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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 30 September 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)
later: Mr. FERM (Sweden)
(Vice-President)

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

Statements were made by:

Mr. Jankowitsch (Austria)
Mr. Varkonyi (Hungary)
Mr. Shamir (Israel)
Mr. Barrow (Belize)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

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

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

President Norodom SIHANOUK (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I have the great honour to begin this address by paying a well-deserved tribute to the statesman who is entrusted with the onerous task of conducting our works during the present session, and who has been elected to his office by a unanimous vote of this Assembly.

We are aware of your wisdom, experience and impartiality. An eminent son of Bangladesh, you come from a country which plays a very positive role through its loyalty to the United Nations Charter and its eagerness to further regional co-operation, of which Dhaka is one of the centres, and international co-operation as well. It is also a pleasure for me to recall that your great country and my own have always maintained relations of trust and friendship.

May I also be permitted to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, who conducted the work of the fortieth session with great wisdom and skill.

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I believe I express the feelings of everyone of us when I address my very cordial and affectionate salutations to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose exemplary dedication to his noble task, determination and courage cannot but increase our gratitude and admiration. He has spared no effort and omitted no initiative to ease world tension, seeking always, within the framework of the high mandate conferred on him by our Organization, to find a just and equitable solution to the many problems that beset us.

Even if, from time to time, he has been tempted to give way to discouragement, he has persevered in embarking on the course he has chosen, faithful to the motto that was formerly that of the Head of State of a small, noble country: "It is not necessary to hope in order to undertake, or to be successful in order to persevere."

For many years I have come to this rostrum, to brief the Assembly on the painful problems of my country, Cambodia. It is a small country with a small population, with no resources other than agriculture, a considerable part of whose people have had to choose exile in order to preserve their customs, their freedom and sometimes their lives.

Cambodia - Kampuchea in the Khmer language - was great and powerful at the time of an empire which at its height created monuments that still fill mankind with admiration. In the eighteenth century our Annamite - alias Vietnamese - neighbours, resorting to force or trickery, seized our rich eastern provinces, known as Lower Cambodia, and, with the help of the then colonial Power, made them Cochin China, known today as South Viet Nam.

Aware of our relative weakness and wishing to put an end to the disputes between us and Viet Nam, we had the wisdom to declare that we were satisfied with the borders resulting from French colonization, provided they were secure and recognized. Our sole, legitimate ambition was to live in peace and security among ourselves, devoting our energies fully to the economic development of our country and the well-being of our compatriots.

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A peaceful and hard-working country: such was Cambodia before 1970.

Knowing that North and South Viet Nam. had a population 10 times that of Cambodia, and that its army ranked fourth in the world, I had done my best to carry out towards it a policy of understanding, conciliation and friendship. Although we were officially neutral, I had granted facilities to the Vietnamese guerrillas fighting the Saigon régime and permitted them to station themselves in some uninhabited border areas and to receive weapons and supplies via our ports and borders.

In exchange for this aid, which I deemed valuable, I had obtained what counted most to me. In 1967, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam - that is, North Viet Nam - solemnly recognized and guaranteed the independence and sovereignty of Cambodia, "within her present borders", according to our own formulation.

We Khmers accordingly thought that from then on we were secure.

Unfortunately, after having signed a treaty, which was in fact a military pact with the Soviet Union, reunified Viet Nam, on Christmas Day 1978, launched its powerful infantry, tanks and aircraft against Kampuchea, whose considerably less numerous troops were overwhelmed, despite their heroic resistance. Hanoi's design was not, despite its claims, to "come to the rescue of the brother Khmer people out of humanitarian concern", but quite simply to realize the scheme for the Indochina Federation, a scheme which was masterminded as early as the 1930s on the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party.

Whatever they may say today, the Vietnamese have never given up this plan for the Indochina Federation with Hanoi as its capital.

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Thus, a country which had made such tremendous efforts and sacrifices to free itself from foreign domination and consequently won general esteem suddenly proved to be an expansionist, colonialist Power, shamelessly repudiating its most solemn commitments to a small neighbouring country, with contempt for the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and flouting the wise resolutions adopted by our Organization to put an end to the war in Cambodia.

Thus, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam revealed itself to be a nation that does not keep its word and is without honour. It lost at a stroke the sympathy of its friends, and was left with only the Soviet Union as protector and financial backer, that country having strategic and political interests in Viet Nam. Indeed, it is the various components of the Khmer resistance, making up the coalition of Democratic Kampuchea, that gain year by year wider support from the international community.

For the eight years that we have been occupied, we have tirelessly conducted joint military and diplomatic initiatives.

This year, the military situation in Cambodia has changed. The heaviest fightings no longer take place at the border with Thailand, but far deeper in the interior of the country. Despite the construction by Cambodians through a system of forced labour under Vietnamese orders of a heavily mined trench along the Khmer side of the border - similar to the mined belt built by the apartheid régime of Pretoria along the borders of Namibia - our resistance units have succeeded in carrying out vigorous action around the Tonlé Sap - the Great Lake - in the fertile, densely populated plains in the immediate vicinity of Phnom Penh and even near the Vietnamese border.

Our forces have destroyed many Vietnamese administrative centres set up in villages and communes throughout the country and have frequently attacked district and provincial capitals such as of Siemreap, Kompong Thom, Battambang, Pursat and

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Kompong Speu, as far as Pochentong international airport, at the gates of Phnom Penh. These daring raids, which are mounted by an ever growing number of men, take the enemy by surprise every time, and cause them heavy losses in men and military equipment.

The increasing number and effectiveness of these raids are possible only thanks to the active participation of the people, who provide us with information and serve as our guides, and the co-operation of Khmer soldiers forced by the Vietnamese aggressors to enlist in the Heng Samrin puppet army, who give brotherly support to our fighters. The feeling of revolt already noticeable among the villagers has been spreading to the Heng Samrin troops, who have on many occasions mutinied against their Vietnamese commanders, eliminated them, taken to the country and whenever possible joined the national resistance. Such feats of arms have been spreading throughout the country all the more quickly since our guerrillas are now almost everywhere, in particular near our villages, to protect the people.

The Vietnamese occupation forces in Cambodia are now in an impasse. They know from their own experience that a national resistance which enjoys the people's support cannot be defeated.

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Along with the patriotic armed struggle, we have also sought to offer our adversaries the possibility of reaching a negotiated solution satisfactory to both parties. Should they accept, we would wish to establish an agreement with the Vietnamese that would benefit our two countries and peoples and would enable them, once peace has been restored, to establish ties of friendship and co-operation based on the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence, in equality, mutual respect and reciprocal interests.

The Assembly has witnessed this appeal for good understanding and peace, which I renew every year from this rostrum on behalf of my country and its coalition government and on my own behalf.

Every year, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has chosen, out of conceit, to ignore our peace proposals and those of our South-East Asian neighbours and friends, as well as the fair resolutions on Kampuchea adopted by the United Nations. Acting against the will of the entire international community, Viet Nam pretends to recognize as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia the puppet team it set up following the occupation of our capital, which, needless to say, would not have been able to remain in power a single day were it not for the permanent protection of the Vietnamese armed forces.

We should like, however, to spare the blood of our compatriots and to put an end to the sufferings of those who live in exposed and sometimes bombarded camps on the border.

While Viet Nam unremittingly pursues the war in the stubborn hope of achieving a military solution, which every year grows more faint, the puppet régime of the so-called people's Kampuchea is disintegrating further every day under the irresistible thrust of the patriotic people as a whole and of their national resistance forces. The international media have given thorough accounts of the

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steadily worsening situation in our country and in Viet Nam itself. I should like to quote some revealing excerpts from those press reports.

In The New York Times of 23 December 1985, Ms. Barbara Crossette reported the following:

(spoke in English)

"There is impartial evidence from residents of Phnom Penh that (the guerrillas) are regularly within striking distance of the city. In September, they fired rockets into the capital's central fuel storage depot, a resident of the city said.

"The resident said the explosions had shaken buildings across a wide area. Only the failure of several of the rockets to fire saved the whole depot from destruction, he added."

(continued in French)

The daily newspaper The Nation Review of 16 January 1986 pointed out:

(spoke in English)

"In a rare military briefing for Western journalists, General Trang Cong Man, editor-in-chief of Viet Nam's army newspaper ... admitted that during the current dry season, (the guerrillas) 'harassed' the suburbs of the Kampuchean capital of Phnom Penh, the important north-western provincial capital of Siemreap and other areas. Such incidents were rare prior to 1984, and large areas of the country previously accessible to foreigners are now off limits for security reasons...."

(continued in French)

Agence France Presse (AFP) reported on 26 March 1986:

"Cambodia's pro-Vietnamese authorities are using Buddhist monasteries and temples for propaganda meetings to promote their army in a recruitment

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drive..... That campaign, also the subject of a circular from the Cambodian Communist Party's Central Committee, was launched as the Phnom Penh army was apparently encountering discipline problems."

According to the AFP report, the circular requested that local authorities organize meetings intended

"to disseminate information on the armed forces' role and the entire population's defence duties".

AFP stressed that

"This appeal indirectly confirmed statements from Thailand and the anti-Vietnamese Cambodian resistance that desertions had recently taken place in the Phnom Penh army Phnom Penh's military publication, Revolutionary Army, in February shed a little light on problems of discipline and numbers, criticizing a number of unspecified units and commanders for a lack of enthusiasm and ideological weakness. A well informed source on military affairs in Hanoi recently said that the Phnom Penh troops lacked experience."

The New York Times of 5 April 1986 wrote:

(spoke in English)

"A year after the Vietnamese overran guerrilla camps along the Thai-Cambodian border, (the Khmer resistance forces) are increasing their activity in almost every Cambodian province, according to guerrilla leaders and diplomats.

"Reports reach Thailand of guerrilla strikes, some close to Phnom Penh. Several diplomats suggest that the Vietnamese ... (are) secure in garrisons, but did not control the countryside

"An unusual confirmation of the seriousness of the situation inside

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Cambodia has come from the Soviet newspaper Pravda. A report from the Cambodian press agency (of the Phnom Penh régime) said that Soviet economic aid will be doubled over the next five years. According to Soviet figures, aid last year totalled 138.6 million dollars. Disruption caused by the guerrilla war is adding to the already severe economic problems of Cambodia, it was reported in Pravda, which added that in the countryside, the Cambodian Communist Party was attracting few members despite programmes of ideological education"

(continued in French)

The magazine The Economist of 19 April 1986 wrote:

(spoke in English)

"The Government of Heng Samrin, with the help of the Vietnamese soldiers who have been sitting in his country since 1978, is still trying to get a grip on Kampuchea. The grip keeps slipping In the winter of 1984-85, the Vietnamese wiped out a string of guerrilla camps along Kampuchea's border with Thailand The guerrillas are back in business. Brigadier-General Tran Cong Man, the editor-of-chief of Vietnam's army newspaper, reckons there are now 8,000 - 12,000 of them in Kampuchea. A communist diplomat in the capital, Phnom Penh, puts the figure at 15,000 The guerrillas have become harder to catch"

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In a report published in Le Monde of 4-5 May 1986, Jean-Claude Pomonti wrote as follows:

"It is noted that security measures have been strengthened in Cambodia since the summer of 1985. In August of that year, military service, which is compulsory for men from 18 to 30 years of age, was extended from two years to five years. Around the villages in some provinces fences have been strengthened and a night curfew is being enforced.

