framework of the United Nations. The continued world-wide arms race underlines the importance of pursuing the disarmament dialogue, which would also foster a successful outcome of the second special General Assembly session on disarmament next year.

213. Let us not forget the basic common interests shared by all nations. These transcend national and ideological frontiers which lie behind that dialogue. Never before in the history of mankind would a broad armed conflict have such terrible effects as it would in the nuclear age. Life on this planet is at stake, and there will be no winners.

214. The paramount horrors inherent in the continued arms race are accompanied by the paradox that, in the face of global poverty and starvation afflicting billions of people, the amount spent on official development assistance is less than \$25 billion, while global military expenditure is approaching \$500 billion.

215. The arms race, nuclear as well as conventional, is heavily concentrated on a limited number of countries which account for the major part of the world's military arsenals. These countries carry a special responsibility for setting an international example and for contributing actively to the international disarmament endeavours.

216. Nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation remain issues of the highest priority. A further spread of nuclear weapons would have far-reaching repercussions on international security and stability. Consequently, no efforts should be spared to convince States which have not acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that there is no alternative to that Treaty. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by additional States would in no way improve their security perceptions. On the contrary, it would inevitably lower the threshold of nuclear war.

217. The only alternative to a further spread of nuclear weapons is a gradual lessening of the degree of dependence on nuclear weapons for national security purposes, leading to complete destruction of all existing stockpiles of such weapons. For this reason Denmark fully supports a continuation of the SALT process.

218. We warmly welcome the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to start substantive negotiations on long-range theatre nuclear forces in Europe later this year. Negotiations for a comprehensive test-ban treaty have now been going on for four years. It is time for the international community to press its justified demand for an early conclusion of such a treaty.

219. So far I have mentioned only nuclear weapons, but the efforts to halt the arms race must comprise all types of weapons, including conventional weapons, which ac-

count for more than 80 per cent of total world military expenditure.

220. Denmark has argued for many years that more attention should be given to the conventional arms race. Pursuant to a Danish initiative, the General Assembly last year adopted resolution 35/156 A, approving in principle the carrying out of a study by the Secretary-General, with the assistance of a group of experts appointed by him, on all aspects of conventional weapons and agreeing that the Disarmament Commission should work out the general approach, scope and structure of the study at its third substantive session earlier this year. The Commission had an inconclusive but fruitful discussion on this issue. We are convinced that based on the discussions in the Commission the General Assembly will be able this year to pursue the question.

221. Recent developments in the Middle East once more make it clear that the vicious circle of violence in the region must be broken. The confrontation between Israel and Arab countries carries serious implications for the stability and vulnerability of the entire region. The continuation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq adds to the tension. The unresolved problems in Lebanon complicate the situation even further, as mentioned by many before me.

222. The Danish Government welcomed the agreements reached at Camp David by Egypt, Israel and the United States and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel as important steps towards a comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict. Much to our regret we have still not seen any broadening of the peace process towards a comprehensive settlement.

223. A comprehensive peace settlement is a must. It is a fundamental conviction of my Government that peace can only be negotiated. A negotiated peace must build upon the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel, and justice for all the peoples, which implies recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

224. These are the basic principles of the Venice Declaration of the member States of the European Community,<sup>5</sup> and the wish of the Community to act as a catalyst is proving its worth.

225. Once more we are witnessing a further deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. The policies pursued by the South African Government augment and prolong human suffering and oppression. In Namibia, the South African illegal occupation continues in defiance of the United Nations resolutions and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. South Africa has intensified and widened its armed incursions into neighbouring States, most recently Angola. Denmark, like most members of the world community, strongly condemns these South African attacks.

226. The breakdown of the Geneva meeting in January 1981 demonstrated anew South African intransigence and delayed further the implementation of the Security Council resolutions on Namibia. The urgency of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa on this issue should be evident to everyone.

227. I should like to reaffirm my Government's firm support for urgent implementation of the United Nations plan endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). It would not be understood if all the five members of the Western contact group did not do their utmost now to act in accordance with the spirit behind the decisions of the United Nations. Denmark stands ready to contribute to the implementation of the plan and to the development of an independent Namibia.

228. In South Africa itself the *apartheid* system is being consolidated. No meaningful changes are in sight. The oppression of the majority of the population has assumed new and horrible forms. Banning and detention without charge or trial is but one example. The tragic incident in August of this year in the Nyanga township was an especially brutal manifestation of the *apartheid* policy. I cannot but express once more my Government's strong condemnation of the *apartheid* system. There is only one conclusion to draw: the international pressure on South Africa must be intensified and made more effective. Meanwhile, Denmark intends to continue and increase its humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of oppression in southern Africa.

229. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979 and the continued Soviet military presence in that country remain a constant source of destabilization in the region and an obstacle to the improvement of international relations. More than 10 per cent of the Afghan population has been forced to flee the country. This has placed a heavy burden on the neighbouring States, not to mention the sufferings of those who have remained in Afghanistan.

230. In spite of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and a number of other sincere initiatives aimed at a political solution to the crisis, the Soviet Union has chosen to ignore world opinion and to maintain its military presence in formerly non-aligned and independent Afghanistan. A solution must be found in which Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status can be assured. There simply is no alternative to pursuing an internationally acceptable negotiated settlement of the Afghan crisis as proposed by the member States of the European Community.

231. The armed Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea almost three years ago and the continued presence in that country of a large contingent of Vietnamese forces is a depressing example of persistent disregard of basic international principles. Denmark, like the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations, deeply deplores the fact that the Kampuchean people remains deprived of its right to determine its own future without outside interference.

232. Denmark fully supports the process initiated by the recent International Conference on Kampuchea and can only regret that Viet Nam, as one of the contending parties, did not take part. We urge Viet Nam to change its position and thus contribute constructively to an early negotiated solution of the Kampuchean problem. We should also like to see the Soviet Union take an active part in such negotiations.

233. The situation of many developing countries, and especially the poorest among them, is even more desper-



ate than it was a year ago. This must be of great concern to us, both as individual nations and as members of an organization like the United Nations whose aim is the promotion of international co-operation. The economic problems—often of a basic nature—which affect the whole world today have severe consequences. We would all benefit from the achievement of solutions to them. Furthermore, we are convinced that balanced and sustained results can be accomplished only if the nations of the world co-operate in attaining such solutions.

234. Against this background the lack of progress in the North-South dialogue over the past year is a serious disappointment to my Government and, understandably, even more so to the developing countries. The Danish Government firmly believes that open, frank and constructive co-operation among all nations is a prerequisite for achieving long-term economic and social prosperity as well as political stability. The present situation, which is close to a stalemate, should not be permitted to continue.

