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

**Address by Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana,**  
**President of the Rwandese Republic**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Rwandese Republic and founding President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and founding President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. HABYARIMANA (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, over which you have the honour of presiding, is for me a pleasant opportunity to associate the Rwanda delegation with those delegations that have spoken before from this rostrum in conveying sincere and warm congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly.

3. Your election constitutes a tribute to your outstanding statesmanlike and diplomatic qualities and, through you, confers a signal honour on your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, which ever since its admission to the United Nations has constantly displayed its political maturity and its determination to contribute to the strengthening of its relations of co-operation, both political and economic, with all countries that love peace and justice.

4. I take the greatest pleasure, therefore, in the fact that you are a national of a friendly country, with which Rwanda maintains special and historical links of dynamic co-operation.

5. You may rest assured, Sir, that my delegation will spare no effort to make its modest contribution to the success of your lofty and noble task.

6. I should also like to extend my gratitude to your predecessor, who, with such remarkable competence, conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fourth regular session, the sixth and the seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session of the General Assembly of our Organization. I mean, of course, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the worthy representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. He deserves the congratulations and the expression of the highest esteem of my delegation for having, once again, contributed to enhancing even further the credibility of Africa in the family of nations.

7. It is also my pleasure to make special mention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for having measured up so ably to the task with which he has been entrusted.

8. Rwanda has always appreciated his numerous initiatives to find appropriate solutions to the various situations of conflict that have arisen in different places, the repercussions of which have come so near to endangering international peace and security.

9. The presence among us of the delegation of independent Zimbabwe is for my delegation a genuine cause for joy and satisfaction.

10. Rwanda warmly welcomes the admission of this youngest African nation to the family of the United Nations and we associate ourselves most willingly with the other nations of the world in once again conveying congratulations to the Government and people of Zimbabwe, who are now engaged in the task of national reconstruction under the enlightened leadership of their illustrious Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, who has shown such fighting spirit and great strategy in the course of the national liberation struggle.

11. The victory of the Zimbabwe people without any doubt constitutes a victory for free Africa over colonialism and the exploitation of man by man, outmoded systems which unfortunately still afflict part of southern Africa.

12. We should also like to welcome to our community the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose accession to national sovereignty is a further step in the struggle for the granting of independence to peoples and territories under colonial domination.

13. With regard to the distressing problem of colonialism in general and colonialism in Africa in particular, there is nothing original in stating that the role of the United Nations was decisive in the process of the accession to independence of the African States that have now become full Members of the United Nations.

14. One should, however, recall the adoption on 14 December 1960 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which launched our States' great independence movement, thanks to which the African presence in the international arena has now become a reality.

15. Rwanda, which assumed its own independence on 1 July 1962, has been a Member of the United Nations since 18 September of that same year. Ever since its admission, my country has worked for the creation of conditions that favour respect for the noble ideas contained in the Charter of the United Nations, whose focal point is the maintenance of international peace and security.

16. My present visit gives me another pleasant opportunity to reiterate the determination and readiness of Rwanda to contribute within its means to that global task of preserving international peace and security, something that has been advocated by the United Nations ever since its foundation.

17. In the work of creating conditions favourable to the building of a better world, Rwanda remains on the side of those struggling for their political and economic emancipation.

18. It is on the basis of this same concern that we deplore the negative attitude of those countries that continue to defy the international community by pursuing, often arrogantly, their odious and inhuman policy of *apartheid*, racism and domination, thus scornfully and insolently flouting the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations, to which nonetheless they have themselves subscribed.

19. The Rwandese Republic has always unambiguously condemned the anachronistic nature of those barbaric practices, whether they be in Africa or in other parts of the world. It is highly regrettable that in those parts of the world the most elementary rights are denied to a whole people, are indeed trampled under foot, despite the appeals issued from all quarters for an end to such practices.

20. In southern Africa, the independence of Zimbabwe has tightened the ring surrounding *apartheid* and racial domination, policies pursued by the white minority of South Africa, and has revived the hope of a rapid solution in Namibia in spite of the obstinacy of the Pretoria régime, which continues to refuse to evacuate this Territory.

21. Rwanda persists in believing that the Western countries have the power to exercise considerable influence, both political and economic, on Pretoria, in order to prevail upon it to take more realistic positions, positions that will be more favourable to the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and the democratization of its inhuman régime of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

22. The Rwanda Government, for its part, will continue within the limits of its resources to provide unswerving support to the Namibian and South African peoples for as long as the most fundamental rights and the most elementary justice continue to be denied them.

23. Rwanda has repeatedly expressed its unswerving support for the just cause of the Sahraoui people, which, like

other peoples, must be able to exercise its right to self-determination and freely to choose its own destiny. The tragedy in Chad is for us in Africa highly alarming, and the disintegration of that brotherly country, which unfortunately is liable to ensue, would constitute a severe blow to the unity of our continent.

24. The Rwanda delegation again makes an urgent appeal to the good sense, patriotism and wisdom of the warring brothers in Chad to put an end to their hostilities and reach a peaceful settlement of their conflict. It is becoming both alarming and clear that this fratricidal struggle will lead to the total destabilization and, indeed, the extinction of the Chad nation. Obviously this can only be to the detriment of the whole people of Chad, which is already tired of that futile war.

25. The situation in the Middle East is becoming ever more precarious. The persistent refusal of Israel to evacuate the occupied Arab territories and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people blocks any hope of the solution of a problem which has lasted far too long. For its part, Rwanda remains profoundly convinced that that tragic conflict will find no just or lasting solution without the unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist troops from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and total respect for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own State. We also believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be intimately involved in any search for a solution to this grave problem.

26. The Korean question is one of the major concerns of the international community. Rwanda, for its part, believes that any foreign interference in this problem seriously jeopardizes the objective search for a broadly acceptable solution. The Government of Rwanda is convinced that the unification of the Korean nation can be brought about only by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that area, thus making it possible for the Korean people to find a peaceful solution to the problem of its reunification.

27. This position reflects the general attitude of the Rwandese Republic with regard to the situation of all divided nations. Those nations have an absolute right to find ways and means of bringing about their peaceful reunification, because they are indivisible.

28. It is in this context that the Government of Rwanda also appreciates the spirit of détente which has motivated both German States for some years now and which has been reflected in a series of arrangements in various fields with a view to diminishing as far as possible the effects of the division of the German nation. We are convinced that it is in the interests of all for that dialogue to continue and to go as far as possible towards the free and peaceful reunification of the German nation and the consolidation of peace in the area concerned.

29. In other parts of Africa and the rest of the world the international community is witnessing helplessly upheavals which are due mainly to struggles for influence between the great Powers. We have therefore been following with concern the development of the situations currently prevailing

in the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan, South-East Asia and, in particular, Indo-China and Lebanon.

30. The innumerable and distressing consequences of those conflicts, the origin of which often lies outside the areas concerned, include hunger, massive destruction of socio-economic infrastructures, loss of human life and the outflow of refugees who are forced to live in subhuman and intolerable conditions, without food or housing.

31. International solidarity demands that aid be given to those who have been driven out against their will and continue to wander outside their own countries without any means of subsistence, housing or means of defence. One of the solutions to this distressing problem lies in the search for peaceful coexistence among nations. The only road to this ultimate objective is that of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, interference often being the underlying cause of such conflicts.