"Since that time, police authorization is required for movement between districts. New identity cards have also been distributed. Since January 1986, patrols in Phom Penh have been reinforced and each group of 10 families must provide two men to serve as night guards. Similar measures have been taken in at least some provincial cities ... Heng Samrin, chief of the Phnom Penh régime, has admitted that resistance activities have posed 'complicated problems' for his administration. In a Cambodian Communist Party circular, read out on 3 April over Radio Phnom Penh, he even specified that 'the new manoeuvres of the enemy forces have temporarily caused complicated problems here and there, in this or that department'."

René Backmann, writing in the weekly, Le Nouvel Observateur, of the last week in August 1986, reported the following:

"Four years ago, in April 1982, I was allowed to go across the whole country, from Takeo near the Vietnamese border up to Sisophon at the Thai border. Bridges, railway stations and villages were strictly controlled by Vietnamese and Cambodian soldiers, but traffic was free and heavy. At present, journalists are allowed to go only up to Kompong Speu, about 50 kilometres from the capital, and those wishing to go to Siemreap and Angkor must take an Air Kampuchea Antonov 24 aircraft, flown by a Soviet crew. The roads are no longer safe.

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"Lack of security, resulting mainly from the activities [of the resistance forces] starts at the gates of Phnom Penh ... It is clear that they" - the national resistance forces - "are able to strike almost everywhere outside the towns. They mine roads, fire rocket-launchers at trucks and trains ... 'It is true that the military situation is not good,' admitted a Vietnamese official, who received me in the cool living room of a villa somewhere in Phnom Penh and who refused to be identified. 'The situation is not easy for us here. We have made a number of blunders, and we shall make them again, certainly. And you will not be convinced if I tell you that we are loved by everybody' ...

"The health of the population is poor. Pulmonary diseases, malaria, parasitosis and malnutrition wreak havoc. 'Infant mortality remains very high, in particular because of tuberculosis,' noted Dr. Sau Sokhonn, director of the 7 January Hospital. At the National Centre for Sanitation and Epidemiology ... Dr. Khun Ngeth spoke to me at great length about the theoretical role of his department and finally confessed that out of 1.35 million children aged under five only 63,000 had been vaccinated against tuberculosis. And yet vaccines have been provided by UNICEF. ...

"The drawers of my room at the Monorom Hotel are always lined with old issues of Pravda. Five or six cinemas have reopened their doors; they screen Soviet or Vietnamese films in auditoriums that are three quarters empty.

"Soviet 'experts', always in groups, in their grey Volgas or minibuses, are now less circumspect than they were four years ago. ... The Vietnamese colony seems to be growing. In addition to 'advisers' in white short-sleeved shirts and soldiers in olive green uniforms ... we now come across housewives in traditional black trousers, bright tunics and cone-shaped hats shopping in the towns ...

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"Black market pharmacists from O Russei markets, who sold medicines stolen from State stocks - provided by UNICEF - or clandestinely imported, have become quasi-official pharmacists, selling on the black market all the medicines that are missing from the hospitals. ... Health Ministry personnel divert medicines provided by UNICEF. ... Doctors with a monthly salary of 300 riels desert their hospital posts to give consultations in their apartments.

"The war continues, and it costs dear, in men and money. Soviet and Vietnamese experts are paid in dollars ...

"The decision to call up men aged 16 to 30 for three years' military service, then to round up for three months tens of thousands of civilians to clear areas close to roads and lay mine fields along the Thai border, has been very unpopular, especially when the 'volunteers' have come back to Phnom Penh bringing with them a particularly resistant form of malaria which has claimed a heavy toll. Soldiers with limbs amputated, victims of mine explosions, begging for rice at the doors of restaurants are a constant reminder to the population that the war is at the gates of the capital.

"Today the future seems to be blocked and the diplomatic 'quarantine' which has already lasted for seven years, is becoming more and more intolerable to the [puppet] leaders of Kampuchea. Shut off from the outside world ... the country struggles on in a state of impenetrable torpor, filled with sadness, resignation and dreams. At the airport, the customs officer who checked my luggage before my departure saw that I had with me letters for Cambodians who had emigrated to France. He frowned, then smiled and asked me whether I could take his letters too ..."

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The occupation of Kampuchea - and of Laos - has drained Viet Nam's scanty human and material resources, so that its internal difficulties are now glaringly obvious.

In an article published on 5 May 1986 in the daily newspaper Nhan Dan, and in the Communist Review, the theoretical organ of Viet Nam's Communist Party, Mr. Le Duc Tho, number two and "strong man" of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, wrote as follows:

"Many among the cadres and Party members, realizing the economic difficulties and the difficult living conditions of the people, are concerned about how we are going to extricate ourselves from this difficult situation, and in general about our country's future ... Such things as corruption, smuggling, self-enrichment, dissolute and depraved behaviour, over-indulgence in food and wine and bare-faced bribery are widespread among cadres and Party members ... everywhere and at every level. This causes a great waste of production, loss to the people and degeneration among cadres and Party members, and has reduced the confidence of the masses. Never before in our Party has there been such a lowering of the standards of virtue and in the way of life ..."

The international prestige won by Viet Nam through the blood shed by its people in a just struggle waged over several decades has now melted away in the furnace of its anachronistic colonialist policy.

Viet Nam is facing ever growing difficulties, and we have tried once again to make the leaders in Hanoi understand that it is clearly in their interest to negotiate with their adversaries, namely the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea.

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It was with that aim in mind that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, on 17 March last, put forward to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam an eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea, a proposal which is in line with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and with the Declaration adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in July 1981. I wish to recall briefly those eight points. They are:

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First, negotiation between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea within a definite time frame. We accept a two-phased withdrawal of Vietnamese forces.

Second, after the agreement on the withdrawal there will be a cease-fire.

Third, both the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the cease-fire will be supervised by a United Nations observer group.

Fourth, after the first phase of Vietnamese troop withdrawal, Heng Samrin and his faction will take part in a coalition government of Kampuchea which will then become quadripartite, with each of the four parties having the same rights as political forces in the national community.

Fifth, the quadripartite coalition government of Kampuchea will hold free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

Sixth, Kampuchea will become an independent country, united within in its own territorial integrity, having a liberal democratic régime, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned without any foreign base. Its neutrality will be guaranteed by the United Nations.

Seventh, Kampuchea welcomes all countries from West and East, neutral and non-aligned, to help rebuild the country.

Eighth, Kampuchea is willing to sign with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, and to establish economic and trade relations with it.

This proposal has been given broad support by the international community, in particular China, the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Japan, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, the European

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Economic Community (EEC), and the overwhelming majority of non-aligned and third world countries. However, it has been rejected outright by Viet Nam and, with some embarrassment, by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Yet, this is an equitable and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea, testifying to the utmost flexibility and open-mindedness of our Government. Should Viet Nam reconsider its hasty and absurd refusal, this proposal would allow not only the restoration of peace to our country but also the end of the political, economic and diplomatic isolation - almost insoluble so far - in which Viet Nam has been driven.

As soon as Viet Nam agrees to withdraw its troops from Cambodia, Khmer national reconciliation will come true. For the present war is not a civil war; it is the result of the Vietnamese invasion. I have already said that the Heng Samrin army has been co-operating fraternally with the Resistance army in the field. As for the military and civilian officials of the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, they are Khmers like us. Should they wish to see their homeland with us, we will offer them not only immunity from reprisals for having worked under the occupiers' orders but, furthermore, the assurance that they will share with us the same rights as free citizens and possibly administrative and even State responsibilities.

Our people have suffered too much from those long years of war and misery to deprive themselves of the co-operation of any of their sons, provided it is a loyal one.

We have learnt from tragic experiences of the past that the national unity of the Khmers is a vital necessity. The one and only way to our survival is therefore national reconciliation within an appropriate social, economic and political framework, that is, in a liberal parliamentary régime which will bring us peace,

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independence, territorial integrity, non-alignment, as well as a neutrality guaranteed by the United Nations, and a sincere co-operation with all countries based on peaceful coexistence.

As far as Viet Nam is concerned, it would have its protégés take part in a quadripartite government entrusted with organizing free and United Nations-supervised elections, and enjoy the same rights as other Khmer citizens. Our neutrality would assure Hanoi that no foreign base can be installed on Khmer soil, and that no foreign Power can claim any dominant influence over our country.

Moreover, as soon as a Khmer Government is formed after the general elections, independent Cambodia will propose to Viet Nam the signing of a treaty of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, and the establishment of friendly and peaceful mutual relations - a treaty which will be opened to all western, eastern and third world countries.

Thus, Cambodia and Viet Nam would consequently be able to live and prosper side by side, without hatred or a spirit of revenge.

I would add that, for the whole of South-East Asia and the Pacific, reconciliation between Cambodia and Viet Nam would remove all threats to peace, security and stability in the region. We know how much our friends in ASEAN wish to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, known as ZOPFAN - a wish that remains unfulfilled because of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. The adoption of our eight-point peace proposal would pave the way to the establishment of such a zone, which would be beneficial to all countries in the region - including, of course, Viet Nam.

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The international community represented in this Assembly is perfectly aware of all these prospects. It has therefore granted us broad and firm support. On behalf of our people and Government and on my own behalf, I express my heartfelt gratitude for this support.

Legally, the rejection of our proposal by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is inexplicable. So is it in actual fact, since our opponent claims that he wants to "negotiate" in order to put an end to the conflict and that he desires nothing but a "negotiated solution".

The Hanoi Government up to now has had a strange way of considering this solution. It first claims that the régime it has installed in Phnom Penh is "the sole legal and legitimate representative of Kampuchea", that it has "the entire country under its control", and that it "enjoys the support of the whole Khmer people". It claims that Viet Nam further intends to pursue a "constructive dialogue" with the ASEAN countries to resolve "the problem of peace, stability and co-operation" in South-East Asia. With regard to Kampuchea, it finally asserts that it is up to the different factions of our country to "negotiate with one another".

I should like to state once again that the ongoing conflict in Cambodia is not a civil war, but a war of aggression waged against an independent and sovereign State Member of the United Nations. In addressing ourselves to Viet Nam and proposing a particularly generous peace plan to it, we address ourselves to the only party responsible for this conflict, to the one on which peace or war depends.

Representatives in this Assembly Hall are quite well aware that the Phnom Penh régime cannot be considered the "legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea".

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Installed immediately after the fall of our capital city and composed of elements trained ideologically in Hanoi or owing allegiance to it, this régime controls nothing, not even itself, for it is placed under permanent control of Vietnamese cadres at every military and civilian level. As for the Khmer troops forcibly enlisted by the occupiers, I repeat: they cause us no harm, since they are openly opposed to their Vietnamese masters and help the Resistance forces whenever possible.

