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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 2 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
later: Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Vice-President) (Philippines)
later: Mr. DE PINIÉS (President) (Spain)

- Address by His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Yaqub-Khan (Pakistan)
Mr. Chnoupek (Czechoslovakia)
Mr. Shamir (Israel)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

ADDRESS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK, PRESIDENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Democratic Kampuchea.

His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations General Assembly His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

President Norodom SIHANOUK (interpretation from French): May I be permitted, on behalf of the Khmer people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and on my own behalf, to express my most cordial salutations and heartfelt thanks to the heads of delegations and the representatives who honour this session with their presence, and thus give evidence of their faith in the most noble ideals of the United Nations: the ideals of justice, peace, freedom and support for oppressed peoples and victims of injustice.

Mr. President, it is with great satisfaction that my delegation welcomes your unanimous election to the presidency of the fortieth session of our General Assembly. The choice made by all our colleagues is a tribute to your outstanding personality, which commands general respect, and to the sustained activities of Spain, its Sovereign and its people on behalf of peace, justice and democracy.

While recalling with pleasure that Cambodia and Spain became Members of the United Nations the same year, 1955, we are confident that, thanks to your long experience, wisdom and skill and to your well-known commitment to our world Organization and its Charter, our session, on the occasion of the fortieth

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, will give a positive response to the hopes of the international community and hasten solutions to the vital issues of peace, security and justice facing our world.

On behalf of my delegation, I wish to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Paul Lusaka, who conducted our work at the previous session with wisdom and distinction and prepared the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

I wish also to reaffirm our deep esteem and great appreciation for our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his outstanding activities and initiatives in order to bring about the United Nations contribution to easing tensions and maintaining peace and security in the world. His visit to South-East Asia earlier this year in order to explore ways and means of bringing about the implementation of the just United Nations resolutions testifies to his steady efforts, his impartiality and his courage in discharging his lofty responsibilities. His annual reports and the talks which I have had the pleasure of holding with him have all been a source of encouragement for me. Our Secretary-General is a credit to the United Nations for his personal commitment in the search for international peace and security, co-operation and understanding between all the peoples of the world.

Lastly, I should like to pay a ringing tribute to our Organization as it nears the glorious day of its fortieth anniversary. The United Nations is irreplaceable, for it is the conscience of the civilized world. It is the only gathering in the world where all Powers, whatever their size, can sit as full Members, air their views freely, make suggestions, lodge complaints and voice fears to the international community and appeal to it whenever they deem their freedom, or even their existence, to be threatened.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

The United Nations is a prestigious forum in which there are always those ready to uphold justice. Resolutions adopted by it, even when it does not have the material means of implementing them, have almost world-wide moral significance which nobody would challenge lightly. Witness the more or less honourable or subtle manoeuvres carried out by the antagonists in an attempt to save face.

The United Nations remains the ultimate hope of oppressed peoples. More than once, by dint of patience, perseverance and wisdom, it has changed the course of history. It goes without saying that we whole-heartedly desire it to succeed in the case of our unfortunate Kampuchea, attacked, invaded and more than half-colonized by a much more powerful imperialist neighbour.

The United Nations, which had 51 Members when it was founded in 1945, had 159 Members last year - a figure that will surely be exceeded in the years to come. We can thus rightly speak of the universality of our Organization - and I shall just recall that Cambodia has been a member since 1955, and Viet Nam since 1977.

On 31 May last year, the Secretary-General made the following statement:

"To me, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations provides a further occasion ... to encourage a rededication by Member States to the principles and purposes of the Charter...

"...

Last, but not least, may I express the fervent hope that every effort will be made to have the year 1985 stand out laudably as a year of peace, conflict resolution, restraint, international co-operation and friendship among nations. This would be the way of transforming an anniversary into a celebration.

"...

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

"I refer here above all to the frightening course taken by the arms race, as well as to several protracted unresolved conflicts." (Press Release SG/SM-3563, pp. 1, 3)

We hope that the wishes expressed by the Secretary-General will be fulfilled in this memorable year. For its part, my delegation will spare no effort to help in this and sincerely hopes that our adversary from the East will show the same sense of responsibility and desire for harmony and peace.

In a resolution of 17 December 1984 the General Assembly took the following decision:

"that the theme of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations shall be 'United Nations for a better world' and expresses the hope and desire that the year 1985 will mark the beginning of an era of durable and global peace and justice, social and economic development and progress and independence of all peoples." (resolution 39/161 A, para. 1)

Lastly, a decision adopted on 11 April 1985 by the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations stated:

"The general debate should be held as usual for a three-week period, from 23 September to 11 October, on the clear and explicit understanding that statements made by Heads of State or Government and special envoys during that period will also be considered as part of the commemoration." (A/40/49, p. 11)

The United Nations aim for the present session is therefore that all Governments and peoples should make this anniversary an occasion for reaffirming their faith in the goals and principles of the Charter.

On 24 October, 1986 will be declared the "International Year of Peace". This constitutes for the Khmer people - the most unfortunate of all - the last recourse in the ocean of suffering and humiliation on which it has tossed for so many years.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the USSR, which supports it against our people, must agree to prove themselves worthy of membership in the United Nations and respect its resolutions and its Charter. If they were not to do so, what would be the future of my people and other peoples victims of injustice and what would be the prospects for world peace, which is the greatest ambition of all peoples?

We Khmers have never concealed our eager desire to seek an equitable and honourable political solution to the differences which pit us against our Vietnamese neighbours and their Khmer protégés in Phnom Penh.

Quite recently, our friends from the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - whose great goodwill I salute here - with the support of our Coalition Government, proposed to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam the holding of proximity talks, with the possibility of the Khmer authorities in Phnom Penh being represented in the Hanoi delegation. Our proposals and those of our ASEAN friends met with a flat refusal. Viet Nam and its protégés in Phnom Penh, backed by the Soviet Union, have rejected all our proposals for peace, conciliation and guarantees put forward, in particular, in my statements at the United Nations in 1983 and 1984.

Viet Nam is now making a lot of fuss about what it calls the progress achieved in the process of a political settlement of the question of South-East Asia and the problem of Kampuchea and is apparently asking the international community not to thwart this process. But this is just a new false manoeuvre designed to extricate it from the growing isolation in which it finds itself and avoid being condemned yet again by our Assembly, which since 1979 has never ceased to call for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so that our people can freely decide their own destiny. Today, as can be seen from many statements made from this rostrum by representatives of States Members of the Organization, the international community continues to hold firmly to this just position and to

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

call earnestly for Viet Nam to put an end to its aggression against Kampuchea. Today more than ever before countries which love peace and justice are well aware that Viet Nam's objective is to absorb Kampuchea into the "Indo-China Federation" under Hanoi domination.

The fact is that, being unable to impose its fait accompli in Kampuchea by force of arms, Viet Nam is trying to do so through diplomatic manoeuvres, the cynicism and effrontery of which consist in arrogating to itself the right to speak and act as a master in the name of the so-called Indo-China.

While waiting for a solution to be envisaged, if not found, which would lead us out of this tragic impasse that brings more ruin and devastation to our country every year, every month and almost every day, thus increasing the suffering of our people and the loss of life, our resistance against the occupiers has not been seriously weakened - as claimed by Hanoi and Phnom Penh - by the so-called big victories of the Vietnamese offensive during the dry season of December 1984 to March 1985. The tactics that we have carried out ever since then in the form of many daring commando actions deep into the interior of the zones occupied by the enemy and up to the approaches to Phnom Penh have caused the most serious concern to the occupiers and their Khmer protégés.

In this connection, I shall quote not unilateral military communiqués that would give rise to suspicion but the testimony of independent, unbiased Western journalists, all the more reliable in that they do not come from the supporters of our Coalition Government.

With the Assembly's permission, I shall quote in chronological order.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

(spoke in English)

The Washington Post, Thursday, April 25, 1985:

"William Branigin: 'The Cambodian Quagmire - Vietnam's Vietnam?'

Excerpts: 'Instead of the Americans, the Vietnamese are now the foreign troops fighting dedicated guerrillas... Gen. Tran Cong Man, the editor of the [Vietnamese] Army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan said: 'There are some complicated problems in Cambodia that must be settled...' That the Vietnamese are having problems can be discerned between the lines of statements such as the article by Gen. Anh in December [1984] in the [Vietnamese] Army theoretical journal. Anh, who is reportedly in charge of military operations in Cambodia, laid surprising emphasis on the need to improve security in the interior [of Cambodia]. He wrote that ... Cambodian guerrillas had 'set up logistical bases ... for guerrilla and sabotage activities, seizing lands, controlling the population, building counterrevolutionary forces and so forth'. Ultimately, Anh ... cautioned that 'the struggle is still long and complicated...' The [North] Vietnamese are locked in another war with no light at the end of the tunnel...

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

"United Nations recognition of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which is supported by the United States, is based on the principle that... the Vietnamese invasion and continued occupation of Cambodia represent a violation of international law that cannot be tolerated... The guerrillas are proving hard to eradicate and the 'Vietnam War' analogies persist.

"Despite a successful offensive against the guerrillas along the Thai-Cambodian border starting in November, there are indications that security generally has deteriorated lately amid mounting guerrilla activity in the Cambodian interior.

"Correspondents who have visited Cambodia this month have confirmed guerrilla attacks within 20 miles of the capital, and Cambodian refugees arriving at the border with Thailand have reported an upsurge of incidents in various districts of the interior in the past two months. 'The level of guerrilla activity inside Cambodia right now is as high as it has ever been' since the Vietnamese invasion, said a senior Western diplomat in Bangkok... Since the Vietnamese dry-season offensive forced them out of their strongholds near the Thai-Cambodian border earlier this year, 'the [guerrillas] have done what they said they were going to do', the diplomat said. Taking advantage of a vacuum in the interior that developed when the Vietnamese were concentrating on the border, 'the [guerrillas] have been hitting district capitals and provincial seats practically all over the country', he said, but particularly in the western provinces of Battambang and Siemreap. 'Clearly the [guerrillas] are giving the Vietnamese a great deal of difficulty', the diplomat said.

"According to an Australian correspondent who recently visited Cambodia, one Khmer [guerrilla] attack during his stay occurred March 26 in the former capital of Oudong, about 25 miles north of Phnom Penh on Highway 5. He said

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

about 100 guerrillas destroyed a Vietnamese motor pool in the centre of town, blew up a bridge on the northern outskirts, ambushed a Vietnamese convoy of several trucks and killed about 15 Vietnamese troops.

"The guerrillas also entered the town market... they called the town's people to a political meeting before evacuating, he reported.

"Throughout the attack, he said, a post occupied by Cambodian soldiers of the Heng Samrin government was left alone, and the troops made no attempt to interfere.