32. World peace is therefore increasingly threatened by all these sources of tension which are being maintained unnecessarily at the expense of the noble objectives of international security and understanding. Instead of encouraging détente among all nations, great and small, rich and poor, these conflicts encourage the great Powers to intensify even further their competition in the arms race and disregard the political and economic rights of other States. It is the small and the weak that are more often than not the victims of these manoeuvrings of the great Powers.

33. The proliferation of weapons of all kinds is becoming every day a subject of pressing concern. Fabulous sums of money are being spent on the search for new weapons of mass destruction.

34. Permit me to mention in this regard a poignant truth uttered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. In his address at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], on 1 July last, he said:

“There exists in the world today more explosive power than food measured in pounds per person. Military expenditures are taking a toll of a million dollars per minute. They thus impose a cost which far exceeds what would be required to control disease and reduce hunger.”

35. It is indeed shocking to observe that, at the very time when the international community has embarked upon an era of détente and a disarmament programme, military expenditures have grown, according to known figures, from \$225 billion in 1974 to more than \$400 billion at the present time. Responsible and competent sources have also declared that \$100 million, or in comparative terms the annual budget of my own country, are being devoted every day to the expansion of nuclear arsenals.

36. I am firmly convinced that such sums should be devoted, rather, to assistance to the least developed countries and economic and social projects such as the development of agriculture and cattle-raising, education, the building of hospitals, the development of road and energy infrastructures and the improvement of means of communi-

cation and transport. I also continue to believe that this problem is the responsibility of the great Powers, who alone can play a decisive role.

37. Realistically, the Members of our Organization ought to cultivate understanding and peaceful coexistence among themselves, without any distinction as to political or ideological preferences. Only then can peace and international security, the only pre-conditions of economic development, be preserved and our peoples be spared all the vicissitudes of the spectre of war, which haunts and disheartens us.

38. The Rwandese Republic is proud to belong to the non-aligned movement, which has as its objective the achievement of a balance among the nations of the world and serves as a stabilizing element between the two blocs of influence.

39. In this regard Rwanda encourages all the non-aligned countries to safeguard the objectives of the movement by avoiding the risk of falling into the grip of either bloc at the risk of weakening and diminishing the role and the mission of our movement.

40. I should like to take this opportunity to recall here the glorious memory of the late President Broz Tito, the great champion of the non-aligned movement; he and his work serve as a model for us all. He was a great man who, more than anyone else, left an imprint on the political life of the twentieth century. Even in death Marshal Tito is and will remain a living symbol of concern for and courage in the defence of the noble ideals of the non-aligned movement and in the struggle to safeguard the independence of his country, Yugoslavia.

41. I have spoken of the turmoils and political conflicts which are tearing apart many parts of our planet at this very moment. However, there exist other problems, even more serious because they are so lasting, which are rife in the majority of our countries: hunger, malnutrition, poverty, disease and other scourges which threaten to be more destructive and devastating, making still more precarious the existence of our populations. In Africa, for example, in areas spared the ravages of floods, the drought is devastating everything in its path as it advances in an alarming manner over vast extents of territory, visibly reducing the acreage of arable land. The damage caused by natural catastrophes is incalculable. In particular, they upset development programmes and cause famine in the affected regions. The domestic effort of each nation and international solidarity and co-operation remain beyond doubt the most effective tools for stemming these courses.

42. The United Nations, apart from the safeguarding of international peace and security, has set itself other objectives, including that of achieving international co-operation by resolving international problems of an economic, social, intellectual or humanitarian nature and developing and encouraging respect for human rights and basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex or religion.

43. In this context the economic difficulties with which our economies are now confronted lead me to refer here to the plight of a great number of developing countries which continue to eke out their existence in a desperate economic

situation. It is useless to try to seek the underlying reasons and causes for this economic stagnation through which the majority of our countries are passing, for the positions of the various parties differ to such an extent that in our international meetings our delegations cannot succeed in coming to an agreement.

44. We are, nevertheless, all in agreement in observing that for more than a decade the economies of the third-world countries, instead of improving, are becoming further bogged down in stagnation and are in fact even in retreat. There is no need to demonstrate the continual decline in the prices of raw materials. It has reached the point where it is for the moment difficult, even impossible, to reconcile the export income of raw materials and the ever-growing expenditure which we have to make for the importation of manufactured goods.

45. The commercial deficits which flow from this have forced and will continue to force the developing countries to have recourse to other measures not less dangerous for their political and economic viability. Among those measures I would mention indebtedness, which seems unfortunately now to have been set up as a golden rule in the relations between the still under-equipped countries and the industrialized countries. It is not certain that our problems will be solved by the continual piling up of debts. What we should do, rather, is to introduce austerity into the management of the scanty means of which we dispose and to create conditions favourable to the growth of international confidence in financial matters.

46. Above all, it is the inadequacy of financial assistance which is likely to deepen the gulf between the rich and poor countries, since the latter expect from the former more solidarity and bounty in their economic difficulties. It is, indeed, the duty of the wealthy countries to come to the aid of the poorest countries, especially when one must take into account the fact that it is often nature itself which favours some countries and frowns on others.

47. It is in this context that I recall the particular conditions of my own country, Rwanda, which is situated far from shipping lanes and whose subsoil seems lacking in natural resources. The little we have of raw materials does not even suffice to cover our import expenses. Similarly, in spite of the goodwill and constant effort made by the Government and people of Rwanda to free our country from under-development, our land-locked condition imposes on us a permanent stranglehold so tight that without outside support it would be impossible for us to accomplish the difficult task of national development.

48. The situation of land-locked countries deserves more care and attention from the whole international community. Apart from the effects of the present economic crisis which afflicts them much more acutely than others, these countries are also faced with the problems of lack of access to the sea which forces them to pay very high costs for international transportation of their goods.

49. What is even more serious is that in some cases the economies of these countries are often victims of situations beyond their control, with the consequence that the sources of their supply and the marketing of their products are

disrupted. I dare to hope that the current negotiations on the law of the sea will take into account this quite special situation of the land-locked countries.

50. Furthermore, we must stress that in order to halt the present economic crisis which is marked by a decline in the terms of trade, ceaselessly galloping inflation, disruption of the international monetary system and the energy crisis, which continues to lead to increases in the price of oil, all countries must unite their efforts to establish new rules for international economic conduct. International forums have made it clear that it has become unthinkable to continue to conduct international economic affairs in a system which no longer responds to present conditions.

51. Rwanda, for its part, thinks that the moment has come to be frank and to speak the truth. In fact the developed countries have every interest in seeing the developing countries become viable partners. In consequence, the developing countries must have access to the management of international affairs on an equal footing with the developed countries; otherwise the gap between them will continue to widen. Unless this happens, the fashionable slogans of "international co-operation" and "North-South dialogue" will remain empty words.

52. If we genuinely wish to establish a new international economic order, we must renounce the spirit of confrontation and selfishness and seek common ground for mutual concessions in our positions, always with mutual respect. The means to build a new world are not lacking; it is the will to combine our efforts which is still absent. The developing countries possess impressive amounts of raw materials and constitute in addition a considerable market for manufactured products; the developed countries have at their disposal enormous amounts of capital and a very advanced technology; and so the pooling of all this potential would give rise to a symbiosis that would be profitable for all and that would do a great deal to reduce the gap which marks present North-South relations.