In trying - vainly - to dodge the real problem of Kampuchea, Viet Nam hopes to make people forget the presence of its armed forces in our country and to maintain them there for ever. In its talks with the ASEAN countries the Hanoi Government does what it can to make them rubber-stamp the fait accompli and to negotiate with them as if there were no occupation of Cambodia.

Now, if our ASEAN friends sincerely wish to resume correct relations with Viet Nam, they are too realistic and aware of their interests to accept this situation which is of legitimate concern to them. They say that if they allow a small country like Cambodia to be "swallowed up" by the Vietnamese, then each of their nations will be exposed to the expansionist threat of a warmongering and over-armed Power, with a population of 60 million and determined not to abide by its commitments and treaties.

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Furthermore, no one in the world believes the Vietnamese propaganda regarding partial and gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, knowing that the so-called withdrawal is simply rotation to replace exhausted, ill or wounded soldiers by fresh troops, which are actually reinforcements.

As for the renewed solemn proclamation by Hanoi that it would withdraw all its armed forces from Kampuchea by 1990, provided - it has said - those withdrawals "are not taken advantage of to undermine the security and peace of Kampuchea", we have already made it clear that that is nothing more than a purely rhetorical formula, namely, the pax vietnamica in Kampuchea with the permanent presence of Vietnamese forces. That was confirmed by Ms. Barbara Crossette in The New York Times of 5 January 1986.

(spoke in English)

"... Hanoi has said it hopes to withdraw its troops by 1990. Today, however, when asked if there was any hope of settling the military situation in Cambodia sooner than that, General Man was not optimistic. 'The fighting must continue for some time', he said. 'It is not possible to stop soon.' The General said that the Khmer resistance forces had been using more artillery in attacks against the Vietnamese"

(continued in French)

In the face of the irresistible development of our patriotic resistance, the Vietnamese Ambassador to Phnom Penh, Ngo Dien, really acting as a proconsul, declared to the special correspondent of The Economist in Phnom Penh in that magazine's issue of 19 April 1986:

(spoke in English)

"We may have to return if Kampuchea is menaced in the future."

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(continued in French)

The Vietnamese are already talking of coming back to Kampuchea though they have never left.

As can be seen, so long as Viet Nam refuses to end its war of invasion and occupation in Kampuchea, the Khmer people and their coalition government have no alternative but to pursue the struggle for the nation's survival. They are encouraged by the ever firmer and broader support of the international community. If it were otherwise, there would indeed no longer be a "problem of Kampuchea" but in a few generations - perhaps in several decades - Cambodia would have vanished from the map of the world. Overwhelmed by the growing influx of Vietnamese settlers - more than 700,000 at the present time - its people would have become a minority on their own soil. Not only are virtually all the traders, fishermen, stock-breeders and planters Vietnamese but an increasing number of Vietnamese farmers are occupying our richest lands, leaving to the Khmer peasants only unproductive land.

We do not expect miracles from this International Year of Peace but only that it may offer an opportunity for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to think about the consequences of its ambition, which has already brought about so much bloodshed, misfortune and suffering to our people as well as to its own people. It is certain that an equitable settlement of the Khmer-Vietnamese dispute would set a valuable example for all countries the world over which are having difficulties with their neighbours and wish to settle them without recourse to arms. I am sure that an appreciable step would thus be made towards good understanding and reconciliation between nations.

Today, unfortunately, the international situation is marked by growing tensions, with local and regional conflicts worsening, terrorism escalating, and

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crises heavily affecting developing countries. Hundreds of millions of people in various regions of the world are facing misery and famine while rich, producing countries do not know what to do with their agricultural surpluses. Everybody speaks of peace, disarmament and development while the arms race continues unabated, in a climate of generalized suspicion.

It is not with words that we shall build peace and improve the human condition, which remains the sacred aspiration of all peoples, but rather through strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries through the peaceful settlement of disputes and the implementation of the sacrosanct principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Those principles are clearly set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, which we have solemnly pledged to abide by and implement.

Let us take a look around the world.

Despite the patriotic efforts of African Governments, Africa is still facing serious difficulties, aggravated by the world economic crisis. There is abject poverty almost everywhere and the survival of millions of Africans in several countries is at stake. At its thirteenth special session the General Assembly adopted by consensus an important programme aimed at stepping up co-operation and increasing aid and support to the African Governments which are in trouble despite their courage, to help them in their efforts to bring about the structural transformation of their countries with a view to achieving quick, self-sufficient and autonomous development. The adoption of this programme shows that it is possible to mobilize States from all continents, despite their political differences, to join in a common effort to fight against natural disasters, misery and famine. That is indeed a bold initiative, one that goes far beyond direct aid, in particular in terms of food, to which the aid of developed countries to the most underprivileged has for too long been limited.

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The people and Government of Kampuchea have always had cordial and fraternal relations with the African peoples and nations which have valiantly struggled as we have for independence, freedom and national identity. Today the Government of Democratic Kampuchea continues - and will continue still more in the future - to the best of its limited means to make a contribution to Africa's victory over misery and famine and to its success on the way to development and progress.

The real trouble spot on that continent is still southern Africa, where the Pretoria régime continues to oppress the large majority black population, to occupy Namibia illegally, to deny the Namibian people their right to self-determination and to pursue activities of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States.

We are convinced that the only remedy for the abhorrent régime of apartheid is its eradication. We are of the opinion that global economic sanctions against the Pretoria régime would hasten the establishment of a multiracial, egalitarian and democratic society. The elimination of the apartheid régime would further contribute to the peaceful, just and lasting solution of the problem of the decolonization of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), as called for recently by the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session, on the question of Namibia. So long as the policy of apartheid continues to be carried out and so long as Namibia continues to be occupied, its neighbouring States will continue to be the victims of acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization on the part of the Pretoria régime. The Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa of 20 June 1986 expresses the sense of revulsion of the international community in the face of the arrogant challenge of the Pretoria régime to world condemnation of apartheid.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

Our heartfelt and unwavering support goes to the valiant South African people, victims of the worst violence, and to their real leaders, most of whom are undergoing hardship in prison, to the Namibian people and their leaders in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and to all the peoples and Governments of the front-line States.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

In Chad, the situation remains serious and can be solved only through the withdrawal of all foreign forces of occupation from the national territory. We renew our fraternal support for the just struggle of the Chadian people and Government to realize national union and the territorial unity of their motherland.

In the Middle East, the parties concerned are still far from sitting at the same negotiating table. We deplore the denial of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, without which the region will be nothing more than a powder keg, and we continue firmly to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Arabs of Palestine.

In Lebanon, the fate of the nation is in the hands of its sons and daughters. It is our earnest hope that that country, once called the Switzerland of the Middle East, will succeed in overcoming its differences and hatreds and that the Lebanese people can find national concord. Needless to say, we want all foreign hostages to be liberated.

Despite the repeated calls of the international community for peace, the Iran-Iraq conflict today remains the bloodiest in the world. The human and material losses are high, and the conflict threatens to spill over to neighbouring States. We urge neighbouring and fraternal States to follow the path of peaceful, just and honourable settlement of the conflict in the interests of their peoples and to the satisfaction of all their friends the world over.

In Central America, the Contadora Group, backed by the Support Group, has ceaselessly stepped up initiatives aimed at finding a political and peaceful solution to the problems of the region. The Presidents of the five Central American countries on 25 May last voiced their will to pursue the search for peace and democracy within the framework of the Contadora Group. We wish them every success in their noble undertaking despite the serious difficulties still blocking their way.

(President Norodom Sihanouk)

In Asia, our continent, the situation in Korea has remained explosive for almost 35 years. The division of the country continues. Reunification of the fatherland remains the unanimous and sacred wish of all Koreans. In order to achieve that goal it is necessary to continue to build, through meetings and talks in every field between the delegations of both parties, mutual confidence and understanding that will lead to a meeting between the parliamentary delegations of the National Assemblies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea in accordance with the wise, realistic and patriotic proposals formulated by President Kim Il Sung. It is our hope that those meetings and talks, which in 1985 resulted in encouraging results, will resume without hindrance and expand for the good of the whole Korean nation and people within a sustained process aimed at the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean fatherland.

In Afghanistan, a heroic people has for seven years been waging fierce and indomitable resistance against the Soviet invaders and the régime in their service, which is itself torn by internal rifts.

Hiding behind orchestrated propaganda supposedly favouring disarmament, peace and international security, the Soviet Union ruthlessly bombards the civilian population without any distinction, razes villages to the ground, tortures and executes opponents of the régime that has been imposed by Moscow. Nearly 4 million citizens of the unfortunate country of Afghanistan have been compelled to take refuge in Iran and Pakistan.

Yet it is obvious that despite the increase in Soviet forces having at their disposal a great number of tanks, aircraft and helicopters as well as seasoned troops, and despite the discrepancy in forces and weapons, the successes scored by the Afghan resistance on the ground should make the Soviets understand that, whatever price they may pay, their victims will never let themselves be subjugated.

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The Soviet Union should arrive at the wise conclusion that it is not by repeatedly changing its puppets in Kabul that it will succeed in persuading the international community to accept the fait accompli in that country.

An indispensable and lasting peace can be restored only on the basis of the just United Nations resolutions which call, just as in the case of our Cambodia, for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and exercise by the Afghan people of its inalienable right to self-determination.

As long as the Soviet Union delays the restoration of that peace, the Mujahideens will have no choice but to continue their patriotic struggle against the occupiers. And the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, whose very noble and generous compassion towards the Afghan people should be emphasized, also has no choice but to defend its threatened sovereignty and repeatedly violated territorial integrity. The Khmer people and its Coalition Government will continue their total support for and solidarity with that just struggle.

As for our neighbour to the north, our Lao brothers and sisters are waging a difficult but very courageous struggle against Viet Nam, which has absorbed their motherland through the so-called treaty of friendship and co-operation signed in July 1977. In our struggle against a common enemy and for the same cause, we continue to grant them our unwavering support and fraternal solidarity.

May I be permitted to express my warmest thanks for the Assembly's attention throughout my statement.

The General Assembly of the United Nations is the only place in the world where all countries, from the biggest to the smallest, from the most powerful to the weakest, can freely speak of their problems in the certainty of being listened to, and sometimes heard. That is why we Khmers, overwhelmed with difficulties and

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having only the comfort of our conscience and your understanding, feel so much at home here.

I should like to thank you for this noble understanding as well as for your compassion towards a people that in this hour of misfortune counts on you for its survival.

The PRESIDENT: 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. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): When the General Assembly adjourned last year, at the end of its fortieth anniversary session, there was hope that the renewed commitment to the ideals of the United Nations expressed by so many of its Members would contribute to a rapid restoration of confidence in our Organization, create the momentum for a process of reform, and become a real turning point in the crisis of the United Nations

One year later, and despite a number of noteworthy new departures, not many of the hopes of the fortieth session of the General Assembly have been fulfilled, and all too many symptoms of crisis remain, not the least of which is what we perceive to be a continuing erosion of the world-wide system of international organizations, and of the process of multilateral diplomacy.

