



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MARTYENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic warmly congratulates you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your outstanding personal qualities and your diplomatic skill have won you the deep respect of delegations. It is a particular pleasure for us that the post of President of the Assembly is occupied by a representative of the fraternal Socialist Republic of Hungary. Our delegation would like to assure you of its co-operation and wish you success in the performance of your responsible and difficult task.

2. Whenever one comes to the rostrum of the General Assembly one is keenly aware of the high responsibility entrusted by the peoples of the world to the United Nations. Here at the United Nations we find a reflection of the most urgent problems facing mankind, which require collective solutions in the interests of all countries and peoples.

3. No conflicts or contradictions among States, no differences in social systems, ideologies or ways of life can eclipse the common need: to preserve peace and prevent a nuclear war. The speeches of the majority of representatives have had as their theme a feeling of alarm for the fate of the world, an awareness of the fact that it is at a dangerous point and that everything must be done to avert the nuclear threat hanging over mankind.

4. Today, when the international situation has seriously deteriorated—and for this the imperialist forces are to blame—when those forces are pursuing an unbridled arms race which threatens to lead to a nuclear catastrophe, the words of the Charter, that the United Nations is called upon “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, are particularly relevant.

5. The Ukrainian SSR, which played its part in the creation of the United Nations, in defining its purposes and principles, is working as always for an effective contribution by the United Nations to strengthening international peace and security, overcoming crisis situations and enhancing its role in the struggle to rid mankind of the threat of war. We believe that more active efforts by the United Nations aimed at securing peace and developing co-operation among States in accordance with the provisions of the Charter

are of particular importance today when the world faces a situation in which its purposes and principles are ignored and violated.

6. In this difficult period of acute struggle between two opposed orientations in world policy there is no more important or more urgent task than that of limiting the arms race and striving for disarmament. The future of mankind depends upon the fulfilment of that task. For those reasons the Ukrainian SSR, together with all the socialist countries, supports the idea of the adoption of immediate and realistic measures to avert a nuclear war, to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament, to eliminate the hotbeds of international tension.

7. To preserve peace, to ensure the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and to solve all controversial issues by peaceful means—these are the key goals of the Programme of Peace for the 1980s, adopted by the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is those goals which have determined the general thrust of the foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union. This coincides with the vital interests of the majority of the non-aligned countries and is in accordance with the peace-loving aspirations of all peoples and with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

8. Aggressive imperialist circles, however, particularly the United States of America, take a completely opposite position on questions of war and peace. The United States and its closest allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] have adopted a course of intensifying confrontation, speeding up the arms race, undermining the existing strategic stability in order to achieve military superiority, interfering in the internal affairs of States and encouraging aggression and the rule of international arbitrariness.

9. The United States has blocked the negotiations on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean, on the limitation of trade in and transfers of conventional weapons and on anti-satellite systems. The NATO countries are to blame for the slowing down of the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. United Nations decisions aimed at prohibiting the manufacture of neutron weapons, the renunciation of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and the holding of talks on nuclear disarmament remain unimplemented. Moreover, official representatives of the United States Administration and certain leaders of NATO countries have put forward justification for the idea

of the first use of nuclear weapons and the constant build-up of nuclear arsenals to those ends.

10. It is precisely that which is the true reason for the deterioration of the situation in the world and the intensified danger of war.

11. The world has witnessed material preparations for war, the constant threat of the use of force, the use of methods of power diplomacy and the indoctrination of the population with a spirit of militarism. This is a concrete manifestation of the reactionary nature of contemporary imperialism. Adventurism in international affairs which is inherent in imperialism is fraught with particular danger today precisely because the world has accumulated a vast potential of the most deadly weapons, which are capable of destroying life on earth.

12. In stressing the great seriousness of the time at which the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is being held, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes at the same time that the peoples of the world are entirely capable of averting a thermo-nuclear conflict. The Ukrainian SSR, like other socialist countries, is convinced that in the present conditions we must seek ever more actively ways and means of normalizing the international situation, using all available means which could serve to ease the unfavourable political climate. We believe that in this context the United Nations has a major role to play. The United Nations must not allow one State or a number of States to wipe out or throw overboard all the benefits brought about in international relations in the 1970s and what has been achieved by détente, and edge the world closer to the abyss of war.

13. What we need today is a genuine breakthrough towards the curbing of the unbridled arms race and promoting disarmament, and the immediate implementation of practical measures in that field. We do not need words or declarations of good intentions. Only a constructive approach to the solution of the most acute present-day problems can prevent mankind from slipping towards the nuclear abyss.

14. Numerous concrete and realistic proposals on halting the arms race and on disarmament measures in various areas have been put forward by the socialist countries, with the aim of achieving this goal. They include the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 36/100, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, which declares that the first to use nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity and calls for joint efforts, through negotiations conducted in good faith and on the basis of equality, to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race.

15. A concrete step of historic significance in this direction was taken by the Soviet Union when it unilaterally assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This gives a powerful impetus to the radical easing of the threat of nuclear war and the strengthening of confidence in international relations. But if this is to be achieved, all nuclear-weapon States must follow the example of the Soviet Union by assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Then the threat of nuclear annihilation would be banished from the life of mankind, all aspects of international security

would acquire a completely new character and new prospects would open up for accelerating progress in resolving questions of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament.

16. We also believe that at this session the General Assembly could contribute significantly to the implementation of the Soviet proposal on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.¹ The preparation and conclusion of such a treaty is of particular relevance today in the context of the deterioration in the international situation and when certain States are not only ever more frequently threatening to use force but, in violation of the Charter and United Nations decisions, are actually using it in order to subject other States and peoples to their domination. A treaty on the non-use of force would be a reliable instrument against the use of any weapons for purposes of aggression. The time is ripe for such a measure. We are sincerely convinced that if the General Assembly made the renunciation of the use or threat of force with any type of weapons, nuclear or conventional, into a law of international life, it would serve the security interests not only of the nuclear-weapon States but also of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

17. A solid basis for the cessation of the buildup of the most dangerous means of warfare was created by the new proposals of the Soviet Union, put forward at the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament,² relating to the elaboration and stage-by-stage implementation of a programme of nuclear disarmament, and the realistic proposals of many other States to curb and halt the nuclear arms race. It can be stated with some assurance that support by the General Assembly for the practical implementation of these measures for limiting armaments and bringing about disarmament would contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

18. There is no doubt that a significant contribution towards the achievement of this goal would be made by concrete agreements in the current Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons and the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe.

19. A serious obstacle to the development of new types and systems of nuclear weapons, as well as to the emergence of new nuclear-weapon States, would be created by the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests by all States in all environments. Twenty years have passed since the conclusion of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water;³ but, because of the obstructionist position of certain nuclear States, it has not been possible to achieve the complete cessation of nuclear tests. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that the Pentagon is preparing new programmes for the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and for the development of even more dangerous types and systems of such weapons. The United States has broken off the trilateral talks on the total prohibition of nuclear tests. In order to overcome this deadlock, the Soviet Union has called for the preparation and conclusion without delay of an international treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-

weapon tests and has submitted basic provisions of such a treaty for consideration at this session [see A/37/243]. The Soviet proposal takes into account all the positive achievements of the many years of discussion of the problem of the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. It also reflects the ideas and views of many States with regard, in particular, to questions of verifying compliance with any future treaty. The declaration by all nuclear-weapon States of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, including explosions for peaceful purposes, would contribute to the creation of more favourable conditions for the preparation of such a treaty. Such a moratorium would be effective pending the conclusion of the treaty itself.

20. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that the speedy resolution of the question of the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would contribute significantly towards curbing the nuclear arms race and in particular halting the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the creation of new types and systems of such weapons, as well as towards strengthening the non-proliferation régime of nuclear weapons. Agreement on this very important issue—provided, of course, that all nuclear-weapon States evinced the political will and a constructive approach—would contribute to lessening the threat of nuclear war.

21. The Soviet Union has proposed that at this session the Assembly consider another item, entitled "Intensification of efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and ensure the safe development of nuclear energy" [see A/37/243]. The Ukrainian SSR attaches great significance to this question. In our Republic we are actively engaged in the rapid development of nuclear energy by building nuclear power stations which enable us to satisfy the ever-growing need for energy of industry, agriculture and scientific research.

22. It goes without saying that the destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities even using conventional weapons would be tantamount, as far as the consequences were concerned, to an attack using nuclear weapons, which the United Nations has already described as the gravest crime against humanity.

23. Therefore, the need to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy flows logically from the task of preventing the unleashing of a nuclear war. In its approach to this question the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR proceeds from the belief that the safe development of nuclear energy presupposes that both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States, since they have an interest in the development and comprehensive peaceful uses of nuclear energy, should prevent actions which might lead to the deliberate destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities. Leonid Brezhnev, in his message to the participants in the twenty-sixth session of the General Conference of IAEA, stressed the need to do everything possible to ensure that nuclear energy—which is the greatest achievement of the human intellect—serves only the interests of peace and never becomes a means of destroying life on earth.

24. One of the most pressing problems continues to be that of the prohibition and elimination of

chemical weapons. The draft basic principles of a convention to that effect, which were put forward by the Soviet Union during the second special session on disarmament,⁴ are designed to make it possible to take a decisive step in that direction.

25. The refusal of the United States to take part in the bilateral Soviet-American talks and its open policy of expanding the production and stockpiling of new types of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, as well as its policy of deploying them in some member States of NATO, have dashed the hopes of the peoples of the world for an early solution to this important problem and increased the danger of chemical warfare. Furthermore, the refusal to negotiate and the building-up of arsenals of chemical weapons have been accompanied and covered up by false anti-Soviet propaganda.

26. The draft basic provisions of a treaty put forward by the Soviet Union take into account the views of other States, including the question of verification, and open up real prospects of reaching mutually acceptable agreements. To that end, it is necessary for the United States and its allies to show real willingness and adopt a responsible approach to the matter.

27. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that it is necessary to step up the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons within the Committee on Disarmament and to resume the bilateral talks on this question between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. In our view, the General Assembly could make a contribution to the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons by calling for a resumption of the talks and the prohibition of the production and deployment of new types of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, and of their deployment in the territory of other States.

Mr. Fischer (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

28. The day before yesterday marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of an outstanding event—the launching by the Soviet Union of the world's first spaceship, which ushered in the space era. The world is entitled to take pride in the successes over the years in the exploration and uses of outer space, whose vast expanses should be used only as the arena of peaceful co-operation among States. In this connection the military space programmes which are being worked out and implemented by the United States must give rise to serious concern. Such dangerous developments call for the early conclusion of an international treaty on the prohibition of the deployment of weapons of any type in outer space, as proposed by the Soviet Union.²

29. The limitation and reduction of conventional arms and armed forces is another important task. As a first step towards this an agreement should be reached not to increase armed forces or conventional arms, thus creating the groundwork for talks on their subsequent reduction.

30. The Ukrainian SSR was among the first to ratify the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May

Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.⁵ We believe that an early entry into force of this Convention would be conducive to the solution of the broader and more important problems in the field of the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons.

31. In view of the current international situation it is crucial to take specific steps to strengthen international security, eliminate hotbeds of tension and military conflicts, and halt acts of aggression in various parts of the world.

32. In recent months the situation in the Middle East has undergone a tragic and dangerous change. A military conflagration has once again flared up which has consumed many thousands of human lives. New setbacks have emerged to a just settlement of the Middle East conflict. We have witnessed monstrous and evil crimes, the responsibility for which rests as an indelible stain on the hands of the ruling circles in Israel, which unleashed a destructive war against Lebanon. What has been done by the Israeli military clique in that long-suffering country is nothing short of genocide, a planned and deliberate extermination of the Palestinian people. The tragedy of Beirut has brought back to the memory of mankind the darkest scenes from the past—the bloody crimes of the Nazis in the Second World War. It ranks with such evil deeds of the Fascists as the massacre of the people of Babi Yar, Kiev, where in 1941 many tens of thousands of people were murdered, mainly women, children and old men and where, incidentally, side by side with Russians and Ukrainians many innocent Jews were killed.

33. Blinded by military intoxication the ruling circles in Israel have trampled into the mud not only the time-honoured international rules and concepts that were reaffirmed in the Charter and the will of the international community expressed in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, but also their own human image. Such brutal behaviour by the aggressor would not have been possible without the political protection and extensive military and financial aid Israel has been receiving from its influential American benefactors. Their role in the Lebanese tragedy is one of infamy, for without their support Israel would never have dared perpetrate this aggression.

34. Israel's growing aggressiveness is a direct consequence of the Camp David conspiracy and of the so-called strategic consensus between Washington and Tel Aviv. It is absolutely clear to us that United States policy in the Middle East is further to escalate tension there so as to expand and consolidate its military presence, creating a spring-board for direct interference in the affairs of States of this and of adjacent regions.

35. Today, more than ever, there is a need to move in the most responsible manner towards a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East. It is clear that such a settlement cannot be achieved by means of hostile confrontation and separate deals or attempts to remove the Palestinian problem by military or other means contrary to the will of the Palestinian people. The plan for a Middle East settlement proposed by the President of the United States lacks the main element—recognition of the inalienable right

of the Palestinian people to a State of their own. Moreover, it openly proclaims that the United States is opposed to the creation of such a State.

36. A comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East conflict should include withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the exercise of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own State, and creation of the conditions for the secure and independent development of all States in the Middle East. The modalities of a comprehensive, really just and truly lasting settlement in the Middle East are contained in a succinct form in a new major initiative by the head of the Soviet State, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, made public on 15 September.

37. It is our firm belief that a lasting peace in this region can only be achieved through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. A proposal by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to convene an international conference on the subject is in keeping with this objective. We are ready to co-operate along these lines with all those who cherish the ideals of peace and security in the Middle East and in the world at large.

38. Developments in the world depend to a large extent on the shape of relations among European States belonging to different social systems. Throughout the past decade the peoples of Europe have really felt the advantages of the policy of détente, which has had a favourable effect upon the political climate and has promoted the development and strengthening of mutually beneficial East-West co-operation in all fields. During this period the European peoples have come to realize that the only reasonable path is to continue détente and extend it to the military field.

39. For the continent of Europe to become a continent of peace and genuine co-operation many artificial barriers put up lately must be removed and, as a matter of priority, the level of military confrontation in this region must be lowered.

40. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to reaffirm its position of principle in support of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Efforts to secure a successful completion of the intercommunal talks held under United Nations auspices must continue, as well as with regard to the settlement of existing outstanding issues in the spirit of understanding and good will. Demilitarization of the island, providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the elimination of all foreign military bases, is an important condition for a credible settlement in Cyprus.