"According to Western diplomats in Bangkok, similar attacks are not unusual in other parts of Cambodia these days...

"According to an investigation late last year by the New York-based Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, the People's Republic of Kampuchea now appears... as a human rights violator. 'The rule of law is not respected in any serious sense in the People's Republic of Kampuchea', the group concluded in a December 1984 report. 'For the hundreds or perhaps thousands of political prisoners who inhabit its jails, beatings are commonplace and more sophisticated forms of torture usual.'... There is a growing popular resentment of the presence of an estimated 160,000 to 180,000 Vietnamese troops and increasing numbers of Vietnamese settlers.

"Specifically, Cambodian peasants lately have especially resented being dragooned by the Vietnamese into forced-labour teams and sent to the Thai-Cambodian border to build a network of road and defensive barriers, according to Western relief workers in Cambodia. The network is aimed at improving Vietnamese logistics in the border area and preventing guerrilla infiltration. The Vietnamese have acknowledged mobilizing 'tens of thousands' of Cambodians for the construction work...

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

"One side effect of the project, said one relief official, has been the spread of a resistant strain of malaria, common along the border, to workers from other provinces. 'The forced labour and the malaria have caused a lot of animosity towards the Vietnamese', the official said. 'The Vietnamese have gained a lot militarily in the border area, but the toll has been very heavy in terms of the health of Cambodians'.

"An influx of settlers also has raised indignation and suspicion among some Cambodians that crowded Vietnam, with a population of 60 million to Cambodia's estimated 6 million, which has expansionist designs on its potentially bountiful neighbour.

"Recent visitors to Cambodia have reported seeing Vietnamese settlers who clearly were newcomers and who spoke no Khmer, the name of the language and ethnic group of the Cambodian majority.

"While many of the Vietnamese may cross into Cambodia on their own from southern Viet Nam in search of economic opportunities, some apparently benefit from government support.

"One Cambodian barber in Phnom Penh told a visitor recently, for example, that he had been obliged to take on a Vietnamese partner to get back the shop he had been forced to abandon...

"Another Cambodian shopkeeper told an Italian correspondent in a southern suburb of Phnom Penh that 20 to 30 Vietnamese a day were arriving in trucks to take up residence there. While they were talking, the reporter witnessed the arrival of one such truck.

"A Western relief agency official who lived in Phnom Penh a few years ago said after a recent return trip that he was 'amazed' at the number of new Vietnamese settlers he saw. 'The traders of farm produce tend to be Vietnamese, nor Khmer anymore', he said. 'People are very angry about it',

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

said another recent visitor of the Cambodians he met. 'They talk about the Vietnamese more and more'.

(continued in French)

"Le Monde, 8 May 1985: The Vietnamese at grips with the guerrillas, by Philippe Pons. Excerpts:

"The Vietnamese now have to cope with a type of war which - they know better than anyone else - war machines can hardly break down, namely, guerrilla warfare... As a substitute for the 'Maginot Line', this Vietnamese-style 'Berlin Wall', composed of ditches and slopes for the construction of which Hanoi has rounded up Cambodians from all over the country, actually appears relatively easy to get around. It seems that the Vietnamese no longer control strategic points, a fact that already necessitates a massive deployment of their forces... The Vietnamese and the régime in Phnom Penh are far from being the masters of the country... Today the Vietnamese have won only a partial victory: they have expelled the civilian populations from the bases along the border, but they have failed to subdue the resistance. Quite the contrary, it appears as if they have contributed to strengthening the [Democratic Kampuchea tripartite] alliance... The Vietnamese diplomatic isolation has worsened... Hanoi... runs the risk of getting bogged down in a long and expensive conflict.

(spoke in English)

"Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 May 1985: 'The war continues. Hanoi has wiped out the key Khmer resistance bases, but the guerrillas are increasingly active inside the country', by Rodney Tasker. Excerpts:

"Latest reports suggest that widespread fighting deeper inside Cambodia has reached a new level of intensity... The [guerrillas] have spearheaded a

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

resistance campaign to carry out almost daily attacks on Vietnamese troops, sabotaging lines of communication and hitting administrative centres...

'After talking to dozens of Cambodians [refugees at the Thai border] from almost all the provinces, I am convinced that fighting is worse than it's ever been [since Vietnam's late 1978 invasion]', the source commented...

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

"Independent sources tend to confirm that the [guerrillas] are indeed very active carrying out sabotage operations to within 10 kilometres of Phnom Penh. One Australian international relief worker based in Phnom Penh gave an eye-witness confirmation of a Khmer [guerrilla] raid on the town of Oudong, 30 kilometres north-west of Phnom Penh, on 26 March, an attack which has since been confirmed to the Review by other independent sources, who also say the Khmer [guerrillas] successfully ambushed a squad of reinforcements rushed to the scene. He said the Khmer [guerrillas] claim that they killed 20 Vietnamese troops and destroyed military posts and other buildings was largely accurate. The relief worker said he and his colleagues in Phnom Penh were now 'severely restricted in travelling by land outside the capital'. Other sources confirmed that driving from Phnom Penh north to Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Cham and Kompong Thom had become a dangerous exercise because of guerrilla activities and that the authorities often prevented such travel, and if they did, movement was restricted to daylight hours. According to diplomatic and other sources, an official Mongolian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Mangalyn Dugersuren arrived in Phnom Penh in March, having been told that part of the visit would include a flight to the historic Angkor Wat temples. But when they arrived, the party was told the Angkor Wat trip had been cancelled 'for their own safety'. Other reports speak of burned-out trucks strewn along some of the main highways in Cambodia and frequent disruption of rail services because of guerrilla sabotage attacks. A ferry operating on the southern estuary of the Tonle Sap, or great lake, was reportedly destroyed by guerrillas in January ... Independent sources generally agree that the [guerrillas] were by no means crippled militarily by the successful Vietnamese campaign to deprive them of their border

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

sanctuaries ... The bulk of the [Democratic Kampuchea guerrillas] simply melted away in their normal small units of no more than 10 men to continue the guerrilla campaign inside Cambodia ... The Vietnamese appear to be paying the price of concentrating their best occupation troops in an effort to seal the Cambodian-Thai border and deprive the resistance of any sanctuary there. The price is weaker security in the Cambodian interior, a soft underbelly which the [guerrillas] are exploiting."

(continued in French)

"Le Monde, Wednesday, 17 April 1985; James Burnett; Excerpts:

"It is conceded in Phnom Penh that 'kicking over [by the Vietnamese army] the anthill [of the Khmer resistance]' has not solved all the problems. Far from it. The plan now is to neutralize groups of resistance fighters scattered all over the country. A tough job ... And people know the danger is very real ... The threat of an 'enemy assault' on Phnom Penh was taken seriously. Vietnamese advisers kept plying the Cambodian authorities with security directives. Security measures in the capital's market places and the 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew, which had been in force for the past five years, were tightened up. It has been learned from Khmer sources that there have been growing numbers of arrests in the capital, Phnom Penh ... Westerners have been discreetly dissuaded from visiting markets. When Mr. Hun Sen recently received representatives of humanitarian organizations, he told them he feared one of their members might have been killed or taken hostage. The 2,000 or so Soviet experts in the country move around only by helicopters in rural areas."

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

(spoke in English)

"United Press International, Bangkok, 8 August 1985; Excerpts:

"The Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh is pressing civilians into guard duty and tightening security in the face of increased guerrilla attacks, according to an official Cambodian report ... Civilians throughout Phnom Penh are to join regular army and militia units in 'vigorously performing patrol and guard duties, particularly during the curfew hours, in the streets, along the rivers and major communication lines and at entries and exits of the city to contribute to the safety of important party and State targets', the official report said. The report obtained by United Press International was the first indication that civilian guards and tightened road surveillance have been added to Phnom Penh's long-standing dusk-to-dawn curfew. Western diplomats confirmed that the internal security of Cambodia is deteriorating, which is raising the concerns of 160,000 Vietnamese occupation troops and the Hanoi-installed Heng Samrin régime in Phnom Penh. 'The situation is at its worst since the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in December 1978', said one Western diplomat. 'The guerrillas have penetrated deeply and are operating throughout the country, including the Phnom Penh area ...'. Confirmed guerrilla raids have occurred this year in districts near Phnom Penh ...".

(continued in French)

I would add, for the information of representatives, that I had the honour to receive last August in Kampuchea's free zone, representatives of foreign media and television, and two ambassadors from friendly nations who presented their credentials to me.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

Following this information on the military situation in Kampuchea, I now have the duty to take up the most important subject of the systematic and increasingly serious violations of human rights of which the Heng Samrin and Hun Sen régime and its Vietnamese protectors are guilty. May I quote again, in this respect, some testimonies of fully reliable independent investigators.

(spoke in English)

I shall first quote excerpts from a Washington Associated Press report from The Japan Time of Friday, 14 December 1984.

"The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights said a delegation it sent to Kampuchea in November found evidence that 'for the hundreds or perhaps thousands of political prisoners who inhabit [Kampuchean] jails, beatings are commonplace and more sophisticated forms of torture usual'. The report directed its sharpest criticism at the People's Republic of Kampuchea ... The Lawyers Committee concluded that 'beatings - with truncheons, metal pipes or rifle stocks - appear to be the most common form of torture', but that more sophisticated methods involving electric shocks, and metal vises for the head are sometimes used. 'Persons suspected of supporting resistance activity are typically arrested without charges being made, imprisoned without being sentenced or convicted, and kept in jail for indeterminate periods', the report said. The New York-based Lawyers Committee said its three-member delegation was the first human rights team to visit Kampuchea, as Cambodia is now known, in at least 15 years. The delegation cited what it called a 'pervasive reluctance' in the international community to examine current Kampuchean human rights abuses."

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

The following are excerpts that appeared in The Canberra Times of Friday,
14 December 1984:

"The Vietnamese-backed Government of Kampuchea routinely and brutally torture political prisoners, a United States human rights group said yesterday. A report by the New York-based Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights said, 'The rule of law is not respected in any serious sense in the People's Republic of Kampuchea' ... Beatings with truncheons, metal pipes or rifle stocks appeared to be the most common form of torture. Beatings were often supplemented with prisoners being suspended from ceilings, given electric-shock treatment, having plastic bags put over their heads, having powdered lye blown in their faces, and having metal contraptions tightened around their heads. Prisoners, estimated to number in the thousands, were often kept for months in windowless cells and forbidden to make any comment about the Vietnamese presence in their country, not even to cite it in their 'confessions'."