We are called upon therefore once again to turn our energies and imagination towards the renewal and revitalization of the world's only global instrument for the maintenance of peace and security, and for its effective and concerted use in addressing a world of continuing political and economic crisis.

If the United Nations continues to be in a state of crisis, it is also because many of the principles and objectives on which it was built have fallen into neglect, and not the least among them is the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the patient search for compromise between nations.

We still find an alarming tendency to overstate national power, and national interests have led to an increasing pursuit of unilateral policies by nations large and small. Military rather than political means continue to be used in dealing with world and regional conflicts. Many of the barriers erected against the use of force in international relations after 1945 seem to have collapsed. The

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political crisis of the United Nations is therefore also the crisis of an organization created for the peaceful settlement of disputes but faced by militarization of world politics.

A new and indeed most brutal form of violence has emerged lately: the violence of international terrorism. More than other forms of violence it attacks the very fibre of international relations. It is a new scourge of mankind. It cannot be justified under any circumstances or for any reason. International co-operation to combat international terrorism must be further intensified.

In the demilitarization of world politics, the reduction of the increased levels of the use of force and military power in world politics, and in the fight against international terrorism, the role of the United Nations appears indispensable.

Thus disarmament and arms control must retain the highest priority on the world's agenda. New and radical approaches to disarmament and arms control must be adopted. Many types of weapons, old and new, should be totally abolished. Such a ban, as that applied to biological weapons, for instance, should also eradicate chemical weapons. Deep cuts should be made in the existing arsenals of nuclear weapons. Development of new types of such weapons should be discouraged. Therefore Austria considers the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, for instance, as a pivotal element in the existing system of arms control treaties. Finally, a comprehensive test ban is required.

Outer space should remain an environment preserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. More areas, such as Antarctica, should remain free of weapons of all kinds. We therefore subscribe to the philosophy of creating nuclear-free zones.*

*Mr. FERM (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

The summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to address questions of this magnitude, announced just this morning, has universal support. Its importance for an easing of tensions and for the preparation of new and substantial disarmament and arms control agreements can hardly be overstated. We trust that the combined wisdom of President Reagan and Secretary-General Gorbachev will not disappoint the community of nations.

On 4 November Foreign Ministers of 35 nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, will convene in Vienna to open the third follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

This Conference, over the past years, has established a useful regional framework for constructive dialogue and agreement, comprising all areas of East-West relations: economic, cultural, political, humanitarian and military.

Its excellent past record is due not least to the fact that the conference offers equal opportunities for nations, large and small, to participate. Neutral and non-aligned nations of Europe have found an increasingly useful role in this context. The positive and substantive results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which ended only a few days ago, augur well in this regard. The Vienna meeting should in our minds, therefore, be a starting point for a new era of co-operation and mutual understanding in, but also beyond, Europe.

Three international conferences held this year, one of them in Austria's capital, have provided one single lesson: the South African Government can only avoid further escalation of violence and bloodshed through a dramatic and definitive reversal of its policies. We do not feel, unfortunately, that South Africa has come to read the writing on the wall.

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Therefore, the determination of an overwhelming majority of States Members of this Organization, not least of which are the Western industrialized democracies, to adopt further sanctions as a last peaceful means of pressure for change, is growing every day.

Austria remains firmly committed to the cause of the freedom and dignity of the peoples of southern Africa. We shall not hesitate therefore to participate in further international efforts to dismantle the heinous system of apartheid and to win freedom and independence for Namibia. In abolishing apartheid, and in winning independence for Namibia, the United Nations has an indispensable role spelled out not least in Security Council resolution 435 adopted as long ago as 1978. Here, as in many other regards, the United Nations has made important contributions to the search for peace in the world.

More than once the United Nations has contributed to the painful search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Resolution 242 (1967) constitutes to this day the most widely recognized framework for a peaceful settlement. United Nations peace-keeping operations continue to play an essential role in the Middle East. But the peace-keeping and the peace-making potential of the United Nations in this region has never been fully exploited, and it seems particularly neglected today.

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It is from the United Nations that some of the most elementary principles for a just and durable solution have emerged - such as the right of all States to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries; the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by force; and the need to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and to give its representatives, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their place at the conference table.

In this context the idea of holding an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations has been gaining ground. Austria - as it did as long ago as 1973, when it was a member of the Security Council and when the Geneva Conference on the Middle East was established by the Security Council and convened - supports efforts to promote agreement between the parties on this important step to peace in the Middle East.

The war between Iran and Iraq, now in its seventh year, has caused immense loss of human life. Its continuation is threatening not only the political stability but also the economic development of a whole region of the world. Determined measures to end this cruel war are long overdue. We think that as a first step a general and strict arms embargo should be considered by the Security Council. Pending a decision by the Council, all countries should observe such an embargo on a voluntary basis.

In our view, the present situation in Central America calls for utmost restraint from all sides. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States must be universal. The principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention cannot be applied selectively. Relations between States must be conducted on the basis of international law. At the same time, it is our firm belief that all Governments of the region must fully respect and safeguard the human rights and fundamental freedoms of those who are under their jurisdiction.

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We share the expectation of the Contadora countries and their Support Group that efforts made by Governments to arrive at political dialogue and national reconciliation will do much to create pluralistic democratic societies in Central America and will substantially increase the likelihood of a successful outcome of peace initiatives. A Contadora regional peace treaty, signed and implemented in full by all the countries concerned, offers the best hope for peace and for lasting respect for the security and sovereign rights of all the nations of Central America.

On the other hand, over the past years democracy has been on the march in much of the great continent of South America. Thus, the proclamation of new states of emergency and the taking of political prisoners constitute regrettable anomalies that should be rapidly relinquished.

Peace in South-East Asia remains an elusive goal. The unresolved problem of Kampuchea, its occupation by foreign troops, appears to be the major obstacle dividing the peoples of the region. In Austria's view, only a political process based on the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea can lead to a just settlement.

Almost seven years have passed since the military intervention in Afghanistan. We remain deeply concerned about the continuing occupation of this traditionally non-aligned country and the violation of its sovereignty. The suffering of millions of refugees must not be forgotten. Any solution must enable these refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. We therefore support the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in his search for a political settlement.

The situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the world presents a contradictory picture today. Arbitrary executions, torture, the denial of fundamental rights, racism and intolerance still prevail in many countries. What

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is lacking today is not international instruments but their faithful implementation. Let us, all together, co-operate to reduce the gap between norms and reality. Efforts of the United Nations and of regional organizations, such as the Council of Europe, should be supported.

Striking imbalances still prevail in the world economy: The growth rate in many developing countries - with few exceptions - lags significantly behind their population growth. Commodity prices are at their lowest level historically since 1945. Most commodity agreements seem to be close to collapsing. The debt problem weighs heavily on many developing countries, especially in Africa and Latin America.

This situation contains dangerous prospects for global economic growth. In view of the considerable decline in net capital flows to developing countries, we are faced with the serious, and, I would add, shameful, anomaly that at present a net flow of financial resources on the order of many billions of United States dollars annually - the exact figure is a subject of controversy among experts, but this is the order of magnitude - is taking place from the South to the North, instead of from the North to the South. Living standards in many parts of the world actually continue to decline.

Thus, it is more than obvious that many development concepts of the past have failed. A fundamental rethinking of the many interrelated issues of development, trade and finance is required. And many issues that appear technical or purely economic on the surface are actually deeply political - the debt problem amongst them. Reliance on short-term solutions largely neglecting social and economic effects in the economies and the social structures of developing countries is therefore a dangerous proposition.

Instruments for international co-operation must be strengthened if we wish to meet the challenges of a rapidly evolving world economy. In this context the

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successful outcome of the meeting at Punta del Este - especially the recognition of special, more favourable treatment of developing countries - appears encouraging.

After years of stalemate in the North-South dialogue the special session on Africa seemed to signal a change of atmosphere. My country will contribute actively towards the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990. But the North-South relationship remains the central social issue of our time. New political approaches, based on the principles of equality and international solidarity, are required.

We must preserve our planet for future generations. Threats to its ecological balance, to the global environment must be met. More resources than before must be pooled, nationally and internationally, to meet this challenge. Let us therefore apply our imagination towards creative approaches, which could include, inter alia, the establishment of a global environmental emergency fund, possibly in the form of a new "window" of the World Bank.

Narcotic drugs are a dangerous problem of global proportions. The convening of a world conference to combat drug abuse and the illegal traffic in drugs is therefore a very timely initiative. Austria will do its very best to contribute to the success of this major event, to be held in Vienna in the summer of 1987.

Whether this year's session of the General Assembly will be judged as a success or a failure will largely depend on how we tackle the Organization's crisis - on how we tackle its crisis - on how we deal with its administrative and budgetary reform. In this context, the report of the Group of 18 represents a valuable contribution to our debate. Austria believes that the continuation of this process of reflection and reform is essential.

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A part of this problem - which is of crucial importance for the Organization - seems to be the question of a new mechanism in the area of programme planning and budget. But let us not forget, in all this process of reform, that we vitally need the United Nations as a strong and constructive force in an increasingly interdependent world. An appeal should therefore be addressed to all Member States to meet loyally all obligations flowing from the Charter, in order to strengthen the United Nations.

Allow me to say a few words about Austria's relations with Italy. Austria entertains good and friendly relations with this important neighbouring country. In this context, the question of the South Tyrol is of special importance. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 and 1961 led, in 1969, to an agreement between Austria and Italy on a new framework for the autonomy of the South Tyrol.

Today - this very day - we observe the fortieth anniversary of the conclusion of the Paris Agreement between Austria and Italy, signed by two great statesmen, Alcide de Gasperi and Karl Gruber. This agreement aims at protecting the German speaking population in the South Tyrol. This anniversary should remind us that, notwithstanding the major progress achieved so far, essential autonomy provisions agreed upon in 1969 remain yet to be implemented. This applies in particular to a centre-piece of autonomy, the use of the German language in court and in police and civil proceedings, causing continuing and justified concern among South Tyroleans and the Austrian Government.

In this regard arrangements have been envisaged some two weeks ago by South Tyrolean representatives and the Government of Italy. They offer hope that final agreement by the Italian Government will follow soon. Our expectations have been

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further heightened by the recent declaration of Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti that the Italian Government intends to enact all other remaining provisions for this autonomy as soon as possible.

Before concluding, let me pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. Austria is deeply grateful to Mr. Perez de Cuellar for his untiring efforts in carrying out an often difficult mandate. My country will continue to support him.

We gratefully remember the able conduct of last year's session of the General Assembly by its President, Ambassador Jaime de Piniés of Spain.

May I say, finally, that a most outstanding representative of Asia now presides over the Assembly. I sincerely congratulate him upon his election and wish him every success. His well-established diplomatic skills certainly assure us that this will be a memorable session of the Assembly in the annals of the United Nations.

Mr. VARKONYI (Hungary): I should like first to join preceding speakers in congratulating Ambassador Choudhury of Bangladesh upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. He can rest assured of the constructive co-operation and support of the Hungarian delegation in his responsible work.