235. At this session of the General Assembly we can demonstrate our preparedness to move forward by reaching agreement on launching global negotiations. Denmark remains committed to the concept of a new round of global negotiations and believes that global negotiations as defined in General Assembly resolution 34/138 represent the right way to tackle the problems of the world economy and especially the problems faced by developing countries.

236. The procedure and agenda for the global negotiations have already been discussed for too long, and we all know what the remaining issues are. We hope that all States are prepared to make renewed efforts to achieve agreement on the remaining issues, thus allowing substantive negotiations to be started as soon as possible.

237. Many of us are looking forward to the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development in Mexico next month. Let us send the following message to the 22 participating heads of State: "You have now a decisive responsibility. The world will be disappointed in you if not all of you show the necessary will to live up to the intentions of the Brandt Commission's report." And to the rich countries in particular, it must be said: "Words alone are not enough. There is an urgent need now for real solutions where we—the rich countries—must demonstrate our willingness to sacrifice."

238. In August, the United Nations convened at Nairobi the Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. The Conference succeeded in reaching agreement on a comprehensive Programme of Action containing a wide range of recommendations on concerted efforts to promote the development and utilization of new and renewable sources of energy. In our view, the outcome of the Conference was satisfactory. The United Nations demonstrated for the first time its capacity for a constructive discussion on energy matters in a broad perspective within the North-South dialogue.

239. Another equally important event was the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which closed in Paris on the eve of the opening of this session of the General Assembly. On the whole, my delegation regards that Conference as a very successful one that achieved what could reasonably be expected. In par-

ticular, it demonstrated the broad solidarity of the international community—including developing countries outside the group of least developed countries—with the tragic plight of those countries. It was, however, a disappointment—but not a surprise—that the Socialist countries once again did not join the rest of the international community in that expression of solidarity.

240. Naturally, Denmark would have preferred a much stronger commitment in the parts of the Substantial New Programme of Action<sup>1</sup> dealing with the transfer of official development assistance. We are, however, satisfied that all donor countries reaffirmed the 0.7 per cent target as adopted in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly resolution 35/56, annex*]. We are also pleased to note that a substantial number of donor countries announced their firm intention to increase rapidly their assistance to the least developed countries in the context of their endeavours to reach that target.

241. Denmark already devotes some 0.25 per cent of its gross national product to official development assistance to the least developed countries. We welcome the mention of the 0.15 per cent sub-target for such assistance along with the call in the Programme of Action for efforts to double the assistance to those countries by 1985.

242. In the view of the Danish Government, one of the most important effects of the Conference was to draw the attention of the entire international community to the enormous problems of the least developed countries. The creation of a comprehensive framework for dealing with those problems at the national and international levels during the remaining years of the decade will sustain international attention and facilitate a solution of the problems. I pledge the full support of the Government of my country for the implementation and the follow-up of the Substantial New Programme of Action.

243. One of the major tasks of the United Nations is to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Under the Charter all Member States have pledged to co-operate with the United Nations in the attainment of that goal. Nevertheless, it is a tragic circumstance that violations of basic human rights are taking place on a growing scale around the world. At this very moment human beings are suffering from inhuman and cruel treatment because of their convictions.

244. I think it is an alarming fact that torture has become a part of daily life in an increasing number of countries. Who should make an outcry against this if not the United Nations?

245. That is the starting point of the Nordic initiative in the Commission on Human Rights aimed at establishing a United Nations voluntary fund for victims of torture.<sup>2</sup> In practice, such a fund would work on the basis of voluntary contributions for distribution through established channels of humanitarian assistance as humanitarian, legal and financial aid to victims of torture and to relatives of such victims.

246. The Nordic proposal has been endorsed by the Commission on Human Rights and subsequently by the Economic and Social Council, and we hope that this idea

will be finally approved at the present session of the General Assembly, with the broadest possible support.<sup>17</sup> Such a decision would also be a symbol of the general commitment of the United Nations to the cause of human rights.

247. Subject to parliamentary approval, my Government intends to earmark a relatively substantial contribution—1 million Danish kroner—to the proposed fund in the hope that other countries will feel able to make comparable contributions.

248. The tenor of my statement this year has not been optimistic. Optimism is not justified at this juncture. There are too many indications that the world is moving towards confrontation and crisis and away from reconciliation, international co-operation and peaceful settlement of disputes.

249. The world community must not, however, give up or despair at this unfortunate trend. The United Nations was founded in order to maintain international peace and security and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems. The Secretary-General has time and again emphasized the role that the Organization could play if given more opportunity. We, the Member States, have the means to do so. But we must demonstrate the necessary will and get rid of selfishness. Let us demonstrate the needed sense of universal solidarity and thereby devote ourselves to the noble principles of this great Organization.

250. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly represents recognition of your unquestioned qualities as a veteran diplomat and just recognition of the constructive role played by the country that you represent in such a dignified manner, Iraq, on the international scene. On behalf of the People's Republic of Angola, we are extremely pleased to express our heartfelt congratulations and our sincere wishes for success in the discharge of your mandate.

251. I should like to take this opportunity to extend to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar our sincere gratitude for his tireless work during the period in which he presided over the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and for the dignified and enlightened manner in which he discharged his high responsibilities.

252. I should also like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his considerable and significant efforts in the search for solutions to the thorny problems which the international community faces.

253. It is with profound concern that we address the Assembly inasmuch as the international situation has worsened considerably to the very point of threatening the actual survival of humanity. The present crisis in the process of achieving détente has created a new danger for international peace and stability.

254. Despite the praiseworthy and persistent efforts of the socialist countries and of the democratic and peace-loving and justice-loving forces throughout the world to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament and the world-wide prohibition of the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, notably nuclear and bac-

teriological weapons, including the neutron bomb, not only have conflicts between States and plots against the sovereignty and security of States increased, but also the arms race has proceeded even further in the escalation of the irrational. Moreover, the cold war has once again reappeared by virtue of the disastrous policies pursued by the present Administration in the United States, which is bent upon direct or indirect confrontation between East and West.

255. Thus, forces hostile to the emancipation of peoples continue to attack the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries as well as the right of peoples under foreign domination to self-determination and independence. More and more they have resorted to the use of force, military intervention, occupation and interference, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Thus, hotbeds of tension persist, above all in the Middle East, Africa—particularly in its southern part—South-West and South-East Asia, the Caribbean and Central America. New conflicts between States have been further exacerbating the international situation.