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

In The New York Times of Thursday, 15 November 1984, there is an article entitled "Hanoi linked to Cambodian torture" by Barbara Crossette, dated from Bangkok, Thailand, 14 November:

"A visiting American civil rights group says that Vietnamese Government officials are widely involved in the arrest and torture of Cambodian citizens ... 'In Cambodia, there simply does not exist the recognition of civil liberties or human rights on a basis recognized by the world community,' said Floyd Abrams, the constitutional expert and First Amendment lawyer, who is a member of the American team ... 'When you put together a society,' Mr. Abrams said in an interview on Tuesday, 'in which people are arrested without charges being made and jailed without being convicted, in which confessions are forced and torture seems to be commonplace, you simply are not talking about a society that seriously recognizes the rule of law.' ... Vietnamese are playing an extensive role in the security apparatus of the Phnom Penh Government. Vietnamese were reported present or actively taking part in every interrogation and torture ... Torture methods, according to former prisoners, included electric shocks, being trussed up and suspended from the ceiling while being beaten, being shackled by the legs to stirrups above the floor to force the body into a painful off-balance position and having a plastic bag pulled over the head and closed around the neck until the prisoner fainted. Some prisoners reportedly died of beatings, others from malnutrition and disease."

In the Far Eastern Economic Review on 26 August 1985 there is an article entitled "Cambodia: forced human bondage" by John McBeth in San Ro Changan which reads:

"From Rattanakiri and Preah Vihear provinces in the North and North East to Pursat in the West, tens of thousands of Cambodians are being pressed into

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

'national defence work' - a euphemism for an ambitious Vietnamese plan to seal the Thai-Kampuchea border ... Diplomats ... have confirmed the reports ... A Khmer doctor who recently defected from Phnom Penh claims each of Cambodia's provinces is committed to supplying up to 25,000 to 30,000 workers over an unspecified period of time to build and repair access roads, clear jungle, lay minefields, and construct elaborate anti-infiltration barriers along the malaria-infested frontier. Conscripts range in age from 18 to 45 and there is general agreement that quotas have been established for each district, ranging as high as 3,000 ... Disease is apparently so rampant that many of the medical workers themselves go down with malaria, hepatitis and viral infections and are unable to work for weeks after their return ... The death rate among the labour conscripts is unknown but diplomatic sources say many are wounded by mines ... Medical supplies are also reported to be inadequate to deal with the sick, the bulk of whom contract malaria on top of other complaints ... So Saren, former deputy director of Phnom Penh's 500-bed Kampuchean-Soviet Friendship Hospital, said the forced labour programme was initiated in March 1984 ... So claimed opposition to the labour programme is muted but widespread. Western aid workers and other independent sources confirm what they say is a tremendous amount of bitterness over the Vietnamese-directed plan, particularly the way women are being conscripted to make up the work force quotas. One of the more prominent critics, according to So, was the régime's late Prime Minister, Chan Sy, who is said to have complained to the Vietnamese that it would lead to an unacceptable number of deaths. Sy is reported to have died of a heart or circulatory ailment in a Moscow hospital last December."

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

In The New York Times of 26 August 1985, Barbara Crossette says:

"Cambodian refugees reaching Thailand have said civilians are also being used as 'human mine detectors'. A staff director of Cambodia's National Military Training School said recently that what he called 'manual' mine detection was being carried out along the border."

The following are excerpts from the 1984 report of Amnesty International, pages 231 and 232:

"Amnesty International's main concern was the reported detention without trial by the authorities of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of people they suspected of opposing their policies or of supporting groups engaged in armed resistance against them ... In July 1983, refugees arriving at camps near the western border reported that widespread arrests had taken place in the army and administration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and among the peasants ... Starting in April 1983, 300 people were reportedly arrested in the western provinces of Siemreap, Oddar Meanchey and Battambang. Among them were said to be Chan Seng, the Governor of Siemreap province, Keo Ha, his former deputy, as well as military officers, teachers and village cadres ... Villagers were reportedly arrested during the year 1983 for protesting against arrests, military conscription and forced relocation. Further arrests of government officials were reported in October and December 1983 in Kampot and Kompong Cham provinces. Amnesty International had no information on the reasons for these arrests. Refugees from western provinces also reported the arrest, ill-treatment and torture in June 1983 of villagers by Vietnamese soldiers present in the country who suspected them of helping the armed operation of the guerrillas. Amnesty International was unable to estimate the number of people detained on political grounds ...

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

Among the individual cases it investigated was that of Mao Ayauth, a former television and radio producer who was working in the Government's information service and was reportedly detained in 1981. Amnesty International learned of the release at the end of 1982 of Nam Bunnaraya, Director of the orchestra of the Kampuchean radio, after 18 months detention without charge or trial. Most political detainees were believed to be detained without charge or trial ... Amnesty International was concerned about reports that some of the prisoners held in the Central Prison in Phnom Penh, were kept in fetters and in unlit cells, especially during their period of interrogation. Detention for 're-education' purposes without charge or trial appeared to be widespread ... In June 1983, the Phnom Penh authorities confirmed that more than 100 were being detained in a camp in Takeo, some having been held for up to three years."

(continued in French)

The testimony I have just quoted is more than alarming. It shows that the Heng Samrin and Hun Sen régime, which is desperately trying to present its best possible image to those few visitors from the free world, has been unable to deceive their vigilance and shrewdness. We can see that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam encourages torture when it does not engage in the practice itself. Not only do the two acolyte régimes regard as worthless the United Nations mottoes and slogans on peace, tolerance, conciliation and co-operation among peoples and nations, but they are endangering everything that provides guarantees for the dignity of human beings.

The violation of human rights, the suppression of fundamental freedoms, the absence of any serious judicial procedures, the common practice of torture, the recourse to political assassination, all these constitute an extremely serious

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

threat to those rights which the United Nations has the duty to protect at all costs.

This accumulation of crimes against humanity by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its protégés in Phnom Penh obviously removes all justification for the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia.

The United Nations Charter, human rights and international law are treated with contempt by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, endorsed and supported by the Soviet Union and some 20 countries in its orbit and that will, alas, tarnish the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the International Year of Peace in 1986.

We are therefore confident that our Organization will do its utmost to discharge its responsibilities more fully in maintaining peace, and that in this field it will not only strengthen the role of our Assembly but also the office of the Secretary-General, in order to make his admirable diplomacy still more efficient.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

We trust that resolutions adopted by our Assembly designed to put an end to foreign occupation and to restore peace will be implemented more effectively than they have been so far.

The people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, who have been waging for almost seven years a resolute and strenuous struggle to regain the independence of their homeland and their right to self-determination, always support the peoples of all continents who are fighting for the same ideals. On this occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and its Charter, we should like solemnly to renew our unswerving solidarity and support.

First, we renew our firm and cordial solidarity with our brothers and sisters of Laos, who are waging a strenuous and brave struggle for the survival of their motherland and national identity against Viet Nam's absorption.

Second, we support the patriotic and realistic proposal put forward by President Kim Il Sung to hold parliamentary talks between the National Assemblies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of South Korea so as to ease tensions in the peninsula, put an end to mistrust and confrontation, and create a climate conducive to mutual understanding and confidence for a peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. The meetings and talks between the delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of South Korea concerning economic and parliamentary affairs and questions relating to the Red Cross have already achieved encouraging results, which augurs well for further progress towards the peaceful reunification of Korea. We trust that those meetings and talks will continue to develop favourably for the good of the whole Korean people and nation.

Third, we renew our fraternal support for and solidarity with the valiant Afghan people and the heroic Mujahideen, who are waging a struggle similar to ours; we express our profound admiration to them and our warm congratulations for their outstanding victories against the Soviet forces of aggression and occupation.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

Certainly, the Afghan people will never allow themselves to be subdued and the only solution to the Afghan problem remains the total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people can exercise their right to self-determination and decide themselves on their form of government and political, economic and social system, without foreign interference in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Fourth, in the Middle East, a just and lasting peace cannot be established without the recognition and exercise of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territories by force, and the right of all States in the region to coexist in peace and security. We continue to support the struggle of the Arab countries and that of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO to achieve this goal. The terrorist acts that follow one on another make it increasingly difficult to solve the problem. We condemn all of them, particularly the one that occurred yesterday at Tunis against the headquarters of the PLO, which was in addition a violation of Tunisian sovereignty. We hope that the current efforts to bring the parties concerned to the conference table will prove fruitful so that this commemorative year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will be the starting point of a settlement of the Palestinian problem and that of the Middle East, which have already lasted all too long.

Fifth, the situation in Lebanon, which cannot be dissociated from the situation in the Middle East, continues to be a matter of concern to the international community. We sincerely hope that national harmony can be restored so as to ensure peace and security in the country, safeguard national independence and unity and ensure territorial integrity.

Sixth, the war between the two neighbouring and brotherly countries, Iran and Iraq, has continued unabated for over five years, with a heavy toll in human lives

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

and material resources for both sides. We urge the two countries to listen to the appeals of the international community, to put an end to this bloodshed and to start negotiations for a peaceful settlement of this conflict.

Seventh, our support for and solidarity with the African liberation movements remains unchanged, especially with respect to the courageous and legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), for their national independence in a united Namibia including Walvis Bay and the coastal islands. The brutal repression of the Namibian people and the establishment by the apartheid régime in Pretoria of a so-called interim government in Namibia, are aimed only at perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia, in violation of United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which remain the only valid basis for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of decolonialization of Namibia. Tension in southern Africa will continue to worsen as long as the Pretoria régime refuses to give up its policy of apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring countries. Slaughter, arrests, and arbitrary mass detentions which have been taking place since the imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa have aroused the indignation and condemnation of the whole international community. They show that the apartheid régime cannot be reformed and that only its elimination can bring about the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa. We welcome the sanctions adopted by developed countries against the Pretoria régime. Those sanctions, which should undoubtedly be more stringent, in combination with increased moral, material and diplomatic assistance to the just struggle of the South African peoples, are likely to induce the defenders of apartheid to listen to reason.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

Eighth, the persistent drought, coupled with the catastrophic phenomena of desertification and compounded by external economic factors, continue to claim tens of millions of victims in Africa. We wish to reaffirm our solidarity with and our admiration for all the African peoples and Governments who are struggling with courage, tenacity and dignity to cope with this unprecedented economic and social crisis. The people of Kampuchea, a small and impoverished country, a victim of the Vietnamese genocidal war of aggression, feel part of and are deeply affected by the misfortunes and sufferings of their African brothers and sisters. They will continue to offer their very modest contributions to the commendable efforts of our Secretary-General and the international community to alleviate those sufferings. We congratulate all those countries that have granted emergency assistance to the victims and have provided manifold forms of aid to the African programmes of action at the national and regional levels, with a view to finding a long-term structural solution to the crisis. They have responded positively to their international responsibility, a responsibility which falls to us all as human beings. They have shown that, united, we can successfully take up this tragic challenge, involving a whole continent.