May I recall that a year ago, on the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, we carried out a comprehensive analysis of the activities of the Organization over the past decades and its role in the system of international politics. In my view, the fact that on that occasion the representatives of Member States, including the Hungarian People's Republic, unanimously reaffirmed their countries' commitment to the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter is of great significance for both the current session and the future of the Organization. At that time, we all expressed our interest and

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willingness to co-operate in the work of this unique and irreplaceable forum of world politics, guided as we were by this spirit in calling for efforts to increase its effectiveness and to enhance its prestige.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that today the world Organization is faced with tasks that are even greater and more complex than the founders of the United Nations could foresee. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war today means to prevent nuclear war, to save mankind as a whole, to ensure its survival and to preserve human civilization. It is our firm conviction that nuclear war can be avoided, and the United Nations has a significant part to play in this regard. But the world Organization can fulfil its mission only if its Member States follow the path determined by the principles and purposes proclaimed at the time of its inception. In the current tense international situation this path cannot be the dangerous policy of confrontation, the continuation of the arms race, the expansion of unequal and discriminatory economic relations and, in general, the creation of conditions more unworthy of twentieth-century man than at any time during the past 40 years. We must advance along the path of equal and fruitful co-operation if we are to see the principles enshrined in the Charter prevail.

My Government was guided precisely by the intention of implementing these very principles, by the need to create up-to-date conditions for the attainment of the lofty purposes embodied in them, and by the interdependence of the States of the world when, together with the Governments of nine other Member States, it addressed a letter to the Secretary-General proposing the inclusion on the agenda of the issue of establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security. When we proposed the drawing up of a document summarizing the basic principles that are to govern the creation of a security system embracing all domains of

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international relations, we initiated joint efforts to lay the foundations of wide-ranging international co-operation, instead of confrontation and distrust, which still manifest themselves with recurrent frequency in inter-State relations. For we are convinced that in our age the security of no single State can be guaranteed to the detriment of others. Accordingly, we maintain that international security should also be conceived in its complexity, in its relationship to political, military, economic and humanitarian factors. This approach often requires the reappraisal of our earlier positions and, by adopting views in accord with the precepts of the time, a joint search for solutions to problems acceptable to all.

An excellent framework for this pursuit is, in our view, provided by the activities of the United Nations which embrace nearly all fields of international co-operation, in which we have the opportunity to co-ordinate the interests of all States concerned.

Trends towards confrontation and détente are simultaneously at work in international politics. The controversial international situation is fraught with grave tensions, while mankind is at the crossroads. We hope that the trend of détente and international co-operation will again prevail in the not too distant future. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is working towards that end. In these endeavours, it is encouraging for us to note that the world is becoming increasingly aware of the fact that contradictions and problems cannot be solved by the policy of force. We are therefore convinced that the forty-first session of the General Assembly will contribute considerably to strengthening the positive trends in international politics.

The prevailing world situation requires every Member State to redouble its efforts, for all countries have a duty to do everything they can to halt and reverse the unfavourable tendencies threatening the future of all mankind.

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In this regard the activities of the great Powers which bear special responsibility for the fate of the world are of outstanding significance. Therefore the international community welcomed the Geneva meeting last year of the top leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, which, in a sense, was the starting point of some positive phenomena experienced since in Soviet-American relations and in world politics in general. We continue to follow with great attention and expectation the developments in those two countries' relations and hope that their contacts will finally lead in the not-too-distant future to another summit which will have a favourable impact on the future of mankind. We are convinced that tensions and distrust can be removed from the relations between the two great Powers only by constructive and substantive talks conducive to the reduction of the stockpiles of weapons, disarmament and broad co-operation based on mutual benefit.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is sincerely convinced that the initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty member States regarding the elimination of weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century and the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe provide a good basis for maintaining the military balance between the opposing systems of alliance at the lowest possible level. In order to start the process of reduction, all disarmament forums should be utilized and no single chance for mutually acceptable compromise must be missed.

We consider the moratorium on nuclear tests unilaterally announced by the Soviet Union more than a year ago and extended several times since to be of outstanding importance in this context. It is encouraging to note that broad segments of the world public take a common stand in favour of the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests on the one hand and against the stockpiling of different types of nuclear weapons and the extension of the arms race to outer

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space on the other. In our view this proves convincingly that the need for secure coexistence and co-operation among countries with different interests and social systems has become an imperative of our time. We believe that every Member State should recognize the urgent necessity of curbing the arms race and should act accordingly, in the interest of all mankind as well as of its own people. Therefore we earnestly hope that all States will respond in a constructive spirit to the challenges of the nuclear age and to our proposals aimed at meeting those challenges effectively.

We are aware that the situation of various regions and groups of countries is considerably affected by the international political atmosphere and the general state of international relations, while naturally the international situation is also influenced by the development and problems of those regions. Hungary, like all other countries, cannot remain indifferent to the course of events in geographically distant countries and continents, since we feel the effects of those events indirectly in the overall international situation and directly in our bilateral relations. We are particularly concerned about the acute crisis situations in certain regions. The historical experience of the past four decades is proof that any conflict, local or regional, is bound to pose a grave threat to peace and security, not only in a particular region but also in the world at large. Hence the vital interests of all Member States of the United Nations require the settlement of such conflicts by peaceful means, by way of negotiations.

Today it is more evident than ever before that there is no possibility of the just and lasting settlement of crisis situations other than through constructive negotiations with the participation of all the parties concerned.

The Hungarian People's Republic stands ready to support any initiative towards the elimination of crisis situations. It is convinced that debates on those

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problems, in the United Nations also, should be characterized by a sincere collective search for solutions; by co-operation rather than confrontation. We believe that the arsenal of political means available for the solution of regional conflicts is far from being exhausted. It is in our common interest to seek new ways and means in harmony with the generally accepted principles of international relations.

This applies to all regional problems, including the Middle East crisis, the lasting and just solution of which could result from an international conference, held under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, and preparations for such a conference should be started as soon as possible. It is also true of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, the genuine solution of which is possible only if the senseless seven-year-long war is stopped by peaceful means without any delay; and of the situation around Afghanistan, where in our judgement, the chances of ending the hostilities have improved recently.

The initiatives and efforts of the countries of South-East Asia hold out the hope that the region may become one of peace, co-operation and stability once its problems are solved through joint efforts. Acceptance of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would likewise contribute to the creation of peace and security in the Korean peninsula and to the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea. My Government lends full support to these proposals, as well as to declaring the region a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

We view with increasing concern the latest crisis situation - perhaps one of the most acute of recent years - that in Central America and the Caribbean region, where tension has continued to grow and the acts threatening the sovereignty of the countries in that region have become more serious. We support the sincere pursuit of political solutions in the efforts of the Contadora Group. Encouragement of

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violence and armed intervention, whether direct or indirect, does not solve the problems but, on the contrary, aggravates the situation.

The political and economic problems of Africa go far beyond the boundaries of the continent and can be remedied only by broad and concerted international action. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as the regional organizations, are actively working towards that end. Nevertheless, the situation in the southern part of Africa is becoming more and more dangerous.

The world public unanimously and indignantly condemns the inhuman racist régime of South Africa, its extension to Namibia, which has been illegally occupied for 20 years, and Pretoria's acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States aimed at destabilizing the region. My Government calls for the unconditional implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council on the independence of Namibia and for the speedy elimination of the apartheid régime, which practices serious, massive violation of human rights. We favour the introduction of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa and the implementation of the programme of action for the solution of the problems in the entire region.

The international conventions on human rights, particularly the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the twentieth anniversary of whose adoption is commemorated world-wide this year, are significant landmarks in co-operation within the framework of our world Organization.

The exercise and protection of human rights in Hungary is a basic principle of my country's social system. We, for our part, promote respect for human rights by the development of our political institutions and legislation, by the constant extension of socialist democracy and by the fulfilment of our international obligations.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

We attach great importance to the efforts of the United Nations to eliminate massive, grave violations of human rights and to ensure the exercise of those rights. I should like to emphasize in this context that my Government has established very useful and constructive co-operation with the international bodies which monitor the implementation of international conventions and it believes that adherence to those conventions by as many States as possible would contribute greatly to the universal implementation of human rights.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

Universal implementation of human rights naturally implies the exercise and protection of the rights of nationalities as well. Full and equal participation of all the nationalities living in our country, in the political, economic and cultural life of our society, is an important component of national unity in Hungary. By guaranteeing institutional, democratic frameworks for their existence and the exercise of their collective rights, our State promotes the development of their sense of identity.

Further development and strengthening of multilateral co-operation in human rights and in humanitarian and social issues can, in our view, contribute substantially to the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. It is a fact of life in our time that strengthening the security of States is inseparable from efforts aimed at the implementation of human rights, because the strengthening of international security is followed by the development of inter-State co-operation in the humanitarian field also, and in other spheres. In this endeavour the United Nations itself should continue to play a significant role.

It is an important historical lesson of the past decades that the stronger the economic co-operation among the countries of the world with different social systems, the firmer the basis on which political relations can be built.

Unfortunately, the current situation of the world economy gives no cause for optimism. Ways of averting the adverse effects of the world economic crisis are being sought by many and in many forms. We maintain that only solutions that are acceptable to all countries can be regarded as realistic, workable and constructive. This approach is dictated by our long-term common interest in an equitable and just restructuring of international economic relations, respecting the sovereignty and legitimate interests of all States. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are natural forums for such endeavours.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

The highly important documents adopted by these organizations provide an appropriate basis for the establishment of a system of international economic security. It is high time to initiate efforts to implement the democratic principles that should govern international economic relations, which could serve as a basis for a system based on mutual benefit, non-discrimination, and the principles and practice of mutual trust and reliability. Continuous accommodation of often considerably different economic and political interests is necessary if the world economy and its component parts, the national economies and the economic groups are to be capable of pursuing growth-oriented economic policies in favourable conditions.

My country has a fundamental interest in the creation of a world economic environment that will ensure favourable conditions for the development of international economic co-operation. Such an environment would conduce to the attainment of our economic goals as well. This is yet another reason why we are ready, together with the other State Members of the United Nations, to accept any proposals and to adopt any measures likely to take us closer to the above-mentioned objectives.

In view of its geographical situation, historical traditions and national circumstances, Hungary devotes particular attention to Europe. We are directly and deeply affected by European events, which, in a broader context, naturally form an integral part of world politics.

The experience over a period of more than 10 years with the process of European security and co-operation fills us with hope. True, Europe has not yet seen a profound change in the relationship between the two opposing military-political groupings, and thus far it has been impossible to reduce the irrationally accumulated armed forces and stockpiles of armaments, including the most destructive nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

But the intensity of crises of tension and their harmful consequences have somewhat lessened in relations among European States, and it was within the framework of this process that a significant agreement on reducing the risk of war in Europe was recently reached in Stockholm.