53. But until that hoped-for moment comes, the developing countries have a stake in embarking without delay upon horizontal co-operation at all levels, bilateral, subregional and regional, and in all fields; and they should pursue such co-operation where it exists at the moment. This is the only possible means of access to rapid and integrated development. This co-operation among developing countries demands, above all, good organization and an exhaustive inventory of the potentials and possibilities of each, as well as of the needs to be met.

54. The members of the [OAU] for their part already took an important step last April at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU with the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa<sup>1</sup> which outlines the priorities for development until the year 2000, including food, agriculture, industry, science and technology, as well as transport and communications.

<sup>1</sup> See A/S-11/14, annex I.

55. Particular stress is placed on the urgency for the African countries to achieve self-sufficiency in food as a socio-economic imperative, bearing in mind that the food situation in Africa is on the brink of catastrophe and that the wolf of hunger is prowling ever closer to our door.

56. This concern with economic integration which animates the African countries certainly constitutes the living expression of the political will of all parties to establish a new type of economic relations among all States on the basis of active solidarity and frank collaboration in a spirit of mutual respect for the political or ideological options adopted by each State.

57. The role of the United Nations would then consist in serving as a catalyst and a framework for concertation to establish that new system which would be characteristic of the economic relations of the international community.

58. The holding in this very hall of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which concluded its work just a few days ago, speaks eloquently of that political will to concertation of States Members of the United Nations. Although the results of that eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to economic questions, did not live up to the hopes placed in it by our peoples, I should like for my part to call for a continuation of negotiations in a spirit of constructive dialogue, even if it is true that we shall have to wait quite a while longer before they produce useful results.

59. The developing countries are well aware that their road to progress is a long one and that they must persevere in the search for solutions acceptable to all their partners.

60. The Rwandese Republic would finally encourage a more emphatic and more concerted commitment on the part of developing countries, within the circle of the Group of 77, in the negotiations with the developed countries, with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order. We remain convinced that such unity of action of the Group of 77 will sooner or later prevail upon the developed countries to adopt more flexible and more positive positions on the questions which are the subject of global negotiations.

61. Once again it is appropriate to repeat unambiguously that international economic relations need to be made more dynamic and to be directed towards equity, sharing and distributive justice, and that we need to be complementary in our international relations in order to reach that sublime objective.

62. It is within that context of interdependence that we shall build a contemporary society that we hope will be more just, more sound and imbued with a greater degree of solidarity. We count on the United Nations to channel our efforts, and we count on it also as the focal point for heightening, by dialogue and consultation, the awareness of all the peoples of the world.

63. Long live friendship among peoples, long live international co-operation!

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the President of the Rwandese Republic and founding President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, for the important statement he has just made.

[*The President continued in English.*]

65. On my own behalf, I should like to express gratitude for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

66. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):<sup>2</sup> Mr. President, please accept my congratulations on your election to your office, which is both a high and responsible one. I wish you and Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim success in your functions and I assure you of the assistance of the German Democratic Republic in all endeavours to strengthen international peace and co-operation.

67. The outgoing President, Mr. Salim, also deserves credit for his work over the past year.

68. My greetings and good wishes go likewise to the new Member of this world Organization, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

69. In the 35 years of its existence the United Nations has helped to make peace more secure and international co-operation more fruitful thus meeting the wishes and hopes of peoples, after the bitter experiences of the war and the first post-war years.

70. In these times of a strained international situation full of complications and tensions, the United Nations is once more rightly expected to oppose those who are again toying with war behind a veil of rhetoric about peaceful intentions, and to encourage all those who are defending peace as their most precious asset.

71. Therein reside the obligation and the responsibility of this General Assembly.

72. The ultimate purpose of peaceful coexistence is to preclude war as an instrument of politics. And that means more than merely the silence of weapons. Peace, as the first and most fundamental of human rights, is to be made dependable and enduring for all time, and conditions should be such as to permit peoples fully to develop their creative power for their own good. A peace of that kind can rest only on the reduction and elimination of the physical means of warfare, on strict mutual respect for the basic rights of peoples and on the readiness of all States to settle controversial issues dispassionately, with a sense of political reason and in a constructive manner, along the lines of the Charter of the United Nations. Those are the objectives underlying the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic, which will at all times unswervingly steer that course both in its bilateral relations and in its activities within the United Nations.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his speech was supplied by the delegation.

73. The European peoples and States have every reason to defend resolutely the promising beginnings of peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems. More than three decades of peace is something unprecedented in history. That achievement must not be jeopardized. Détente came to gain ground on our continent because good sense, the recognition of historically grown realities and a sober assessment of self-interest have increasingly determined the conduct of States. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference<sup>3</sup> symbolizes that.

74. Readiness to seek both dialogue and political solutions has played a substantial part and all have benefited from that. In the face of the worsened international situation, constructive dialogue is now more urgent than ever. The socialist States are ready for it. There is no other way, except that of renewed dangerous confrontation.

75. The German Democratic Republic has always been aware that global and regional measures to strengthen international security are closely interrelated. That interrelationship also explains the world-wide interest in the forthcoming meeting at Madrid of the States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The German Democratic Republic is working jointly with the other socialist countries to ensure that the meeting will above all encourage concrete moves to add military détente to political détente.

76. One move of this kind should be the convening of a European disarmament conference. With their declaration adopted on 15 May this year [A/35/237-S/13948, annex II], the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have submitted a realistic and forward-looking programme for continuing the dialogue and for new agreements to strengthen peace. Arms limitation and disarmament steps are of crucial importance for the peaceful evolution of Europe. Time and again, the socialist States have taken initiatives to that end at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. The unilateral withdrawal of Soviet contingents and combat equipment, which was agreed between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic and has since been concluded, shows how seriously the socialist countries pursue military détente in Europe. It is now urgently necessary to enter into negotiations on the problem of medium-range nuclear missiles and of the forward-based nuclear systems of the United States.

77. The German Democratic Republic seeks good-neighbourly and mutually advantageous relations with all Western countries too. It is aware of the great weight that a relationship of peaceful coexistence between itself and the Federal Republic of Germany represents for European security. This derives cogently both from the geographical situation of the two German States and from their historical and legal obligation to do everything so that never again will a war originate on German soil. This justified expectation of peoples establishes a responsibility with which the deployment of ultra-modern American nuclear missiles cannot be reconciled. The interests of European peace require political realism. Attempts to call in question the post-Second World War order in Europe, which are again and again noted in

this forum too, reflect an illusion that is dangerous, because it ignores the course of history. Such attempts spread insecurity and distrust and encourage those bent on confrontation.

78. There can be no return to the past. The existence of the German Democratic Republic in the centre of Europe is in the interest of all peoples, because it impedes any design to push the peoples into the vortex of another world war. The existence of two German States and the normalization of their mutual relationship have a stabilizing effect on our continent.

79. The German Democratic Republic has displayed and is displaying goodwill so as to continue expanding its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the treaties, agreements and accords, that is to say, of international law.

80. To strengthen détente and to diminish the danger of war is the overriding concern of our time. It requires all our attention and maximum efforts. But it likewise requires clarity of vision as to the causes of the tense international situation, all the more so since there is indeed no lack of misrepresentations of them. The deterioration in international relations has not come overnight; it has a prior history. The preparation and the step by step implementation of the long-term programme of May 1978 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] can be reconstructed point by point. A modified nuclear targeting strategy has been officially proclaimed which calculates the possibility of waging nuclear war.

