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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Alborno (Ecuador),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HAAKMAT (Suriname): The task of the President of the General Assembly becomes more difficult each year, due in part to the special sessions of the Assembly. It is therefore a cause for satisfaction to know that a diplomat of the stature of Baron Rüdiger von Wechmar, whose outstanding personal qualities, great diplomatic ability and skill are well known to us, has been entrusted with guiding this Assembly. We also extend our greetings to him as a representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, a country with which Suriname has long-standing relations of friendship and co-operation and which plays an increasingly important role in the shaping of world affairs. We are confident that his extensive knowledge of United Nations affairs will be a major asset to the successful work of this session.

2. We offer special thanks to his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. At the time of his election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth General Assembly session we were certain that he would perform his task excellently in all respects, for Ambassador Salim always exceeded our expectations.

3. We include in our expressions of thanks the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who once again put forth his best efforts in the performance of his difficult tasks, especially that of promoting international peace and security.

4. When Suriname was admitted to our international Organization in 1975, our country had reached quite satisfactory political and economic levels. Before its independence, Suriname was already autonomous in its domestic

affairs, while it had the right to have a say in the foreign relations of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, of which it formed a part. The natural resources of the country, especially in the areas of land, forestry and mining, offered good prospects for a favourable economic development. Consequently, Suriname amply met the conditions which are indispensable for real independence in the community of nations.

5. What holds true for individual persons, however—namely, that the availability of sufficient means does not guarantee growth towards spiritual adulthood—also holds true for a country, as an association of individuals. For the development of a country towards true independence, it is certainly required that the State organs act according to certain moral values in order to prevent disorder, stagnation and deterioration. I regret to say that in recent years those norms were not observed in an appropriate manner, as a result of which our country was threatened with slipping into a deep abyss.

6. Since 15 March of this year we have had a new Government in our country, and it has undertaken a total renovation of policies. We have set ourselves the goal of arresting the process of moral and physical deterioration which had unfortunately set in during recent years and of guiding the country on a new course oriented to the development of Suriname and its people for the benefit of the people.

7. We are well aware that this will have only symbolic value if the management of the country is not supported by our people in all walks of life. The process of renovation is already in progress and will be completed in the following sectors: the governmental and political order, the social welfare order, the social economic order and the education order.

8. The Government of Suriname will lead the country in a truly democratic spirit, and in accordance with the best democratic standards and traditions, in order to realize these objectives, in which it has the full support of the people, the National Military Council and other functional groups. It is our desire at all costs to prevent our country from again taking the road of increasing injustice and arbitrariness. We particularly want to prevent development from benefiting only a small group of privileged persons. Extremism, whether from the far right or the extreme left, is not welcome in Suriname. The policy pursued by the Government is aimed at establishing social peace and justice for all. This places the Government slightly left of centre.

9. Our country fully respects its bilateral and multilateral commitments, in particular those enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, the authentic principles of the non-

aligned movement and those of the Organization of American States.

10. It is our intention to strengthen our ties with other progressive Governments, both in the region and elsewhere. Suriname will continue to conduct its foreign policy as a truly independent State, guided by the abovementioned principles. It has no intention whatsoever of becoming a satellite State.

11. Suriname favours a world order based on mutual respect and dialogue among States and respect for human rights. In our opinion, relations between States should not be determined by elements of power. In no way should differences in military or economic might determine these relations. Countries should be able to settle their own internal affairs, free from outside interference, and to develop along the lines decided by their people.

12. The delegation of Suriname therefore views with great concern the expanding war between Iran and Iraq. The continued war between these two non-aligned nations could develop into a most serious threat to international peace. Consequently, my delegation urgently calls upon the Governments of Iran and Iraq to comply with Security Council resolution 479 (1980) of 28 September 1980.

13. Within a period of seven months the Government of Suriname had to deal with two planned coups intended to end the reforming process set in motion in our country after 25 February of this year. The first action pitted against the Government elements of the old régime, which harboured the intention to return the previous incompetent, corrupt and arrogant rightist régime to power. The second action pitted extremists from the left against the Government and was even more dangerous. To keep matters under control, the Government had to declare a state of emergency and dissolve Parliament. Consequently, the Constitution had to be suspended.