Europe has attained a valuable body of experience in numerous areas of peaceful coexistence, interdependence and co-operation, based on confidence among States with different social systems, States belonging to different military alliances or States that are neutral or non-aligned. Hungary, too, has an excellent record of fruitful experience in this field. The Final Act signed in Helsinki in 1975 by the representatives of the 35 participating States has grown into a special system of East-West relations during the past 10 years. This system has proved, even under conditions of grave tensions during the past decade, that the community of interests is capable of dampening all kinds of differences, serious strains and crises of confidence. The experience gained is therefore also instructive with regard to the development of the whole world political situation.

My country is interested in the continuation of the Helsinki process, and is doing its utmost to promote it. This was demonstrated by the successful organization of the Cultural Forum held in Budapest last fall and by the hundreds of proposals and recommendations submitted on that occasion by participating government delegates and cultural personalities. As regards the direction of the development of co-operation, we hold that all parties should seek to adopt a coherent interpretation of the Final Act, to maintain a balance of emphasis between the three baskets, and to implement the recommendations on a broad scale. The third follow-up meeting is soon to begin in Vienna, the capital city of neutral Austria. We earnestly hope that it will be a significant milestone in the further intensification of co-operation among the participating States.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

In this respect we believe it has become both necessary and possible for Europe to embark upon the road to actual disarmament. The proposals formulated in Budapest by the Warsaw Treaty member States concerning a comprehensive programme for the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe are intended to further this end. We believe that these proposals are realistic, timely, and sufficiently flexible to provide a basis for the start of substantive negotiations. We dare to hope that the Budapest initiative will be instrumental in supplementing the political détente by a military one and will thereby acquire a significance similar to that of the Budapest Appeal of 1969, which led to the Helsinki Conference, a historic event in the life of our continent.

I trust the foregoing has made it clear that the Hungarian People's Republic is shaping its foreign policy and international relations in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Our immediate goal is to ensure the most favourable international conditions possible for our national construction. Consequently, we are striving to take an active share in the efforts aimed at preserving world peace and strengthening international security.

We are seeking genuine co-operation in the political, economic, humanitarian and all other fields with all countries which are ready for such co-operation, which understand the importance of manifold international co-operation on the basis of respect both for each other's rights and interests and for good inter-State relations, and which realize that they have a vital interest in building broader and closer relations, in creating and strengthening confidence among States in all domains of international relations.

The year 1986 is the International Year of Peace. Its appeal for mutual understanding and co-operation has aroused great attention in all countries of the globe, including my own. It is in this spirit that I assure the Assembly that the

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

Hungarian delegation will adopt a constructive approach to all the issues to be discussed in the weeks ahead. It is ready to contribute all it can to the success of the deliberations of the General Assembly and to the efforts to ensure that the forty-first session will bring tangible results in preserving world peace, improving the general political atmosphere and promoting international co-operation.

Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): This session of the Assembly opens the fifth decade of the United Nations. I hope that it will begin an era in which this body will come closer to realizing the dreams of its founding fathers.

Their ideals were inspired and inspiring: safeguarding the principles of universality and equality, a genuine desire to maintain international peace and security, encouraging international co-operation in solving global problems and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Unfortunately, those lofty principles have been vitiated and perverted beyond recognition. Extremists have seized this body. They have compelled it to shun the only peace treaty in the Middle East - the Camp David Accords. They have forced upon it an annual ritual of adopting dozens of distorted and irrelevant resolutions relating to my country. In clinging to these barren exercises, the United Nations spends precious time and funds, resources that could profitably be used to combat hunger and poverty.

These and other issues remain unresolved, however, and they demand serious and responsible attention. First among them is the repugnant reign of apartheid in South Africa.

Israel, founded upon basic moral and democratic values, cannot remain silent in the face of racial discrimination, wherever it may occur. We reject and condemn apartheid as a political, social and economic system. Israel also believes that violence is not the path to reform in South Africa. We must urgently foster a climate that will facilitate a political settlement if we are to avoid a further drift towards economic chaos, suffering and bloodshed. We hope responsible leaders on all sides will act to create such a climate and that the Government of South Africa will initiate negotiations that will satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africans, regardless of race or colour.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

In the heart of the African continent many continue to suffer from hunger, disease and poverty. There is a growing awareness around the world of the need to provide help. People must be fed right now. We have contributed to that effort, but we also believe that we must help countries afflicted by hunger to develop the long-term means to prevent its recurrence and to set their economies on the road to development and growth.

This past year the General Assembly convened a special session on the critical economic situation in Africa. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has outlined a development strategy that is reminiscent of Israel's own development experience. Israel announced at that special session its readiness to make immediate contributions to the attainment of those goals. We offered to share our experience in agriculture and desertification, in medicine and education and in the general field of economic development. Many in Africa remember our earlier contributions in this field. Our experience has been gained in 28 years of assistance by Israel to more than 100 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have trained over 55,000 professionals from developing countries. We have shared our experience with the specialized agencies of the United Nations. And we are ready and willing to do more.

Many of those African States that severed relations with Israel in 1973 and 1974 are now in the process of resuming those relations. I wish to commend the leadership and courage of the Heads of State who have gone on to re-establish formal diplomatic ties with us despite the pressures exerted upon them. We extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to all African nations and we expect many more countries to resume full diplomatic relations with Israel in the near future.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The Middle East, with its vast resources of land and minerals, has within it the potential to leap into a new age in the twenty-first century - an age of great economic prosperity and a better life for millions. But that hope hangs on the outcome of a precarious contest between those who seek progress and those who continually plunge the region into turmoil and hatred.

Perhaps the most tragic instance of the fanaticism that plagues our region is the cruel war waged by Iran and Iraq for the past six years. That war has claimed well over a million casualties; it has reintroduced outlawed means of warfare such as gas and chemical weapons and the wholesale torture of prisoners; it has hurt the entire world by threatening freedom of navigation and the free flow of oil. It is a sad commentary that, despite their various proclamations, those two warring Governments show no intention whatsoever of genuinely seeking ways to stop the horrible carnage.

Another instance of the reign of fanaticism and its terrible human cost is Lebanon. The tragedy is rooted in the chronic absence of an effective Government able to control and reconcile the warring factions. Without such a strong central authority, Lebanon has been unable to discharge the most elementary obligations of government - the control of one's territory against lawlessness and terror, terror directed against one's own citizens and against the citizens of neighbouring States.

The first to pay for that anarchy have been the Lebanese themselves. Over 100,000 were slaughtered in the civil war of 1975-1976 and thousands of others have been killed since in sectarian clashes. Lebanon's Government has set no effective jurisdiction over any part of the country: not over the Bekaa Valley or Tripoli, where 20,000 Syrian troops physically occupy Lebanese territory; not over the Shouf Mountains; not even over Beirut itself. Such conditions encourage the reign of the gun, the rocket and the bomb throughout Lebanon.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

Naturally, the southern part of the country has not been exempt from that dismal pattern. Beginning with the PLO, various terrorist groups have used the south as a staging area for terrorist attacks against Israel. Those who expected that a "Pax Syriana" would pacify Lebanon were hopelessly deluded, for Syrian domination of Lebanon has meant that Syria has been playing off one factor against another, as well as using Lebanon as a base for proxy terror attacks against Israel and against targets world-wide.

That Syrian strategy, now shared by Iran, should concern the entire international community. As for Israel, we have one, and only one, objective regarding Lebanon: to protect northern Israel against attacks launched from Lebanon. This is self-defence in its simplest form. We shall not let Israeli citizens pay with their lives for Lebanon's failure to control its territory.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

We shall continue to take the necessary measures to defend our people. We hope that Lebanon will produce an effective Government with which we can agree on permanent security arrangements. In the meantime we shall continue to work with any Lebanese party genuinely interested in preventing terror in the South of Lebanon and in the North of Israel.

The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has tried to assist in bringing stability to the area. It has performed a useful role. It has suffered painful casualties in the process, including losses sustained in a recent rash of murderous attacks. We extend our deepest condolences to the bereaved families and their Governments. We must be clear, however, on what role UNIFIL can and cannot play. International forces are most effective when they serve as buffers between two States that share a commitment to pacifying their common border. Unlike Israel's neighbours on two other borders, that is not the case with Lebanon. That is why UNIFIL, unlike the multinational Force in the Sinai and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights, has been unable to act as an effective buffer, since the day it was established by the United Nations. Peace-keepers cannot be asked to combat terrorists. That role must be left to the Governments and the peoples in the area of turmoil. We shall continue to co-operate with UNIFIL, as we maintain the necessary security arrangements to defend our northern border.

Israel watches with concern the larger conflicts waged in our region: those between radicals and non-radicals, between conservative régimes and revolutionaries, among militant religious movements, and among the various dictatorships themselves. But there is little we can do to affect this tragic and chronic violence. Where we can act - where we have acted and shall continue to act - is in the limited confines of the dispute between the Arab States and Israel.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

Ever since Israel's independence we have made every effort to achieve peace with our neighbours. Peace for us is a natural and integral part of our heritage. The Jewish people is a democratic and free people striving to rebuild its national life in the ancient - the only - homeland of the Jews. Israel is a haven for the persecuted, a land where ever Jew from whatever background feels at home. We can best achieve our ideals and goals in an atmosphere of peace and security. Hence, we cherish peace; we pray for it and we teach its blessings to our children. Our entire people rejoiced when, after decades of war which were forced upon us, we were able to build a bridge of peace with one of our Arab neighbours.

During the past year we have made special efforts to broaden that peace. In July, Prime Minister Peres visited Morocco for talks with King Hassan. We have made efforts to reinforce the peace treaty with Egypt and to solve the problems that are still outstanding. We hope we are on the threshold of a substantial improvement in the relations between our two countries. Such an improvement is vital in and of itself, and of even greater importance for the prospects for peace with other Arab States.

A few days ago we marked the eighth anniversary of the signing of the Camp David accords. With the passage of time we can see that those accords were a turning-point in the history of the Middle East. They have proved decisively that there is a way out of the cycle of belligerency, and they have demonstrated unequivocally that there is no alternative to direct negotiations. To this very day they remain the one and only blueprint for accommodation and peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours. All attempts to bypass, nullify or denigrate the Camp David accords have failed. Those attempts have been unsuccessful because they have disregarded the minimal needs of all parties, because they were not rooted in achievable proposals acceptable to all the sides.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The three signatories of the Camp David accords are still the leading parties to which everyone concerned with peace in the Middle East turns. Together they hold the key to progress towards peace. With its commitment to the accords, Egypt has gained in prestige and stature. Many of those in the Arab world who once attacked and boycotted it are now looking to Egypt to play a leading role in peace negotiations. The United States, of course, is equally sought after. Many have come to appreciate the positive influence it brings to bear on the political process in our region.

For its part, Israel remains anxious and willing to move the peace process forward without delay. The peace treaty with Egypt was intended to be the first in a series of treaties that together would constitute a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Those who are afraid of peace or who are seeking to evade peace with Israel are trying to promote an alternative to direct negotiations, and ultimately to peace itself, through an international conference. Let me repeat again: Experience proves that the only path to peace is through direct negotiations. Substitutes for such negotiations can only lead us away from peace. The history of our region provides ample evidence of this simple truth.