81. Time and again official Government statements have declared entire regions of the world to be zones of influence of certain Powers, and rapid deployment forces have been set up to guard so-called vital interests. The latest news confirms such plans for Europe too. Shows of military strength, particularly in the Indian Ocean and in the Caribbean, are becoming more and more frequent. The installation of new bases in foreign territories, chiefly in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea areas, is being hastily pursued.

82. All this is being done in order to upset the existing sensitive balance of power and to regain military superiority—in short, to obtain the dominance of imperialist and hegemonist forces. The threat and use of force—a policy of strength—have, again, been conceived to replace endeavours for the peaceful accommodation of interests, and political *diktat* backed up by huge weapon arsenals is calculated to supersede the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Those policies are directed against the vast majority of States. They must be stopped for the sake of the peace and well-being of peoples.

83. Socialist foreign policy is marked by consistency, dependability, prudence and action. This goes for times of peaceful relationships and much more so for times of tension and danger, such as we are experiencing at present. The socialist States have pointed out what needs to be done so that the international situation may rapidly change for the better.

84. Indispensable is a firm struggle against the arms race. Ongoing negotiations should be intensified and all useful

<sup>3</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

proposals should be taken into account so that the spate of words about disarmament and arms control will at last be followed by deeds.

85. Indispensable is the will of all States to settle political controversies or conflicts peacefully and with mutual recognition of legitimate interests, and to refrain from any action that could have an exacerbating effect.

86. Indispensable is the definitive liberation of all peoples from colonialist and racist oppression.

87. And indispensable, finally, is an equitable and non-discriminatory co-operation among States. It is the only way to ensure prosperity and security for all nations. It is the only way to alleviate the global problems of mankind and to resolve them in the end.

88. The socialist countries will pursue their policy consistently in order to achieve arms limitation and disarmament. Efforts to resolve this vital question for humanity must not fail because of the drive for hegemony and profit. We share with the non-aligned countries an insistence on practical steps to check the arms race. We reject any policy aimed at enlarging the existing military blocs or creating new ones. We are confident of the growing strength of the public movement for peace and disarmament, as exemplified by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women at Copenhagen,<sup>4</sup> the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, held last September at Sofia<sup>5</sup> and the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union which has just come to an end in the capital of our country [A/35/570].

89. Even though disarmament is not a human ideal for all of those in whom government authority is vested, the awareness of the unbearable and incalculable consequences of escalating armaments ought to promote readiness to lower the level of armaments, with due regard for the principle of equal security. Concrete steps against the arms race are an attainable objective in international politics. The agreements reached so far, no matter how limited they may be, are practical evidence thereof. Therefore, the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session should take decisions calling for the speedy conduct of negotiations directed towards tangible results. Here, one cannot calculate in terms of years; here, quick action is imperative.

90. Arms limitation and disarmament in the nuclear field are clearly of priority importance. We again call attention to the proposal of the socialist States forthwith to enter into consultations and negotiations on the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the reduction of their stockpiles. The conclusion of a treaty on the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests must no longer be delayed. We support the proposal made by the USSR on 23 September [6th meeting] that the nuclear-weapon States announce a one-year moratorium on nuclear explosions.

91. Given a constructive approach, it ought to be possible to draw up an international convention on the strengthening

of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. Those States, which include the German Democratic Republic, have a right to such security. We plead for the elimination of all other weapons of mass destruction. Of no small importance would be an agreement on the prohibition of radiological weapons. In our view, the project, which is well advanced, could rapidly be finalized.

92. At this session the General Assembly will have to adopt the programme for the Second Disarmament Decade. The climax of the Decade could be a world disarmament conference.

93. The 1970s are justly called the decade of political détente. Let us take that high appraisal as conferring a mandate for the 1980s. May they become the decade of arms limitation and disarmament.

94. The most urgent measures for reducing the danger of war have been proposed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, from this rostrum [*ibid.*]. Their implementation would be the reliable guarantee of stable international détente and fruitful international co-operation. Only someone who has other interests can refuse that.

95. If peaceful coexistence is to be consolidated it is necessary to eliminate international conflicts. Consequently, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty called, at their recent meeting, for the settlement of all controversial issues peacefully, that is, politically.

96. Gunboat diplomacy, so-called punitive actions or threats with mobile strike forces are outside the law, justice and morality; they are a relapse into an era when the right of the stronger was the only thing that counted.

97. The history of international relations and the genesis of the United Nations, as well as current international developments, confirm that the use of force to suppress the sovereign rights of States and peoples has been and remains a major source of international tensions and conflicts. The German Democratic Republic therefore urges that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations that States shall not resort to force be strengthened and that a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations be concluded without delay.

98. There has been no progress towards establishing lasting peace in the Middle East. On the contrary, with increasing armed attacks on southern Lebanon and its decision to annex all of Jerusalem, Israel has drastically and dangerously aggravated the situation. The Camp David agreements<sup>6</sup> permit all this, and everything proves, once again, that lasting peace requires a comprehensive settlement and the participation of all sides, including specifically the PLO.

99. The core of the Middle East conflict remains the attainment and exercise by the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination, including its right to establish its own sovereign State. This was confirmed by the seventh emer-

<sup>4</sup> World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.

<sup>5</sup> Document A/C.1/35/7.

<sup>6</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

gency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to Palestine. The United Nations has outlined a comprehensive settlement of the conflict on the basis of its Charter. Hence, there is no need for a new concept, particularly if it falls far short of what is necessary.

100. Developments in the Middle East region call yet greater attention to the global problems of securing peace, because that hotbed of tension has expanded territorially. The military intentions of the United States of America leave no doubt about its design virtually to encircle the Middle and Near East in a pincer-like operation, with the support of those in other reactionary and hegemonistic quarters.

101. It is for this purpose that the system of military bases is being enlarged. The peoples will resist that because their sovereignty and independence and their right of control over their own natural resources are becoming endangered. Also, the conflict between the United States and Iran is, in the final analysis, the result of an attempt to reverse the Iranian revolution and to make that country again a tool of the United States. Here, too, a solution can only come about through negotiation and respect for the Iranian people's right to self-determination.

102. The German Democratic Republic reiterates its position that the question of Cyprus should be resolved in accordance with the Charter and the relevant decisions of the United Nations in the interests of the people of Cyprus and of international security.

103. Another region where a long-simmering conflict imperils world peace is southern Africa. The people of Zimbabwe, which we congratulate from this high rostrum in a spirit of long-standing active solidarity, has won independence and is strengthening its position. Its victory has given new courage to the fighters in Namibia and South Africa. They can be sure of support from the people of the German Democratic Republic. The United Nations has recognized SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia [*resolution 3 III (XXVIII)*]. This decision must remain undisputed. There must be no Namibia which is a protectorate of the South African racist régime.

104. The Namibia issue cannot be isolated from developments in South Africa. As long as it is in power, the racist régime threatens its neighbours and terrorizes the people of South Africa. Therefore we demand stringent sanctions against that régime. Above all, the nuclear collaboration of some States with the representatives of the policy of *apartheid* must be ended.