256. A year ago [7th meeting], we drew the attention of the Assembly to the progressive deterioration of the international situation. It is regrettable to note that its causes have persisted and their effects have been aggravated by the policies of certain Western Powers: the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the policy of non-alignment have not been strictly respected; aggression of all kinds against independent States has been fomented and encouraged; military bases have been imposed or strengthened in all parts of the world; the serious moves repeatedly made by the socialist countries and progressive and democratic forces aimed at achieving détente, general and complete disarmament and a comprehensive ban on the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction have been blocked; the arms race has been deliberately and dangerously encouraged; the efforts of the developing countries aimed at a gradual reduction of the existing and ever-growing gap between the rich and poor countries have been impeded; resolutions clearly setting forth the imperative need to make the Indian Ocean a real zone of peace have not been respected; and the legitimate right to independence of the Namibian, South African, Sahraoui, Palestinian, East Timorean, Chilean, Salvadorian and Puerto Rican peoples, as well as many others, have been thwarted.

257. In this alarming situation which clearly threatens the future of peoples, especially that of the peoples of the developing countries, and the growing tragedy of human beings subjected to exploitation, oppression and injustice, we are compelled to repeat our earlier words:

“It is time for the millions of human beings still without freedom or the right to choose their own future to be able to avail themselves of ways and means of fighting servitude, humiliation, tyranny, poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease.

“It is time for all developing peoples to take resolute action in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, expansionism, *apartheid* and the exploitation of man by man so as to be able freely to choose their own economic, political, social and cultural systems free from intimidation or pressure. It is time for

them to take into their own hands their own natural resources and to exploit them for their own benefit and not for the benefit of multinational corporations. It is time for them flatly to reject all forms of subordination and dependence on any Power and all interference and all pressure, be it political, economic or military. It is time for them to demand, in combined and concerted fashion, the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territories of their countries which have been established against their will. It is time for them to make an effective contribution to the safeguarding of international peace and security and the easing of international tension. It is time for them to make a further effort to find effective means of mobilizing their human, financial, organizational and technological resources, thus laying a solid foundation for mutual economic co-operation [in a wide variety of fields]”.

To achieve that, perhaps all that is necessary

“is for all the non-aligned countries without exception decisively to put into effect the final Declaration and the Programme of Action for economic co-operation approved at the historic Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, for the serious problems besetting the world today to be properly resolved. That is our hope and our conviction”.<sup>18</sup>

258. Directly faced with the provocations, acts of aggression and challenges of the racist and terrorist Pretoria régime, the People's Republic of Angola expects from the international community further commitment and decisions commensurate with the requirements of the moment, so that the Angolan people can, for its part, make greater efforts to expel the racist invaders, to retaliate against future acts of aggression and to ensure the defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the crucial situation facing southern Africa, any passiveness, any abdication of duty on the part of the international community would be a reward for illegality, a substantial encouragement for criminal acts of aggression and even a contribution to the consolidation of the minority racist and terrorist Pretoria régime.

259. No one here is unaware of the magnitude or the intent of the recent armed invasion perpetrated by the Pretoria régime against the People's Republic of Angola, or the enormous sacrifices already made by the people of Angola and the extremely high price it is paying, virtually alone, in thousands of human lives and in material damage, in the accomplishment of its internationalist duty and in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of international bodies concerning the independence of Namibia.

260. At that time, the head of State and Government of Angola took care to bring to the attention of the competent international bodies and forums the facts of the brutal aggression and its disastrous consequences. He requested the convening of an emergency meeting of the Security Council so that the Council could take effective measures commensurate with the situation, once it had recognized a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and a grave threat to international peace and security.

261. Despite the condemnations of the South African invasion made in firm and unequivocal terms by nearly the whole of the international community, the Government of the United States of America unscrupulously resorted to the use of the veto to oppose the adoption of a Security Council resolution that would have condemned the racist and terrorist Pretoria régime. That was clear proof of its close alliance with the shameful system of *apartheid*, and undeniable testimony to its denial of human rights and its insolent scorn for the African community in particular.

262. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia in May of 1967 as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence and the decision-making body of the United Nations for that Territory, the Pretoria régime and its allies have endeavoured to thwart the discharge of the mandate of that Council and have orchestrated a series of manoeuvres aimed at impeding or delaying as long as possible the inevitable independence of the Namibian people and, notably, the coming to power of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

263. In Security Council resolutions 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980) on the numerous premeditated, persistent and prolonged armed invasions perpetrated by South Africa, in flagrant violation of the airspace, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, the Security Council, among other things, in condemning South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola,

“... demands that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola” [resolution 428 (1978), para. 4];

“Demands that South Africa cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola ...” [resolution 447 (1979), para. 3];

“Requests Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States ...” [ibid., para. 5];

“Calls for the payment by South Africa of full and adequate compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the damage to life and property resulting from these acts of aggression” [resolution 475 (1980), para. 6];

“Decides to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African racist régime, in order to consider the adoption of more effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, including Chapter VII thereof” [ibid., para. 7].

264. As can be seen, the Security Council decided on numerous occasions to envisage the adoption of more effective measures against the Pretoria régime. And we have been awaiting those measures patiently to this day.

265. Thus, faced with the intransigence of the Pretoria régime in regard to putting an end to its illegal occupation

of Namibia, faced with its refusal to observe the relevant resolutions of competent international bodies, faced with the continued criminal aggression perpetrated against the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line States, which undeniably represents a serious threat to international peace and security, a particularly serious question arises: how many new acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, how many invasions or acts of premeditated armed aggression, how much loss of human life and how much more material damage must we suffer before the competent international bodies adopt the really effective measures that are available to them?

266. Everybody knows that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan elaborated and negotiated by the Western Powers within the contact group are being challenged by the present North American Administration, concerned as it is with providing protection to the *apartheid* régime and the latter's illegal interests in Namibia.

267. The contact group having expressed in Rome its "belief that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provided a solid basis for the achievement of a negotiated settlement"<sup>19</sup> of the Namibian question, Africa is waiting for the foreign ministers of the member nations of that group to establish, at their forthcoming meeting to be held on 24 September here in New York, the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without amendment of any kind, so that Namibia may become independent during 1982.

268. In South Africa itself, the situation continues to deteriorate progressively, to the extent that the internal contradictions of the *apartheid* régime have been aggravated and the heroic fighters of the African National Congress [ANC] tirelessly pursue their political and military activities, the effects of which have been recognized by the Pretoria régime and by the South African press. Our tributes and confirmation of our steadfast solidarity go to the ANC militants.

269. In Western Sahara, the heroic Sahraoui people, led by the POLISARIO Front,<sup>20</sup> its sole legitimate representative, is victoriously continuing its armed struggle against Moroccan occupation to recover its independence and its national sovereignty. It is with new, justified hope that we are awaiting the necessary political solution in the wake of the recent deliberations of the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which met from 24 to 26 August at Nairobi. We hope that the decision of that Committee to organize and conduct a general and free referendum on self-determination may become a reality as soon as possible, once a cease-fire has been established between the parties to the conflict, namely, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Morocco, and once the withdrawal of the Moroccan forces has been assured.