The Government of Israel has repeatedly called upon King Hussein of Jordan to enter into direct peace negotiations with Israel. We recognize that once he decides to respond to our call Jordan may face considerable opposition from some Arab quarters. That opposition, however, will not be deflected or appeased by such devices as an international conference. Ultimately, Jordan will have to decide whether the advantages of peace with Israel outweigh the risks and difficulties involved in making such a move. But Jordan must understand that its peace will have to be with Israel, not with an international body. The first sign of a

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genuine willingness to move towards peace is a declared readiness to deal directly with one's former adversary. There is no other way to a genuine reconciliation.

We firmly believe that the absence of democracy and freedom in our region is a major obstacle to peace. Only democracy offers the guarantee of freedom, the hope of progress and the prospect of peace. We do not believe any people want war. We do not believe the Arab peoples want war. Wars of aggression are initiated by Governments that do not represent the will of their peoples and fail to reflect their aspirations. That is why we must hope that democratic Governments will prevail throughout the Middle East on a not too distant day, for on that day true and permanent peace will come to our region. To hasten the coming of that day we call on all countries interested in peace in the Middle East strongly to support direct talks between Jordan and Israel. We call on them strongly to signify their willingness to buttress and strengthen a peace settlement by declaring their readiness to endorse it immediately. In addition, the supporters of peace should undertake to extend whatever assistance and support may be needed by the Government and the people of Jordan to embark on an ambitious development programme that will accompany the implementation of the peace treaty. The rewards of peace must be swift and exemplary, and serve to belie the words of its opponents.

Our region - the entire world in fact - is plagued by the spread of Arab terrorism. There is no limit to its atrocities. Even places of worship are not immune to this wanton murder. The recent attack on a synagogue in Istanbul was merely the latest and deadliest in a series of such attacks on Jewish places of worship. But Jews are not the only victims. Arab terror has made a blood pact with terrorists from all over the world to fight the common enemy, of which Israel and Jews are merely a part. That enemy is the community of democratic nations. The fight against this menace is therefore the fight of all civilized and free nations.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The so-called PLO was the linchpin of this alliance in terror; it pioneered the art of hijacking, bombing, kidnapping and massacre on an international scale. In the decade preceding 1982 the PLO used its mini-State in Lebanon to train and arm terrorist groups from five continents, from left-wing extremists to neo-Nazi gangs. Libya, Syria and Iran joined in financing, training and arming the terrorists and providing them with safe havens.

Since our action in Lebanon in 1982, the PLO has disintegrated into a number of rival terrorist gangs, most of them mercenaries in the service of various Governments. Their one common objective is to sabotage any attempt at peace and stability. The legacy of terror that they have created has encouraged other terrorist groups, many of them possessed by a mad desire to spread anarchy and terror for no reason whatsoever.

Much has been said about ways to combat international terrorism, but little has been done. Terrorism will continue to take its toll as long as the terrorists believe they can kill with impunity and achieve legitimacy and their political goals in the process. They must be denied these victories. They must never be appeased. They must never be "understood". They must always be condemned and fought vigorously. If we are serious in our desire to rid ourselves of international terrorism, we must adopt a broad and comprehensive campaign against the terrorists.

We must expel the representatives of terrorist organizations, starting with the PLO, from all countries committed to the fight against terror. We should hunt down the terrorist killers. They must always be on the run. But no matter what measures we take against the killers themselves, they will not be enough. If we do not go to the source, to the régimes whose support and protection make terrorism possible, we will not succeed in rolling back the tide of terror. We must isolate

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and punish those terrorist States. We should shut down their embassies, expel their diplomats, curtail trade with them, and co-ordinate a military response if they persist in attacking us. Those who refuse to address the problem of State-supported terrorism are not merely failing to solve the problem; they are facilitating its expansion.

Last year, from this rostrum, I spoke of three major threats facing the countries of the Middle East: the escalating race in conventional arms, the dangers of nuclear weapons, and the grave problem of chemical warfare. Unfortunately, little if anything has been done to reduce those threats. In fact, in some ways the situation has worsened in the past year.

The most dramatic development has been the increased use of chemical weapons by Iraq in its war with Iran. This has been investigated by the United Nations and condemned by the President of the Security Council on behalf of its members. There is also considerable evidence that other States in the Middle East, most notably Syria, are developing a chemical warfare capability. The free world should pool information on this subject and adopt concerted measures to prevent the development or acquisition of chemical and biological weapons. We cannot afford to cower before dictatorships that stockpile these inhuman inventories, especially since these régimes have shown no hesitation in using them.

To our disappointment, negotiations on a nuclear-weapon-free zone among the States in the region have yet to begin. It is our firm belief that, in an area as sensitive as the Middle East, the most effective and credible barrier to proliferation would be a freely and directly negotiated convention establishing a zone free of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were among those which supported the establishment of our State in 1948. But things have changed. With the exception of Romania, all the Eastern-bloc countries have severed their diplomatic ties with us and adopted a one-sided policy towards the Middle East. We welcome, of course, any sincere attempt at improving relations and re-establishing diplomatic ties between us and any Eastern European country.

This year, for the first time in nearly 20 years, an official meeting took place in Helsinki between representatives of Israel and the Soviet Union. We hope that it is a sign of a positive change in the policy of the Soviet Union towards Israel. Without such a renewal of diplomatic relations and without a major change in the Soviet Union's policy towards Soviet Jews - especially the policy that prevents them from exercising their basic right of repatriation to Israel - it is difficult to see how the Soviet Union could contribute in any way to the attainment of peace in our region.

The plight of our Jewish brethren in the Soviet Union has been raised countless times by Israel's representatives and by world leaders; yet the tragic suffering continues. The hope that a new leadership in the Soviet Union would bring with it an improvement in the situation of Soviet Jewry has, so far, not been borne out. The condition of Soviet Jews, especially those among them wishing to leave for Israel, has deteriorated still further.

In a country of over 100 nationalities, speaking over 100 languages, Jews remain the only officially recognized nationality in the Soviet Union denied the right to maintain its cultural heritage and pass it on to the next generation. They are forbidden to study their ancient language, Hebrew. Throughout the entire length and breadth of the Soviet Union there is not a single Jewish school where Jews may study their history, literature and traditions.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

In recent years, hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union have expressed their desire to join their people in Israel. But the Soviet authorities have effectively stopped Jewish emigration; less than 500 Jews were allowed to leave during the first eight months of this year. Thousands have had their requests for exit permits repeatedly refused on the flimsiest of pretexts; as punishment for daring to apply to leave, they have been subjected to all manner of harassment and reprisals. Among those "refuseniks" are the prisoners-of-Zion, who have been subjected to arrests and lengthy terms of imprisonment on trumped-up charges. The real reason for their imprisonment is painfully clear: it is their insistence on their right to emigrate to Israel and their right to study Hebrew and persevere in their Jewish heritage.

The Soviet policy towards Soviet Jews is a flagrant violation of the International Convention on Human Rights, to which the Soviet Union is a signatory. It is totally contrary to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Accords. The refusal of the Soviet Government to fulfil its most elementary humanitarian obligations must weigh heavily in the considerations of all who would contemplate entering into agreements with the Soviet Union on any subject.

From this rostrum, I call upon Governments and people of good will everywhere to urge the Soviet Government to bring its behaviour towards Soviet Jews into line with universally accepted international standards. We in Israel will not rest until every Jew in the Soviet Union is permitted to exercise his right to emigrate and until Jews are free to follow their ancestral traditions and faith.

Another beleaguered Jewish community are the Jews of Syria. They are subjected by the Syrian régime to discrimination and restrictive policies. They are not free to live wherever they wish. Several hundred young Jewish women cannot

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

find husbands in the Jewish community. The Syrian Government has callously refused to allow them to leave the country so that they may marry within their faith and establish families. Jews who wish to travel abroad must leave their families behind as living hostages to ensure the travellers' return. All that, too, is another instance of flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Syria is a signatory.

(Mr. Shamir, Israel)

None of the problems I have described, including those relating to our region, is insoluble. They can be resolved if the Governments involved muster genuine good will. We turn again to the leaders of our Arab neighbours with an outstretched hand of peace. Let us bring an end to belligerency and hatred. Let us make real the hopes for a new era of understanding and coexistence. We shall not spare any effort in this quest, nor will we give up hope that it will bear fruit.

The eyes and hearts of millions of human beings who are wasting away from hunger and poverty, who live under oppressive régimes that deny them basic human rights, who are victims of barbaric terror, are turned towards us in the hope that we can alleviate their suffering. They look to us, to this body, for the hope of a better future. We cannot let them down and still claim fidelity to the ideals of this Organization. We bear the responsibility to begin action now for their sakes and for the sake of our place in history. Let us not forsake them, or our aspirations for a better and safer world.

Mr. BARROW (Belize): The delegation of Belize congratulates Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. It will not be an easy task to superintend the deliberations of such a disparate, distinctly polyglot, assembly of international statesmen; nevertheless, we rely on his wisdom, his judgement and his personal successes as an eminent diplomat to help us achieve a consensus during the coming months.

I wish to record also my delegation's appreciation of the efficient manner in which the immediate past President, Mr. Jaime de Piniés, conducted the business of the Assembly during its fortieth session.

I should like to say a word of thanks, too, to our Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. It is true that during his tenure of office increasingly complex challenges have beset the United Nations system, but it is

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

equally true that those challenges have been confronted with the distinctive ingenuity and resourcefulness which have become the hallmarks of his tireless campaign for international peace.

Our attendance at successive sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, our participation in the discussions and the resolutions and our financial and resource contributions to the Organization and its agencies underscore the vital importance countries such as Belize attach to the United Nations system. For us, the world body continues to represent our best means of avoiding international marginalization or, worse, extinction.

Because of the vulnerabilities inherent in our small size, concerns of viability continue to preoccupy Belize. In our own region we are especially susceptible to a geo-political environment grown increasingly hostile to any degree of neutrality, but the United Nations provides a forum for the sustained consultation and concerted action necessary to help preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and welfare of small States. There are other regional mechanisms of first resort but in our view they are essentially complementary to the collective authority of this truly international forum, which in the final analysis offers the most effective guarantee that the law of the jungle will not prevail in world affairs.

It was in that context that Caribbean Community foreign ministers, meeting in Belize in June of this year, expressed concern about the continued erosion of the principle of multilateralism. They reaffirmed that the multilateral process was essential for small, developing States, such as those in the Caribbean. They noted with concern the trend towards unilateralism which has been reflected in the bypassing of the United Nations system, the withdrawal of membership from a number of United Nations bodies and the diminished support for regional institutions.

They also pointed out that the financial crisis facing the international organizations, arising from the unilateral withholding of assessed budgetary contributions by some countries, threatened the integrity of those organizations, and they called on all States to give full support to the multilateral process.