105. History teaches that whenever people exercise their right to self-determination, destroy the old exploitative order and strive for national and social independence, that is, for social progress, they encounter the fierce resistance of reactionary quarters. This is also the case in Afghanistan. But the Afghan people has good and faithful friends. Its Government is working successfully for a peaceful life in the country and is defending the gains of democratic revolution. It is offering its neighbours friendly relations and the region its contribution to peaceful coexistence and stable security. When outside interference ceases and its termination is guaranteed, the Governments of Afghanistan and the USSR

have declared, the Soviet troops are to be withdrawn. This announcement has already been confirmed by practical steps. Only in this way will it be possible to find a political settlement of the situation that has emerged around Afghanistan. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has made proposals to that effect, which we support whole-heartedly.

106. The German Democratic Republic disapproves of attempts to misuse the United Nations for interference in Afghanistan. Similarly, it opposes all designs to obstruct the great efforts of the people of Kampuchea to overcome the aftermath of the criminal Pol Pot régime, and it insists that the legitimate Government of that country should occupy its rightful seat in this Organization. The German Democratic Republic supports the initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea for a solution of the problems in South-East Asia. Their realization would be a step towards security in the region. We second the proposal to consider the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia as a separate agenda item at this General Assembly session. Likewise, we support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the solution of the Korean question, including the withdrawal of the United States forces from South Korea.

107. We speak up resolutely against the expansion of military presence and activities in the Indian Ocean, and we support the initiatives suggesting the conversion of the Indian Ocean area into a zone of peace.

108. If it is to endure, peaceful coexistence needs a climate of mutual understanding and the cultivation and dissemination of the great humanist ideals of international understanding and peace. The United Nations has outlawed instigation to war and to national and racial hatred and all other forms of poisoning of the human mind and perversion of human thought. Yet those things have not been uprooted. On the contrary, manifestations of Fascist and neo-Fascist ideologies are increasing and partly growing into organized terrorism. For this reason, the German Democratic Republic believes that concrete action should be taken to check that danger to peace and human rights. In this case, too, there applies the dearly learnt historical lesson that if an evil is to be avoided it has to be nipped in the bud.

109. World-wide implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence encompasses the democratic restructuring of international economic relations. The 1960s and 1970s have distinctly confirmed that international political crises tend to develop and become aggravated where and when States are denied their rights to conduct their economic relations on a basis of equality and to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources.

110. Extortion and the threat of force to secure raw material supplies constitute gross violations of international legal norms. They are sources of dangerous political tensions fraught with the risk of large-scale military conflicts. The same goes for all attempts to abuse economic relations for political blackmail against socialist States. The time is ripe for eradicating discrimination and restrictions, ending exploitative relations, containing the disastrous influence of transnational corporations and thus laying the foundations

for a democratic international economic order. That conforms to the legitimate interests and claims of the majority of States; that is what international peace and security require. The eleventh special session that has just ended has provided graphic evidence of this.

111. This General Assembly session has before it a heavy work schedule indeed. Yet, regardless of how different the issues are, their consideration must ultimately help strengthen peace and peaceful coexistence. All forces of peace and democracy are called upon to co-operate in solving this difficult task. The problems of today's world demand a clear commitment to peace and détente and, above all, action by each individual State and the United Nations as a whole.

112. Mr. NOTHOMB (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I am all the more pleased to do this because I am convinced that you will do everything to ensure that our work shall be as effective and well organized as possible and that the General Assembly will scrupulously fulfil its eminent role under the Charter of the United Nations.

113. Before going any further, I should like also to thank the President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, on whose enlightened wisdom we so often relied during the past year in diverse and complex situations. We would do well to recall, once more, the remarkable way in which he presided over the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a task which he successfully fulfilled with such wisdom and prudence.

114. I am pleased to have the opportunity to welcome the presence among us of the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of our Organization. That presence confirms once more the universality of the United Nations.

115. I should like also to express the great interest with which I have taken note of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/35/1], and to express my great appreciation to the Secretary-General for his remarkable synthesis of the many problems with which the United Nations has had to concern itself, for the suggestions he put forward and for his analysis—discreet, perhaps, but pertinent none the less—of the changes in international relations and, thus, in the goals of our Organization. I should like to assure the Secretary-General that Belgium will respond positively to the appeal he made when stating that it is up to the United Nations “to tilt the balance in the right direction” [*ibid.*, sect. I] in order to respond to the profound disarray and confusion which, unfortunately, characterize the times in which we live.

116. It has become a tradition in our Assembly for the nine countries of the European Community to express themselves with one voice in the general debate through the delegation which holds our presidency. It goes without saying that Belgium shares all the ideas and views expressed by our colleague, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg [6th meeting]. The great problems of the day are mentioned in his state-

ment. I shall not return to them, but wish to devote my first statement as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium before a United Nations General Assembly to certain basic considerations which underlie my country's foreign policy.

117. First of all, I wish to reaffirm that the search for a common stance among the countries of the European Community in the international dialogue remains one of the most important concerns of the Belgian Government. We feel, indeed, that the political co-operation which has been established among our States, and which is frequently expressed in the United Nations, is an original and precious contribution by us to the international community. The very fact that we co-ordinate our positions and conciliate our views undoubtedly gives more weight to the collective voice of the nine countries, but also gives it more balance. In this way we contribute to the spirit of tolerance which should characterize our work. More and more, the life of our Organization is characterized by dialogue between groups. The European Community, which groups together nine today and will group ten tomorrow and soon, we firmly hope, twelve democratic States of Western Europe, was among the first to recognize this state of affairs and to make an effort to adapt its actions to it. We are pleased to note that, more and more, our common action is not only accepted and recognized, but greeted with interest and satisfaction. Hence we shall continue along those lines.

118. A second consideration which inevitably affects the representative of a country like Belgium concerns the sad fate of some of the smallest States of the international community, which too often become the victims of the struggle among the Powers. For centuries Belgium has been known as the battleground of Europe. Many peaceful villages and places in my country, from Waterloo to Yser and Bastogne, are known world-wide as having been the sites of confrontations between foreign armies. We could certainly have done without this reputation founded on suffering and ruins. For 35 years, and thanks to the alliance to which it belongs and remains constantly faithful, my country has known peace and can contribute to détente. But I note that the hotbeds of tension and bloody crises which arise all over the world and with which our Organization has to deal most often strike the small States. It is as if the balance of terror and the immense developments in the field of weapons protect the great peoples but crush the small ones, precisely those which the international community should most energetically protect. What is happening in Lebanon, Kampuchea and Afghanistan should be a reason for shame and indignation for each one of us. We are witnessing the systematic and prolonged violation of the territorial integrity, independence and right to life of populations which have had the misfortune of falling within the sphere of influence of mighty neighbours or of serving as battlefields for their struggles.

*Mr. Al-Saffar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

119. Ever since the beginning of this century, the international community has tried to structure itself so as to establish a rule of law which would not be the law of the jungle. This is the *raison d'être* of the United Nations, and it is why our Organization must protest with unceasing indignation against the crushing of small States and the implicit or explicit threats which hang over the sovereignty of so many

States. It is also why we must not assail the universality of our Organization by excluding any country whatsoever from our work.

120. Finally, I should like to recall that behind the abstract words which make up the daily vocabulary of our debates lies a human reality. The efforts made by this Organization have a finality which surpasses the governmental or State dimension. While Governments are the instruments of bilateral or multilateral diplomacy, men and women are its subjects. A diplomat is not an actor in an esoteric game; he is the servant of the cause of mankind.