270. As regards the development of the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, we reaffirm that the specific proposals contained in the declarations of its Government since 15 May 1980 constitute a valid basis for the search for a negotiated political solution. What is essential is that the neighbouring countries, that is, Pakistan and Iran, heed these words, in line with the prin-

ciple of the peaceful settlement of disputes, because that would result in the normalization of relations among three neighbouring non-aligned countries and would favour the restoration of a climate of harmony and stability in the region.

271. For its part, the valiant people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has won appreciable success since last year in consolidation of its revolutionary process and in gaining control of its territory, as well as in the economic and social fields. It is, however, regrettable and inconceivable that the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea still do not occupy their rightful place in all international bodies.

272. Despite the persistent efforts of the heroic people of Korea to reunify its country peacefully and without any foreign interference in its internal affairs, we note with indignation the continued imperialist manoeuvres aimed at establishing two Koreas. It is imperative that there be an unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in the southern part of Korea, that the armistice agreement be replaced by a lasting peace agreement and that existing military bases there be dismantled, in order that the people of Korea in its entirety may make a reality of the three principles that are essential to its future: independence, peaceful reunification and national unity.

273. As regards the situation that prevails in East Timor, it is deplorable and unacceptable that foreign armed forces belonging to a member nation of the non-aligned movement should have occupied a part of the Territory—namely, the capital of the Democratic Republic of East Timor—ever since the proclamation of its independence in 1975, following the withdrawal of the former administering Power without its having defined or established the legal and political status of the Territory.

274. Last year the Portuguese Government decided to reassume its obligations and responsibilities with regard to East Timor, and it formally reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. We permit ourselves to hope that the Portuguese Government will effectively, with firmness and courage, make every effort to end the Indonesian military occupation and ensure the transfer of power to the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, in so far as it bears responsibility for finding a solution to this problem.

275. In this context, we appeal to the international community to note the verdict of the Permanent People's Tribunal on East Timor, which met in Lisbon from 19 to 21 June 1981. The verdict has been circulated as document A/36/448. That verdict clearly shows that the Indonesian Government has been guilty of the crime of war and genocide in East Timor and that the Government of the United States is guilty of complicity in the aggression.

276. It is incumbent upon the international community to render all possible assistance to the people of East Timor.

277. In the Middle East the problem remains the same, although its consequences are becoming even graver for the Arab peoples. As long as the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to recover their homeland, usurped by Israel, and to establish an independent State is not fully recognized by all, as long as Israel does not

withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, as long as it does not stop its criminal raids and aggression against Lebanon, as long as it continues its policy of establishing settlements in Palestinian or occupied Arab territory, as long as the United States of America does not stop supporting Israel in all possible ways in its plans for annexation, as long as Jerusalem is not fully restored to the Arab nation and as long as the so-called Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty represent a partial and separate commitment which does not take into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, thus constituting a gross violation of resolutions adopted by numerous international bodies, a just and lasting peace will never be achieved. However, we are convinced that the solution of the Palestinian problem and of the Middle East situation is in the hands of the Arab countries if they decide, together, to use all the means available to them against all those that support Israel.

278. We reaffirm our steadfast support for the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

279. We also take this occasion to reaffirm our tireless support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus in their just struggle to protect their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

280. In Latin America appreciable and positive changes have taken place thanks to the courageous struggle waged by the peoples there. We commend the victories won by the people of El Salvador and their front-line organizations, the Frente Democrático Revolucionario and the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Nacional Farabundo Martí, in their legitimate struggle against the present régime, as well as the successes achieved by the Puerto Rican and Chilean peoples in their struggle against imperialism and its agents to bring about a transfer of power to them and so that they may freely decide their own future.

281. It is with particular satisfaction that we welcome the Republic of Vanuatu on its becoming a Member of the United Nations. We also welcome the proclamation of independence of Belize, which we hope soon to see a Member of the United Nations.

282. The people of Angola will soon commemorate the sixth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola. Under the enlightened leadership of Comrade José Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the MPLA—the Labour Party—President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the Angolan people are fully mobilized to expel the armed forces of Pretoria from the southern part of the national territory and thereby to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic and to devote the necessary means to its economic and social development.

283. We wish to express our deep gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, have shown their solidarity with us following the criminal invasion carried out by the racist and terrorist Pretoria régime. We hope that the People's Republic of Angola will be able to benefit from the urgent provision of material and financial assistance so that it may overcome the present grave situation and ensure our national reconstruction. The struggle goes on. Victory is certain.

284. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): On behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, let me sincerely congratulate you, sir, on your election to the post of President of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your able and competent guidance the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly will make appropriate progress in resolving the vital problems related to the consolidation of world peace and security.

285. I take this opportunity to point out that relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the country you represent are friendly and continue to develop in various fields to the mutual advantage of our two peoples. I assure you that the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will co-operate fully with you and will do its best to help you in discharging your momentous duties.

286. Let me also express our thanks to Mr. von Wechmar, the outgoing President of the General Assembly. It was thanks to his tireless activity and diplomatic skill that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly made a contribution to the solution of some topical international issues.

287. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan heartily congratulates the delegation of the Republic of Vanuatu on the admission of the newborn State of Vanuatu to the United Nations. The accession of the Republic of Vanuatu to independence is one more step towards the complete and final liquidation of the abhorrent colonial system. We wish the people of Vanuatu prosperity and every success in political, social and economic development.

288. The General Assembly begins the work of the current session at a time when the international situation has visibly deteriorated and when new additional efforts and measures are needed to prevent a further worsening of the world climate, to stop the drift towards the danger of war and to reverse the present perilous course of events.

289. The origin and cause of the present aggravation of international tension are well known to everybody. They are to be found in the reckless warmongering adventurist policies of United States imperialism and Peking's hegemonism. The events of the last few months have amply and convincingly shown that United States imperialism and Chinese hegemonism have staked everything on the use of force and rely on whipping up the arms race and brandishing nuclear weapons. United States imperialism is trying to drive the people of the world into submission by working out plans to deploy their nuclear weapons in various parts of the globe. The White House and the Pentagon arbitrarily declare regions situated far away from the United States as spheres of their "vital interests" and dispatch to those areas the so-called rapid deployment forces. At an ever-increasing pace, they are establishing new military bases all over the world.