Ninth, and last, we consider that the Contadora group is the best instrument to resolve the crisis in Central America by peaceful means, and to restore peace and stability on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

The recent setting up by four important Latin American countries of a group in support of the Contadora Group will not fail to give a new impetus to its action so as to prevent the situation in the region from dangerously deteriorating, and it will help to realize its noble objectives. We continue to lend our support and encouragement to the Contadora Group.

The appalling natural calamity, which plunges Mexico into mourning, has upset the international community by its exceptional size. On this painful occasion, I would like, on behalf of the people of Kampuchea and their coalition Government, and on my own behalf, to assure the Mexican Government and the valiant people of Mexico of our profound sympathy and sincere condolences.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of Democratic Kampuchea for the important statement he has just made.

His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. YAQUB KHAN (Pakistan): Mr. President, may I extend to you the warmest felicitations of the Pakistan delegation on your election as President of this fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly. Spain has a glorious heritage as a pioneer in the age of discovery and has consistently played a positive role in the advancement of mankind. Your unanimous election is, therefore, as much a tribute to your great country as it is to your outstanding qualities that we have recognized during your long association with the United Nations.

I would also like to express the deep appreciation of my delegation for the wise and inspiring leadership displayed by your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka. The skill, distinction and success with which he carried out his

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

onerous responsibilities have gained for him and for his country, Zambia, the profound respect of the international community.

I also wish to place on record our sincere appreciation for the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his dedicated efforts to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. His report on the work of the Organization (A/40/1), on the eve of its fortieth anniversary, underlines the critical importance of the United Nations for the world and should inspire Member States to revive the vision that led to its creation.

Forty years ago, the history of mankind took a momentous turn with the birth of the United Nations. The ravages of a war which claimed over 60 million human lives was fresh in the minds of the founding fathers of this world Organization, whose foremost objective was "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". They envisioned the evolution of an international community of free peoples, sharing equally in universal prosperity and peace. The United Nations represented a resolve, distilled through human experience of conflict and suffering, that, henceforth, international relations and the conduct of States must be determined by the rule of law and the principles of justice.

The beginning of the nuclear age and the contemporary technological revolution have transformed the world, without bringing about a concomitant change in the attitudes of nations. Consequently, the international environment is dominated by great-Power confrontation and a spiralling nuclear-arms race, which present a grim and disquietening prospect for humanity. Regional conflicts continue to tear at the fabric of international peace and the spectre of a nuclear war threatens the survival of mankind.

This commemorative session is, therefore, an important occasion to explore possibilities to reverse the political and ideological polarization which has seriously impaired the ability of the United Nations to discharge its

(Mr. Yagub Khan, Pakistan)

responsibilities. Today, more than ever before, the problems we confront - of nuclear arms as well as hunger and economic disequilibrium - are common problems for all of us and require collective solutions.

The moral and philosophical concepts of the United Nations are designed to protect the interests and concerns of the less powerful States. Pakistan perceives the United Nations, and the rule of international conduct enshrined in its Charter, as a vital safeguard for its security. If the world is not to descend into a dangerous state of chaos, the ideals and principles of the United Nations must be defended wherever they are breached, in the Middle East, in southern Africa or in Afghanistan.

Nearly six years ago, over 100,000 Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan in flagrant violation of the political independence of that country and of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. In defence of their cherished freedom, which they have enjoyed almost without interruption for centuries, the Afghan people have waged a heroic struggle against military intervention and foreign domination. Across the length and breadth of the land hundreds of thousands of Afghans have sacrificed their lives and continue to do so to regain their lost freedom.

More than three million Afghans have sought refuge in Pakistan, and this in itself is testimony to the popular rejection of the foreign presence and the magnitude of the suffering visited on the people of Afghanistan. Pakistan is providing these millions of refugees with shelter and the basic necessities of life as our Islamic and humanitarian responsibilities, although our limited resources are severely strained.

(Mr. Yagub-Khan, Pakistan)

We are grateful to those friendly States and international agencies which have provided vital humanitarian assistance to them. The trauma and tragedy in the lives of the Afghan refugees will end only when they are able to return to their homes in safety and honour.

The suffering of the Afghan people, after six years of war, can be brought to an end through a just and honourable political solution. For six years this Assembly, the Movement of Non-aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have expressed, in unequivocal terms, the opposition of the world community to foreign intervention in Afghanistan and have repeatedly called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops, which would immediately bring peace and normalcy to the area.

Pakistan has fully supported the Secretary-General's initiative to seek a negotiated solution of the Afghanistan issue. I take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their untiring efforts in the arduous negotiating process under way to evolve a comprehensive settlement of the issue.*

In the Geneva talks, the drafts being negotiated provide the framework for a political settlement. The agreements proposed could be speedily concluded if the central issue of the withdrawal of troops were resolved. We hope that at the next round of proximity talks this vital aspect can be satisfactorily addressed.

* Mr. Moreno Salcedo (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Yaqub-Khan, Pakistan)

Pakistan attaches great importance to these indirect talks for seeking a political solution to the Afghanistan issue. However, we shall not allow outside pressures to deflect us from our principled position. Grave threats have been held out publicly against Pakistan. We face repeated attacks from the Afghanistan side on towns and villages inside our territory. These wanton acts of aggression have caused heavy loss of life and damage to civilian property. During this year alone there have been 198 violations of Pakistan's airspace and territory. Let me make it clear that Pakistan will never submit to pressure, nor will it ever resile from the principles that have formed the basis of our policy on Afghanistan.

The moral and political pressure exerted by the decisions of the General Assembly is of critical importance in ensuring progress towards an early termination of military intervention in Afghanistan and the restoration of peace in that country. The resolute stand taken by this Assembly on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan is also a reaffirmation by the Member States of the United Nations of its commitment to international principles and to the cause of a just political settlement of the crisis in Afghanistan.

The external intervention in Kampuchea raises the same questions of principle. Pakistan supports the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and its struggle for national independence. We fully endorse this Assembly's repeated calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, which would enable the Kampuchean people to choose their own government without outside interference.

The tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq has thrown the region into turmoil and turbulence. That fratricidal war has continued for five long years, consuming the national wealth and the flower of the youth of two great nations. Pakistan is a neighbour and a country linked by common faith and a shared culture to Iran and

(Mr. Yaqub-Khan, Pakistan)

Iraq. The continuation of their war causes us deep anguish. In the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-aligned Countries and the United Nations, Pakistan has spared no effort to try to end that war. Two weeks ago the Islamic Peace Committee convened its eighth meeting to explore the possibilities of a just and equitable solution to that fratricidal conflict. We hope that both parties will recognize and respond to the sincere efforts exerted by that Committee and demonstrate the political will required to reach a political settlement which reconciles the demands of justice with the imperatives of peace. Pakistan also fully endorses the mediatory role of the United Nations Secretary-General in containing certain aspects of the Iran-Iraq conflict. We urge him to continue his efforts.

The situation in the Middle East remains volatile and explosive. This conflict poses a grave threat to international peace and security. It is a conflict which is as old as the United Nations itself, and a long succession of peace initiatives have foundered on the rock of Israeli aggression, the latest manifestation of which is the wanton and outrageous Israeli attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters in Tunis - a brutal and dastardly act which has been condemned in the strongest terms by the Government and people of Pakistan.

Israel has not relented in its policy of annexation by creating Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and thus changing the demographic character of the area. It persists in its repression of the Palestinian and Arab population. We are specially concerned about the desecration of holy places under Israeli occupation, in particular the excavations which threaten the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Peace in the Middle East, as elsewhere, can be achieved and sustained only by

(Mr. Yaqub-Khan, Pakistan)

according justice to all parties. The dictates of justice demand that three principles should constitute the basis for a settlement. The first is the right of self-determination of peoples, which has been denied to the Palestinian people and lies at the root of the problem in the Middle East. The people of Palestine must be enabled to exercise this right and to create a State of their own in their homeland. Secondly, there must be unequivocal support for the fundamental principle that territory cannot be required by the use of force. Israel must agree to withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza, as well as from the Golan Heights. Thirdly, any durable settlement must be comprehensive in nature. This can be achieved only with the participation of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Pakistan, therefore, fully endorses the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East with a view to evolving a just and comprehensive settlement as envisaged in the 1982 Fez Peace Plan. However, until suitable conditions are created for such an international conference, the world community should support and encourage all endeavours which might overcome the diplomatic inertia and help pave the way for a comprehensive settlement. We hope that Israel's experience in Lebanon has brought home the futility and grave consequences which flow from aggression and expansionism.

The past few months have seen a massive resurgence in South Africa against the inhuman system of apartheid. Scores of valuable lives have been lost as the protests continue in the face of ruthless and savage measures adopted by the South African authorities. Clearly, apartheid, which continues to exist as a blot on the human conscience, cannot survive for long. It is high time the international community provided moral succour to the struggling black population by isolating and ostracizing the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

As the curtain descends on the shameful dogma of apartheid, South African colonialism is making a last attempt to entrench itself in Namibia. Seven years have passed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) outlining the plan for the independence of Namibia. Meanwhile, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the authentic voice of the Namibian people, and other African States have sought every diplomatic recourse, including several rounds of negotiations with the South African authorities, in pursuit of the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Regrettably, these efforts have been thwarted by South Africa, which has sought to create one obstacle after another and has raised entirely extraneous and irrelevant issues.

The independence of the Namibian people, which is their sacrosanct right, cannot be made hostage to the whims of the universally discredited Pretoria régime. The Western States who were the authors of the plan for Namibia's independence and, ironically, whose links with South Africa appear to sustain its intransigence, bear a heavy responsibility to bring the chapter of colonialism in Namibia to a close. New initiatives are required on the part of the five members of the Western contact group to compel South Africa to give up its control of the territory, thus fulfilling the promise made seven years ago to the Namibian people and to the international community.

Pakistan remains committed to the promotion of an environment of peace and stability in our region in which the peoples of the countries of the area can fulfil their aspirations for a secure and prosperous future. We have made unremitting efforts in striving for this goal and have consistently supported initiatives designed to serve the cause of peace in the region. We have welcomed the initiative taken by Nepal in declaring that country a zone of peace. We have also worked diligently within the United Nations to promote the objective of the establishment of a zone of peace in the region of the Indian Ocean.

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

I am happy to state that the nations of the South Asian region have made systematic progress towards mutual co-operation for the economic and social uplift of their peoples and for building a climate of confidence and understanding on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality and mutual benefit. We look forward to the summit meeting of the members of the South Asian Regional Co-operation, to be held in Dhaka in December, which, we are confident, will prove to be a landmark in promoting stability and harmony in our region.