121. The disappointing results of international co-operation for development and the continued existence of many areas of instability and insecurity—even open conflicts—bring in their wake untold suffering, poverty and social inequality. Democracy is on the decline. Dictatorships succeed one another. Human rights are violated in all parts of the world. While millions of refugees wait, in terrible suffering, to be able to return to their homes, political obstacles sometimes prevent the Red Cross and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from fully fulfilling their humanitarian mission. Our Organization cannot remain indifferent either to the causes of this massive displacement of peoples or to its consequences. Nor can it remain indifferent to the taking hostage for political ends of innocent men and women, whose lives are threatened as a means of pressure.

122. It is the duty of the international community to put an end to these acts, but its action will remain insufficient as long as all its members, without exception, do not fully resolve to eliminate the deep-rooted causes of this evil, which are both political and economic.

123. Man has a right to the development which can promote his prosperity. Development aid can no longer be considered a charitable or paternalistic act. Development engages the responsibility of the entire international community and is the direct result of the recognition of the right to development. This is not a new right but should be considered as the synthesis of other human rights, including civil and political rights. The ultimate bearer of these rights is the individual, and the exercise of these rights will enhance the development of the individual's personality. From now on we recognize that the promotion of respect for human rights must be an integral part of activities related to development and that its realization involves the participation of all, including women, young people and the handicapped.

124. This year at Copenhagen, the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women had as one of its themes the full participation of women in economic and social development. Belgium will take this fully into account in its efforts to promote complete equality between men and women on the national level.

125. "Full participation and equality" are also the themes of the International Year of Disabled Persons, to be observed in 1981, which will provide our Organization with another opportunity to reaffirm the importance it attaches to the promotion of the value and dignity of human beings.

126. While many countries, beginning with developed countries, protect their weakest citizens against the risks of illness or unemployment through national systems of social security, it is inadmissible that the international community does not offer equivalent protection to the poorest countries. In the absence of determined common action in favour of the most impoverished countries, the Charter of the United Nations will not have been fully implemented, and the strong are likely to join the weak in chaos and misery.

127. In this context, we can only welcome the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his statement of 3 July last before the Economic and Social Council,<sup>7</sup> in which he advocated special action in favour of the least developed countries which have been particularly affected by the economic crisis. We hope that this Assembly will take appropriate measures concerning this initiative.

128. Too many positive elements have emerged from the eleventh special session of the General Assembly which was recently concluded for us to speak of "failure". The establishment of a new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade—which we will have to ratify formally—is an extremely important achievement. On the subject of global negotiations, the work of these last weeks has enabled us to identify the difficulties and problems and also to clarify our positions. Progress has been made which will probably allow the present session to produce a unanimous will to start basic negotiations, without which international economic relations will remain chaotic. As I stated at the eleventh special session:

"My country places great expectations in the outcome of these global negotiations. At the end of the negotiations, it would thus be ready to make a political commitment to apply the balanced results reached by consensus."<sup>8</sup>

Belgium has done and will continue to do all that is possible to obtain that consensus.

129. In this context, I should like to recall briefly the proposal of my delegation<sup>9</sup> concerning the conclusion of a pact for mutual growth which would link official development aid to the economic growth of the traditional and potential donor countries.

130. I repeat that Belgium earnestly hopes that solutions will be found to the world problems which confront us, because I am more and more convinced that the famous statement made by my predecessor Paul-Henri Spaak before this very Assembly is as relevant as ever: "It is not too late, but it is high time", he said. It is high time because disorder reigns in too many areas; it is high time because the poorest become poorer; it is high time because the rich are also slowly involved in a spiral of impoverishment; it is high time because the chasms which separate us may no longer allow reasonable solutions; it is high time because misery and poverty all too often lead to actions

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting.

<sup>9</sup> Document A/S-11/AC.1/5.

fraught with risk; it is high time because the worsening of international relations could end willy-nilly in a global conflict.

131. The representatives of the 154 Member States represented here are all aware of the dramatic nature of this situation. They also know that they will have to work together in the struggle against the economic crisis and in favour of development. They must perforce succeed in this enterprise in the interests of world peace and security. It is obvious that such flagrant imbalances will sooner or later lead to violent explosions.

132. The arms race resulting from these imbalances is a permanent threat. We are appalled by the fact that \$450 billion are now being spent on armaments in the world but only \$20 billion on development aid. That is why the Brandt Commission has suggested in its recent report<sup>10</sup> that machinery to strengthen the role of the United Nations should be established for the maintenance of peace. Such machinery should permit funds to be released for development through reductions in military expenditure.

133. Security and peace are not merely the absence of war; they also have an active character which could lead to balanced development and an equitable distribution of wealth. A lasting peace requires efficient economic co-operation. The absence of justice in international economic relations merely fosters dictatorial régimes which disregard the most elementary human rights. Those régimes disrupt peace, both by the international opposition to which they give rise and their economic and social injustices.

134. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has deplored the fact that the numerous international conferences on disarmament had often done no more than agree on organizational and procedural matters, without really tackling questions of substance [A/35/1, sect. V]. They were unable to prevent a dangerous escalation in the arms race. Many countries of the third world, including the poorest, wear themselves out and are reduced to bankruptcy as they seek to take part in this senseless world competition. Matters may seem different for each individual State; but the only reasonable solution to a threat of overarmament by a neighbour is a dialogue and a search for balance at the lowest possible level.

135. In Europe itself, continuing development of new weapon systems directed against our countries caused the Atlantic Alliance to take the decision last December to modernize its medium-range nuclear weapons, in order to offer that dialogue and that search for balance at the lowest possible level. That offer of negotiations remains. Belgium attaches special importance to it and welcomes the prospect of preparatory talks on this subject being started on 13 October between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the same context, Belgium has always expressed its interest in the ratification of the SALT II agreement.<sup>11</sup> But there should be no doubt about the will of my country, together

with its allies, to restore the essential balance. In our view, détente and defence are the two inseparable bases of our security.

136. Faithful to its long traditions in this field, Belgium remains strongly attached to all forms of international action in the field of arms limitation. Suffice it to recall the initiative taken here in 1978<sup>12</sup> by Belgium in favour of a study of all the regional aspects of disarmament. The purpose was to define a systematic regional approach for all disarmament problems and arms control. Belgium was pleased to read the report of the Group of Governmental Experts on Regional Disarmament over which it presided. That report was completed a month ago [A/35/416] and submitted to the present session of the General Assembly for consideration. I hope that the debates which will take place will contribute to progress in the cause of disarmament.

137. May I also express on behalf of my Government, as was done in this very hall by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden on behalf of his Government, great concern on the subject of the rumoured recent utilization of chemical weapons in two of the poorest countries in Asia. It is no longer enough for public opinion in the civilized world to condemn the utilization of chemical arms. All countries that have not yet acceded to the Geneva Protocol of 1925<sup>13</sup> must do so without further delay; that would allow all contracting parties to re-examine the desirability of maintaining the *inter partes* reservation for those who have registered it.

138. In conclusion, and to sum up, I have tried to stress the importance that Belgium attaches to an international community based on a certain number of fundamental legal principles, as set out in the Charter of our Organization.

139. The basic guideline of Belgium's foreign policy is certainly to do all it can to ensure that the international community of States, peoples and individuals shall be founded on those principles.