14. A new Constitution is now being drafted. As an intermediate step, an Assembly will be appointed until a new Parliament is elected. The Assembly will consist of representatives of various functional groups of the population, labour unions included. Those unions continue to function normally. In addition, a planning council will be established. It will be a tripartite organ in which representatives of Government, workers and employers will collectively bear responsibility for Suriname's economic policies.

15. Our population warmly supports the liquidation of the old corruptive system. Those who have profited under that system will be held responsible. Consequently, a special court has been established to deal with the large number of corruption cases. That special court will observe internationally accepted principles of criminal law and conduct its sessions in accordance with fair judicial procedures. Therefore, the defendants are guaranteed a fair trial. We should welcome observers to the proceedings of the court, which will be open to the press and the public.

16. My delegation warmly welcomes the arrival in our midst of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Zimbabwe as independent States. On this happy occasion we extend our most cordial congratulations to the Government of

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and the Government of Zimbabwe on their membership of the world Organization. We are convinced that they will make an important contribution to the translation of the objectives and principles of the United Nations into reality.

17. Since the independence of Zimbabwe could only be achieved after the defeat of the forces of colonialism and racism, the emergence of that country on 18 April of this year as an independent nation and its subsequent admission as a new Member of the United Nations during the recent special session of the General Assembly on economic development has a special significance for peoples all over the world who are interested in justice, human dignity, and peace.

18. The result of the struggle in Zimbabwe is the light at the end of the tunnel for peoples still struggling for justice and human dignity. We salute the courageous people of Zimbabwe and wish them well in all their future endeavours.

19. A special tribute goes to the Government of Great Britain which as the administering Power combined wisdom and resoluteness in the critical hours of Zimbabwe's transition to independence.

20. The admission of new Members to the world Organization in a year in which commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] is envisaged highlights the important work being done by the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of that Declaration. We commend the Special Committee for its important work in eliminating colonialism from the face of the globe and wish it strength and the power to persevere in its noble task.

21. The Charter of the United Nations calls the maintenance of international peace and security one of the Organization's most important functions. That task has become still more difficult during the course of this year owing to the increasing international political tension and the deterioration of the world economy.

22. The worsening political situation is noticeable on almost all continents, while political problems are unfortunately not limited to the countries or regions in which they originated. Many of those crises have the potential for spreading beyond the borders of the countries and regions directly involved. It is in that context that we see the continued presence of foreign armed forces in Afghanistan in spite of the request contained in resolution ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980 adopted at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly. This is true also of the situation in South Africa and the Middle East, the Palestinian question, the annexation by Israel of the eastern part of Jerusalem, notwithstanding protests from the entire world community, the Korean question, the situation in Namibia, the still unresolved problem of the American hostages in Iran, the situation in South-East Asia, and the situation between Iran and Iraq.

23. The Government of the Republic of Suriname is of the opinion that all those problems should be solved peacefully

through dialogue in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

24. On our continent the growing tension in Central America is a source of considerable concern to us. A bright spot is provided by the fact that the new Government of Nicaragua is raising that fraternal country from the ashes of the previous régime.

25. The possibility of internal and external outbursts in the Caribbean area is constantly on the increase, in particular as a result of the deterioration of the social and economic situation and the increasing unemployment associated therewith.

26. The Government of Suriname is aware of the fact that we are a part of the American continent and that many bonds connect us with the fate of the countries of the Caribbean. Therefore, it intends to strengthen the bonds linking us to our Caribbean brothers. Not only does it support the further improvement of existing bilateral relations, it is at the same time a vigorous proponent of regional co-operation with those countries.

27. Our stand on the right of self-determination, the right of a people to chart its own destiny, led us to vote for the General Assembly resolution of 29 July 1980 [*resolution ES-7/2*], which is in general consistent with the principles on which our position is based. Our positive vote on the resolution, however, does not mean that we would not have preferred a reinstatement of the right of all the States in the region—including Israel—to a secure and independent existence, as provided for in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

28. It is not lost on us that the separate peace agreement of 1979 between Israel and Egypt has not proved contagious and that it did not result in a solution of the central problem of the Middle East conflict.