To dissipate the clouds of suspicion and mistrust which have afflicted the history of inter-State relations in South Asia in the past, sustained and determined efforts are required both in the regional context and on the bilateral plane. It is in this spirit that Pakistan is working assiduously for the establishment of tension-free, good-neighbourly relations with India, which both countries recognize as an indispensable condition for peace and stability in the area and for the national development of the two countries.

Over the years, Pakistan and India have moved away from the bitterness and acrimony of the past towards a more co-operative relationship. This is evident from the steady increase in high-level contacts at the political and official levels and is also illustrated by the successful outcome of the second meeting of the Pakistan-India Joint Commission, which was held in New Delhi last July.

Pakistan has also proposed to India the conclusion of a bilateral agreement to outlaw aggression and the use of force. This would help to remove mistrust and would contribute to the strengthening of mutual confidence. In this spirit, we seek a just and honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir question. We are also ready to undertake joint commitments and reach agreements with India, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty and reciprocity, for enhancing mutual security, for preventing a return to confrontation and for keeping our area free of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

As repeatedly affirmed by President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan is committed, and shall remain committed, not to develop nuclear weapons or allow their deployment on its soil. This solemn commitment is rooted in our conviction that disarmament is a moral imperative in this nuclear age.

Sharing this universal concern of our age, Pakistan has joined other non-nuclear-weapon States in demanding the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and urging the nuclear-weapon States, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, to make progress towards nuclear disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear war. We are therefore heartened by the resumption, after a long hiatus, of the Geneva talks between the two super-Powers.

The United Nations has an indispensable role to play in the promotion of the objective of disarmament and in raising the collective awareness of the grave danger posed by the existence of nuclear arms and the spiralling arms race, which is now reaching out to outer space.

Pakistan is also convinced of the validity of regional and interim measures against the spread of nuclear weapons, particularly their vertical proliferation. Accordingly, Pakistan has offered specific proposals within the framework of the United Nations for negative security guarantees for non-nuclear weapon States and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. Our initiative for a joint declaration for the non-acquisition of nuclear weapons by the regional States is motivated by our desire to explore ways to keep our area free of nuclear weapons.

At the bilateral level, we have made the following offer to India: simultaneous signature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; simultaneous acceptance of full-scope safeguards; bilateral inspection of each other's nuclear facilities; and a binding declaration by all South-Asian States renouncing the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Yagub Khan, Pakistan)

On this question we are also open to any other suggestions our Indian neighbours may wish to make.

Thus, at the bilateral, as well as at the regional and global levels, Pakistan has taken positive steps and has made a constructive endeavour to curb the menace of nuclear arms.

We believe in a comprehensive approach in matters relating to disarmament and find merit in all efforts, whether they are global, regional or bilateral, or long-term in character. We are also convinced of an inherent correlation between disarmament and the global security environment, which is borne out by the experience that the goals of disarmament cannot be achieved in an international political situation of tension and conflict.

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

A grave consequence of the arms race is the colossal drain on global resources which could be utilized for improving the quality of life for which unprecedented opportunities are provided by the contemporary technological revolution. According to estimates, nearly \$1,000 billion worth of resources are spent every year for the manufacture of means of death and destruction and to fuel the arms race. This is an intolerable situation which must be rectified, and the resources thus released must be diverted to combat deprivation and hunger.

For the past several years representatives from developing countries have stood at this podium and have spoken of the deep crisis in the international economic system. This year we have heard eloquent statements from several Heads of State who have given a vivid account of how the economic crisis and the structural imbalances in the world economic system have affected the well-being of their people and the socio-political structures in their countries. The food crisis in Africa and the grave problem of indebtedness of the third world clearly underscore the need for urgent and concerted action on the economic issues that are faced by the international community.

Regrettably, appeals for co-operation have been to no avail, as major industrialized countries continue to look towards short-term and narrow economic interests rather than agreeing to join hands in a global effort to improve the external environment. The process of recovery of their economies which, the developed nations argue, will in the long run bring succour to the economies of the developing countries and the fear that joint action may erode the special privileges enjoyed by them have impeded a global vision for a healthy and equitable world economic order.

For several years now, there has been no meaningful dialogue between the industrialized countries and the developing countries to find common solutions to

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

the complex problems of the international economic system. In the meantime, the developing countries which continue to bear the major burden of adjustments and the grave consequences of external indebtedness are being pushed dangerously close to the brink of social and political upheaval. The means available to finance the development of their economies are choked off by higher interest rates, tougher payment terms and other conditions imposed by commercial banks, harsh terms demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the rising tide of protectionism and the deteriorating terms of trade. In such an inhospitable environment, failure of domestic policies of the developing countries is unjustly cited as a major cause for their inability to pay the external debt and at the same time meet the basic requirements of their own people.

It is self-evident that both the external environment and domestic policies exercise a powerful impact on the process of economic development. Policies pursued by the developing countries in the domestic field aimed at rapid economic development cannot succeed in the face of adverse international economic conditions. Admittedly, these policies need to be improved; but the fact remains that, in the face of imbalances in the international economic system, no adjustments in domestic policies can produce more than marginal results.

It is unfortunate that a proposal to launch global negotiations has been languishing for over five years. We sincerely hope that the fortieth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations will recapture the spirit of co-operation which led to its creation and pave the way to a genuine dialogue among all nations. Perhaps we could begin by agreeing on a global agenda for a North-South dialogue to be continued in the appropriate specialized forums. This session should also try and indicate the priorities that are required for urgent and long-term action.

(Mr. Yagub Khan, Pakistan)

Pakistan believes that urgent measures must be taken to enable the developing countries to derive legitimate benefits from the current economic recovery. For this purpose, the flow of resources to the developing countries must be increased speedily and significantly so as to create mutually reinforcing economic expansion in all States. Such immediate measures should include increased official development assistance, expansion of IMF quotas, new issues of special drawing rights, a roll-back of trade protectionism and a durable and equitable solution of the debt problem. Simultaneously, efforts must be initiated to introduce the structural changes required to achieve rationality and equity in international economic relations, particularly in the international monetary and trade systems, as also in technological and industrial co-operation.

The extraordinary debt burden of the developing countries must be viewed not only as a threat to the international banking system but also as an impediment to higher growth rates in the developing countries and a constraint on the scope and durability of the current economic recovery. Efforts must be made to find a long-term and equitable solution for the commercial debt of the middle-income countries and the official debt of the low-income countries.

As the United Nations marks its fortieth anniversary the human condition has declined to new depths of insecurity, suffering and deprivation. Our generation is confronted with the awesome threats of annihilation, hunger, poverty, cancerous wars and conflicts whose menace seems interminable.

We must however be careful not to attribute the emergence of this scenario of despair to the advent of the United Nations on the world scene. For the Organization has also seen the expansion and flowering of technology and skill, the exploration of space, the eradication of disease, and the increasing use of

(Mr. Yaqub Khan, Pakistan)

international co-operation and mutual assistance in international conduct; in short, a better organized world order which has spurred human ingenuity and intelligence to fresh heights of achievement. The paradox of the failures and achievements of our generation is, in fact, the human predicament which can be remedied only by strengthening an all-encompassing international organization like the United Nations.

As we meet here this year, let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of global peace and human progress. Let us again pledge, notwithstanding lapses in the past, to renounce aggression and recourse to war. Let us all devote ourselves to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter which offer the only beacon light in an anguished and bewildered world.

Mr. CHNOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): I

congratulate Mr. de Piniés, a prominent diplomatic representative of a country with which we are developing mutually beneficial co-operation, on his election to the office of President of the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish him and also the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, every success in their responsible tasks.

I wish also to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Zambia, a country to which we are tied by bonds of friendship, for his strenuous efforts in the past year.

I should like to offer our profound condolences to the people and Government of Mexico in connection with the recent natural disaster that has caused that friendly country such painful losses.

As we solemnly commemorate the 40 years of existence of our Organization, I appear before its supreme body, the General Assembly, with a special feeling of responsibility to emphasize as strongly as I can that today international relations are simply inconceivable without the United Nations. Born in the fire of the struggle of nations to save civilization from fascism, a struggle in which States with different social systems were united, the United Nations has engraved on its shield the noble words of the Charter which have become a symbol of its era: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

It was this fundamental idea that a Czechoslovak representative took up when he stated at the time of the Organization's birth:

"Whoever speaks of the inevitability of the next war is out of order and going beyond the bounds of the realistic and idealistic realms of our adventure, the greatest ever undertaken by mere mortals. It is called United Nations".

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

We are proud that Czechoslovakia, a true ally of the great alliance and of the Soviet Union which played a decisive part in the defeat of nazism, contributed its share to the great victory.

Our people, one of the first victims of Hitlerism, rose in arms against it both at home and abroad. Our troops fought on the side of the Allies at Kharkov, Kiev and in the Carpathian mountains, defended Paris and London, African Tobruk and Benghazi and took part in the invasion of Normandy. The name of the Czech village of Lidice is still mentioned in the same breath with Coventry and Oradour. It was Prague, the capital of our country, where the fighting on the European continent came to an end on the last day of that horrible war. As we were hastening to participate enthusiastically in the historic moment of the founding of our Organization, the Soviet Army was still waging on our territory a fierce struggle against the occupying forces. During the six dark years from the black days of Munich to 9 May 1945, hundreds of thousands of human beings from our country were sacrificed on the altar of the common victory.

Ever since that time, guided by its unwavering desire to co-operate unswervingly within the ranks of the United Nations and true to the objectives of its Charter, we have always accorded top priority to the supreme task of averting war, safeguarding peace, strengthening international security, achieving disarmament and developing co-operation in all fields. We have always been sincerely pleased by all its successes and have never been indifferent to its failures.

And so, for the first time in the history of mankind, we have a universal world Organization. As the Secretary-General states in this year's report on the work of the Organization,

"it is the best place to avoid the worst and to strive for improvement".

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

To that end the Organization has done good work, perhaps far better than we realize. It therefore deserves our recognition. Now it should use all its great experience to become even more effective, to enhance its activities in the political and security-building spheres, to deepen and broaden co-operation in the economic, social, legal, cultural and humanitarian fields and to become more flexible, using all the existing potential and doing away with elements of formalism, so as to achieve a general strengthening of its position and role in international relations. The declaration adopted at the solemn meeting of the Security Council is a worthy promise thereof and at the same time a challenge to us all.