140. Just as one cannot imagine a democracy that it not based on the rule of law, so our Organization would be unthinkable were it not founded on a firm will to establish legal principles on an international level.

141. For countries like Belgium, which systematically refrain from using violence in international relations, the creation of a state of law at the international level is an indispensable element for the creation of a real community of nations.

142. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first to congratulate the President, on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, and to wish him every success in this important post. I should like also to express my gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Salim, for his successful conduct of proceedings.

<sup>10</sup> *North-South: A program for survival*: report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

<sup>11</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

<sup>12</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting, para. 217.

<sup>13</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925. League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138, p. 65.

143. It is with particular satisfaction that we welcome to the membership of the United Nations the representatives of the freedom-loving people of Zimbabwe who, in a long-drawn-out and heroic struggle against racism and colonialism, won its independence. There is no doubt that, by its activities in the United Nations, the Republic of Zimbabwe will help promote the triumph of the ideals of peace, co-operation among States and social progress.

144. We also welcome as a Member of the United Nations Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

145. The Assembly will recall that, in the 1970s, as a result of the purposeful and persistent efforts of the countries of the socialist community and also of the non-aligned States and progressive and peace-loving forces, and thanks to the sober and realistic approach and sense of responsibility of a number of Western statesmen and leaders, substantial progress was registered in the struggle for peace, security and international co-operation. The danger of war was considerably reduced and diminished. As a result of the deepening process of détente, the pre-conditions were created for the solution of a number of international problems. Greater prospects emerged for achieving, by means of talks, the elimination of dangerous sources of conflict. Genuine prospects emerged for the accomplishment of considerable progress in efforts aimed at curbing the arms race and reducing the tremendous burden of armaments. There was an acceleration of the process of elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. A start was made on the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. All that enabled the peoples of the world to entertain well-founded hopes for a peaceful and better future.

146. Unfortunately, on the threshold of the 1980s, the world has witnessed a turn of events that has threatened the positive gains achieved at the expense of such tremendous effort. That reversal was the result of the activities of those very forces that so fiercely resisted détente from the very beginning and attempted to keep mankind in conditions of cold war, mistrust, hostility and confrontation. The imperialistic, reactionary and hegemonistic forces are pursuing goals that are not at all new in their exacerbation of the international situation.

147. Recently the United States, with the support of certain countries members of NATO and the present Chinese leadership, has deliberately been stepping up tension in various parts of the world and has brusquely declared those parts of the world to be "spheres of its own vital interest". It has intervened in the internal affairs of sovereign States and has been creating special forces for this purpose, such as the "Rapid Deployment Force". It has sharply stepped up its military preparations, established new military bases, attempted to forge new military alliances, impeded talks on a number of disarmament questions, increased its military expenditures and created ever newer and more sophisticated forms of weaponry. We have seen how those forces, contrary to the universally acknowledged norms of international relations, have gone so far as to limit political, economic, cultural and other links with socialist countries. The goal of all that could not be clearer: to achieve military supremacy over the socialist countries and to pursue a policy "from a position of strength". That conclusion is most

eloquently confirmed by the proclamation of the new nuclear strategy of the United States.

148. The historic experience of mankind, however, particularly over the last few decades, has made it abundantly clear that the imperialist plans to achieve a dominant position in the world are entirely unrealistic and groundless. Efforts designed to carry out such plans lead only to one thing—the escalation of the arms race and an increase in the danger of armed conflict.

149. A completely different course, which is in keeping with the true interests of the peoples of the world, is proposed by the socialist countries. In July of this year, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, stated:

"The major historic task dictated by the times, dictated by life itself, is to produce a system of measures, agreements and understandings in order to guarantee on our planet the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, peace, freedom and the progress of peoples."

150. This is a task which it is certainly possible to perform.

151. All that is necessary is to evince the necessary realism and goodwill and do everything possible to eliminate the dangers with which the present international situation is fraught. To this end it is necessary to increase political contacts and exchanges of views. This need was very clearly confirmed at important meetings, which were recently held at the highest level. I refer to the talks between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and the President of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt.

152. In order to preserve détente as the dominant trend we must also mobilize all peace-loving forces and world public opinion. We are certain that a considerable contribution to this end is being made by the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, currently being held at Sofia, in which representatives of public opinion of more than 130 countries are taking part.

153. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a member of the socialist community, whose positions on international issues are well known. They are positions of principle, the aim of which is to strengthen détente, put an end to the arms race, carry out effective disarmament measures, eliminate sources of tension, eradicate the vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and ensure the observance of all the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

154. These positions were reaffirmed at the Crimea meetings of the leaders of the socialist countries.

155. The constancy and resolution with which our countries defend these positions are evidenced by all the proposals put forward by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty over the 25 years of its existence. Some of those proposals have already borne fruit.

156. I shall confine myself to citing as an example the proposal concerning the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which some viewed as Utopian when it was first put forward by the countries of the socialist community.

157. In May of this year the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty put forward a new initiative concerning the holding of a summit meeting of the leaders of States in all parts of the world to discuss problems connected with the elimination of sources of tension and the prevention of war. We are convinced that a meeting of this kind would do a great deal to ease tension in international relations.

158. Literally all our proposals can be implemented to good effect if our partners display the political will and readiness to discuss them and to work for the achievement of a sensible compromise.

159. The achievement of progress in resolving existing problems in any area of international life would undoubtedly contribute to an improvement of the international situation. But there is no doubt that the most important issues are détente and disarmament, which mean a peaceful future for the world. All countries, large and small, rich and poor, developed and developing, have a vital interest in the achievement of progress in this field, for man's survival depends on whether there is war or peace. Everything depends on the decision whether the resources spent on the elimination and destruction of mankind will instead be spent for the good of mankind, for the elimination of backwardness, hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy and ignorance. There are sufficient resources available for all needs, including the preservation and restoration of the human environment, housing, factories, irrigation, schools—for everything that ensures man's progress. That is why the socialist countries strive consistently for the strengthening of peace and détente, the achievement of progress in disarmament and the development of co-operation among peoples. Examples and proof of this are the new initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

160. The Peoples's Republic of Bulgaria whole-heartedly supports the proposal to include in the agenda of this session, as a particularly important and urgent matter, an item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" [item 121]. We believe that it would benefit the cause of peace and security for the General Assembly, at this session, to express its opposition to the extension of existing military and political groupings and the creation of new military blocs; to call upon all States, and above all the permanent members of the Security Council and countries linked with them by military agreements, not to increase the strength of their armed forces or their conventional armaments as from a given date, as a first step towards their subsequent reduction; to declare that it is in favour of the nuclear Powers taking agreed steps to strengthen the security guarantees of

non-nuclear States; and to support the immediate conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and the declaration of a one-year moratorium on nuclear tests of any kind.

161. In the course of more than three decades the United Nations has adopted a considerable number of useful resolutions and decisions in the field of disarmament and strengthening of international security. The Assembly's agenda still contains many constructive proposals, put forward by the Soviet Union and other States, which have preserved to this very day their validity and relevance. In this connexion, a new memorandum put forward by the Soviet Union and entitled "Peace, disarmament and international security guarantees", [A/35/482, annex] calls for mobilization of the efforts of all States, large and small, to curb the arms race and strengthen political and international legal guarantees of prevention of the danger of a new war and of preservation of peace. This is an appeal to all State leaders, to their conscience and to their sense of responsibility before mankind.