41. The implementation of a proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic to conclude a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among States of Asia and the Pacific⁶ would make a considerable contribution to improving the world climate in general, easing tension and strengthening security in Asia. A successful restructuring of relations in this vast region, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, the inviolability of borders, non-interference,

the non-use or threat of force and the settlement of disputes exclusively through peaceful means, would be an historic breakthrough for future developments in Asia. Mongolia's initiative has the same thrust as proposals to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and other constructive ideas of Asian States.

42. We reaffirm our position of principle on the question of Korea, as well as our solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful, democratic reunification of its homeland, free from outside interference, and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

43. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers a complete cessation and the guaranteed non-resumption of aggressive acts against Afghanistan, as well as of other forms of interference in its internal affairs, to be a major condition for normalizing the situation in Asia. To discuss the so-called Afghan question in the General Assembly and to ram through resolutions devoid of political realism can only obstruct efforts aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan. Concrete and constructive proposals for such a settlement have been put forward by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

44. The Ukrainian SSR also supports the initiatives undertaken by the States of Indo-China with a view to strengthening peace in South-East Asia, conducting a constructive dialogue and promoting co-operation with the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and, in particular, the proposals contained in a joint communiqué of 7 July issued by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea [see A/37/334]. We are confident that to make South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability is in the interests not only of the peoples of this region but also of world peace.

45. The aggressive policies of racist South Africa, which enjoys the extensive support of the United States and some other Western countries, pose a very grave threat to peace and international security. South Africa's subversion of and war actions against independent African States, particularly against Angola, in practice have not ceased. The Pretoria régime is flagrantly ignoring United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia. The inhuman system of *apartheid* is entrenched in South Africa.

46. The Ukrainian SSR is resolutely in favour of adopting mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel the South African régime to put an end to the heinous practice of *apartheid*, to halt its aggressive actions against neighbouring front-line States and to grant independence to Namibia.

47. One of the tasks facing the General Assembly at the thirty-seventh session is promoting the solution of international economic problems on an equitable and democratic basis. This is an important and urgent task because in that area we are witnessing many phenomena which are seriously impeding the realization of the progressive principles embodied in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New Inter-

national Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. The imperialist forces which in the past sabotaged the elaboration and adoption of these fundamental instruments today bear the principal responsibility for the exacerbation of tension in all areas, including commerce and economics. Their policy continues to be the main obstacle to progress in the normalization and democratization of international economic relations.

48. The Ukrainian SSR, together with other socialist countries, supports and will consistently support a policy of placing external economic links of States at the service of peaceful construction, mutual advantage and the strengthening of relations of friendship and co-operation among peoples. We are also convinced that the elimination of the threat of war, the strengthening of peace and the cessation of the arms race, being the tasks of primary importance that they are, serve as a reliable guarantee for progress in the field of social and economic development and in overcoming the backwardness inherited from colonialism.

49. The debate at this session testifies to the growing awareness among Member States that today a particularly urgent task for the United Nations is to mobilize common efforts in those fields which would most effectively promote the strengthening of peace and be better in keeping with the interests of all peoples.

50. It is quite clear that the attempts by imperialist circles to involve the United Nations in psychological warfare against countries of the socialist community and a number of non-aligned States, to misuse it to intervene in their internal affairs, run counter to these efforts. Those attempts and even appeals for a crusade against the USSR and the socialist countries are seriously hampering the development of international co-operation. We have more than once heard all sorts of threats and have been subjected to sanctions but the Soviet State has developed and will continue to develop successfully. The Soviet Union confidently approaches its sixtieth anniversary pursuing a peaceful foreign policy and seeking to achieve a higher material and spiritual state of well-being for its working people.

51. In December 1922, for the first time in the history of mankind, a State came into being where all relations were based on fraternity and mutual aid between people of different national and racial origins. The strength of the Soviet Union has been tested in the most severe trials, under conditions of foreign intervention, political and economic blockade and atrocious Fascist invasions. The humanitarian nature of the principles which underlie the Union is constantly reaffirmed. The creation of the USSR strengthened our national statehood and showed that only in conditions of equality, freedom and mutual respect can peoples fully realize their spiritual and creative potential. The Ukrainian SSR therefore takes pride in the fact that it was among the first to call for the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 60 years ago. Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, stressed during the celebration of the one thousand five hundredth anniversary of the city of

Kiev: "The peoples of our country have learned from their own experience that being together within one Union State multiplies their strength and speeds up social, economic and cultural development. And we shall tirelessly safeguard our sacred union and strengthen it in every way".

52. The multinational Soviet State which was born 60 years ago stands today as a powerful force in the struggle for the strengthening of friendship among all the peoples of the world and for lasting peace on earth.

53. The Ukrainian SSR, together with other States Members of the United Nations, is prepared to continue consistently, persistently and resolutely to multiply its efforts in the struggle for peace, social progress, co-operation and understanding among peoples.

54. Mr. AL-NUAIMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates our warmest congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. I am confident that his long experience in the field of international relations will be a positive factor in directing our deliberations and work towards the goals we have gathered here to achieve. I should also like to express our greatest appreciation for the tireless efforts of his predecessor, Mr. Nittani, to reconcile various points of view and to search for satisfactory solutions to numerous problems brought before the Assembly at the previous session and the special and emergency sessions. I further wish to express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his continued efforts to strengthen the foundations and principles on which the United Nations was established. I appreciate his sound analysis of the obstacles facing the United Nations, along with his serious attempt to strengthen the ability of the Organization to perform its tasks as well as to solve international problems.

55. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization the difficulties that the United Nations is facing in playing its role effectively and decisively, particularly with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security, since it represents an ideal forum in the conduct of negotiations for peaceful settlement of international disputes. In this connection, I fully agree with the unequivocal reference in the report that "our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function" [see A/37/1, p. 2]. It is incumbent upon all Governments to commit themselves to that sound approach, without which the logic of force will prevail and States, especially the smaller ones, will consequently be exposed to many dangers that threaten their security, safety and territorial integrity. This situation is not a myth; rather, it is a fact and it is sharply and tragically represented in the area of the Middle East, specifically in a Lebanon in agony.

56. The events in Lebanon have underscored the fact that the method of force and *fait accompli* to which Israel resorts cannot achieve security and

stability. The question of Palestine stands clearly before the international community in spite of the attempts by the Tel Aviv leaders to emasculate it with their military machine. Obviously the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continued Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory both reflect the quagmire into which Israel's employment of its military might to cover up its political failure and international isolation have led it.

57. The United Arab Emirates, as a peace-loving Arab State, expresses its revulsion at and strong condemnation of the ugly massacre perpetrated against the Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila camps by the Zionist occupation forces. It appeals to all Member States, and especially to the great Powers, to take serious action to stop Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and to work for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from all Lebanese territory, in order to preserve Lebanon's independence and territorial integrity in accordance with resolutions of the Security Council and of other international bodies.

58. In this connection, I cannot fail to stress the responsibility of the United States of America as a sponsor of and partner in the conclusion of the agreement that led to the evacuation of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut and that guaranteed the safety of the Palestinians in the refugee camps as well as the civilian population of west Beirut. Any negligence on the part of the United States of America would constitute a violation of its political, contractual and moral obligations. We ask the United States to do its utmost, based on its obligations in this regard, to prevent the recurrence of crimes such as those committed in Lebanon—crimes unprecedented in contemporary history—and to act persistently to force Israel to withdraw unconditionally from Lebanese territory.

59. The PLO emergence from an unequal war victorious in its perseverance, flexibility and ability to negotiate from a position of right and its responsiveness to international resolutions demonstrate its desire to reach a just and peaceful solution—unlike Israel, which has proved that it is an aggressive entity that does not respect international resolutions, norms or rules. The PLO emerged from the conflict more determined than ever to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, despite the Israeli illusion that its war in Lebanon would destroy the Palestinian people and hence the Palestinian cause.

60. The shameful Israeli policies and practices reflected in its flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions and its use of armed violence to attain illegal goals call for the reconsideration of its membership in the United Nations. Israel has unequivocally demonstrated, by the heinous massacre it committed in Lebanon and by its continued inhuman and illegal practices in the occupied Arab territories, that it is a Member that is neither able nor willing to carry out its elementary obligations of membership under the Charter. Its membership in the United Nations and all other international organizations should therefore be reconsidered.

61. President Reagan's initiative for peace in the Middle East represents progress in the American position. However, we hope that this position can evolve positively towards the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the PLO, so that the Palestinian people may exercise their national rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State. In order to attain this objective, which is based on the noble purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter, I urge the United States Government to reconsider its military and political support of Israel. Recent events have confirmed that such support is the backbone of Israel's arrogance, intransigence, continued aggression against the Arab peoples—especially the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples—and rejection of all peace initiatives.

62. My delegation reaffirms that the just solution of the Middle East problem lies in solving the Palestinian question on the basis of the following principles; first, complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Holy Jerusalem; secondly, enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination, to national independence and to full sovereignty through the establishment of an independent State on their national soil and, thirdly, participation on an equal footing of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in any endeavours, efforts or conferences to settle this question. The conclusions reached at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference underscore the principles that determine the just and comprehensive framework for the solution of the Palestinian question.

63. Israel's rejection of the proposed options, whether advanced by the Arabs or by others, is nothing more than blackmail and an attempt to influence the current trend of international thinking. The comprehensive Arab peace plan, which is based on international legitimacy, forces the world to face its imperative responsibilities for attaining a just peace in the region. The plan does not address itself to any particular international party; rather, it addresses all peace-loving parties by assigning a highly important role to the Organization and to the members of the Security Council in supervising the guarantees for peace.

64. My country is concerned about the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran that broke out over two years ago and that is draining the human, military and economic resources of both countries. Moreover, that war threatens the security and stability of the Gulf region, which is of world-wide strategic and economic importance. The continuation of this war does not serve the interest of either country or of the international community. In this connection, my country commends the concrete response of Iraq with regard to ending the war in the interest of both countries and of the region as well, and particularly the withdrawal of its forces to the international borders. That initiative won the appreciation of the international community as a step towards rapidly ending the conflict. We also commend the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by

the non-aligned movement, as well as all the other international efforts made to restore peace and work for conciliation between those two Moslem countries and to establish new foundations for relations between them on the basis of peace, good-neighbourliness and mutual respect, which are conducive to the welfare and safety of the region. We hope that Iran will respond to these initiatives designed to end the bloodshed and achieve peace in the region.

65. In recent decades the Indian Ocean region has been a centre of rivalry among the great Powers bent on establishing spheres of influence; that is due to its economic and strategic importance. As a State which is adjacent to that ocean we are deeply concerned about the continued escalation of tension in the area. We support General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. In that regard, we cannot but express our regret that the attitude of some States has led to the postponement of the international conference which had been scheduled to be convened in Sri Lanka in 1981 for the purpose of adopting the measures necessary for the implementation, particularly by the super-Powers, of that Declaration.

66. The continued presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan, despite the numerous appeals made by the United Nations and other organizations for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, is preventing the Afghan people from choosing its Government by means of free elections: a choice which it must be able to make without the least foreign interference.

67. That military presence jeopardizes the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country as a non-aligned State. The Government of my country has repeatedly condemned the foreign intervention in Afghanistan as a flagrant violation of the Charter and as an act of aggression against human rights and the freedom of peoples. We affirm that there should be a comprehensive political solution based on full respect for Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status.

68. With regard to Cyprus, it seems to us that the holding of negotiations between the two communities constitutes one of the fundamental conditions for reaching a just settlement of the crisis which that State is experiencing. In this connection, the United Nations should continue, through the Secretary-General, its efforts to help the two communities reach some understanding and to provide conditions which would be conducive to the restoration of peace.

69. Since its inception, the United Nations has worked to secure respect of the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with their hopes, aspirations and interests. Although most peoples of the world have gained their independence, some Territories are still under colonial domination, notably in southern Africa, where the Government of South Africa persists in its racist policy notwithstanding the international condemnation of that policy as a crime against humanity. The denial to the people of South Africa of the ability to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination constitutes a violation of the most important principles of the Charter and of United Nations resolu-

tions, as well as a grave challenge to the international community.

70. The continued economic, military and political co-operation which that racist régime receives from certain States Members of the United Nations is what encourages it in its intransigence. My Government considers Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be the soundest framework for the resolution of the question of Namibia. It reaffirms the basic responsibility towards that Territory which the United Nations has held since the termination of the South African Mandate in 1966. The Security Council should impose sanctions on South Africa and adopt the necessary measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter.

71. My delegation affirms its support for the legitimate struggle waged by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] for self-determination and independence for the Namibian people. It strongly condemns the repeated acts of aggression carried out by South Africa against neighbouring States.

72. The deterioration of the climate of confidence in international relations has led to the continuation of the arms race, which constitutes a serious threat to the whole human race. Despite the declaration of the First Disarmament Decade [resolution 2602 E (XXIV)], and the Programme of Action adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly [see resolution S-10/2], the first devoted to disarmament, little progress has been made in this field because of the absence of political will on the part of the big Powers. The failure of the recent disarmament session is clear evidence of that fact.

73. We believe that, while disarmament may be the concern of all States, the responsibility for halting the arms race falls primarily on the shoulders of the big Powers, which are the ones producing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The declarations by the United Nations of nuclear-free zones represent a significant contribution to the creation of a climate of peace and security in the world. The possession of nuclear weapons by States which do not respect the norms of international behaviour and the provisions of international conventions, and which violate the United Nations resolutions, truly constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. General and complete disarmament under international control remains a prerequisite for a general atmosphere of confidence, for reducing the dangers of tension in the world, and for the removal of the obstacles to channelling huge material resources into economic and social development, for the purpose of attaining prosperity and better living conditions for all mankind.

74. The results achieved at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during its last session held in April at United Nations Headquarters here in New York, namely, the approval by the overwhelming majority of the States of the world of the consolidated text of the Convention on the Law of the Sea,⁷ which sets forth a comprehensive legal system for the peaceful exploitation of the seas for various purposes, especially maritime and economic ones—was the product of a comprehensive compromise which harmonized differing interests and points of view in the light of the principle of the

“common heritage of mankind” adopted by the United Nations many years ago. The success attained may be attributed to the United Nations, which endorsed the call to hold the Conference; to the Secretary-General, who sponsored it throughout its many sessions over several years; and to effective participation in the Conference, particularly by the Group of 77, which exerted commendable efforts in favour of conciliation.