In the promotion of peace, international security and the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems Europe plays an irreplaceable role. It was there that in this century two atrocious world wars broke out. Yet it was there also that the policy of détente, which has taken such deep roots in the consciousness of the people, came into being. This was demonstrated especially at the recent meeting held on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Conference. That meeting confirmed the vitality of the principles of the Final Act. It proved that European countries unquestionably prefer revitalizing détente to paralysing it and they have rejected the practices of confrontation. Attempts to impose such practices have ended in clear failure.

For our part, we intend to continue to contribute to the broadening of political dialogue among States with different social systems. The dynamism of our bilateral contacts with European countries is a most striking example of this.

Having drawn a lesson from the troubles of the adolescence of the policy of détente, all participating States should redouble their efforts to extend it into the military sphere. This will not be an easy task. It has had to surmount many obstacles on its road so far and there are many pot-holes and ditches still awaiting it.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

However, in the post-Hiroshima era, we cannot afford to wait and see what happens or what might happen. The situation requires resolution based on mature political will. Political leaders are duty-bound to make decisions that the peoples of Europe deserve; to show ability worthy of historic statesmanlike judgement.

As the deliberations of the Stockholm Conference continue, indications of the possibility that its conclusion may be successful grow stronger. We consider that it has now reached the stage of clarifying the broad framework that would make it possible to proceed soon to substantive negotiations about a concluding document. We advocate the formulation of significant and effective military-political and military-technical confidence- and security-building measures, including a treaty on the renunciation of the use of military force in relations among States, a treaty that is already beginning to take shape. In this spirit, together with our allies, we have submitted a number of working papers with specifically drafted proposals. We hope they will meet with the reception they deserve.

The results of the Helsinki meeting are encouraging. We hope that other meetings within the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe - the cultural forum in Budapest, the seminar on contacts between people in Bern, and particularly the next follow-up meeting to be held in Vienna in the autumn of 1986 - will have a similarly constructive spirit.

Positive movement could also be achieved in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. What is required here is responsible consideration by the Western participants of the far-reaching compromise proposals of the Socialist countries. In Vienna, too, it is necessary to remain within the realm of reason and to give up any attempts at demonizing the other side.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

In April, when we extended the validity of the Warsaw Treaty, we reaffirmed our readiness to dissolve that alliance if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bloc were willing to do the same - and that still holds good today.

We welcome the mutual movement in the dialogue between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) that has been noted recently. We expect it to play the role of a constructive catalyst in developing equal and mutually advantageous economic co-operation between the two largest European integrated groupings, in the spirit of the Final Act.

Although it is said that some signs of a thaw have lately begun to appear in the international situation, the political horizon still remains covered with clouds and tensions abound. The blame lies with the imperialist circles. Driven by a vision of military superiority, they have been escalating the arms race, trying to add to it a space dimension. The implementation of such plans would considerably increase the danger of nuclear war. Further immense resources, badly needed to solve the urgent tasks of the economic and social development of all States, primarily the developing countries, would be cast into the abyss of the arms race. If it were really meant seriously that "a new nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought", then the attitude of those who are responsible for it would have to be different. In this situation, the primary task, as we see it, is for all Member States to unite their efforts to avert war. This requires, first of all, unconditionally preventing the extension of the arms race into outer space, halting it on earth and limiting and reducing nuclear armaments until their complete elimination.

Czechoslovakia is the third country, after the Soviet Union and the United States, from which a citizen has entered outer space. It is actively participating

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

in peaceful space programmes and fully supports the idea of "star peace" as opposed to the threat of "star wars".

Let mankind proceed to grandiose projects industrializing the space around Earth. Let mankind create new materials and products in conditions of weightlessness. The implementation of such plans worthy of the pioneering spirit of mankind is, however, possible only in conditions of non-militarization of outer space. Space technology must be placed exclusively at the service of all, the entire human race. It must not be monopolized as a destructive force, as happened in the mid-1940s with nuclear energy.

The evil intention to militarize outer space threatens to have immeasurable consequences. Today it is the greatest danger to peace. This is how the overwhelming majority of mankind feels, as demonstrated by the statements of so many speakers from this rostrum.

Nevertheless, some politicians try to convince the public that this is merely a new stage of research that, supposedly, would naturally lead to the reduction of nuclear armaments and eventually eliminate nuclear war from society. To say something like that is to be completely out of touch with reality. If the project of the so-called strategic defence initiative is a detonator for an even more dangerous stage of the arms race, then what is called its scientific-research phase must be viewed in the same way. What is involved are the first components of a project for space weapons designed to allow for a first nuclear strike that would go unpunished. The argument that this peace-destabilizing concept strengthens strategic stability simply cannot be maintained.

The introduction of any sophisticated technology into the military sphere cannot benefit the security of one side if it poses a threat to others. There is only one criterion: mutual security or mutual insecurity - for all.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

And so we attach all the greater importance to the Soviet-United States talks on space and nuclear weapons in Geneva. They would definitely be favourably affected by the adoption of the Soviet proposals to institute for the duration of the talks a moratorium on the development - including scientific research work - testing and deployment of offensive space weapons, to freeze strategic offensive weapons of both sides, to halt the deployment of United States intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the expansion of respective counter-measures. Finally it would be most beneficial for the talks if the United States were to join in the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions declared by Mikhail Sergeivich Gorbachev. It is a truly reasonable initiative, simple enough to be understood by everybody. So what is wrong with it? It just paves the way for a total ban on nuclear tests and thus for the stopping the modernization of nuclear weaponry. It is a good example for other States that possess nuclear weapons.

Regrettably, however, the response of the other side is negative. It reveals an absolute lack of good political will, reflecting an attempt to conceal the direct relationship between nuclear tests and the programme to militarize outer space.

So what is there to say? The main point is that once and for all one must abandon the fatal illusion that the development and production of destructive arms systems would force the socialist countries to give up on not allowing the existing approximate strategic balance to be upset.

Czechoslovakia advocates a ban on all kinds of weapons designed for use against objects in outer space and from space against the earth. It calls for the elimination of space from the sphere of the arms race, and that this become an inviolable norm of the policy of all States and a generally recognized

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

international obligation. We therefore regard as innovative and most timely the proposal by the Soviet Union on international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization, an item that has been included on our agenda. We support its idea that the General Assembly should convene, by 1987 at latest, an international conference to be attended by States with significant space potential and other interested countries, that could agree upon the basic directions and principles of peaceful co-operation in space. Equally constructive is the suggestion that the conference should consider the question of establishing a world space organization for the activities of States in peaceful space activities. Implementation of those projects would undoubtedly give man the feeling that he needs so much, that he has firm ground under his feet.

We cherish the hope that in spite of all obstacles the forthcoming Soviet-United States summit level talks will make it possible to look to the future, not only of those two large countries, but of all mankind. Certainly much can be remedied if both sides are ready to compromise, but that means discussing, not the myths and stereotypes of which everyone has grown weary, it means focusing on the true problems of the world community and considering them on the basis of equality, true equality. After all, neither of the two sides has ever lost to the other in a war, or even a battle, and moreover they owe each other absolutely nothing. We welcome the significant talks of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Washington, being convinced that Geneva in November will fulfil what is expected of it.

It is our view that achieving the desired goal - a world free from nuclear weapons - requires a speedy formulation and adoption of a programme of nuclear disarmament. Nostalgic yearning for global hegemony does not correspond in today's

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

world with the laws of nuclear physics. And so such a programme should encompass moral and political, as well as legal but, above all, practical and far-reaching material measures based on the principles of reciprocity, equality and equal security. It would offer a historic opportunity to set up a basis for a peaceful entry into the twenty-first century, and with a completely different nuclear strategy and with a significant reduction of the risk that civilization may burn down in the fire of a nuclear apocalypse.

Of course, no agreement has any chance of success if a mutual deep understanding of the catastrophic nature of a nuclear conflict does not develop and if a political will and mutual restraint do not change false illusions or unrealistically calculated intentions. That is where the rational core of a new thinking in the nuclear age lies.

We consistently support also the proposal that all nuclear Powers pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We advocate both a quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear weapons and we value the joint declaration of the Heads of State and Government of Argentina, India, Mexico, Greece, Sweden and Tanzania adopted in January this year in New Delhi, which emphasizes the extraordinarily strong topicality of those issues today.

We attach great importance to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a significant factor strengthening international security. We identify ourselves with the results of the third Review Conference. They have confirmed that that document is one of the fundamental pillars of the international legal system. It is a major obstacle to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and, at the same time, it is an instrument that does provide sufficient opportunity for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We believe the Treaty should be made fully universal so that it becomes even more effective.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

An integral part of the non-proliferation régime is that existing nuclear-weapon-free zones be respected and new ones created. We support the proposal for a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe, which directly involves Czechoslovakia. We also support such zones in the northern part of our continent and in the Balkans. We are ready to support any constructive proposals on this question that relate to other parts of the world also.

We also advocate the speedy convening of a conference to discuss the question of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

As to another dangerous kind of weapon of mass destruction, chemical arms, we advocate a world-wide ban. Regrettably, practical progress on this question at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva has been blocked by the obstructionist attitude of certain well-known circles. Moreover, the United States decision to resume production of binary chemical ammunition destined mainly for Western Europe makes this situation even more difficult. In the circumstances, we consider it necessary to take parallel steps at the regional level, particularly in Europe. The Governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic proposed therefore to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that we conclude an agreement on establishing a chemical-weapon-free zone that at the initial stage would include the territories of those three States. We are glad to hear from the statement made here by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that it is studying our proposal, and we hope that it will take a favourable view of it. For our part, we are ready to open the respective negotiations as soon as possible.

We support measures to prevent any increase in military expenditures, and indeed reduce them, so that the resources made available can be spent on social and economic development, particularly in the developing countries.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

We continue to attach great importance to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva as the only multilateral disarmament forum of a global nature. We welcome the progress that was made there at this year's session, as demonstrated, for example, by the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee on Outer Space. Regrettably, some Western States have been trying to transform the Conference gradually from an organ of negotiation into a mere debating club. They have been blocking the establishment of working groups on issues of priority importance, and obstructing progress on questions under consideration. We are convinced that this fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly should give States participating in the Conference a strong impetus to mobilize their political will and lead the Geneva negotiations out of its long-lasting stagnation.

As far as hotbeds of tension are concerned, I should like to mention first of all the situation in Central America, where overt imperialism has been escalating its aggressive action, including military actions, against the sovereign Republic of Nicaragua, against the national liberation movement in El Salvador, and against other countries. We respect the constructive position taken by the Nicaraguan Government. We value the activity of the Contadora Group and also the support given to it by other Latin American countries.