290. Particularly dangerous are the United States plans to begin large-scale production of the neutron weapon, that most sophisticated, barbaric and abhorrent means of annihilating the human race. The Afghan people, together with other peace-loving peoples of the world, resolutely condemn their plans and demand that President Ronald Reagan reverse his decision. It is our view that this Assembly should urgently adopt a resolution calling for a



ban on the production and deployment of the neutron weapon.

291. In these grave circumstances, when aggressive imperialist and hegemonist quarters are hurriedly pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the parliaments and peoples of the world, which meets the aspirations of all nations of the globe, is particularly timely. That appeal is a clear-cut testimony of the relentless efforts of the Soviet Union to curb the arms race, bring about disarmament and safeguard peace and security in the world.

292. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is an ancient Asian country and we follow with special concern the latest developments on the Asian continent. The major source of tension in Asia lies in the aggressive ambitions of imperialist, Zionist and hegemonist forces. Those forces are definitely trying to reverse the post-war trends in Asia, to crush the will of the Asian nations to independence, to drag them into fratricidal conflicts and wars, to grab their natural resources, to turn some Asian countries into mere pawns in their imperialist and hegemonist games and to make certain countries the springboards of aggression against the peace-loving countries of Asia.

293. Particularly dangerous for the peoples of Asia are the United States militaristic activities in the Indian Ocean and in the Gulf. The Pentagon is hurriedly building facilities there for the rapid deployment force and for the permanent stationing in that area of at least two aircraft carrier groups. This year alone, \$700 million has been allocated for the expansion and modernization of the United States naval and air force bases on the island of Diego Garcia. There is evidence that the Pentagon is going to use those bases for stockpiling nuclear weapons, including the neutron weapon.

294. It is not surprising that the United States and its allies torpedoed the work of the last session of the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean. Apparently they are against the convocation of a conference to work out an international agreement to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It is the firm view of the Afghan delegation that the Assembly should take a decision to expedite the convening of such a conference no later than next year. We should not allow the imperialist and hegemonist forces to block the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

295. One of the most vital problems to be settled is that of the Middle East. It is high time for the Assembly to take effective measures to restore peace in that area, to put an end to Israeli aggression against Arab countries, to liberate lands illegally occupied by the Zionist aggressor and restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to statehood.

296. It is now perfectly clear that treacherous Israeli-Egyptian-United States deals and the separate Israeli-Egyptian "treaty" did not bring the solution of the Middle East problem an inch nearer. On the contrary, they worsened the situation in that area still further. It is therefore time to go back to a collective search for an all-embracing just and realistic settlement of the Middle East conflict within the framework of a specially convened international conference. It is imperative that, side by side

with the other interested parties, the PLO, as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, should take part in such a conference.

297. The recent barbarous Israeli raids against Palestinian civilian targets in southern Lebanon and Beirut, which resulted in 2,567 casualties and the destruction of hundreds of Palestinian hospitals, schools and dwellings, have added a dangerous dimension to the Middle East conflict. The six-member mission of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Afghanistan was a member, visited Lebanon from 20 to 23 August to examine and assess the damage and destruction resulting from Israeli attacks on Beirut and southern Lebanon. The report of that mission [A/36/547] determined the genocidal nature of those attacks, which resulted in the death of hundreds of civilians, including the elderly, women and children.

298. Effective measures should be taken to prevent further acts of Israeli aggression against the sovereign State of Lebanon, to frustrate the Zionist plans to dismember Lebanon and to safeguard its territorial integrity. It is also necessary to prevent any repetition of Israeli aggression and provocations against other Arab countries.

299. The situation remains tense in the Gulf area as well. This is the result of the deployment by the United States and other Western countries of more naval and air forces there and of the military conflict between Iraq and Iran, which unfortunately still goes on. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan believes that the situation in the Gulf area could be effectively defused by the conclusion of an international agreement along the lines suggested almost a year ago by the Soviet Union. Such an agreement would safeguard the sovereign rights of the countries of that area and the security of maritime and other communications connecting the region with the rest of the world.

300. The Iraqi-Iranian war, which began a year ago, is a sad, unfortunate and deplorable event. It is senseless from the viewpoint of Iraqi-Iranian national interests, but is of great advantage to imperialist quarters. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is earnestly in favour of the speediest political settlement of the conflict between the two countries and is ready to help that process in any way possible.

301. Turning our attention to South-East Asia, where owing to hegemonist and great chauvinist ambitions the process of normalization is impeded, we restate our staunch support for the constructive initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic aimed at turning that area into a zone of peace based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness.

302. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is against any debate here on the so-called Kampuchean question aimed at outright interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It is urgent that the lawful rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations should be restored without delay and that the agents of the bloody Pol Pot gang be thrown out of the Assembly. We do not recognize the decision of the so-called Conference on Kampuchea, which was held de-

spite the strong objections of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

303. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would also like to reiterate its solidarity with the constructive efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful democratic reunification of the country. We support the just demand of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and resolutely condemn the Seoul military régime for its repression of the people of South Korea.

304. We have studied with great interest the latest initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic [A/36/388] to work out and sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific. The practical implementation of that proposal would be a great step forward in normalizing relations in that part of the world.

305. The imperialist and hegemonist propaganda machine is spreading many malicious and slanderous allegations about events in and around Afghanistan, and is trying to portray those events as a threat to peace and stability in South-West Asia. Yet that is nothing but a dirty trick to divert the attention of world public opinion from imperialist and hegemonist aggressive schemes in Asia and other parts of the world. The imperialist media follow the dictum—if you repeat a lie one hundred times somebody may believe it. But the sinister attempts to conceal the truth about the Afghan revolution are of no avail; it is impossible to cover the sun with the palm of the hand.

306. Any unbiased observer visiting Afghanistan these days can see with his own eyes that, despite the great difficulties imposed on the Afghan people by the enemies of the Afghan revolution and an undeclared war waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the imperialist and hegemonist forces and their mercenaries, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, have, during a comparatively short period of time, scored great successes along the road of economic, political and social progress.

307. The overall situation in the country is being consolidated; the organs of the people's power are being strengthened; the political and social foundation of the Government is being expanded and enhanced.

308. One of the vivid manifestations of that process was the establishment last June of the National Fatherland Front, which was joined by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, trade unions, farmers' co-operatives, the Supreme *Jirgah* of tribes, the High Council of scholars and clergy, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women and others. One can see that the Front represents practically all the classes and strata of the Afghan people supporting the goals of the national democratic revolution.

309. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has taken effective measures to develop the economy, raise the level of industrial and agricultural production and improve the living standards of the toiling masses. Despite the economic dislocation and disruptions

caused by the armed aggression from outside, the plans for economic and social development and the second stage of the land reform are being successfully implemented. We have all the grounds for stating from this rostrum that the toiling people of Afghanistan have never lived better than since the April revolution; they have already begun to reap the fruits of a new, just and equitable social system.