75. Noting with deep concern the extent of the deterioration of the world economy, my country considers that it is necessary to reconsider the existing international economic order so as to make it more just and equitable, in the interest of humanity. The world economy is still confronted with problems regarding economic growth, international trade, and the continuing rise in the rates of inflation and unemployment. Therefore, international co-operation should be strengthened and arduous efforts should be exerted to cope with this deteriorating situation which threatens not only the developing countries, but also the economies of the industrialized States, since the world has become closely interdependent in the various political, economic and social fields. The inter-related nature of the world's economic problems calls for total rather than partial solutions. The industrialized States should be aware of this fact and should effectively contribute to reforming the current world financial and economic order. They should also favourably consider the proposals made by the developing countries, which hope for a further positive contribution to the development of their economies, which suffer from continued recession, stagnation and balance-of-payments deficits. Co-operation among developing countries in solving these problems should be considered as a supplement rather than an alternative to co-operation between the North and the South. It does not relieve the industrialized States of their responsibilities and duties towards the developing countries. Such responsibilities require that the industrialized States adjust the policies currently controlling commodity and service markets, with a view to presenting long-term solutions which give special attention to strengthening food security.

76. As a third world country, the United Arab Emirates requires various resources to develop its economy and to provide for the welfare of its people, yet it plays a concrete role in extending assistance to other third world countries through the financial mechanisms that it has established for that purpose. Most notable among these mechanisms are the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development, created in 1971 to provide foreign assistance, in addition to assistance for development from other sources, such as the Special Fund of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, and the Arab Bank for African Development.

77. My country fully recognizes that the hope of solutions to the various international financial and economic problems lies in the credibility of a constructive North-South dialogue. The positive response of the participants in the June Versailles Economic Summit to the proposals made by the Group of 77 is an encouraging factor. We hope that the Versailles group

will respond quickly to the proposals recently submitted by the Group of 77, which are considered a great concession, made to facilitate the progress of those negotiations. The present condition of the world economy makes more necessary than ever before the restructuring by the international community of the fundamental factors which control economic and social progress throughout the world and especially the development of the States of the third world.

78. Despite this gloomy international picture, I stress my country's full confidence in the ideals and principles of the Charter as an ideal framework for permanent consultation and dialogue to resolve the problems of the world by peaceful means. In this connection, I should like to urge the United Nations to do its utmost to play the fundamental role assigned to it by the Charter and to create conditions conducive to peace, harmony, progress and prosperity for all nations.

79. Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, I should like to extend to Mr. Hollai, of Hungary, warmest congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and express my conviction that with his eminent talents and wealth of experience he will, together with other members of the General Committee, guide the work of the present session to fruitful results.

80. We are living in a period of complex upheavals and difficult challenges. The creative labour and the economic and other achievements of the world's peoples in the past 37 years are in danger of being destroyed by the tension clouding the international situation. In the hope of extricating itself from the prolonged economic recession and coping with the growth of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, and in an attempt to continue to impose its will on other peoples, during the past three years the United States—in collusion with other reactionary forces—has launched a global counterattack against the independence and sovereignty of peoples and against world peace. It has stepped up the arms race to an unprecedented level in its quest for military supremacy. Billions of dollars have been spent on the production of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb. It has decided to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe, shamelessly proclaimed the doctrine of a "limited nuclear war", introduced the rapid deployment force into the region of the Persian Gulf, reinforced its fleet in the Caribbean Sea and built new military bases in the Indian Ocean, with a view to preparing for aggression and intervention in every continent, thus creating new hotbeds of tension in various regions of the globe.

81. This adventurist and bellicose policy constitutes an extremely grave threat to international peace and security, and runs counter to the aspirations of billions of people throughout the world. The collusion between the ring-leader of imperialism and international reactionary forces is a cause of tension and could lead to an explosive situation. More than ever before the struggle for international peace and security is an

urgent and primary task for all peoples. With the exception of the military-industrial complexes of the imperialist Powers seeking excessive profits from war and the arms race, nobody today profits from war. The profound aspirations to peace of billions of people are what give the peace movement unprecedented power, capable of staying the armoured hands of the imperialist and reactionary forces. The united efforts of and the co-ordinated struggle carried on by the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the forces of peace and democracy in the Western countries have a great opportunity of averting the danger of a nuclear war and countering the warlike and aggressive policy of the imperialists and international reactionaries.

82. Having undergone 35 consecutive years of war while the rest of the world was enjoying the longest period of peace in the century, the Vietnamese people are profoundly conscious of the significance of peace. Together with all peace-loving forces on this planet, our people have waged and are still waging an untiring struggle for national independence, foiling one after another all the schemes of imperialism and international reaction, aimed at turning South-East Asia into the hotbed for a new world war.

83. In the past several months alone, 15 million Vietnamese have participated in demonstrations, briefings and seminars and have signed petitions in response to a nationwide campaign for peace and disarmament. We unreservedly support the peace and disarmament initiatives put forward by the socialist and non-aligned countries. In particular, we highly appreciate the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and see in this a gesture of historic importance. If, like the Soviet Union, all nuclear Powers—and first of all the United States of America—were to make similar commitments, the possibility of renelling the danger of a devastating nuclear war would immediately become a reality, even at a time when the major Powers have not yet reached an agreement on disarmament. The new proposals of the Soviet Union, announced by Foreign Minister Gromyko to the General Assembly at the 13th meeting, once again prove that the Soviet Union spares no effort to prevent war and to defend world peace. Likewise, we give our full support to the proposal of the Soviet Union and the Secretary-General for a conference of States Members of the Security Council at the highest possible level to seek a solution to problems relating to international peace and security.

84. As an Asian country bordering the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, Viet Nam warmly welcomes the initiatives of India and other non-aligned countries, aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Likewise, we firmly support the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic on the signing of a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among countries in Asia and the Pacific.⁶ The implementation of these proposals would constitute an effective contribution to international peace and security.

85. Those who have a conscience cannot remain indifferent to the abominable crimes perpetrated by the Israeli aggressors against the innocent civilian population of Lebanon and Palestine. The atrocious massacres in Lebanon are reminiscent of the crimes

committed by the Hitlerites during the Second World War, by the American aggressors at My Lai during the Viet Nam War and by the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea. As long as murderers in the Middle East of the Hitler and Pol Pot type remain unpunished, slaughters such as those committed in Lebanon will not be the last crimes against humanity. The Government of the United States cannot clear itself of the crimes of aggression and genocide of the Israeli Zionists.

86. Together with all of progressive mankind, the Vietnamese people indignantly condemn the Israeli aggressors and those who have provided them with billions of dollars, and weapons, and we demand due punishment for those aggressors. Once again, we reaffirm the resolute support of the people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for the just struggle of the PLO, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon and other Arab countries against the Israeli aggressors and their protectors. Israel must withdraw all its troops from all the Arab territories it has illegally occupied. A just solution for the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless and until the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, whose sole authentic representative is the PLO, are guaranteed, including the right to found their own independent and sovereign State. Any separate solution is aimed only at dividing the Arab countries and encouraging the aggressors, and is certainly doomed to failure.

87. The present situation in southern Africa is causing us no less concern. Unless checked in time, the crimes being committed in the Middle East may be repeated in southern Africa, where the Pretoria racists are pursuing a ferocious policy of *apartheid*, violently opposing the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa for national liberation, and launching piratical attacks against Angola, Mozambique and the other front-line States. The Vietnamese people wishes to express its profound sympathy and firm support for the just cause of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, under the leadership of SWAPO and the African National Congress [ANC], respectively, as well as that of the front-line States. We fully support all measures taken by Angola to deliver a well-deserved riposte to the aggressors.

88. We totally support the struggle of the people of Seychelles and of Madagascar against imperialist subversion and intervention. We demand that the United States return Diego Garcia to Mauritius.

89. The Vietnamese people resolutely stand by the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada in their current struggle against the threat of aggression and in defence of the fruits of revolution. We fully support the peoples of El Salvador, Chile and other Latin American peoples in their fight against their dictatorial régimes. Our special sympathy goes to the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence from colonial domination. In their struggle to regain sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, the people of Argentina can rely on the solidarity of the Vietnamese people.

90. The Government and people of Viet Nam vehemently condemn the policies of the imperialist countries which use political pressure and carry out

hostile acts to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, with a view to wiping out the socialist achievements of the Polish people.

91. We resolutely support the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the fraternal Afghan people in their struggle against the imperialists' and international reactionaries' undeclared war, in defence of their independence and sovereignty, and to safeguard the fruits of the April revolution. We unreservedly support the just struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their fatherland. The persistent struggle waged by the people of Western Sahara for their national independence as well as that waged by the people of Cyprus for their territorial integrity enjoys the constant and firm support of the Vietnamese people.

92. Having suffered from the yoke of colonialism and having had to wage a protracted struggle against the aggressors, the Vietnamese people fully and consistently support the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, for the defence of their national independence and for the building of a new, just and equitable international economic order.

93. We are of the view that at this juncture, when the burdens of the economic crisis and of the arms race are weighing so heavily on the developing countries and when the United States is resorting to its policy of embargo and economic sanctions to impose its will on other peoples, the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to build a new international economic order is of necessity linked with the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace and disarmament and against the imperialist policy of aggression and intervention. The experiences of the past years have taught us that only by waging a struggle on the economic, political and other fronts can the peoples of the developing countries become masters of their own political destiny and natural resources and force concessions from imperialism.

94. The causes of world tension in the past three years are precisely those that threaten peace and stability in the South-East Asian region.

95. After failing in their attempts at collusion with United States imperialism in holding back the complete victory of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples in their wars of resistance for national salvation, the reactionary elements in the Beijing ruling circles have considered the emergence of a unified Viet Nam as the biggest obstacle to their strategy of expansionism in South-East Asia. Since 1975, China has used the Pol Pot clique as its essential instrument to weaken Viet Nam and to carry out its policy of expansionism. Since the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique and China's defeat in February 1979 in its war of aggression against Viet Nam, the new leaders of the modern "Middle Empire" have waged a war of destruction in all fields against Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries. At the same time, they have kept on using the remnants of the Pol Pot troops and have fabricated the so-called Kampuchean problem in a bid to reinforce their collusion with the United States and other reactionary forces against the three Indo-Chinese peoples and to incite confrontation between the Indo-Chinese countries and those

which are members of ASEAN, with a view to undermining peace and stability in South-East Asia so that China may fish in the troubled waters.

96. In order to conceal its expansionist and hegemonist schemes, China has fabricated the so-called Vietnamese threat to the ASEAN countries, with a view to inciting the latter to oppose Viet Nam and sowing disorder in South-East Asia.

97. It is necessary to point out that this is not the first time that the aggressors have used such a pretext to justify their acts of aggression against Viet Nam. As is widely known, in 1964 the United States concocted the "Tonkin Gulf incident" as a pretext for unleashing its air and naval war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. What the Beijing expansionists are now doing is just a repetition of the shameful acts committed in the past by the colonialists and imperialists against Viet Nam.

98. At present, China requires the settlement of the so-called Kampuchean problem as a pre-condition for the normalization of relations between Viet Nam and China and claims that it is the root cause of the Sino-Viet Nam conflict. Yet it is only too evident that since early 1978 China has used the question of the Hoa people—Vietnamese of Chinese descent—to launch a campaign of subversion against Viet Nam, as it did against Indonesia in 1965 and to invade India in 1962. They will certainly resort to similar pretexts when they find it necessary to provoke conflicts with other countries in South-East Asia.

99. History has proved that policies based on fabrications are always doomed to failure. At present more and more people have become aware of the fact that the so-called Kampuchean problem is in essence China's opposition to Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries, and not in the least a conflict between the ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries. The latest developments in South-East Asia have further enlightened world public opinion about the fact that the Beijing leaders are the only ones who do not want peace or stability in that region. China has time and again rejected all our proposals aimed at easing tension on the Viet Nam-China border and at resuming talks between the two countries to find a peaceful solution to the disputes. Moreover, China has sought all ways and means to sabotage the dialogue between the Indo-Chinese and the ASEAN countries to settle matters relating to peace and stability in the region.

100. Despite the hostile policy being pursued at present by the Chinese leaders against Viet Nam and the other countries of Indo-China, the Vietnamese people never look upon the Chinese people as their enemies. Bearing in mind the age-old friendship between the two peoples, we believe that the present abnormality in the relations between Viet Nam and China is only a temporary phenomenon. It has been our consistent policy, and still is, to persevere in peaceful negotiations to settle all differences between the two countries. We stand ready to resume the Viet Nam-China talks at any level, at any place and at the earliest possible time, with the aim of normalizing relations between the two countries.

101. With the desire to promote reconciliation among the countries in the South-East Asian region, the

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the Indo-Chinese countries, sent a letter dated 15 September 1982 [see A/37/334] to the ASEAN countries further clarifying the proposals made by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Lao People's Republic, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held in July 1982 in Ho Chi Minh City, on settling questions relating to peace and stability in South-East Asia. We regard these proposals as matters to be negotiated between the two groups of countries. We are ready to listen to other views and to respond positively to the legitimate concerns of the ASEAN countries. We hold that the two sides should respect each other's legitimate interests, that they should respect the principles of equality, mutual respect, non-imposition of one side's views upon the other and non-interference from outside. Only in those conditions can all issues concerning South-East Asia be settled properly and peace and stability in the region be guaranteed.

102. The situation in Kampuchea is developing favourably. Under the leadership of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people have over the past three years overcome their most serious difficulties and hardships and thus have continued the miraculous rebirth of their nation after the nightmare caused by the Pol Pot genocidal clique. World public opinion particularly welcomes the policy of national unity and concord of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as expounded in a recent statement by Mr. Hun Sen, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, concerning those Kampucheans who are still in the ranks of the Pol Pot clique or are collaborating directly or indirectly with them. If they cease this collaboration and respect the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, they will be entitled to enjoy all rights of citizenship, including the right to stand for and vote in Kampuchea's free elections, in the presence of foreign observers. With its foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, together with other countries in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, is playing an increasingly active role as a factor for peace and stability in South-East Asia.

103. We make this appeal to the international community: if for the time being it is unable actively to assist the Kampuchean people in accelerating their rebirth and to promote dialogue and reconciliation between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries, at least refrain from doing anything that may poison the atmosphere, which is improving in this region.

104. As a Member of the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam hopes that the Organization will do its best to perform the noble tasks entrusted to it by the peoples of the world. It is regrettable, however, that throughout the 37 years of its existence, in spite of the goodwill and commendable efforts of many Member States, the United Nations has not yet fulfilled the aspirations of mankind. The great changes brought about by the peoples of the world in that period of time in their struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress have all taken place outside the United Nations.