We would insistently urge the Security Council to adopt effective sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. The new waves of terror perpetrated by the racists against the majority, the African population, reveal that the so-called reforms carried out by the Pretoria régime do not change by one whit the disgraceful and shameful nature of apartheid. The situation does not allow of any delay. Apartheid must be swept away from the face of Africa as soon as possible. We resolutely advocate the immediate granting of independence to the people of Namibia on the basis of the implementation of the relevant decisions of the United

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

Nations, including the resolutions of the Security Council. The latest aggression by South Africa against the sovereign People's Republic of Angola, has just confirmed once again that there can be no peace in that region as long as the apartheid régime exists. We condemn that aggression as a ruthless manifestation of the policy of State terrorism. We express our full support for the courageous struggle waged by the people of Angola in defending the independence of their homeland.

In the Middle East current developments once again show clearly that the policy of separate steps on the Camp David model cannot lead to a just solution. Such a policy is possible only at the cost of the interests and national rights of not only the Palestinian people but all Arab nations. A way out of the present situation caused by Israeli aggression is offered in the unified course of action proposed by the Arab States and adopted by them at the summit conference in Fez. The principles agreed on there could be put into practice through the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, as proposed by the Soviet Union. Naturally, a condition for this would be the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and recognition of their right to establish their own independent State. We would also express our full support for the efforts to restore the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

We strongly condemn the most recent aggressive act of Israel whose victim at this time was Tunisia. Unfortunately, the aggressor is still enjoying the cynical support of allies in the strategic alliance it belongs to.

We advocate a swift halt to the Iraq-Iran conflict. If there is good political will, the disputed questions can be settled by peaceful negotiation.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

That would be in harmony with the interests of the people of both countries and also the people of the whole region. We resolutely condemn the attempts by imperialism to misuse that conflict in order to increase its military presence in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

It is our firm view that the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan is possible only if the right of its people to independent development is fully respected and if an end is put to armed as well as other interference in the internal affairs of that country. We regard as useful the process of negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the representative of the Secretary-General. It would be beneficial if the negotiations proceeded to the stage of direct talks.

As to the situation in South-East Asia, we support the proposals of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed at transforming South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. We consider that the only effective way of settling the problems of the region lies through political dialogue, especially between the Indo-Chinese States and the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). We regard as an absolutely just step, corresponding to reality, that the People's Republic of Kampuchea be represented in the United Nations.

We reaffirm our full support for the efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for peaceful reunification of Korea on democratic principles, without external interference. We also support its demands for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the transformation of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free-weapon zone. A good basis for the settlement of the Korean question would be the resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly on the initiative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

We are convinced that the strengthening of stability in the world would be substantially promoted by implementing a number of well-known initiatives to transform the whole of Asia into a zone of peace and security. This requires the endeavours of all Asian States, regardless of their social system, up to the

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

possible establishment of an all-Asian forum to consider the entire complex of issues involving the safeguarding of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourly relations on that continent, something along the lines of what happened in Europe at the Helsinki Conference.

We fully support a peaceful and equitable settlement of the question of Cyprus. That would mean that Cyprus could remain an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, united and non-aligned State, free from all foreign interference and military presence.

It is a sad reality that today, 40 years after the founding of the United Nations and 25 years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the peoples of a large number of Territories are still denied their fundamental and inalienable right to freedom and independence. That is why we have advocated, repeatedly and emphatically, an immediate eradication of all remnants of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, including neo-colonialism.

Our Organization has been participating to a significant extent in the solution of international economic and social problems. It has gradually established organs, organizations and specialized agencies that co-ordinate economic, trade, scientific and technical co-operation. It has also provided a framework for the adoption of important multilateral instruments regulating that co-operation.

Unfortunately, the principles embodied therein have been constantly violated. Together with many developing countries we have for a number of years been pointing out the need to safeguard economic security. We condemn trade embargoes, discriminatory measures, sanctions or the conditioning of economic and humanitarian assistance on political concessions.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

The relations between the indebted developing countries and their creditors cannot be narrowed down to the rather primitive bookkeeping formula of "debits" and "credits". After all, they are the result of the centuries-old process of the exploitation of African, Asian and Latin American countries by colonialism and neo-colonialism, and, also, they are the result of unprecedented manipulation of the terms of credit redemption. Let us remember that in the Middle Ages in Europe, usurers were punished for practising usury or machinations with credit and ruthless fleecing of debtors by severe penalties, including burning at the stake and impalement.

We advocate complete normalization of the credit policies. We fully support the proposal presented here by the Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, that, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, an international debt and development research centre be established.

We have been constantly striving for a restructuring of international economic relations based on just and democratic foundations and creating conditions for equal co-operation. Reaffirming it, we proposed a programme of action designed to remedy the wrongs done in those relations. It was put forward at the summit meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is an open offer to all countries.

We are pleased that the proposals emanating from the recent Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Luanda are oriented in the same direction. That broad peace-loving group has been playing an ever more important and, indeed, irreplaceable role in the present difficult situation in the world today. We value its work in the struggle against the danger of nuclear catastrophe, its struggle for a peaceful outer space, disarmament, development of broad mutually advantageous

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

international co-operation, peaceful settlement of conflicts, and the elimination of the hotbeds of tension throughout the world.

If we are to talk about human rights, then we must say that that is an ideal as old as the human race itself. If they are to be valid in all parts of the world, throughout the globe, why are just some selected countries branded with the mark of Cain as alleged offenders while an ideal of democratic perfection is attributed to others, as political needs dictate?

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

Therefore I ask: are those who are so eager to point their finger at others free of sin themselves? Have they embodied in their constitutions the right to work for all their fellow human beings? Do they grant them the right to free education? To free medical care? To a time of rest from work? To pensions? Have they ratified the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights or on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights? Are they not, in their search for wrong answers to right questions, seeing a speck of dust in someone else's eye while failing to see the beam in their own eyes, as the biblical saying goes? It must be repeated again and again that human rights are always a concrete combination of civil and political rights with fundamental economic and social rights and that each country has its own concept of them. This fact must be taken into consideration. Otherwise we shall continue to be trapped in the vicious circle of irrationality.

I can assure the General Assembly that Czechoslovakia, committed to the lofty mission of our Organization, will continue to pursue its noble goals. As the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, said,

"We shall continue to struggle to avert the threat of war, to achieve disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, to achieve the peaceful settlement of international problems on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security and to bring international relations back to the path of détente and constructive co-operation".

Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): Sir, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on your election to the high position of President of the General Assembly for the fortieth session. I am convinced that your wealth of diplomatic experience and proven skills will contribute to the enrichment of the deliberations during this special session.

This year we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations,

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

which was established with many hopes and expectations in the aftermath of a world distraught by death, destruction and the plunder of war.

Like many other peoples, but significantly different from them, the Jewish people underwent an ordeal which will leave its eternal mark not only in the long annals of its history but also in its deeper spiritual and psychological experience. This was, of course, the horrendous Holocaust which was wrought upon us by nazism and anti-semitism. For this reason the emergence of the United Nations provided a source of inspiration and light for us at the end of a very dark era in our history.

Indeed, what could be more stirring than the unequivocal declarations of principle appearing in the opening paragraphs of the United Nations Charter, such as: "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and the call "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours"? To my great regret, however, this Organization has had a part in shattering these aspirations and noble ideals.

The slander of anti-semitism has also been propagated in the guise of anti-zionism. In this context, we sadly note the tenth anniversary of the passing of the infamous General Assembly resolution falsely equating the Jewish National Liberation Movement - zionism - with an outrageous phenomenon totally alien to the most fundamental and spiritual values of the Jewish heritage. That resolution, 3379 (XXX), of 10 November 1975, will be remembered in the history of the United Nations as a terrible blot on its record and a discredit to the Organization and to those irresponsible Members that supported it.

Other international forums have also been exploited for the purpose of propaganda and political warfare against Israel, distorting the real purposes for which they were established. It would, therefore, be appropriate and timely to

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

strive for what I would call "political disarmament" in these bodies, in order to guarantee that they maintain their integrity and credibility in the exercise of their legitimate functions.

Israel was established in 1948 against the background of a United Nations resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The United Nations, however, did nothing to implement its resolution, and the State of Israel came into being through the will, the toil and the sacrifice of its people. Nor, I might add, did the United Nations alleviate the immense threats and dangers that Israel had to face since its establishment.

Since the founding of the State we have made every possible effort towards the achievement of peace and the normalization of relations with our neighbours. Peace for us is a natural and integral part of our national heritage. The Jewish people is a small, democratic and free people, striving to rebuild its renewed nationhood in its ancient homeland. We cherish peace and we teach its blessings to our children. Indeed, after a prolonged period of strife and hostility forced on us by our neighbours, we found a way to build a bridge of peace with one of our Arab neighbours.

Egypt and Israel have demonstrated clearly that face-to-face negotiations and direct dialogue are the most constructive and beneficial ways of achieving peace. This was brought about on the basis of the Camp David Accords, which established a just and effective framework for the settlement of conflicts. It is for this reason that Israel is so insistent on applying this framework to the further extension of the peace process. We hope that in the near future we shall be able to negotiate with Jordan, our neighbour to the East. It is crucial that the peace treaty with Egypt should not remain the sole example of peace with our neighbours, and therefore we earnestly seek to widen and deepen that peace by extending the process to include the rest of our Arab neighbours.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

From this rostrum I once again urge King Hussein of Jordan to enter into direct negotiations with Israel - not in some vague, deflecting international forum, but in direct, bilateral discussions. An international conference is a means of evading direct negotiations. It will be a stage for hostile and extreme propaganda and will not serve the cause of peace. Our aim should be the achievement of a bilaterally negotiated peace treaty between our countries. There is no change in our deep commitment to the Camp David accords, and we stand ready therefore to meet a Jordanian delegation, which may include Arab Palestinians from Judea, Samaria and Gaza, or other Arab Palestinians to be mutually agreed upon.

Israel firmly believes that there is no way to solve the problems of our region except through negotiations and peace. If King Hussein has finally decided to offer his hand in peace, let him act the way the late President Sadat did. He should not drown the quest for peace in a sea of conditions that nullify any chance of peace - conditions such as an international conference and the participation of terrorist organizations in the peace process. I should also like to urge King Hussein to free himself at this eleventh hour, from the clutches of the PLO. King Hussein has been caught in their clutches before and it seems that he has failed to learn from his own experience. Only after freeing himself from his dangerous association with the PLO terrorists will it be possible to achieve progress towards peace between Israel and Jordan. Indeed, the recent marked increase in terror attacks against Israelis stems, among other things, from Hussein's partnership with the PLO. Jordan cannot extend the olive branch of peace on the one hand and play host to terror at the same time. The two are mutually exclusive.