162. We are convinced that attention should be focused on the adoption of measures to halt the manufacture of all types of nuclear weapons and to gradually reduce existing stockpiles until their complete elimination. It is our belief that the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and of an agreement on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States would increase trust and give a powerful impetus to the process of real disarmament.

163. Along with measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, we should persist in our efforts to ensure the elimination of other means of mass destruction, such as chemical and radiological weapons, the prevention of the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction as well as the early reduction of stockpiles of conventional weapons.

164. Within the European context we attach primary importance to the following questions: the successful holding, at Madrid, of the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, at which a decision should be taken to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe; the immediate initiation of talks on medium-range nuclear missiles in the European continent simultaneously and in organic link with the forward-based American nuclear weapons; and the attainment of an agreement on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, real prospects for which are created by the constructive proposals recently submitted by the socialist countries.

165. We welcome the important proposal to consider the problem of the "Historical responsibility of States for the preservation of nature for present and future generations" [item 120]. Taking the necessary steps concerning this question would be a significant contribution to the solution of a problem of vital importance to mankind.

166. Concurrently with the efforts to take new measures designed to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament, particular attention should be focused on the problem of enhancing the effectiveness of existing international instru-

ments which are in force in this field by making the participation of States in them universal. We believe that the United Nations can and must contribute substantially to the practical solution of this important topical question.

167. In order to ease tension in international relations it is necessary to extinguish the hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world.

168. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to the question of Palestine and held from 22 to 29 July this year, has proved once again that the Middle East conflict cannot be resolved without a resolution of the Palestinian issue. It is clear to all, though not all concede it, that separate agreements not only have failed to bring about peace, but have complicated the situation in the region still further. They encourage Israel to take increasingly brazen actions, as exemplified by the annexation of East Jerusalem.

169. The development of the Middle East crisis demonstrates that there can be no just and lasting settlement to the conflict until such time as Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, until the Arab people of Palestine exercises its inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to create its own sovereign State, and until the independent existence and security of all States and peoples in the region are guaranteed.

170. All parties concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine, through its sole legitimate representative, PLO, must participate in the settlement of the Middle East problem.

171. The outbreak of armed conflict between Iran and Iraq has given rise to serious disquiet. We hope that hostilities will cease and that both sides will find a solution, by peaceful means, to the problems that exist between them.

172. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is adhering to its position of principle that the question of Cyprus should be settled in a peaceful way in the interests of both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, on the basis of the preservation of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus and respect for its policy of non-alignment.

173. Our country supports the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a policy aimed at ensuring favourable conditions for a peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

174. Serious concern arises in connection with the military bases which have lately been established around socialist Ethiopia. They threaten the security of that country and of all nations in the region. We fully support the aspirations of the Ethiopian people to peaceful development, the safeguard of the territorial integrity of their homeland and the ending of any interference whatsoever in Ethiopia's internal affairs.

175. The agenda item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119], which is to be considered at this session on the proposal of a number of countries, including Bulgaria, is directly linked with the

question of the relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of world peace, security and détente throughout the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to make of South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability, to promote peaceful coexistence in the region and to settle disputed questions through negotiations. Because of the incessant activities of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in the region are being constantly violated or threatened. These forces are stepping up their efforts to impose their will on the countries in the region. They are not giving up their efforts to undermine the peaceful reconstruction which the heroic people of Kampuchea, having thrown off for good the yoke of the criminal clique of Pol Pot, are now carrying out.

176. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria insists that the Kampuchean people be represented at the United Nations by their sole legitimate representative, namely, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

177. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports unconditionally the struggle of peoples all over the world for national independence, against domination and exploitation and for social progress. The efforts to attain those ideals constitute an objective process which the imperialist and reactionary quarters are trying to stifle through the use of coercion, military threats and violations of the sovereignty of independent States.

178. The "undeclared war" waged by the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and counter-revolution against the sovereign Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with the aim of destroying the acquisitions of the April revolution is still going on. This not only hinders the peaceful and constructive activity of the Afghan people, but also impedes a political settlement of the problem and represents a direct threat to international peace and security. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which fully supports the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, is confident that the political settlement of the problem can be achieved only on the basis of the constructive, realistic programme announced by the Afghan Government on 15 May 1980.

179. Unfortunately, the imperialist and reactionary forces which continue their interference in Afghanistan have as yet given no sign whatever of a positive attitude towards such a settlement.

180. This fact has at least one explanation: the extinguishing of the hotbed of tension in Afghanistan would deprive them of pretexts for continuing their propaganda clamour, and then it would become abundantly clear to all that the long-term plans of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces for obtaining world supremacy, rather than the events in Afghanistan, are at the bottom of the present aggravation of international tensions.

181. Twenty years ago, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Inde-

pendence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.<sup>14</sup> We can now note with satisfaction the decisive role that the Declaration has played in mobilizing world public opinion for the eradication of one of the most degrading phenomena in human history, namely, colonialism. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is deservedly proud of having invariably sided, along with the other socialist and progressive States, with the colonial peoples and of continuing to render its contribution to the triumph of their just struggle for national liberation.

182. But unfortunately that struggle has not yet ended.

183. The question of Namibia and the policies of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa persist and are as acute as ever. My country supports the struggle of the people of Namibia led by its sole authentic representative, SWAPO.

184. We reaffirm our position of principle in favour of the granting of full independence to the people of Namibia.

185. However, we oppose attempts to resolve this question outside the framework of the United Nations, or to use the Organization as the means of imposing on the Namibian people a kind of "independence" which would, in essence, protect foreign interests.

186. All that I have said so far is based on the principles which underlie our foreign policy and our relations with neighbouring and distant countries. Thanks to that policy we have good relations with all our neighbours. There is now in the Balkans a prevailing desire for peace, co-operation and good neighbourliness, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is by no means playing the smallest role in the attainment of those objectives.

187. The establishment of new international economic relations among all the States of the world is one of the key issues at present. The possibilities of solving this problem depend directly on the strengthening of peace and security and the development and deepening of the process of détente, as well as on the implementation of practical measures for disarmament.

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

188. The deepening crisis of the capitalist economic system is having a negative impact on international economic relations. In the field of foreign trade that crisis has led to a slowing down of the rate of development of international trade, the constant growth of protectionism and the exacerbation of the monetary problems of a number of capitalist countries. As a result, the economic conditions in many developing countries have deteriorated and their ability to use their international economic ties for the solution of their development problems has been restricted. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly demonstrated once again that the scope, the depth and multifaceted nature of the contemporary crisis phenomena require a radical transformation of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis rather than a mere adjustment of the existing machinery.

189. In accordance with the position of principle of the countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we fully support the efforts of the developing countries to achieve economic independence. Our solidarity with them in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the elimination of relations of inequality and subordination imposed upon them by the imperialists and for the right to dispose freely of their own natural resources will remain firm.

190. In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that in the 35 years of its existence, in circumstances of dynamic and contradictory international relations, the United Nations has contributed significantly to the strengthening of peace and détente, the promotion and deepening of the positive trends and processes in the world and the solution of many complicated international problems.

191. Throughout the years of its membership in the United Nations, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has remained faithful to those noble goals and has contributed to their achievement. The people and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirm their willingness to continue their active and steadfast efforts to ensure the implementation of the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, in order to support the aspirations of mankind to peace, co-operation, freedom and social progress.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*