105. In the course of the struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples and countries in the bloodiest war in history, the United Nations did not recognize the right of the Indo-Chinese people to be represented, while the imperialist and reactionary forces hostile to those three peoples had an important voice in this Organization. Today, when the peoples of the world greatly rejoice at the rebirth of the Kampuchean people who survived the genocide, the criminals of the Pol Pot genocidal clique and their accomplices in the "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" have not yet been ousted from this body. However, the rebirth of the Kampuchean people is absolutely irreversible. All attempts to reimpose the genocidal régime on Kampuchea will certainly fail.

106. Mankind now faces extremely severe trials. World peace and international security are being threatened by the frantic arms race and the policy of instigating chaos in the world. In such a situation, the peoples of the world are urging the United Nations to discharge its responsibility to history. We believe that in order to strengthen the role and effectiveness of this Organization and to turn it into a real instrument of peace and international co-operation it is essential that Member States strictly respect the purposes and principles of the Charter and refrain from turning this Organization into an instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of other States and infringing the sovereignty of other peoples. The United Nations can accomplish its historic mission only if it supports the struggle of the peoples for justice and responds to the ardent aspirations of billions of people on our planet for the maintenance of world peace, the defence of the national independence of peoples, the development of international co-operation and the building of a prosperous and happy life for all. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will spare no effort to make its contribution to that noble cause.

107. Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): It is with particular pleasure that I join previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Hollai most warmly, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His election is a fitting tribute to his many fine qualities, which allow him to bring to this difficult task wide experience and wisdom, from which we shall no doubt stand to gain. We therefore have every confidence that, with the collective support of all delegations, he will skilfully lead the session to a productive conclusion. My delegation assures him of its full co-operation at all times. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, and express to him our deepest appreciation for his excellent achievement in steering a difficult thirty-sixth session to such a successful conclusion. I should also like to place on record the profound appreciation of my delegation for the competence invariably displayed by the Secretary-General and his able and dedicated staff in promoting the business of the General Assembly.

108. Since the thirty-sixth session, the international political scene has continued to be worrying and efforts to find durable solutions to many burning issues have only been met with frustration. The Palestinian question, the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the escalating arms race, the prob-

lems of colonialism and racism and the ever-widening economic gap between the North and the South—all have increased in complexity. As we meet at this thirty-seventh session, our skills, inventiveness and good faith will be fully taxed in our quest for a better world.

109. In drawing attention to the explosive situations around the globe today, I should like to touch upon the Middle East, because it is one single issue which has gravely disturbed international peace and security. In the wake of some bold steps taken both within and outside the United Nations system, one would have thought that a significant improvement would by now be discernible in the Middle East situation. Unfortunately, that situation has been further complicated by the recent tragic devastation of Lebanon. The callous Israeli invasion has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives; it has rendered hundreds of thousands homeless and without shelter; it has ravaged towns and villages, wantonly destroyed property and demolished Palestinian refugee camps—and the entire world has just looked on as though it was all to be expected and all too normal.

110. It is inadmissible that after 35 years of hostility and warfare no durable solution has been found to the Palestinian question, which is undeniably the crux of the Middle East dilemma. The Palestinian people have suffered for far too long. The international community and certain Governments in particular must abandon their fear of embarking on new policies which alone can ensure that the Palestinians have a home. The least that can be done is to implement fully relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions dealing with the fundamental and inalienable rights of the Palestinians as defined and elaborated in General Assembly resolutions 3210 (XXIX) and 3236 (XXIX). Those two resolutions were again emphasized in Assembly resolution ES-7/2. Ghana very strongly urges a final solution of the question in terms of these resolutions. We stand our ground and reaffirm the principles underlying them, the most important of which are: the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property in Palestine from which they have been forcibly displaced and uprooted; the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without external interference; the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent and sovereign State in Palestine; the right to territorial integrity and national unity—which must apply to all States in the area; and the right of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations.

111. We cannot pretend that the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians will die with the arrogant use of force. The yearning of a people for a home can never die, as the Israelis must know. We call upon Israel to withdraw from all Arab lands it has occupied. Until Israel heeds the conscience of mankind, it will continue to create conditions for its isolation.

112. Another source of grave concern is the ongoing war between Iran and Iraq, two developing countries which require all the human and material resources with which they are so richly blessed to surmount

the shackles of underdevelopment and help their less fortunate brothers of the third world. There is no point in continuing this war, and we should like to counsel our brothers in Iran and Iraq to seek the road to peace.

113. My delegation is equally concerned about the unsettled regional conflicts in Cyprus, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The early solution of these conflicts will help brighten the international horizon and replace fear with confidence in the future, thus enhancing the chances of our winning true peace for all mankind. My delegation would like to support the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those crisis areas and for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States therein. The solution of these conflicts will not be possible, however, except within the context of a comprehensive settlement of the conflicting interests of all the parties involved.

114. The United Nations has, over its 37-year history, scored a number of successes in the areas of decolonization, development assistance and humanitarian work. The record, however, is rather dismal in the resolution of conflicts and the removal of the underlying factors that engender them. The irony of the situation is that all parties involved in the conflicts are signatories to the Charter and all are thus legally and morally enjoined to settle disputes by peaceful means.

115. From the record of Ghana's participation in the deliberations of the Organization, there can be no doubt that my country has supported the United Nations initiatives for peace. My country has consistently made troop contributions to United Nations peace-keeping forces to serve as a buffer in the effort to contain latent and potentially explosive disputes. It is a difficult and sometimes dangerous task which the United Nations has performed with courage and dedication, if not successfully on all occasions. With all its faults, peace-keeping continues to be a useful and serious undertaking that all Member States should support. It is therefore regrettable that countries which are easily in a position to make contributions for peace-keeping operations should be in default or refuse outright to do so. We therefore appeal to all those countries to honour their commitments in this regard and make good their assessed contributions in the greater interest of world peace and security.

116. My Government is also ready and willing to support any move designed to review the powers of the Secretary-General with a view to making him better able to deal with conflict situations more decisively. This review is necessary if the United Nations is not to be further harmed by the crisis in confidence that now envelops it as a result of the tendency of certain Member States to play down its importance in finding solutions to international problems.

117. A matter of fundamental importance to world peace is disarmament. The outcome of the recent second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was most disappointing. The primary responsibility for controlling the arms race rests with the big Powers. It is intolerable that they should continue to endanger the security of all of us in pursuit of superiority.

118. It is known that the quality of life in the developing countries would take on a new meaning if a portion of current expenditures on arms were to be released for development assistance. However, not only are we being denied that assistance; we stand in danger of being annihilated as a result of policies we have no part in shaping. It is a misfortune that no change of heart is in sight.

119. To have the peace and security in which harmony and human development can survive is the fervent hope of mankind. The delegation of Ghana associates itself with those delegations that have welcomed the proposals for a nuclear freeze and urges the nuclear Powers to seize this opportunity and to take those steps which must be taken in order to rid ourselves and posterity of the danger of extinction.

120. It is not an accident of history that the odious policy of *apartheid* is practised with impunity in South Africa; it derived its inspiration from the imperialism and the racism of the industrialized West and it is supported by certain Governments and transnational corporations, whatever they may say to the contrary. The policy of *apartheid* has been consciously and systematically nurtured into an institutionalized racial bigotry that maintains that the black man is little more than an object of labour. He works under unjust and discriminatory laws, suffers arbitrary imprisonment and is denied his basic rights and privileges as a citizen of his own country. The educational structure for the black population is organized in such a way as to provide separate and unequal levels of education appropriate only to satisfy the labour needs of the white society and of the transnational corporations.

121. And if those conditions were not degrading enough, the South African Government's policy of creating bantustans or independent homelands has been initiated in order to eliminate the inter-ethnic cohesion that is necessary for collective action on the part of the black majority in defence of their liberty.

122. What is happening in South Africa should be a matter of concern to the entire world. Those who gloss over the transgressions of South Africa for whatever reasons and those who pursue profits at the expense of human dignity are as guilty as the bigots who hold power in South Africa.

123. The South African Government's provocative aggression against Angola and Mozambique, its intervention in Seychelles and in Lesotho and its threats to other front-line States show how passivity on the part of the international community can encourage dangers to international peace and security. South Africa has seen fit to refuse to comply with United Nations resolutions and it continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. South Africa is a veritable international outlaw and it merits the imposition of punitive measures from the Security Council now. The longer we wait the greater the danger that with the development of a nuclear capability in co-operation with other racist-minded régimes it will be able to hold the world to ransom.

124. There is no doubt that an oil embargo is not only feasible but could be effective. Virtually all South Africa's petroleum requirements must be imported from abroad and refined oil is indispensable

to South African transportation and industry, crucial levers of its economic and military strength. An oil embargo against South Africa would not have an adverse impact on international oil companies. The total interest of the five oil companies that dominate the South African oil industry represents only 1 per cent of their global transactions. Nor is there any major oil-producing country whose livelihood depends on oil exports to South Africa. The sanctions envisaged can be enforced not by adopting the expensive method of patrolling the South African coastline but by having recourse to the cheaper alternative of the withdrawal of transport facilities for the shipment of oil to South Africa. We do not endorse the cynical argument that the black population stands to suffer most if mandatory oil sanctions are imposed on South Africa. I believe I echo the views of the black majority in stating that their plight under the yoke of *apartheid* with all its inhumanity and degradation will come to a speedier end if sanctions are imposed on South Africa.

125. We are following with interest and some disappointment the efforts of the Western contact group to resolve the Namibian problem. The linkage being made between this problem and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola casts grave suspicions on the sincerity of some of the parties involved. Meanwhile, our whole-hearted support will continue to be given to SWAPO for the successful liquidation of colonialism and racism in Namibia.

126. When one looks at the present world economic situation characterized, on the one hand, by record levels of unemployment, recession, budget deficits, high interest rates and other constraints in the developed world, and deteriorating terms of trade, record budget deficits, huge debt burdens and declining rates of growth in the developing world on the other, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the crises in the political sphere have their parallel in the economic realm as well and that one can hardly be considered without the other.

127. In this generally dismal landscape the conspicuous plight of the non-oil-producing African countries, many of whom have long been among the poorest of the poor, is nothing short of desperate. I need not remind the Assembly that many African countries have actually been experiencing negative rates of growth at the very time when they are undergoing a population explosion. For them poverty has become a way of life.

128. The fact that the whole world economy is in a general state of disequilibrium and that even the most efficient and frugal countries are faced with serious economic difficulties should, in our opinion, once more underline the point many of the developing countries have reiterated almost *ad nauseam*; that the economic recovery of the developed countries of the North is inexorably linked to the economic prosperity and progress of the developing countries of the South. The whole world economy, in other words, is so interlinked and interdependent that the prosperity and well-being of each country is a necessary pre-condition for the prosperity of all. No one country or group of countries can today pursue economic policies of a narrow, self-centred nature without risking

economic disaster for itself in the long run. For that reason policies of economic blockade outside the framework of a United Nations sanctions policy are as outdated and reactionary as the gunboat diplomacy of times past.

129. The old order—which is now facing a grave crisis—in which the developing countries supply abundant raw materials at cheap prices determined by the markets in the West and are then forced to buy manufactured goods at expensive prices determined by the same markets, must give way to a more equitable system in which the benefits of economic activity accrue to all who create the wealth of the world and not only to a small minority of nations.

130. We reaffirm that the realignment of international economic relations, as envisaged in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted by the General Assembly in 1974 [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], is a necessity if the world economy is to overcome its present malaise.

131. It is in this context that my delegation deeply regrets the failure of the strenuous efforts made to arrive at a suitable basis for the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. We believe that the urgency of the situation requires that this issue should occupy a central position on the international community's agenda for the immediate future. Without the prospect of general economic recovery there cannot be genuine political stability and without political stability there cannot be peace. As long as millions of people continue to go to bed hungry, as long as thousands starve to death while some nations can afford to spend over \$600 billion a year on refining the apparatus of destruction, there will be no peace. The responsibility for this will rest squarely with the industrialized countries, particularly in the West.

132. Ghana stands ready to join in any meaningful initiatives to resolve outstanding differences so that the way may be cleared for a serious attempt to address the economic imbalances and injustices of the past and present.

133. While the North-South dialogue has made disappointing progress, Ghana is pleased to note that the developing countries have made substantial efforts to increase co-operation for development among themselves. We are particularly pleased that a significant number of sectoral meetings have taken place this year in connection with the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action⁸ for economic co-operation among developing countries, and we are determined to give full support to every move in the direction of collective self-reliance, not as a substitute for global economic reform but as a complementary effort. Ultimately, the third world must look to itself to reverse the exploitative economic relationships fostered by colonialism and imperialism. This calls for a far greater level of political consciousness than the leadership of many a third world country would allow or would be allowed by those who stand to lose. It is found to be more convenient to be content with a neo-colonial relationship that is beneficial to the class to which the leadership belongs but which is damaging in the long run to the interests

of the masses. The Government of Ghana does not intend to be found wanting in the effort, co-operation and sacrifice that are necessary for the salvation of the underprivileged nations of the third world.

134. The adoption on 30 April 1982 of the Convention on the Law of the Sea⁹ by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea represents a momentous event in the life of the Organization. It demonstrates the capacity of the United Nations to forge legally binding instruments for peace, security and development. The Convention itself is a unique blend of old and new concepts in international law: the concept of freedom of the seas on the one hand and the modern and novel concepts of exclusive economic zones and the common heritage of mankind on the other.

135. The delegation of Ghana is firmly of the view that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea will provide, upon its entry into force, the only form of legality in regard to the oceans which is known to the world community. Any unilateral action intended to preserve the privileges of the few in the exploitation of the resources of the seas must be resisted by the international community.

136. As we meet at the present session of the General Assembly, it would be useful for us all to bear in mind that we represent peoples of a world in which the clear majority is yearning for peace, security and development; we must also remember that we play our respective diplomatic roles in a world that has become interdependent to a great degree. The situation calls for abandoning selfish national interests and making a moral commitment to the betterment of the international community. The delegation of Ghana hopes that this session will help generate that moral commitment.