Our position in this regard is clear and decisive. We are firmly against any contacts or dealings with terrorists or their representatives - and, in this case, with an organization whose declared purpose is the liquidation of Israel. PLO

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

leaders have been intimating that they are engaged in the political process of peace. However, they have been waging cruel and murderous terrorist activity all along. According to their declared programme, political action and terrorist activities should go hand in hand until they achieve their goal, the elimination of Israel. We are not ready to negotiate with terror. There is no place for its self-proclaimed representatives at a table where peace, security and tranquillity are to be negotiated. Acknowledging that organization would be tantamount to legitimizing terror, and should be rejected by all those who value peace.

To protect our people and territory from terror, we were obliged to act against the PLO terrorist infrastructure in Lebanon, which posed an intolerable threat to our people in the Galilee region.

Meanwhile, terror continues to wreak havoc in Lebanon. The latest outrage was the kidnapping of four Soviet diplomats in Beirut. Kidnapping and the holding of hostages for ransom is only one of the manifestations of international terrorism, whose linchpin is the PLO, which we must fight and stamp out. This is another example of the fact that terror knows no bounds, neither political nor any other.

The removal of the various threats from Israel's northern border continues to be an important priority for us. We will do all in our power to defend and protect the population of the north. This objective has become no less important in the wake of the withdrawal of the Israel Defence Forces from Lebanon, in accordance with the decision of the Government of Israel of 14 January 1985.

Yesterday Israel took action against terror bases, this time in Tunisia. Israel's air force acted against the terrorists only after it became evident that the terrorists were mounting attacks from Tunis with impunity. Only last week, PLO terrorists, who were directed and commanded from Tunis, attacked an Israeli boat in Larnaca, Cyprus, and murdered three Israeli civilians in cold blood. In recent months, those headquarters were responsible for a number of seaborne attempts

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

against our people, which were prevented by Israel's navy. We had no intention of attacking Tunisia, although that country has permitted terrorist bases to exist on its soil. We acted against murderous criminals in order to prevent the continuation of their criminal acts.

The United Nations has been sadly remiss in meeting the challenge of international and PLO terror. It could and should have come out resolutely against this evil phenomenon of our time and placed it outside the pale of civilization. Instead, it has equivocated and, worse, legitimized terror in terms that have provided encouragement to the terrorists and their supporters.

I regret to state that, in spite of numerous outrages and continuing attacks by PLO terrorists, this issue has never been seriously addressed by the Security Council or other United Nations and international forums. Israel cannot be expected to ignore this double standard. In spite of this, Israel is willing to act with other free nations to curb, if not stamp out, terrorism. Similarly, we urge joint international action against terrorists and their sponsors.

Among the most distressing and oppressing phenomena of our international experience is racism. The very word evokes dark and brutal memories of the long history of the Jewish people. Apartheid is a system of discrimination which the Jewish faith and the State of Israel totally reject and repudiate. The Government of Israel, on 11 August 1985, reiterated that it is unconditionally opposed to the policy of apartheid in South Africa and to any discrimination on grounds of race, religion or colour or on any other grounds.

Israel has diplomatic relations with some of the African States and we are ready to renew our relations with those with which we do not have them. This is, of course, up to them. We believe that many have by now seen who the real friends of Africa are: it is not those who use high-flown words but will not lend a

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

helping hand in time of need and distress, or those who remember Africa only when they need its votes at the United Nations. The State of Israel, in contrast, was one of the first to reach out to the nations of Africa, in their early years of sovereignty and statehood and in their current travails, and we are ready to increase our efforts.

In the area of disarmament the nations of the Middle East are confronted with three main challenges. These are the reduction of conventional arms, the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the eradication of the use of chemical warfare. My Government believes that concerted regional action on all three issues is a moral imperative of the highest priority.

Concerning the accumulation of conventional arms, Israel voices its concern over the accelerated supply of large quantities of weapons to a number of belligerent Arab Governments in our region. These régimes do not need these arms for their defence, but are stockpiling them to use against Israel. This can only serve to undermine the chances for peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

On the subject of nuclear weapons, we believe that the most effective and credible barrier to proliferation in so sensitive an area as the Middle East is a freely and directly negotiated convention establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone, based on a system of obligations binding on all States concerned. Israel stands ready to begin such negotiations without delay or preconditions.

While Israel is conscious of the necessity to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, we are also aware of the substantial contribution which the peaceful use of nuclear energy can make to the well-being of the world and the right of all countries to benefit from such uses. We support those international agreements that would ensure the status and inviolability of nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes.

Another issue that arouses the deepest anxiety is the repeated use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war and the danger that such use may spread in a manner that could not easily be reversed, if at all. It is tragic that the sixtieth anniversary of the 1925 Geneva Protocol forbidding the use of such weapons should be commemorated in this manner. This total disregard for solemn international legal obligations by Iraq demonstrates the difficulty of achieving genuine disarmament. But we must not despair; we must continue our efforts in this vital field of human endeavour.

The deteriorating situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union obliges us once again to speak out in defence of their elementary rights. Our concern relates especially to the hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who have indicated their desire to join their people in Israel. The Soviet authorities, however, in flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act and many other international obligations assumed by the Soviet Government, refuse them permission to leave.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

Many of those Jews who have been denied permission to leave are forced to live as outcasts from Soviet society, subject to all manner of official harassment and persecution, while being effectively deprived of the means of legal redress. Increasing numbers have been engulfed in recent months in an accelerating wave of arrests, trials and savage sentences of imprisonment on trumped-up criminal charges. Jews seeking to disseminate knowledge of the Hebrew language have been prominent among these recent victims of judicial repression. These Jews are in no way violating Soviet law, nor are they involved in any form of anti-Soviet activity. Their real crimes, in the eyes of the authorities, are their persistent demand to leave for Israel and their efforts, in the face of strenuous official opposition, to perpetuate their Jewish heritage, culture and religion.

All of these outrages are taking place against the background of a relentless campaign of anti-semitic incitement, usually camouflaged as anti-zionism, in the officially controlled media - a campaign designed by the authorities to encourage an attitude of suspicion, hatred and contempt towards Soviet Jews on the part of the Soviet population.

We call upon all persons of goodwill and all Governments in the civilized world to join us in our protests and in urging the Soviet authorities to conform their policies towards Soviet Jewry to the international obligations solemnly undertaken by the Soviet Government.

Israel seeks good relations with all States including, naturally, the Soviet Union. We have looked to the new Soviet leadership for signs of change in its attitude towards Soviet Jewry. Regrettably, so far we have seen no positive changes whatsoever. We therefore have no choice but to continue to expose energetically and protest vigorously these flagrant violations of the rights of our

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

fellow Jews seeking to join their people in Israel. We shall continue to do so until every Soviet Jew who so wishes is free to exercise this basic right.

There is also the problem of the Jews of Syria, who are subjected by the Syrian régime to discrimination and restrictive policies and are not free to choose to live wherever they wish. This is a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which Syria is a signatory. Jews who wish to travel abroad must leave their families behind as living hostages to ensure the travellers' return.

Several hundred young Jewish women remain unmarried because of the depleted male Jewish population in Syria. The Syrian Government has cruelly refused to allow those women to leave the country in order to be able to marry within their faith and establish families.

We are also concerned about the small, ancient Jewish community left in Ethiopia, because of its isolation and suffering and the latest disasters that have befallen that country. Some of these Jews have already returned to their historic homeland and have been received as long-lost brothers and sisters who have finally returned home.

The people of Israel and its Government have expressed their solidarity with the Ethiopian people, which has undergone much suffering as a result of the recent famine and other difficulties. We appeal to the Ethiopian Government to respect the cultural and religious rights of the Jewish community and to enable it to continue to maintain its heritage and religion and, on humanitarian grounds, to permit those among them who so desire to be reunited with their families in Israel.

The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations may be a fitting occasion for a review and reappraisal of its activities, in frank and constructive self-criticism.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The United Nations should not merely celebrate its past but also plan for its future.

Some may feel disheartened by the fact that, after so many years of United Nations preoccupation with the problems of the developing countries, we still remain so distant from the goal of bridging the gap between the poor and the rich nations of the world. Poverty, hunger, malnutrition and disease still characterize the conditions of life in many parts of the world.

One inescapable conclusion is that progress has too often been hampered by a tendency to substitute slogans for serious plans of action. Meeting the world's pressing economic and social problems will require new dimensions of international co-operation. The danger of famine continues to afflict developing countries. There is dire need for urgent action by the world community. The peoples of Africa are struggling to free themselves from the curses of poverty and hunger, and the rest of the world must help them in this struggle.

The vital element of developing traditional agriculture has been sorely neglected. Israel is now preparing an aid proposal for more efficient food delivery systems that would provide better nutrition and would link such aid with land and water development programmes.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The success of integrated rural development has been proved in Israel's own rapid agricultural development. Israel has much experience in the proper use of soil and water, marketing organization, agro-industrial systems appropriate for developing countries, and the integration of populations and development projects. We are ready to share our know-how in these fields with other developing countries. The benefits of this experience can contribute to raising living standards in many societies.

Israel has presented to international organizations, both within and outside the United Nations, a development proposal entitled "Transitional Economy". It seeks to break the vicious circle of poverty by improving the productivity and quality of life in developing countries. The proposed programme seeks to combine a comprehensive development process with decentralized planning and implementation.

In the 26 years of Israel's involvement in international development efforts, Israel has co-operated with more than 100 countries and trained over 50,000 men and women in agriculture, in rural development and in health and education. During Israel's development it encountered some of the same problems that are now facing African countries and has successfully overcome them.

The United Nations may recapture some of its prestige and authority if it gives priority to these pressing social and economic issues. The magnitude of the tasks before us will require unprecedented international co-operation.

Unfortunately, the United Nations record is not very encouraging. At its last session the General Assembly had 143 items on its agenda. It passed no less than 38 resolutions relating to the Middle East, out of which 37 were negative, even hostile, in their reference to Israel. Such resolutions have long ceased to attract any attention or carry any weight. Yet the General Assembly did not see fit to address itself to such danger-spots as the Iraq-Iran war and Afghanistan, or to many of the socio-economic problems which plague our society.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

Let us put aside the political differences that beset our world and join forces in an effort to find solutions for the ordinary man, woman and child, who are too often ignored in the heat of political debate. Let us work together in the spirit of the ancient prophets who gave to the world the concept of the brotherhood of man, a concept which has been the basis for the great ideals of mankind.

In the present age of unprecedented opportunities, Israel calls upon all Governments, international agencies and non-governmental organizations to rise to the challenge offered by science and technology. Let us share the fruits of scientific and technological advances to improve our lives. Let us build a moral and prosperous future to achieve justice and dignity for all. Let the United Nations become, truly, a "United Nations for a better world".

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.