310. Those achievements could have been even more impressive but for the continuing armed aggression from the territories of the neighbouring countries, mainly from Pakistan. That armed aggression and other forms of intervention are being stirred up by United States imperialists and Chinese hegemonist quarters. Mercenaries are being recruited by those who were deprived of their privileges by the April revolution and who took refuge abroad.

311. Attempts by imperialist propaganda to describe those people as "*mujahideen*", "freedom fighters", "rebels" and so on are futile. They are nothing but former feudal lords and their lackeys who, like their ancestors, sucked the blood of the Afghan people and lived in luxury, dooming the people to misery and deprivation. They do not fight for the freedom of the Afghan people but for the freedom to exploit them, for the restoration of their lost privileges. Therefore, to think or to talk of those counter-revolutionary mercenaries otherwise is outright hypocrisy; it is an insult to the common sense of the Afghan people.

312. These bandits daily invade Afghanistan, disrupt normal life in the country, kill our people—women, children and the elderly—destroy schools and hospitals and loot the people's and the State's property. The Afghan army, police and security forces, supported by the people, deal blow after blow to the bandits, capture and disarm them. Captured and repentant mercenaries appear regularly at press conferences held in Kabul for Afghan and foreign journalists.

313. The Afghan army and people would have wiped out the counter-revolutionary bands long ago had they not been given support from imperialist and hegemonist quarters, as well as from some reactionary Islamic régimes. The counter-revolutionary gangs are paid in United States dollars, British pounds, West German marks, Saudi rials and so on. They are armed with American, British, Chinese, West German and Egyptian weapons and trained by American, Chinese, Egyptian and Pakistani instructors. Some Western countries have declared the policy of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan as their official policy.

314. President Reagan announced last March that his Government would henceforth supply the so-called Afghan *mujahideen* with weapons and ammunition. The covert Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] operation of support for Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which was initiated under President Carter, has become an overt policy of the United States Government.

315. United States intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is growing and intensifying. One can find ample evidence of that, even in the American press.

316. An article by the Pulitzer prize winner, Carl Bernstein, in the 18 July 1981 issue of *The New Republic*, sheds some light on the scope of the international imperialist conspiracy against Afghanistan, headed by the United States and also involving China, Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Bernstein writes that President Carter ordered the secret arms supply programme launched in December 1980 and that the Reagan Administration reviewed the clandestine operation and ordered it to be expanded. He also writes that the CIA has co-ordinated the operation through counterpart intelligence services in the four other countries, that diplomatic channels were not used and that the United States' NATO allies were neither consulted nor asked to participate.

317. He says that the operation also involved China's permission for overflights of its territory by the aircraft carrying arms to the Afghan resistance fighters. Bernstein goes on to say that the United States has provided financial assistance, \$20 million to \$30 million to start with and considerably more since. He adds that the entire operation is now estimated to have cost more than \$100 million.

318. So the major and only reason for the tense situation regarding Afghanistan is armed aggression from the outside and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fuelled from imperialist and hegemonist quarters. It was that intervention that prompted the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to invite a limited contingent of Soviet troops to help the Afghan army repel the aggression.

319. Guided by the peaceful principles of its foreign policy and a sincere desire to defuse tension in the area and normalize relations with the neighbouring countries, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan put forward, in May 1980, a realistic programme for a political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan which is the result of the imperialist policy of intervention and aggression. Less than a month ago the Afghan Government came forward with a new initiative and set forth elaborate proposals to that effect, taking into account the experience accumulated during the contacts with interested parties which had taken place since May 1980.

320. The statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 24 August has been distributed as an official document [A/36/457, annex], and I shall be brief in explaining some of its major ideas.

321. Reaffirming its readiness to hold direct negotiations with the Governments of Pakistan and Iran to normalize relations with them, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan proposes either that such negotiations be conducted on a bilateral basis, which is preferable and more promising, or, if the Governments of Pakistan and Iran insist, to have trilateral negotiations. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan does not object to these negotiations, whether bilateral or trilateral, being attended by the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative.

322. We are also of the opinion that reliable international guarantees of agreements reached as a result of such negotiations with regard to the cessation and the

non-resumption of armed and other interference in Afghanistan's affairs must be an integral part of a political settlement. We agree that the discussion pertaining to working out such guarantees and determining which countries would be guarantors be started simultaneously with and conducted parallel with bilateral or trilateral negotiations among Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

323. The achievement of a political settlement, including working out international guarantees, will also give an opportunity to determine by agreement between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union the timetable of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The pull-out of troops would be contingent on the progress in implementing the agreements reached; it would be conducted stage by stage.

324. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been authorized to start direct bilateral or trilateral negotiations with the delegations of Pakistan and Iran on the basis of the ideas I have just outlined. We are ready to discuss the ways and means of a political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan here and now, during the current session of the General Assembly. I call upon the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and Iran to get down to the negotiating table and start discussion on the issues of mutual interest without further delay. I also invite the Secretary-General, or his representative, to be present at these talks.

325. There have been some references to the proposal of the Council of Ministers of the European Community concerning the so-called international conference on Afghanistan. This proposal has never been conveyed to us officially, but the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has already stated that it is unrealistic and totally unacceptable to Afghanistan. It is unacceptable because it constitutes yet another attempt to violate the sovereign rights of the Afghan people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to interfere in its domestic affairs. Matters concerning the existing régime in Afghanistan, and the composition of its Government, as well as other internal issues, are not to be discussed at any international forum. These matters are being solved and will be solved in the future only by the Afghan people and not by anybody else. Besides, nobody has the right to discuss the problems pertaining to the sovereign rights and national interests of Afghanistan, including the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, without the participation of the legal and authentic representatives of the Afghan people, namely, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

326. These are the main points I wanted to make on the problems concerning the maintenance of peace and security in Asia, including the area of South-West Asia, and on the ways and means of eliminating hotbeds of tension in this part of the globe. We are optimists, and we are confident that the will of the peoples, and their desire for peace and good-neighbourly relations, will eventually prevail over the adventurist aggressive ambitions and schemes of imperialism and hegemonism, and that Asia will become a continent of peace, tranquillity and mutually beneficial co-operation.

327. Now let me dwell upon certain other international issues which are of special concern to the developing countries.

328. The paramount problem is the problem of curbing the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, which now constitutes a threat to the very existence of the human race. It is totally unacceptable that more than \$500 billion should be squandered annually for military purposes, while the most acute problems of the developing countries remain unresolved.