137. Mr. VALENCIA-RODRÍGUEZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, I would ask you to transmit to Mr. Hollai, President of the General Assembly, the greetings of my country, together with our best wishes for complete success in the conduct of the work of this session of the General Assembly, a success assured by his prestige and experience in the Organization. I also greet the Secretary-General, who comes from our Latin American region, elected last December to the elevated responsibility that the international community has entrusted to him, for the furtherance of peace and the strengthening of the United Nations. I also wish to place on record our profound gratitude to and praise for Mr. Kittani, the esteemed President of the thirty-sixth session. His efforts during the prolonged work of the thirty-sixth session will always be recalled as an example of selfless devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

138. World problems have worsened considerably in the midst of an atmosphere laden with growing tension, constant collective insecurity, aggressions that are neither punished nor stopped and an acute international economic crisis. The world panorama has darkened over the past year as a result of the dangers that confront peace, while the measures adopted by the Organization to alleviate this state of tension and insecurity have not brought about the expected results. The realization of the noble purposes of the United Nations has, as at no time before, eluded the reach

of the peoples, who anxiously contemplate the permanent weakening of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the non-implementation of the decisions of the Security Council. Let us recall that mankind put its trust and its hope in the United Nations in order to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". If the Organization shows itself ineffectual in attaining that objective, the perspectives will become increasingly distressing.

139. For that reason, Ecuador urgently appeals to the Governments of Member States, and principally to the great Powers, to act in compliance with their responsibilities and display the political will needed to give substance to the measures adopted by the Organization. That political will is an essential requirement for the restoration of a climate of international understanding and the removal of the dangers that loom over the future of mankind.

140. To face up to those perspectives, Ecuador comes to this new session to reaffirm its position of adherence to the basic principles of its international policy, outstanding among which are those relating to the sovereign equality of States, non-intervention, the rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations, the non-recognition of territorial conquests obtained by force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, international co-operation, respect for human rights, and the rejection of racial discrimination, *apartheid*, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

141. The joint declarations of the President of Ecuador and the Presidents of Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia on the occasion of the visits made in the course of 1982 by the Ecuadorian President to those brother countries, as well as the declaration signed by nine heads of State from Latin America and Spain on the occasion of the recent transfer of power in Colombia, reaffirm adherence to those principles and indicate the guidelines of Ecuador's international policy.

142. In the firm belief that peace is possible only through the observance of those fundamental principles of the legal system of the United Nations, Ecuador continues to call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from territories that do not belong to them, in Afghanistan as well as in Lebanon and all of the Middle East, and in Cyprus, Kampuchea, Namibia or any other territory where forces of occupation are to be found.

143. Ecuador has condemned the aggression against Lebanon as well as the execrable massacres of hundreds of Palestinians that recently occurred in west Beirut, and it has requested that an appropriate investigation be made in order to determine responsibilities. It has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces as well as the cessation of hostilities in order to put an end to the loss of human lives and the destruction of that martyred country. The Lebanese people must remain free from any foreign interference so that they may decide their own destiny in a sovereign and democratic manner and so that their intrinsic and inalienable right to live in peace is respected. Similarly, Ecuador reiterates the basic need to find a solution to the problem of the Palestinian people, who have the right to establish themselves in their own territory, a right to self-determination

and a right to participate on an equal footing with the other countries of the region in international negotiations aimed at finding a just, definitive and comprehensive solution to this serious situation.

144. In this respect, Ecuador has considered with interest the new proposals aimed at the full recognition of the basic rights of the Palestinian people and the need to give effect to United Nations decisions, particularly those of the Security Council. In fact, and in accordance with the latter, the search for practical measures that would meet the just claims of the Palestinians and reaffirm respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region continues to be the urgent aim of the international community in the Middle East.

145. Ecuador lives within a democratic system with full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as laid down in its Constitution and in relevant international instruments. My country upholds the need for universal respect for human rights without the selectivity as to their violations that leads to covering up in certain regions what is criticized in others. It also maintains that it is proper for each State member of the international community to report of its own accord and in such international forums as this on the observance of those rights within their borders.

146. In this regard, the Constitutional President of Ecuador, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado, stated at the opening of the session of the Ecuadorian Parliament this year that

“... the Government has scrupulously respected public freedoms in such a manner that it can proudly report that in the course of the past year no act tending to limit them has occurred. The political parties, the trade unions, the chambers of commerce and the information media have been given the widest guarantees for the exercise of their activities.”

147. The Charter of Conduct signed at Riobamba in 1980 by the Presidents of the countries of the Andean Group, as well as Panama, Costa Rica and Spain⁹, reaffirms the commitment by which respect for human, political, economic and social rights constitutes a fundamental norm for the internal conduct of States, and notes that joint action in the defence of such rights does not violate the principle of non-intervention. It also reiterates the need to promote the settlement of disputes among the countries of the Andean Group, or between them and third parties, by peaceful means, and it provides for a subregional and regional process which, inspired by the premises contained in the 1974 Ayacucho Declaration,¹⁰ constitutes an effective contribution to general and complete disarmament and thus makes it possible to release resources for economic and social development.

148. The multiple world problems and the disputes of every kind that exist in various regions, including those of a territorial character, seriously affect world peace and security and are consequently of interest to the community of nations.

149. In the specific case of the American continent, the territorial problems that still exist in Central and South America which, we could assert, involve almost

all States of the region, hamper the co-ordination of an international policy that would make it possible to attend to all existing problems and to obtain the co-operation required to solve them.

150. There exists a serious territorial problem between Ecuador and Peru, dating back to the time when our peoples acceded to independent life. The problem was aggravated when, by force and by the occupation of Ecuadorian territory, the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro¹¹ was imposed on us, by virtue of which Ecuador was deprived of the Amazonian territories to which my country is entitled in accordance with unimpeachable legal titles.

151. Ecuador has always advocated and will not cease to seek a peaceful and honourable solution of justice and equity to that problem, one that recognizes its Amazonian rights. That is why it renews from this rostrum its invitation to Peru to lend its loyal and effective participation to establishing as soon as possible the climate indispensable for understanding between the two countries and for the initiation, as soon as such a design is consolidated, of negotiations aimed at the earliest and definitive solution of the dispute that separates them, without conditions that might prejudice the results of the negotiations and with the assistance of the countries that are most closely linked to the preservation of peace and the search for harmony between the parties. This necessary atmosphere for negotiation has been seriously disturbed by the warlike events of January and February 1981 and by other later incidents, but the full re-establishment of such an atmosphere is hampered above all by the acts of appropriation of the territories under dispute that Peru has since that time been intensifying and by which it is attempting to pass off the territorial dispute it maintains with Ecuador as having been resolved in favour of its own unilateral pretensions.

152. As a result, I reiterate the reservation that Ecuador expressed before the Assembly at the 31st meeting of the thirty-sixth session with regard to its rights of territorial sovereignty over the undefined border zone extending to the east of the Condor Range to the effect that whatever acts and works Peru may have carried out, as well as those it is currently undertaking and those it may undertake in future, in no case will Ecuador agree to the siting of the landmarks that Peru claims in that Range, which is not mentioned as a border line in any instrument between the two countries, not even in the so-called Rio Protocol that was imposed upon Ecuador in 1942 after the armed invasion of 1941 and under conditions that included the occupation of part of its territory.

153. As a country of the Amazon region, Ecuador fulfils its role under the Treaty of Amazonian Co-operation among the eight countries whose territory makes up the water basin of the great river that was discovered by the expedition organized in the sixteenth century from Guayaquil and Quito.

154. Because of its vocation for peace, Ecuador has supported all disarmament resolutions at past sessions of the General Assembly, in particular those resolutions calling for nuclear disarmament and for the prohibition of nuclear tests. We must reiterate our total condemnation of the unbridled arms race—if

only because of a basic instinct for the preservation of human life on our planet, which belongs as much to the non-nuclear as to the nuclear countries. We have supported resolutions calling for the reallocation of the astronomical sums spent for military purposes worldwide to be used for the development of the poor countries, a development which is essential for the establishment of the new international economic order. In that connection, we have enthusiastically supported the inclusion in the agenda of the additional item concerning the relationship between disarmament and development.

155. On the other hand, we deplore the lack of political will on the part of the great Powers, which prevented the General Assembly at the second special session devoted to disarmament from even ratifying the points agreed on during the first such special session.

156. There are, of course, other important factors that have to be taken into account in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the integral development of nations, such as the elimination of economic aggression and of the illegal exploitation of natural resources belonging to other peoples, the changing of unfair terms of trade, and the elimination of all kinds of coercive measures.

157. The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea highlighted the evolution of one aspect of international law, which began 30 years ago with the Santiago Declaration, in which Ecuador, Chile and Peru proclaimed sovereignty and jurisdiction over the sea along their coasts to a distance of 200 miles. That legal position has become universal. The new law of the sea recognizes wide-ranging and specific rights of sovereignty of the coastal States over the natural resources in the adjacent waters, on the sea-bed and in the subsoil thereof in that 200-mile zone. The recognition that the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction constitutes the common heritage of mankind is also an irreversible victory. Much has been gained. But further progress is necessary to achieve definitive protection of all the rights of peoples which, like that of Ecuador, have been exercising their rights over their seas without violating any of the norms of international law.

158. Similarly, in the face of the unacceptable claim by the space Powers that it is the right of the first occupant to place satellites in geostationary orbit, Ecuador has maintained that the special rights of the equatorial countries must be recognized for the benefit of the developing world and in view of the determination to keep outer space an area of peace and co-operation for scientific and technical progress in the service of all mankind, and especially the developing countries, was reaffirmed in the Declaration of Equatorial States, which met at Quito in April of this year. Ecuador will continue to maintain that position.

159. Disarmament is closely linked with the peaceful settlement of international disputes, which is an element essential to understanding among countries and the strengthening of world peace and security. In every forum of which it is a member—international, regional and subregional—Ecuador advocates peaceful settlement. All disputes between States, both present

and future, must be settled solely by peaceful means, without interference and without anything being imposed from outside. We therefore maintain that the United Nations must redouble its efforts in this regard.

160. Our country has accordingly supported the draft Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes,¹² designed to strengthen and make more effective the system of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, in accordance with an initiative, in which Ecuador took part from the beginning, in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. We have also pointed out the advisability of establishing a body empowered to co-operate with the parties to a dispute in the search for a peaceful settlement at the request of any of them, so that full use may thus be made of the possibilities afforded by the Charter for that purpose.

161. Among the increasingly important forums in which Ecuador participates is the non-aligned movement, which it joined over a year ago, although it had endorsed the principles and policies of the movement ever since the Belgrade meeting of 1961, because of our wishes for the consolidation of peace and international co-operation, in accordance with Ecuador's foreign policy, which is independent, and free from any influence, with respect for ideological pluralism, and seeks to maintain friendly relations with all countries. For the sake of adequately co-ordinating the foreign policies of countries with the greatest historical, political and cultural affinities, the President of Ecuador has proposed that the Foreign Ministers of the Latin American countries join together in a committee on co-ordination, which would be an essential step in strengthening Latin American unity and solidarity. At the subregional level, Ecuador is an active participant in the integration process among the Andean countries which are parties to the Cartagena Agreement.

162. The International Development Strategy was conceived in response to the new approach of a world of co-operation, and to promote a new stage of global economic growth which would benefit all and which would accentuate the activities and benefits of peace in relation to the many development tasks which involve the fulfilment of the world's needs in the fields of education, health, housing, productivity, sources of energy, transport and communications. Consequently, Ecuador trusts that, in the Assembly, the political will which is indispensable for the progress of the global negotiations will be forthcoming from the industrialized countries and that a system of world economic relations will be arrived at reflecting the principles of equity, sovereignty, equality, interdependence and co-operation among States that are the basis of the new international economic order. We cannot watch with indifference the increasingly serious broadening of the gaps that separate the poor countries from the rich countries, with respect to access to the sources of capital and to markets, and to the transfer of technology, while inflation and unemployment afflict the whole international community, the harshest effects being felt by the weakest.

163. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States must be effectively implemented in order to establish just and equitable bases for international

economic relations. To that end it is also necessary to revitalize the Economic and Social Council, a principal organ of the United Nations, where the crucial questions of our time should be debated. The Council should contribute to consolidating and making more coherent the whole system of specialized agencies, development funds and operative programmes created and consolidated over the past three decades. It must also follow up the resolutions of the General Assembly as well as those of the Council itself and of its Commissions. This covers the major part of the work of the United Nations, since 80 per cent of the activities of the system are in the economic and social fields.

164. In this respect, it is appropriate to mention that the Committee on Information, created by the Assembly, has succeeded in adopting by an admirable and encouraging consensus 42 recommendations [see A/37/21, para. 91], which we hope the General Assembly will endorse. They include an appeal to the powerful world communications media to back up the efforts of the international community to ensure global development, and in particular the efforts of the developing countries to achieve their own economic, social and cultural development.

165. While the global negotiations are going on, Member States will have to prepare plans and projects, as well as train personnel, with the support of operational programmes such as UNDP, whose characteristics of universality, formulation of programmes by Governments and financing by voluntary contributions as well as its 32 years' experience all combine to make it the ideal instrument to meet the real needs of world development. That is why its activities must be trebled, which is possible if the major countries respond to the General Assembly's appeals to increase their contributions by 14 per cent. Ecuador, for its part, has done so. The developing countries have made a significant increase in their contributions, and there is growing South-South co-operation in the economic and technical fields. The world multilateral system of technical co-operation and pre-investment is the most commendable, because of its political independence, its objectivity, its flexibility and its experience. We reject any attempt to orient it towards the governing of the programmes of some States by others, which would be intolerable.

Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

166. Together with technical co-operation and pre-investment, which link the transfer of technology with economic development, from investment to productivity, trade must be an instrument of justice between countries, through agreement on equitable prices and the elimination of discriminatory barriers. It is also necessary to stress the multilateral process of trading, because this contributes to the preservation of the independence of peoples and prevents the anachronistic exploitation and dependence which often accompany bilateral aid. All this must continue to be considered in international forums, so that exports from developing countries may earn a fair remuneration and maintain sources of employment for the inhabitants of those countries. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming session of UNCTAD will result in new approaches, understandings and decisions which

will ensure the dynamics of development for the countries of the third world.

167. Although Ecuador is not a contracting party to GATT, it has always been interested in its activities, since GATT's main objective is the reduction of barriers to international trade and the preparation of rules which will enable it to be regulated according to equitable and just terms. However, GATT has not yet succeeded in solving the problems which affect the trade of the developing countries, such as quantitative restrictions and the increased protectionist measures which are applied to the products of which the developing countries are major exporters.