The dynamics of international life have undergone a dramatic change since the drafting of the Charter. In particular, the years following the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960 have seen the phenomenon of the micro-State become an accepted feature of the international landscape. Now, fully a quarter century after that seminal Declaration, the time has surely come for a reaffirmation of the principle of sovereign equality which inspired the Declaration. Such a reaffirmation should find expression in the kind of a political reform to the United Nations system that would give a more muscular, a more practical concretization to the presumption of dignity for small, newly independent States.

Whatever proposals emerge for the strengthening of the United Nations system must take account of the fundamental need of small States to be involved actively in the international community, not with a limited spectator status but as equal participants in the real work of the international system. Hence membership of the Security Council, for example, can no longer be the preserve of the large and the powerful but must reflect the evolutionary nature of international reality. States large and small should be accommodated on a manageable rotation basis so as to allow all nations the benefit of constructive participation, regardless of wealth or military power.

Reform, of course, is not a one-way street. If the third world countries which make up the bulk of the United Nations membership are to persuade the great Powers to be responsive to the need for a more egalitarian framework for the Security Council they must also be prepared to exercise the power of their majority in the General Assembly with restraint and responsibility.

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

In particular, those of us who belong to the non-aligned group of nations should use our force of numbers to act in an unbiased fashion as regards the super-Powers and their respective world views and alliances. Too often it appears that our positions are anything but non-aligned. We need to put our own house in order and get back to a situation in which we apply the principles of our movement uniformly and without selectivity. The General Assembly ought not to be a forum for sterile agenda and one-sided resolutions, rammed home by what increasingly appears to be an unbalanced use of our majority.

I turn now to the question of economic relations. There is also the need here for a more equitable deal for small countries, in the context of both bilateral and multilateral arrangements.

In consequence of our particular culture and history, and as a matter of mature political choice, Belize has opted for parliamentary democracy as the means best suited to the organization of our society, but we recognize the fragility of political democracy when it is not accompanied by economic democracy. My Government has therefore sought assiduously to bring material betterment to our people, and we have made great strides in the year just passed to put our fiscal house in order, restore our dollar to stability, arrest capital flight, cope with the burdens of debt servicing, market our tourism resources and create export-led growth.

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

Our economy, however, like most of the economies of the developing world, is still in a state of dependence. There is therefore a continuing need on our part for private capital flows, as well as official aid on concessionary terms and non-reciprocal preferential access to international markets. We look to developed countries for these supports, developed countries with which we share a kinship born of common traditions and similar political and social organization. We also seek through them access to the multilateral commercial and financial organizations.

Paradoxical though it may seem, even as we seek the co-operation and assistance of these countries we jealously guard our political independence and our dignity. We in Belize wish to pursue our own interests, going in the democratic direction to which our circumstances and our philosophy incline us, but without becoming the ideological bag and baggage of any Power. We do not suffer from a Manichean view of things, but attempt rather to order our relations with others on the basis of non-interference and respect for the right of all peoples to freely determine their own destinies.

Because of our position, we view with concern the attempts of some powerful countries to make over weaker States in their own image, and in particular their use of the promise of increased aid, or the threat of reduced aid, as a carrot and stick method of exacting compliance with their prevailing orthodoxy.

Of course all this merely points up the dangers inherent in economic dependence, which smaller States on their own are powerless to affect, but which leads to and intensifies other forms of dependence: diplomatic, security, cultural, psychological, and intellectual. Since the inequity of the present state of economic relations between powerful countries and small countries so palpably lessens the sovereignty of the latter, we join once again in endorsing the call for a new international economic order as one truly efficacious way of achieving that equality which should be the ideal of all of us.

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

Here again, though, the call for a new international economic order ought not to be accompanied by the self-defeating rhetoric which blames all of the ills of the developing countries on the developed world. Merely demanding the transfer of resources from the rich to the poor, together with excoriating multinational companies and first-world protectionism, cannot be a substitute for the imaginative and realistic proposals which the Group of 77 ought to be putting forward. Such proposals should concentrate on the measures which developing countries themselves can take to free their economies and spur growth, as well as on what is needed to redress the imbalances in international trade, regulate commodity prices and encourage technology transfers.

Just as we seek to assert our own sovereignty and independence of action as a developing Caribbean State in Central America, so too we insist on the need for the preservation of the sovereignty and democratic self-determination of neighbouring States in our region, particularly those under seige or threats from other countries.

My Government reaffirms its strong support for the continuing efforts of the Contadora countries and the Support Group to seek a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Central America. We are convinced that other countries with interest and influence in the region can best advance the cause of peace, security and development in Central America by supporting the Contadora process as the most likely means of achieving a resolution of the conflict. We call on regional protagonists to resist the designs of those who would exploit the situation in an effort to gain advantage in the East-West struggle for global supremacy.

In Belize's own case, my Government is prepared to do all it can to forestall any addition to regional tension by working for the removal of the obstacles which prevent the Government of Guatemala from recognizing the sovereignty and territorial inviolability of Belize. Belizeans welcome the return to civilian rule

(Mr. Barrow, Belize)

in Guatemala as a forerunner of the normalization of relations between our two countries. We are confident that the climate now exists for direct negotiations which will enable both parties to find a lasting solution to a problem that retards the development of harmonious relations between two peoples equally desirous of continued liberty. On the basis of our shared commitment to democracy, we appeal to the new Government of Guatemala to be flexible and realistic in future discussions with Belize. Such discussions should explore ways of arriving at a solution which recognizes Belizean independence and Belize's right to maintain and preserve its present and constitutional borders, while at the same time addressing the legitimate security concerns of Guatemala.

We are heartened to note the efforts currently being made to resolve the problems between our sister Caribbean Community (CARICOM) country, Guyana, and its Latin American neighbour, Venezuela. In concert with the Caribbean Community, Belize encourages these two countries to continue their search for a peaceful solution, and to continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in fulfilling the mandate provided by the Geneva Agreement.

We note also the revision of the charter of the Organization of American States which took place at Cartagena in December of last year. It is a revision which takes account of current realities, recognizes the principle of hemispheric universality and opens the way for Belize and Guyana's full membership in the organization by 1990. My Government takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to all those States that spearheaded the revision exercise. By their action, they have recorded their conviction that sovereign Belize can no longer be deprived of its rightful place among the community of nations that make up the Organization of American States.

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The delegation of Belize is acutely aware that the problems of Belize, both domestic and international, as well as the problems of the region, cannot be isolated from the broader global questions that affect our existence in an increasingly interdependent world.

We cannot be silent, therefore, at the anguished cries of the black majority in South Africa, and we join our voice to the chorus of condemnation which demands an end to abhorrent apartheid.

Apartheid continues to be a state policy in South Africa because it is allowed to remain so by those in a position to influence change. The appeal for comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime must be met by all countries, particularly those who have been reluctant to move resolutely in the past, and particularly those whose economic and financial empires continue to give comfort and succour to the mindless racists in South Africa. The kind of diplomacy which elevates considerations of realpolitik over a commitment to oppressed humanity must be rejected now.

By its illegal occupation of Namibia, too, South Africa continues to stretch the patience of world opinion. The United Nations has been seized of the plight of the Namibian people for over 40 years now, and 20 years ago the General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over that hapless country. Yet, encouraged by those whose policies continue to be on the wrong side of history, South Africa has found one transparent reason after another to defy the international community and hold Namibia in bondage. The time has come for an end to this humiliating charade. Namibia must be independent and room must be made in this Hall for the delegation of independent Namibia.

The continued aggravation of the situation in the Middle East is of great concern to Belize. Among the family of nations none has had to struggle for the

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right to maintain a State as bravely and enduringly as has Israel. Accordingly, few should be able to appreciate the intensity of the Palestinian cause as should Israel. The problem of Palestine is at the core of the crisis in the Middle East, and there can be victory for neither Arab nor Israeli until the central fact of the need for a Palestinian homeland is recognized equally with respect for the right of Israel to live in peace and security within its own borders.

The convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East points one way forward. That Conference should be without pre-conditions if it is not to be bogged down in preliminary wranglings and manoeuvrings. The terrorism that is so charged with the fire to ignite another Middle East war has no constructive contribution to offer either the convening or the success of this Conference. We therefore applaud the Cairo Declaration of 11 November 1985, which rejects and denounces terrorism.

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The situation in Afghanistan is pregnant with dangerous consequences for the stability of that region. For over four years millions of Afghans have fled their homes and suffered indignity, inhumanity and death following the invasion of their country. My Government appeals to the parties involved to bring this conflict to an end. A settlement should include withdrawal of foreign troops and ensure full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

The situation in Kampuchea continues to occupy the attention of the General Assembly. We appeal to all sides to accept the recent proposal for a phased withdrawal of foreign troops, a cease-fire and participatory elections under United Nations supervision. A more workable solution to the problem is unlikely to be found, and we urge Viet Nam to show its commitment to peace in the region by acting on this proposal.

Belize continues to hope that the divided Korean people will some day be unified. Such unification, however, requires dialogue and negotiation between North and South Korea, the parties directly concerned. It is important that tension and hostility between the two countries be replaced with mutual trust and national reconciliation.

Peace must also come between the non-aligned States of Iran and Iraq. Their peoples deserve no less. Lebanon must cease to be a theatre of fratricide and manipulation by outside elements. And the Falkland islanders and the people of Western Sahara must have their right to self-determination respected.

The world continues to be plagued with regional conflicts even though our humanity obliges us to yearn for peace. That peace is made even more elusive by the proliferation and threats of use of nuclear weapons. It is all too apparent that the vast majority of States members of the international community have neither the desire to manufacture or possess nuclear weapons, nor the capability of

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doing so. Yet our survival is universally threatened by the spread of these weapons. While the general acceptance of the principle of nuclear-free zones gives some comfort to small nations, the international community should not rest until the relevant Powers agree to a new concept of global security that would eschew the use of nuclear weapons.

To the possibility of nuclear armageddon and the proliferation of conventional conflicts must be added a third threat to world peace: the production and trafficking in dangerous drugs, which, in its devastation, has taken on the equivalence of war. Belize applauds all efforts aimed at the elimination of drugs at their source of supply, in transit and at their destination. The problem of drug production, trafficking and abuse has reached a level where it demands a disproportionate share of the social and economic resources of developing countries in order to contain its ill effects. Nevertheless, we in Belize have strengthened national legislation, applied the power of the courts and law enforcement agencies and have initiated programmes aimed at prevention of drug abuse and at rehabilitation as well as at the elimination of production. Only effective regional and international action taken by producing countries, by transit countries and by consumer countries acting in concert can best address this problem. Belize therefore reiterates its commitment to co-operate bilaterally, regionally and internationally in all efforts to develop and execute a coherent response to this threat to our society, our security and our sanity.

International stability requires respect for a world order, for basic rules that are practical as well as moral. The United Nations system, the deliberations of the General Assembly reinforce that order and give effect to those rules. Every problem solved, every conflict prevented, every life saved because of our presence here provides evidence that, however imperfectly, our Organization works. Let the world never forget that in its ideals, in its practices and in its Charter

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the United Nations system is the great bulwark preventing the horror of a Hobbesian vision from becoming the central reality of international affairs.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m..