329. There is no more important role than that of forestalling the nuclear confrontation which may wipe out hundreds of millions of human lives. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan therefore fully supports the proposal put forward at the preceding meeting from this rostrum by Andrei Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, that a declaration should be adopted by the Assembly, on behalf of all Member States, solemnly proclaiming that any States and statesmen who were the first to use nuclear weapons would be committing the gravest crime against humanity. This is a simple and straightforward idea, appealing to the people of all continents and all countries, but its adoption will also be a decisive step in the direction of preventing a nuclear disaster and a reliable barrier in the path of those who contemplate such plans.

330. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan also fully supports the proposal of the Soviet Union at the preceding meeting to stop the production of nuclear weapons and reduce the stockpiles of such weapons with a view to their complete destruction. We know that in 1979 this proposal was conveyed to the Committee on Disarmament<sup>21</sup> but discussion of this vital problem is being blocked by China and some Western countries. We feel that the Assembly should call on the Committee on Disarmament to expedite the practical discussion of this issue.

331. Negotiations on some other aspects of checking the nuclear arms race should also be speeded up. We note with great satisfaction the readiness of the Soviet Union to continue talks with the United States on the qualitative and quantitative limitation of strategic nuclear arms. We think the Assembly should urge the United States to take a more positive stand on this vitally important issue.

332. Afghanistan is in favour of resumption at the earliest moment of talks between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on banning nuclear weapons tests. We also support the idea of creating a special working group within the Committee on Disarmament to help resolve the problem. The threat of a nuclear holocaust would be somewhat lessened if an international convention were signed aimed at strengthening the guarantees of the security of those States which do not have such weapons in their territories.

333. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan welcomes initiatives aimed at preventing the use of outer space for military purposes and promoting international peaceful co-operation in space. Therefore, we fully support the proposal of the Soviet Union to work out a treaty banning the placement in outer space of weapons of any kind. Such a treaty would be a reliable barrier to the arms race in outer space, which could have unpredictable consequences.

334. It is also necessary to expedite the negotiations on a comprehensive agreement banning new kinds and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, as well as on agreements and conventions outlawing certain weapons, particularly neutron, radiological and chemical weapons.

335. As a developing country, Afghanistan regrets that until now no progress has been achieved with regard to reaching an agreement on the reduction of the military budgets of States. Such an agreement would have released funds that are so much needed by the developing countries, particularly the least developed among them, such as Afghanistan.

336. We feel that all these problems and many others can be fruitfully and constructively discussed and resolved at the second special United Nations General Assembly session on disarmament scheduled for 1982, and at the proposed world disarmament conference. Now that it is generally recognized that the international situation has dangerously deteriorated, it is more important than ever to work out and conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. We call upon the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations to speed up the work on the relevant draft.

337. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is of the opinion that at its current session the General Assembly has to take most effective measures to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. All the United Nations Member States should totally and fully comply with the provisions of the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*General Assembly resolution 35/118, annex*].

338. This is particularly important since during the last few weeks the world has witnessed insolent and arrogant attempts by certain Western countries to revive the worst practices of the colonialist imperialist *diktat* and to suppress the peoples fighting for their freedom.

339. The high-handed bloody tactics of the Pretoria régime, which not only brutally suppresses the indigenous population of South Africa and Namibia but commits acts of aggression against independent sovereign States, are a clear-cut demonstration of such arrogance and insolence. The outrageous behaviour of Pretoria would have been impossible if it had not been supported and armed by certain Western Powers, particularly the United States. The Pretoria régime and the so-called contact group of the five countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in violation of the well-known decisions of the United Nations, particularly resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council, are trying hard to install in Namibia a puppet government and deprive SWAPO of its legitimate role in shaping the future of that Territory.

340. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan resolutely condemns these neo-colonialist manoeuvres by the Western Powers and Pretoria. We are in favour of real independence for Namibia and the transfer of power without any further delay to SWAPO, which is the only legitimate, authentic representative of the Namibian people, recognized by the United Nations and the OAU.

341. Afghanistan supports the demand for the most effective and stringent sanctions against Pretoria as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We are also for strict compliance with the sanctions against the *apartheid* régime already imposed by the Security Council. We resolutely condemn the armed aggression of Pretoria against Angola and strongly deplore the recent United States veto of a Security Council resolution censoring Pretoria for this aggression. Our solidarity is with our fraternal Angolan people defending their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Afghan delegation voted in favour of the resolutions adopted at the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia and is in favour of the speediest implementation of these resolutions.

342. We support the people of Western Sahara, who are struggling for their self-determination and independence.

343. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemns the outburst of colonialism in other parts of the world as well. We are against the dismemberment and annexation of the Trust Territory of Micronesia which was carried out by the United States in total disregard of its duties as the administering Power, and in violation of the Charter.

344. Afghanistan stands for the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and strict respect for its policy of non-alignment. In our view the real settlement of the Cyprus question can be achieved only if due account is taken of the interests of both communities, and we support the continuation of the negotiations between them.

345. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan condemns the United States for meddling in the internal affairs of Latin America and the Caribbean countries, for its armed provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua, and its attempts to destabilize the situation in Grenada. We express our solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador led by the Farabundo Martí Front against the Fascist dictatorship. We are on the side of the gallant people of Chile in its staunch resistance to the military régime.

346. Peace and stability in their true meaning would not be achieved without bringing fundamental changes in the existing economic system. These changes must result in a situation that will furnish more opportunity to the developing countries whose economies have been deteriorating or on the verge of collapse.

347. The aim of the new international economic order is to establish a new economic system based on justice and equity so that there will be less of a gap between the rich and poor. The plight of the least developed countries, especially the land-locked countries, is of particular concern to Afghanistan. The geographical disadvantage of these countries has seriously affected their trade by imposing additional costs of transport, transit and transshipment.

348. Due to the concerted efforts of the land-locked developing countries, the General Assembly established a Special Fund for these countries [*resolutions 3504 (XXX) and 31/177*]. The main purpose in establishing this Special Fund was to assist land-locked countries to achieve a higher rate of growth despite their geographical handicaps, and particularly to reduce, as much as possible, the

excessive and additional transit and transport costs which they face. Unfortunately, this fund has not yet become fully operational. It is more imperative than ever to mitigate the ever-increasing economic problems of these countries.

349. As one of the least developed countries, Afghanistan actively participated in the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris. Unfortunately, the hopes entertained by some of the countries of this group were somehow dashed because the Western capitalist States refused to undertake obligations which would make it possible to fulfil the targets defined by the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly resolution 35/56, annex*] with regard to the least developed countries.