168. We have expressed our concern about the suggested ways of differentiating between developing countries in granting preferential treatment, since the concept of graduation, which the countries granting the preferences seek to introduce, is incompatible with the basic norms of the generalized system of preferences. Ecuador has spoken of the advisability of examining a system of safeguards under conditions and on the basis of criteria that are mutually agreed and are supplemented by a multilateral mechanism of control and monitoring. The forthcoming GATT ministerial meeting will be an opportunity to reach concrete agreements which may allow GATT to achieve its essential objective of the attainment of shared benefits.

169. A regrettable, anachronistic colonial case arose this year in the South Atlantic—that of the Malvinas Islands, where an extra-continental Power mounted a disproportionate punitive expedition, with the support of other great Powers, to deny the Argentine Republic's right of sovereignty. Ecuador, which maintained its anti-colonialist position before, during and after that warlike episode, has rejected the use of force and has recalled that the principle of *uti possidetis juris* of 1810 is the basis of the territorial reality of the American countries which gained independence from the Spanish Crown. Ecuador has reaffirmed its adherence to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), paragraph 6 of which clearly states:

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

It should not be forgotten that the islands are located on the continental shelf of Argentina and within the security zone established by the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.¹³

170. There is a dispute, and it must be solved by diplomatic means. In this connection, Ecuador supported the request for the inclusion of the question of the Malvinas as an additional item in the agenda of the present session [see A/37/193] submitted by 20 Foreign Ministers of Latin American countries and Haiti so that negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom may be carried out within the framework of the United Nations and as soon as possible.

171. That historic Treaty strengthens the vigorous unity of the Latin American peoples, founding members of the United Nations and heirs to an ancient juridical tradition which has strengthened international law and contributed significantly to the formation of the United Nations and of various regional organizations, as they themselves have acknowledged.

172. Because our country owes to the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, the culmination of its political independence and the defence of its territorial integrity, the President of Ecuador has proclaimed as the "Year of the Bicentenary of the Liberator" the period from 24 July 1982 to 24 July 1983, at which time the bicentenary of this great world figure of freedom and international understanding will be celebrated. Ecuador, together with the other Bolivarian countries, that is, the Andean Group and Panama, will co-operate fully in the well-deserved tribute to be paid within the United Nations to the universal thinking of Bolívar.

173. When in 1822 Bolívar, as President of Colombia, proposed to the Governments of Buenos Aires, Chile, Mexico and Peru that they should constitute an assembly of confederated countries, he envisioned that this would lay the legal foundation between the American Republics and would come to serve as a "counsel in common dangers, a faithful interpreter of public treaties whenever difficulties arise and, finally, as a conciliator of our differences".

174. These are additional reasons, revitalized through the San Francisco Charter, upon which Ecuador relies to reiterate its full trust in the United Nations and to urge it once again to intensify its efforts to attain the purposes and objectives of the greatest legal instrument of our time.

175. Mr. MADI SOILIH (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): Before beginning my statement, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation our most sincere congratulations to Mr. Hollai on the occasion of his well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His qualities as a skilled diplomat, together with his long experience in the Organization, as well as the high posts that he has held in his country, all constitute a guarantee that our work will progress well and our debates serenely, at a time when the Organization is called upon to deal with an endlessly growing number of complex problems of international scope. We therefore wish him every success in the exercise of his difficult responsibilities.

176. Please allow me also to pay a heartfelt tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the competence and dedication with which he exercised the presidency of the last session. We also express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in the service of world peace since he was elected almost a year ago.

177. As we meet once again in the Assembly to assess, as is traditional, the work done by the United Nations since our last regular session and to review the international situation, we must observe that, in spite of our legitimate aspirations for a better world, the balance sheet is once again negative. How else could we describe it when a large number of countries, especially the weakest among them, live in the daily anguish of inexorably mounting dangers?

178. In fact, the noble and sacred principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations are trampled underfoot and sometimes wilfully violated. International relations, both political and economic, are deteriorating at a rapid pace and are taking an increasingly disquieting turn. Here and there, might prevails over right and the *fait accompli* replaces dialogue and agreement.

179. That being the situation, we believe that efforts must be made more than ever before in order to seek ways and means of overcoming the problems and in order to safeguard the future of mankind. Hence the primary and decisive role that the Organization must play in this troubled world. It is therefore time that the purpose for which it was created, that is, the safeguarding and maintenance of peace, be at last respected. The time has come to restore its credibility, as millions of people place their hopes in it. For many of them it is sometimes their only resort.

180. The many dangers that I have just mentioned find tragic illustration in the grave events that occurred in Lebanon a few days ago. An appalled and angry world learned through the television screen of the abominable crime, the gratuitous massacre of hundreds of children, women and elderly persons in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut. That odious crime is horrible beyond all imagination and recalls a bloody page in the recent history of the world which we believed to be a thing of the past. It is all the more unpardonable and unjustifiable as it was committed against innocent, defenceless victims.

181. In my country, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, the massacres of Sabra and Shatila were felt with great sorrow by the entire population. A day of national mourning and of prayer in memory of the martyrs unjustly assassinated was decreed by the President of the Republic, Mr. Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane who, at the same time, forcefully condemned those who perpetrated and facilitated that dastardly deed.

182. On many occasions in the Assembly my country has expressed its views on the problem of the Middle East. There can be no doubt, as we see it, that it is Israel's intransigence, together with its annexationist and expansionist designs, which make it impossible to find a lasting solution to this problem, nor can there be any doubt that it is the vast financial and military means made available to Israel that make it possible for the Zionist entity to continue arrogantly to defy the many decisions and resolutions adopted by the Organization.

183. Mankind cannot remain indifferent to the genocide in west Beirut; otherwise it will lose its very dignity. The guilty and their accomplices must be found and punished. In our view one thing is clear, and that is the direct responsibility of Israel in this mass assassination. It is time for the international community at last to react firmly in the face of the policy of extermination of the Israeli Government. That Government must withdraw its troops, not only from Beirut, but from all of Lebanon and comply with the relevant resolutions of the Organization, especially those of the Security Council.

184. We welcome the results of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez, devoted to the problems

of the Middle East. We feel that the decisions that were adopted during that Conference constitute clear progress in the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem that is tearing that region apart. We strongly condemn Israel's attitude, aimed at systematically rejecting the peace plan.

185. It was more than a generation ago now that the Palestinian people was driven out of its country, forced into exile, robbed of its lands and compelled to wander from one refugee camp to another. Israel can no longer continue to ignore the Palestinian fact, the right of that people to self-determination, and to establish a free and independent State on its own land.

186. I should like here to express our admiration and respect for the head of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, for his exemplary courage and, indeed, the heroism that he demonstrated during the siege of west Beirut by Israeli forces. I also take this opportunity to reaffirm once again the unassailable and constant support of the Comorian people and its Government for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

187. It is on the basis of that same sacred principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and freedom that my country once again issues a pressing appeal for the foreign troops to withdraw from Afghanistan, making it possible for the people of that country freely to choose the political system it considers best for its future. It has been three years now since a foreign army occupied that country, which was formerly non-aligned, compelling a large part of the population to choose the course of exile.

188. My country has witnessed with profound sadness the continuation of the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, two non-aligned Moslem States. In spite of the mediation efforts undertaken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, that absurd and fratricidal war continues to exact thousands of victims on both sides, not to mention the sizeable material damage it causes. We therefore once again solemnly appeal to the two belligerents to cease their hostilities immediately so that hatred and intransigence can yield to wisdom and conciliation. In fact, that conflict not only constitutes a threat to peace in that region, but bears the insidious seed of overall conflagration, given the highly strategic nature of the region.

189. The problem of Cyprus is still on the agenda of the Assembly. We are pleased, however, at the progress, limited but real, that has been achieved this year in the framework of the intercommunal talks in the quest for a just and lasting solution that would preserve the peace, unity and sovereignty of Cyprus. We encourage the two Governments, Greek and Turkish, to continue their negotiations so that a prompt and satisfactory solution can be found, one likely to safeguard the interests of all those affected by the problem. In this respect, we wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the efforts that he has constantly made to find a solution to that problem.

190. In respect of Kampuchea, we cannot fail to express our deep disappointment at the fact that the decisions of the General Assembly demanding the immediate unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops

from that country have been ignored. The people of Kampuchea, just like all other peoples in the world, have a right to peace and freedom and it is time for their martyrdom to end. The direct action of a neighbouring Power which keeps many divisions of its army in Kampuchea endangers not only the peace of the region by creating an atmosphere of constant destabilization but also constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security.

191. The situation in the Korean peninsula remains deadlocked. Nevertheless, we do take note of the statement by the leaders of the two States indicating that they wish to arrive at a peaceful solution making it possible for their divided homeland to be reunified. We must encourage and support those good intentions, because a united Korea is a guarantee of peace and stability in that part of the world.

192. The question of Namibia continues to be of the greatest concern to my Government. All Africa places its hopes in the Organization, but the United Nations will lose credibility if it is unable to guarantee to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa the freedom and justice to which they naturally aspire. There can be no doubt that it is thanks to the assistance of certain industrialized Powers that South Africa is able constantly to defy United Nations decisions and to continue to exploit through the odious system of *apartheid* millions of Africans in their own land and illegally to occupy Namibia.

193. It is only through the prompt implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) that it will be possible to achieve the peaceful decolonization of Namibia by prohibiting any attempt to amend that resolution or blur its details, because this would just be playing the game of the South African racists.

194. The efforts made thus far by the contact group to induce Pretoria to comply with resolution 435 (1978) have met with the delaying tactics of the Pretoria régime, which ceaselessly resorts to subterfuge, going so far as to interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries in order to impose its illegal policy in Namibia. Today, the South African army is in constant violation of the southern territory of Angola, killing hundreds of innocent men, women and children by indiscriminate bombings.

195. Regarding its evacuation of Namibia, Pretoria seeks to impose unacceptable conditions on a sovereign country, Angola. All these measures and these delays are aimed at gaining time to make it possible for Pretoria to train and place its puppets at the head of the forthcoming independent Namibian Government. It is now up to the international community, to the Organization, to take enforcement measures to compel the Pretoria leaders to respect United Nations decisions.

196. I take this opportunity to reaffirm the total solidarity and unfailing support, both moral and material, of my Government for SWAPO, the genuine representative of the Namibian people in its just struggle for the liberation of its country. I should also like to express here the unshakeable determination of my country to lend support to the national liberation movements of southern Africa.

197. As regards Western Sahara, my country endorses the resolution adopted at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Nairobi, in June 1981,¹⁴ and remains convinced that a satisfactory solution to this serious problem, which could threaten our pan-African organization with collapse, is to be found through the full application of the resolution relating to the organization of a referendum on self-determination for the people of that country. We hope once again that African wisdom will manage to avoid a prolongation of a dispute, which has incalculable consequences. As far as we are concerned, we are ready to support any initiative aimed at safeguarding our organization, a symbol of the strength and unity of our African continent.

198. Another no less pressing problem threatening us directly is of concern not just to my country but also to many others in the same region, since it relates to the further strengthening of the foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean. The root of this militarization of an erstwhile peaceful zone is the rivalry between the major Powers, who are involved in an arms race as frantic as it is absurd. This state of affairs is giving rise to an explosive situation of concern to all the coastal countries. It has also led to a sharp deterioration in the climate of security which used to reign throughout this vast region. Thus it is with great disappointment that my country has witnessed the many obstacles which have arisen to prevent the convening of the conference which the Organization was to have held at Colombo in order to study the methods of implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI).

199. My country, like others wishing to preserve peace and security in that region, unreservedly supports the idea of creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and sincerely hopes that the conference which is to discuss this matter will finally be able to meet. We support the position of the non-aligned countries in favour of holding it in Sri Lanka.

200. The gloomy picture of the international political situation which I have just sketched is unfortunately reflected in the serious economic imbalances to be found in the world today. We all more or less agree on one point, namely, that this crisis does exist. It has struck hard at all countries with few exceptions, but it has affected the developing countries most, particularly the weakest among them, those which are called the least developed.

201. The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, which is among the latter, is feeling even more painfully the harmful effects of this crisis, because of the problems arising from its special geographic characteristics. Because of its island character, the Comoros Islands must cope with structural problems: isolation due to distance from major international communications routes and lack of adequate infrastructures, although considerable efforts have been made in this area by the Government and many projects are now in progress. But we continue to come up against financial problems; in fact, the Comoros like most of the non-oil-producing developing countries, has suffered for several years from

a growing deficit in its balance of trade caused by worsening exchange rates.

202. Although our country has a virtual monopoly of the production of certain cash crops, such as ylang-ylang and vanilla, nevertheless it is subject to the risks of a market controlled by people who, comfortably installed in their offices somewhere in Europe, decide on the prices according to criteria which they alone are privy to. Because of this we frequently have to sell our export products at a loss.

203. An obvious result of this is a considerable drop in our export revenues, resulting in a lack of resources which leads to budgetary deadlocks and their corollary, inflation. In order to cope with this we unfortunately have to resort to loans, which add to the burden of our indebtedness.

204. Faced with this problem, my Government makes an urgent appeal, based on General Assembly resolution 36/212, to the international community, international financial institutions and developed countries which are able to do so to give us assistance in the development process of our country.

205. In this context, it is a pleasure for me to announce from this rostrum that, pursuant to the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries¹⁵ a round table of the major lenders will be held in our capital, Moroni, in March 1983 and will bring together all those who are willing to respond to this appeal and to participate in financing our development projects. I fervently hope that this appeal will be heeded.

206. If, each time we are given the opportunity, we demand new measures and constantly call for global negotiations, a new international economic and monetary order and increased assistance to the most disadvantaged countries, that is not mere rhetoric but a call for justice. The major rich industrialized countries frequently take pleasure in proclaiming with a certain pride the major principles and values of democracy, freedom and justice, which in their view are the unique characteristics of their civilization, but national pride and the facts contradict them.

207. However, a great hope was born last year during the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún in October 1981. The peoples and countries of the third world saw in that meeting the beginning of an awareness among the rich countries of the problems and difficulties facing the developing nations. Unfortunately, today our great disappointment is equalled only by the hope which that meeting engendered. We are witnessing the progressive and accelerated erosion of the instruments and institutions which were justly established, *inter alia*, to find solutions to the problems of the poor countries. The present economic situation can be improved only if concerted action is taken at the international level to correct the harmful and perverse effects of the present economic and monetary situation. Of course, that requires the good will and loyalty of all countries.

208. It is in that context that the Government of my country supports the efforts undertaken to launch global negotiations, considering that both North and South must make some sacrifices. Only at that

price will the world find a way out of the existing morass of economic and financial crises.

209. I should like before concluding this rapid review of the political and economic situation prevailing in the world to mention once again a question of which the Assembly is well aware and which for us Comorians is of prime importance; it is a subject of constant concern since it is the question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte. I do not think it would be useful to repeat the background of this question here, since several debates have been devoted to it at earlier sessions and since it remains on the agenda and thus will be the subject of a specific debate, when we shall have the opportunity to speak on it. Today I shall limit myself to recalling the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, OAU, the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, all of which affirm unequivocally the territorial integrity of the Comoros as a country made up of four islands, including Mayotte, over which the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros should clearly extend.

210. It was on the basis of those resolutions and under the aegis of the OAU that an *Ad Hoc* Committee of Seven of the OAU, specially entrusted with following the developments of this problem, met in Moroni, from 9 to 11 November 1981. During that meeting the Committee took note of the question and adopted certain recommendations advocating, *inter alia*, direct contact between the French and Comorian Governments in order to find a just solution to this problem through negotiations.

211. Since then, several meetings at the highest level have taken place between the two countries, particularly between the President of the French Republic, Mr. François Mitterrand, and the President of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, Mr. Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane. During those meetings, which were frank and friendly, as relations are between France and the Comoros, the French President expressed his Government's desire to reach a satisfactory solution to this problem.

212. Taking note of that commitment, the Comorian Government reaffirms its will to continue through negotiation and in accordance with the relevant decisions and resolutions of international organizations, to take all the necessary steps to regain its territorial integrity, that is, the return of the island of Mayotte to the Comorian group of islands.

213. This peaceful struggle which we are carrying on is not ours alone: it is that of all peoples and all countries which respect the Charter of the United Nations and international law. For its part, the Comorian people remains determined to pursue its legitimate claims, sure of its right, which is recognized and supported by the entire international community through its various organizations. Thus we expect France and those who lead it today to respect their past and present commitments and the law so that we may find a just solution to this problem.

214. The United Nations was created to carry out a noble mission, that of safeguarding and maintaining peace and security in the world. The many hotbeds of tension which have flared up throughout the world are likely at any time to plunge it into a new war, with unimaginable consequences. In a world that has

lost its way, it is time that the Organization regained its main vocation. Of course that will be possible only if each of its Members, whatever its power, scrupulously respects the principles of the Charter. For its part, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, faithful to the great principles of peace, liberty and justice, will continue to make its contribution, however modest, to strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization and helping it to regain its noble reputation. The very survival of mankind depends upon this.

215. Mr. OUKO (Kenya): I should like to join previous speakers in warmly congratulating Mr. Hollai on his election to the high and onerous office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His election is proof of the confidence placed in him personally and in his country by the General Assembly. I wish him all the best in guiding the work of the session to a successful conclusion. On behalf of my delegation, I pledge our full support in all his endeavours. Also, I wish to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who successfully and with singular distinction guided the work of the General Assembly throughout the thirty-sixth session and the special and emergency sessions. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his untiring efforts and the wisdom he displayed at all times. This is also a fitting occasion for me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations for the work they have done during the past year.

216. In the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], we note the many problems and difficulties he has identified as conflicts between national aims and Charter goals—resort to confrontation, sporadic violence and even war itself in pursuit of what are perceived as vital interests, claims and aspirations. I wish to assure him that my country will, as always, heed his appeal to all Governments for their rededication and commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

217. The guiding spirit of my Government, under the leadership of President Daniel Arap Moi, is peace, democracy and justice for all under the rule of law in a system which recognizes the supremacy of Parliament. Another fundamental objective of the Government is the improvement of the economic and social well-being of our people in unity, freedom and love for one another. All our actions—on the domestic front as well as in the international arena, are geared to promote, project and vigorously defend these goals. With all our might and within our resources, our people stand united in their resolve to ensure that our present population and future generations enjoy the fruits of peace, unity and stability while respecting the dignity of the individual in freedom. We extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to all nations and peoples which are, in turn, willing to do the same to us in good faith.

218. As we have gathered here for the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, we cannot help looking back and taking stock of the achievements and failures of the Organization. We are certain that when the balance-sheet is drawn up the results will be unmistakably on the side of success. Whenever world peace and security have been threatened, the General Assembly has always exerted maximum pressure in favour of peace, tranquility and mutual under-

standing. It is Kenya's sincere hope that the votes cast in the Assembly will continue to reflect the general will of the international community to maintain peace and security for all nations, as well as their resolve to improve the well-being of mankind as a whole. Those who are entrusted by the Charter with the maintenance of international peace should pay more attention to the resolutions that are adopted year after year by the Assembly. These resolutions truly reflect the concerns of the world community.

219. I should like first to make a brief survey of the African scene in the context of the aims and objectives of the United Nations. When my President addressed the General Assembly at the 11th meeting of the thirty-sixth session, he indicated in his statement that at that time a number of agreed and concrete steps were being taken to re-establish peace and good order in Chad. For the steps being taken to succeed in restoring that peace and good order, it was necessary for those directly concerned faithfully to adhere strictly to, and fully implement in good faith, the established programmes. Developments since then, however, have shown that lasting peace continues to elude the people of Chad.

220. In the case of Western Sahara, the way had finally been cleared for a cease-fire agreement and the holding of a referendum by means of which the people of the Territory were to determine their own future. We all know that the events which ensued led to severe disagreement among African countries and that today the OAU stands partially paralysed because of these deep-seated differences. It is my Government's sincere hope that the ongoing consultations among member States of the OAU will lead to the removal of the obstacles now standing in the way of unity in our continental organization.

221. In South Africa the tragedy of *apartheid* continues. The racist South African régime seeks to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of decisions of this body. After decades of condemnation and protests by all peace-loving peoples of the world, including some whites in South Africa itself, the evil and inhuman system of *apartheid* continues to flourish, even though it embraces the total denial of political rights to the majority. Opposition to *apartheid* is met with brutal force against defenceless people, among them children. It is a system which violates all the universal principles of human dignity on which the United Nations itself is based; yet all our efforts to get stronger action to be taken against South Africa continue to meet with resistance. We have adopted in the Assembly countless resolutions condemning the system. We have held many international gatherings which have exposed and equally condemned the evil system practised by the racist minority bent on destroying the very tenets of civilized conduct. Are we going to stop there?

222. In pursuance of its policies of seeking to perpetuate racist domination in South Africa and to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as to expand its political influence beyond its borders, the régime has resorted to constant acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against neighbouring independent African States.

223. Speaking in this Hall [*16th meeting*], our colleague the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola outlined in precise terms the extent of the military aggression carried out by the racist régime of South Africa against the front-line States and the continuing military occupation by South Africa of large parts of his country, Angola. Was the General Assembly established to listen impotently to such horror stories of aggression, military occupation and deliberate destabilization year after year without corresponding action by the world community to put an end to the shame and indignity narrated by such stories?

224. In resolution 418 (1977) the Security Council, in a modest step forward, imposed an arms embargo against South Africa. The Security Council decided that the sale of arms to South Africa represented a threat to international peace and security. We all know that it is not the sale of arms that represents the threat, for South Africa is already heavily armed and has a sophisticated arms industry of its own. Rather it is the régime itself and its policy of *apartheid* that represents the threat to international peace and security.

225. The time has come when the international community must wake up to the gravity of the situation in this area. There is no longer any time left for ambiguity and for prevarication over *apartheid*. We must therefore urge the international community, the Security Council and particularly those permanent members of the Council, friends of South Africa, to declare without any qualification that the situation in South Africa poses a threat to international peace and security under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

226. Information has come to us through the public media to the effect that the racist régime is making moves to remove petty *apartheid* in public places. Let us not be confused by such information. We have all along been calling for the total eradication of *apartheid*. My country, Kenya, will not allow itself to be deceived by such propaganda. We must reject such deceit. We must remain confident that the struggle to put an end to the *apartheid* system itself will succeed. We must continue to give every assistance possible to our freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia in their legitimate struggle under the leadership of their respective liberation movements until final victory is won.

227. In the 37 years of the United Nations history voluminous records exist of the illegal and brutal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Not content with the illegal occupation, South Africa has converted Namibia into a military base, a spring-board from which it has carried out frequent, regular, unprovoked armed attacks against neighbouring States. South Africa has, since 1966, defiantly resisted every move towards a peaceful termination of its illegal occupation of Namibia. All such proposals have been spurned with impunity by the régime. Indeed, Africa and the entire world community is bound to ask what it is that South Africa wants. Four years ago the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). At the time that resolution was adopted, we had hoped that South Africa had regained its senses and was ready to co-operate in implementing a peaceful tran-

sition to independence for Namibia. Our hope has been rudely dashed by South Africa's intransigence. Instead of moving towards the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence the régime has resorted to an intensified war against the liberation forces—the forces of SWAPO—and against the neighbouring States, particularly Angola and Mozambique.

228. Has not the time come for the United Nations to act decisively? We say yes and the time is now. Over the years in our negotiations for the liberation of Namibia we have been patient. We have shown flexibility. We have been reasonable. SWAPO has made significant concessions with regard to the unreasonable demands made by South Africa. On the other hand, South Africa has taken advantage of our patience and moderation and has in fact escalated its offensive beyond the borders of Namibia.

229. In our continued commitment to a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem, Africa has not lost hope in the negotiating machinery despite the duplicity shown by South Africa. During the last eight weeks or so the African contact group has been negotiating with the five Western States for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence according to resolution 435 (1978). Although these negotiations have been going on for some time, pronouncements coming from South Africa offer little proof that it is now ready for the implementation of Namibia's independence as laid down in the United Nations plan. Some of those involved in the negotiations say that South Africa is now ready to comply with the United Nations plan. This is not the first time we have heard this. We must remain cautious about such statements, because while the current negotiations are under way, South Africa continues its aggression against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and indeed against all its neighbours. We have every reason for serious doubts of South Africa's sincerity in all these negotiations, given its past history of wrecking negotiations at the eleventh hour. As soon as SWAPO makes one concession, South Africa brings forward more unacceptable demands to be fulfilled as a condition for making further progress. It is therefore not difficult to see the cause of our frustration and the reasons for our impatience.

230. But we must not confuse the issue of Namibia's independence and the territorial integrity of Angola. We should like to make it abundantly clear, as we have always done before, that the problem regarding Namibia's independence stems solely from South Africa's refusal to get out of Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally. We shall not accept propaganda conceived in super-Power context in order to justify South Africa's presence in Namibia and its continued aggression against Angola. We view the situation with great concern. By now South Africa should know that its puppets in the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance have no political support in Namibia and cannot win a fair election. These puppets will be rejected by the people of Namibia just as the puppets of Ian Smith were rejected by the people of Zimbabwe. In fact it is this fear, the fear of this truth, which frightens the racist régime of South Africa.

231. The international community must face its responsibility in Namibia squarely. We remain

extremely concerned that the United Nations efforts have been frustrated by the use of the veto in the Security Council. We have the rather anomalous situation where those whose efforts for the independence of Namibia are being spurned by South Africa are at the same time those who are protecting South Africa with vetoes against the stronger action called for by South Africa's intransigence. Something must be done to end that anomaly.

232. We in Africa have come a long way in our struggle to liberate our continent from régimes based on race and colonialism. We will not stop in our drive at the border of Namibia. That should serve as a clear message to South Africa and its friends.

233. I will now draw the Assembly's attention to one of the most dangerous areas on the international scene today. I refer to events in the Middle East, specifically in Lebanon. The situation in this area has remained tense, with violent conflicts flaring up, over the past three decades and that long-standing conflict is still not resolved. Despite the efforts of the international community over the years aimed at finding a peaceful solution, intransigence has not given way to compromise. Instead, one community has sought to annihilate another community. In the past three months, we have all witnessed a new onslaught launched by Israel in total disregard of all the rules of international law and morality. Israel arbitrarily and militarily occupied the sovereign State of Lebanon, a State Member of the United Nations. The destruction of life that has taken place in Lebanon leaves us all shocked and horrified, particularly with regard to the recent massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. That indiscriminate killing of innocent people, including women and children, in the refugee camps in Beirut is a gross violation of human rights and accepted international law and morality. As my President said in his statement on the tragedy, this callous and barbaric act against defenceless Palestinians, coming as it did soon after the evacuation of Palestinian military personnel from Lebanon, shocked the conscience of the world and must be vigorously condemned by all peace-loving nations. President Moi has repeatedly stated that Kenya values human life and will always condemn acts which destroy life. I wish to reiterate here Kenya's conviction that no lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved without due recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to independence and to a sovereign homeland of their own. Once again, Kenya calls for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli and all other foreign troops from Lebanese territory, in the interest of peace and stability in the region.

234. I wish to make some observations on another matter that continues to be of concern to the Organization. Kenya has supported in the past and will continue to support in the future the proposal that the Indian Ocean be designated a zone of peace. Hence, for us in Kenya, the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is not a political slogan; rather, it is imperative for our own security in our attempts to safeguard our territorial integrity. In this spirit, Kenya supports the call for an international conference to consider all the aspects of this problem. We urge all the maritime

States to co-operate fully in the preparations for such a conference.

235. This regular session of the Assembly is taking place soon after the conclusion of the second special session on disarmament. I expressed the views of my Government on that matter when I addressed the Assembly at the 19th meeting of the twelfth special session. The outcome of that special session will of course be interpreted differently by different Governments, but in the opinion of my Government, the results of that session were too meagre to confer upon it the label of success. Most regrettably, at the second special session on disarmament held in June and July of this year the Assembly failed to elaborate and adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament. On reviewing the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the first special session, at the second special session concrete and practical proposals for removing the impediments to progress in disarmament negotiations could not even be agreed on.

236. The continuing deterioration of the international situation and the intensification of the arms race have brought the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. In such a political climate, no progress can be made on disarmament negotiations. We therefore call on all States, in particular the nuclear Powers and other militarily significant States, to demonstrate the political will and firm commitment necessary for the implementation of the recommendations made and the decisions taken in the field of disarmament.

237. As stated earlier, the international political situation has not taken a turn for the better. We are disappointed that despite the Organization's call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, no movement in that direction has been taken by those concerned. Similarly, the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus continue to be ignored, and the intercommunal talks which we have supported appear to be unnecessarily protracted. We also note with continuing disappointment and deep regret that the conflict between Iran and Iraq has not ended, in spite of intensive efforts from many quarters. We hope that the two non-aligned nations will allow good sense to prevail and will cease the senseless hostilities that have taken such a toll in human lives and untold economic disruption. In the same vein, we support the aspirations of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country. In our statement to the General Assembly at the 27th meeting of the thirty-fifth session, my delegation expressed concern at the unilateral suspension of the then ongoing South-North working level contacts by North Korea and urged the South and the North of Korea, the two parties directly concerned, to resume the dialogue immediately in accordance with the letter and spirit of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972¹⁶ in order to ease tension and to improve relations. No progress seems to have been made so far, and my delegation would like to renew that appeal.