350. Afghanistan, however, welcomes the positive and constructive approach to the problems of the least developed countries taken at the Paris conference by the socialist countries. We are also satisfied with the all-around economic and technical co-operation between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the countries of the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union. This co-operation is based on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit. It is an important factor contributing to economic and social progress in Afghanistan.

351. The conscience of the world calls more than ever before for action to eliminate poverty, hunger and underdevelopment. Equality can never be claimed while there is hunger beside waste, poverty beside abundance, and a difference of opinion on the definition of equity and equality.

352. In the present tense international situation the United Nations is called upon to play a much more effective role in working out arrangements which could help preserve peace and maintain international security. We feel that the Charter has not yet been fully used in this respect—as an instrument of peace. For this reason Afghanistan supports the Soviet proposal<sup>22</sup> to convene a special series of meetings of the Security Council with the participation of State leaders in order to search for ways to improve the world political climate.

353. We feel that it is important to make more effective and constructive use of the Charter in its present form.

354. In conclusion, let me express the hope that the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly will be a momentous event in the efforts of peace-loving peoples of the world to avert the danger of a nuclear war and preserve peace for the present and future generations.

355. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

356. Mr. ROSALES RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Mexico, in his statement at the preceding meeting, made reference to El Salvador. He recalled that his country, together with the Government of an extra-continental Power, took a step which he described as an "appeal to the international community". However, this represents nothing but a flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of El Sal-



vador. The opinion expressed by El Salvador with regard to the interventionist nature of that act was corroborated immediately afterward by nine Latin American countries, which on 2 September 1981 issued in Caracas a joint statement condemning that intervention. Furthermore, the same number of countries, also Latin American, supported the Government of El Salvador and implicitly criticized the Mexican action.

357. The new intervention by the representative of Mexico before the Assembly rather resembles a longing for those just changes which should occur in his own country, where there is great poverty under a revolution which was supposed to have set in motion an agrarian reform that has remained petrified for over 50 years. The country's only political destiny has been imposed by a single party. In this regard, we should like to say that El Salvador will accept no pressures exerted by anyone, and certainly not from Mexico. We reject most energetically any statements that would indicate that El Salvador was compelled to seek foreign intervention, and that other countries felt it necessary to respond favourably to that request. None of this is in any way in accordance with the facts.

358. Mexico's intervention seems to flow from an arrogant posture that it has assumed because of leftist trends from abroad. However, it does not apply the same ideas at home. Mexico has the right to say whatever it wants, as long as that does not infringe the right of El Salvador itself to self-determination and to choose its own destiny. Paradoxically, those who most ought to put into practice the phrase of Benito Juárez, "Respect for the rights of others is peace", turn out to be the ones that have forgotten it completely.

359. Mr. LAHLOU (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Angola referred to the question of Western Sahara in a context and in language which could at the very least be described as out of date.

360. I wonder if the representative of Angola has read the resolution of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU on Western Sahara, which has been distributed as an official document of the General Assembly [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)]. If he has not read it, we can conclude that, as in the past, Angola is persisting blindly in its refusal to see things objectively. If the representative has read it, he must be in disagreement with its contents and must wish to destroy it because he assumes that the outcome will not necessarily be to his liking. At any rate, it is not through polemics that we can achieve the peace for which he has hypocritically expressed the wish.

361. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): This evening, Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost, representative of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, made a statement in the General Assembly which has obliged my delegation to speak in exercise of its right of reply. In his statement Mr. Dost made unfounded allegations in which he accused Pakistan of interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He also elaborated upon the proposals of 24 August advanced by the authorities in Kabul.

362. The developments in Afghanistan following the Soviet armed intervention in that country and the imposition of a subservient régime in Kabul two years ago are

well known. Indeed, the continuation of that armed intervention and the deteriorating political situation in Afghanistan remain a source of deep concern to the international community, since they pose a most serious danger to the stability of the region and to international peace and security.

363. We categorically reject the baseless allegation, which is also contained in the Kabul proposals of 24 August, that Pakistan has been interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The fact remains that since the foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan that country has become a scene of intense struggle carried out by its people to defend its traditions, its faith and its land from foreign subjugation.

364. Tens of thousands of people have sacrificed their lives in this struggle and millions have been forced to seek shelter in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. In Pakistan alone their number has reached over 2.5 million, representing nearly 15 per cent of the total population of Afghanistan. This vast number and the increasing outflow of Afghan refugees in itself is a measure of the gravity of the situation and the ominous portents it carries for world peace.

365. The conflict in Afghanistan is an international issue resulting from a flagrant violation of the universally recognized principle of conduct among States, namely, non-use of force and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Accordingly, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Islamic Conference have responded to this situation in clear and categorical terms by urging the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, strict respect for the sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, respect for the right of the Afghan people to choose their own political, social and economic system free of outside intervention and coercion, and the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

366. General Assembly resolutions ES-6/2 and 35/37 have also called for a political settlement consistent with the aforementioned principles.

367. The formal response of the Government of Pakistan to the proposals of 24 August advanced by the Kabul régime will be made in the statement by the Chairman of the delegation of Pakistan in the general debate on 2 October. However, I should take this opportunity to make a brief comment.

368. The situation in Afghanistan is a matter of international concern on which the General Assembly has expressed itself without any equivocation. Pakistan believes that the search for a political solution, including any procedural modalities, should be pursued within the framework of the decisions of the United Nations. Secondly, any proposals made in this context should facilitate a political solution consistent with the principles outlined in the General Assembly resolutions. Pakistan, therefore, cannot agree to any procedure which contravenes the spirit of the decisions of the General Assembly or those adopted by the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement.

369. On the other hand, Pakistan has been making every endeavour within its capacity and remains prepared to take any steps in order to facilitate the achievement of a political settlement in accordance with the basis laid down by the international community.

*The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed on 1 August 1975.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1981, Supplement No. 5*, para. 253.

<sup>3</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

<sup>4</sup> A/CONF.104/22 and Corr.2 and 3, part I, sect. A.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14285.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981, document S/14422.

<sup>8</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, para. 62.

<sup>10</sup> Convention on trade and aid between the European Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

<sup>11</sup> Signed on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

<sup>12</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

<sup>13</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

<sup>14</sup> *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

<sup>15</sup> *Partners in Development*; report of the Commission on International Development, under the Chairmanship of Lester B. Pearson (New York, Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1969).

<sup>16</sup> Adopted by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization at its Second General Conference, held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975 (see A/10112, chap. IV).

<sup>17</sup> Later adopted as General Assembly resolution 36/151.

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, paras. 288-290.

<sup>19</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1981*, document S/14474, annex.

<sup>20</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro.

<sup>21</sup> A/S-10/AC.1/4.

<sup>22</sup> See CD/228, Appendix II/Vol. I, document CD/160.