238. The Government of Kenya is gravely concerned about the critical situation in which the world economy finds itself today. The effects of the deepening recession hurt the developing countries the most, because it is those countries that experience acute problems of

balance of payments, falling per capita income, rapidly rising unemployment and high rates of inflation, to mention only a few. Those problems are magnified by the reluctance of the developed countries to acknowledge the importance of multilateral co-operation in the solution of international economic problems. The transfer of resources in real terms to developing countries has been steadily declining and the growth of the gross domestic product in the developing nations has decelerated to a level of 0.6 per cent from an average of 5.5 per cent achieved during the 1970s. That trend in the world economic situation paints a very gloomy picture of the economies of the developing countries, which are adversely affected by external factors.

239. Energy is undoubtedly an essential element of the development process, but it continues to be a very serious problem, particularly for developing nations like my own, Kenya, which are most adversely affected by the energy crisis. The need to shift the dependency of nations from petroleum to a greater reliance on alternative sources of energy was one of the points I stressed when I addressed the Assembly on 7 October 1980. On that occasion, I said, *inter alia*:

“It is our hope that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held at Nairobi in August 1981, will offer the world community a rare opportunity to find alternative solutions to our energy problems.”
[27th meeting, para. 24.]

240. As you will recall, that Conference was held in Nairobi as planned, and its outcome was the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.¹⁷ As you also know, the Assembly last year took some important decisions on the Nairobi Conference on energy pursuant to the provisions of Assembly resolution 35/204. Noteworthy among the actions of the Assembly at its thirty-sixth session were the decisions concerning the financial and institutional arrangements for new and renewable sources of energy, which have to be finalized at this session of the Assembly. The Interim Committee established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/193 met in Rome in June of this year, but it did not succeed in its primary task regarding the immediate launching of the implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action. It is thus clear that at this session the Assembly has to take certain fundamental decisions as a follow-up to the Nairobi Conference on energy. First, we have to decide on the question of mobilization of financial resources for harnessing new and renewable energy resources. In this regard, the role of the United Nations must be recognized, and bilateral arrangements for raising funds should supplement, but not replace, multilateral arrangements. Secondly, United Nations activities carried out in implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action must be well co-ordinated. In this connection, my delegation deems it necessary to establish a secretariat which would also service an intergovernmental body, which the Assembly should designate, for new and renewable energy sources. The delegation of Kenya stands ready to participate actively in the discussions of this item now and in the future.

241. Turning now to the question of science and technology for development, I should like to stress again the significance which my Government attaches to the strengthening of the capacity of the developing countries in the fields of science and technology. We have always been keenly interested and have actively participated at high governmental levels in international conferences and good-will missions constituted to discuss issues of science and technology for development, especially of the developing countries, because we believe that science and technology are crucial vehicles not only for the implementation of the Third United Nations Development Decade, but also for the early attainment of the new international economic order. It is regrettable that, three years after the conclusion of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development,¹⁸ no substantial agreement has been reached on the establishment of a permanent United Nations financing system for science and technology for development. My Government calls urgently for the early resolution of the unresolved issues in the Vienna Programme of Action through intensified negotiations within the appropriate United Nations bodies, including the Intergovernmental Committee for Science and Technology for Development.

242. Of particular importance to my country as a developing nation is the question of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries themselves. Kenya has repeatedly called on developing nations to intensify their activities at subregional, regional and interregional levels and in all fields. It was in this spirit that we participated in the formulation and adoption of the Caracas Programme of Action, the implementation of which has been enhanced by the North-South meetings held during this year, which included the meeting of the Group of 77 held last month in Manila to review the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action. In certain regions also new initiatives for interregional and subregional co-operation have emerged. These have included the intensive negotiations held among 18 countries of eastern and southern Africa, including my own country, which resulted in the signing in Lusaka, in December 1981 of a treaty establishing a preferential trade area for that African region.

243. With regard to industrial development, we welcome the recommendations of the sixteenth session of the Industrial Development Board [see A/37/16] and call for their early implementation. We note with appreciation the full recognition in the Industrial Development Board's report on that session of the significance of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa [*ibid.*]. As the Assembly knows, Kenya will play host to the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO, in 1984, and the success of that Conference will depend to a large extent on the attitude nations display during the preparatory process for it. We therefore hope that this process will be intensified in order to ensure positive results from this forthcoming UNIDO Conference in Nairobi.

244. We are aware of the report submitted to the Assembly on the work of the fifth session of the Commission on Human Settlements and of the two sessions held this year by the Governing Council of UNEP [see A/37/25]. The important recommenda-

tions of those sessions need to be implemented, and for that to be done adequate financial resources are necessary. My delegation therefore calls on the developed donor countries, and others in a position to do so, to make substantial contributions towards the implementation of the planned activities in the fields of the environment and human settlements.

245. Kenya would like to see a substantial increase in the trade of developing nations in manufactures. We condemn protectionism in all its forms, and we believe that at the sixth session of UNCTAD, to be held in 1983, serious attempts will be made to tackle all the critical issues encountered by the international community in the field of trade and development. My delegation therefore calls upon the Assembly to take concrete action at this session to ensure the success of the sixth session of UNCTAD.

246. The critical economic situation facing Africa, which is the least developed of all the continents, requires concerted international action. It was in this spirit that the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa¹⁹ was adopted. Kenya calls on the international community to extend the technical and financial assistance necessary for the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action in its entirety.

247. Africa also faces acute food problems, as recent reports have shown. Food and agricultural production has drastically declined in recent years, owing, *inter alia*, to changes in climatic conditions, inadequate investment in the food sector, and lack of storage facilities. The international community must take urgent collective measures to alleviate the critical food shortages and attain collective self-sufficiency in food, to increase food and agricultural production, food storage, and food security, as well as to increase capital from external resources. We look forward to greater assistance from both bilateral donors and multilateral sources. More assistance from FAO and the World Food Council would be greatly appreciated, particularly by the food-deficient countries of the developing world.

248. I wish now to turn to the issue of special economic and disaster-relief assistance. My Government commends the efforts of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator. We reiterate our full support for the activities of that Office and call on all donor countries to increase their contributions to that important body in order to enable it to deal more efficiently and promptly with disasters, wherever and whenever they occur in the disaster-stricken and disaster-prone areas of the world, especially in Africa. The Kenyan delegation will continue to attach special importance to this problem and to participate actively in international deliberations on it.

249. One of the historic events of this decade has been the adoption of the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The occasion not only marked the emergence of a new legal régime governing the exploration and exploitation of the seas, the sea-bed, and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof; it also demonstrated clearly the importance of equitable compromise in the interest of all mankind. The Convention has been the result of hard negotiations over a period of many years, and it is Kenya's hope that even those coun-

tries which were not able to support the Convention at its adoption will find it necessary and possible to support it in future in order to ensure uniformity in its implementation and use. We also hope that the same spirit displayed by nations at the adoption of the Convention will be demonstrated by their ratification of it.

250. In this and other forums we have consistently condemned the activities of mercenaries. In the recent past we have witnessed increased use of mercenaries against the territorial integrity and independence of many developing countries. We cannot stress strongly enough the need to bring this heinous crime to an end through concerted international action. All those participating in mercenary activities belong to States, and urgent measures are required to outlaw mercenaries and to stop their activities permanently. Peace-loving people everywhere are anxiously awaiting action to eliminate this heinous crime. We cannot afford to disappoint our peoples.

251. I should like to conclude my remarks by reiterating Kenya's total faith in the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations and our belief that in the end the nations of this world will have to swim together—or sink together.

252. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

253. Mr. PALMA VALDERRAMA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Foreign Minister of Ecuador has stated that there exists a serious territorial problem between Ecuador and Peru.

254. I must reiterate that the Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Boundaries, known as the Rio Protocol, signed by Peru and Ecuador in 1942, put an end to any dispute and definitively fixed the border between the two countries.

255. That treaty is a legal instrument, signed and duly ratified, and is strictly in accordance with international law. Its full observance and complete implementation were guaranteed by four States: Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States of America. That treaty recognized the ownership, sovereignty and jurisdiction that Peru had been exercising over its territories since its independence, through the self-determination of its people and in accordance with the historical titles of ownership of the colonial era.

256. The legal validity and full applicability of the Rio Protocol and its complementary instruments are unassailable, and this has been reiterated by the four guarantor countries, in view of the fact that, according to international law, border treaties cannot be disavowed or called into question, much less amended by unilateral decision.

257. The task of demarcation of the border established in that treaty has already been carried out by the two countries along 1,597 kilometres—that is, 96 per cent—of its length. Border markers are lacking only for a short strip 78 kilometres long in the area of the Condor Range, in accordance with the decision of the Brazilian judge, Mr. Braz Dias de Aguiar, which was accepted by the parties. Nothing would be more auspicious than the conclusion of that task.

258. The Foreign Minister of Ecuador also stated that "this necessary atmosphere for negotiation has been seriously disturbed by the warlike events of January and February 1981 and by other later incidents", [*para. 150 above*] as well as by what he called "acts of appropriation of the territories under dispute" [*para. 151 above*], allegedly committed by my country.

259. Everyone knows that it was Ecuadorian troops that invaded the territory of my country, as was subsequently corroborated when, with the help of the guarantor countries, a separation of forces was brought about under which Ecuador withdrew its troops to the western side of the Condor Range.

260. Moreover, Peru rejects most firmly and categorically the references made to an alleged subsequent appropriation of territory, and the repetition of so-called reservations concerning sovereign acts by Peru in its own territory.

261. My delegation stresses once again that Peru, faithful to its peace-loving vocation and its Latin American spirit, firmly maintains its intent to continue friendly dialogue with the Republic of Ecuador within the legal order that binds us, in the interests of constructive relations of respect and mutual benefit, as is fitting for neighbouring nations linked by historic and socio-cultural ties and by the desire of their peoples to progress together towards integration and development.

262. Mr. XIE Qimei (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The representative of Viet Nam referred in his statement to the question of Kampuchea. He made a vicious attack on China and levelled an unfounded slander against it. However, he sidestepped an important fact—that on Christmas Eve in 1978 Viet Nam sent a large number of troops to invade and occupy its small neighbour, Kampuchea. To this day Viet Nam still refuses to implement the decisions of the General Assembly and withdraw its aggressive troops from Kampuchea.

263. The very purpose of the performance of the representative of Viet Nam was simply to create confusion and divert attention. However, fabrications cannot replace facts. The armed aggression against, and military occupation of, Kampuchea by Viet Nam has most clearly answered the question: Which country is pursuing an expansionist policy and which country is threatening the peace and stability of Indo-China and South-East Asia?

264. In view of the lateness of the hour, I do not intend to take any more of the General Assembly's time. When the agenda item on the situation in Kampuchea is before the Assembly for discussion, the Chinese delegation will comment further on the statement made by the representative of Viet Nam.

265. Mr. VALENCIA-RODRIGUEZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have affirmed, and I continue to affirm that there exists a serious territorial problem between Ecuador and Peru. It is not a matter of the simple placing of a few border posts. Rather, the problem of what has been called the borderless zone involves the lack of a defined border, because even the Rio de Janeiro Protocol which Peru has invoked shows a lack of geographical characteristics, making it impossible to set a border in

that region. The Condor Range is not mentioned in the Protocol, and it has been clearly demonstrated that it is not the geographical characteristic referred to in that instrument. In that area there are two bodies of water, rather than one, as was initially supposed. Therefore, instruments established before the discovery of those bodies of water lack validity.

266. The Rio de Janeiro Protocol was the result of an act of aggression committed against Ecuador in 1941, and in that instrument it is recognized that part of Ecuadorian territory was occupied by Peruvian forces. In fact a deadline was set for the prompt ratification and approval of this instrument.

267. My country's position is based on clear, incontrovertible legal title. It is on that basis that Ecuador expresses its reservations about the region which is not defined. In 1890 Peru had recognized that no possible claim to it could be alleged. Therefore, the reservations that I have expressed about Peru's present or future acts are well-founded.

268. It is an incontrovertible principle of international law that the acquisition of territory by force is not accepted, regardless of when it occurred. Moreover, it is impossible to say that the decision of the Brazilian judge, Braz Dias de Aguiar, in 1945 in respect of the dispute that existed then can apply also to the problem that arose two years later, in 1947, when the borderless zone's lack of a geographical characteristic was discovered.

269. The warlike events of January and February 1981 were considered at the 19th consultative meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Latin American countries held in Washington in February 1981. Ecuadorian forces had been the victims of an armed attack by Peru, as was clearly demonstrated at that meeting. The withdrawal of the troops—Ecuadorian as well as Peruvian—has no influence on the substance of the dispute, as was also clearly recognized at the time.

270. Ecuador is today trying to improve the climate of détente with Peru, as a prerequisite for the continuation of constructive talks leading to a just and peaceful settlement of the problem. We have made, and shall continue to make every effort to promote that climate of détente. Ecuador is convinced that the widest possible knowledge of this reality by both peoples and by the international community at large contributes to promoting that atmosphere of détente

and to a better understanding of the scope of the problem. Such an understanding is also a prerequisite of the solution to which Ecuador aspires.

271. It is on the basis of those principles that Ecuador reiterates its firm confidence in international law for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We have faith in the responsibility and usefulness of international organizations to see that justice prevails. Therefore, we repeat our invitation to Peru to seek a just and honourable solution to the current problem, which cannot be reduced to the mere placing of certain border posts in a geographical area which is not even mentioned in the Rio de Janeiro Protocol.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 41* and corrigendum, annex.

² See A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

⁴ See A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

⁵ A/CONF.95/15 and Corr.2, annex I.

⁶ See A/36/586.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

⁸ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries; see A/36/333 and Corr.1.

⁹ See A/C.3/35/4.

¹⁰ See A/10044.

¹¹ Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers between Peru and Ecuador; see *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 56, part 2, p. 1818.

¹² Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly; see resolution 37/10, annex.

¹³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 21, No. 324, p. 77.

¹⁴ See A/36/534, annex II.

¹⁵ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), annex I.

¹⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

¹⁷ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

¹⁸ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

¹⁹ A/S-11/14, annex I.