29. All other issues, however important they may be, such as the increasingly harsh Israeli military occupation, the rigid attitude of the Government of Mr. Begin and the latest sad act of the Knesset regarding the eastern part of Jerusalem, are more symptoms than problems. The central problem remains that the Palestinians want a State of their own and that Israel denies the Palestinians their right to determine their own political future. That is the basic issue which lies at the very core of a solution. A solution to the Middle East problem can be found only if Palestinians and Israelis accept each other's right to have a State.

30. By its resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949, the General Assembly, noting that Israel was a peace-loving State able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations, decided to admit it to membership of the United Nations. That historic resolution was based on the acceptance by the world community of the right of the Israelis to establish their own homeland.

31. We fervently hope that the Government of Israel will be capable of rethinking and reconsidering its traditional position and that it will be able to accept for the Palestinians the same *raison d'être* which led to the establishment of the

Jewish homeland and the adoption of that 1949 resolution by the world Organization.

32. At the end of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly adopted on 30 June 1978 the Final Document of that session [*resolution S-10/2*], which contains a Declaration from which the following is taken:

“Mankind today is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth. Failure of efforts to halt and reverse the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, increases the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Yet the arms race continues.”

33. That Final Document was adopted unanimously without any opposition from nuclear or other States. However, since its adoption, the arms race has continued unabated in the areas of both nuclear and conventional armaments.

34. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], which has now been signed by 113 countries, was reviewed during the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980. The Government of Suriname expresses its regret that differences over nuclear arms control issues have prevented the Review Conference from adopting a comprehensive final document, despite the fact that general agreement had been reached on many significant issues. The provisions of the Treaty should have been given full support in order to avoid a possible weakening of this unique instrument for international peace and security. It is beyond any doubt that the Treaty has prevented the horizontal spread of nuclear arms and thereby strengthened international security.

35. On the other hand, China and France are not yet parties to the Treaty, and other non-nuclear countries which are now on the verge of crossing the so-called nuclear threshold have not yet signed it. The Treaty can also bring to a halt the continuous expansion and modernization of the nuclear-weapons arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States.

36. For those reasons the Government of Suriname is convinced of the essential importance of this Treaty. As a country which is not an oil producer, we fully realize the enormous importance of the peaceful use of nuclear power. That, however, should in no way be an obstacle to the signing of the Treaty. Therefore, we are of the opinion that acceptance of this Treaty must be made more attractive by creating greater and easier access to the possibilities of the peaceful use of nuclear power.

37. An outstanding and unique example of a regional approach to non-proliferation is the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),¹ which has been ratified by Suriname. It offers the possibility of preventing a nuclear holocaust in the Latin

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

American continent. Moreover, it can serve as a prototype for other treaties for nuclear-weapon-free zones.

38. The Government of Suriname and the 22 sister countries in which the Treaty is in force would feel more secure if its full effect were extended to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba and Guyana. In particular, we hope for rapid ratification of that Treaty by Argentina and accession to it by Cuba and Guyana. Moreover, it calls on the Governments of France and the United States to ratify its Additional Protocol I.

39. An alarming phenomenon in the macabre tragedy of the arms race is certainly the fact that the third world countries, whose subsistence levels are under increasing pressure from external factors such as imported inflation, capital shortages and oil prices, are utilizing their already limited resources for the acquisition of arms to a constantly increasing extent. In the 1970s the total importation of arms by third world countries quadrupled compared to that of the 1960s.

40. A serious setback in the efforts to slow down the arms race is the fact that the SALT II Treaty,² which was signed by President Brezhnev and President Carter at Vienna on 18 June 1978, are at present in danger of becoming victims of the bloc policies of those super-Powers.

41. Although the SALT II Treaty itself does not contain any drastic solution to the armaments problem, important political advantages are connected with it. In particular, it offers the hope that détente between the super-Powers will increase, which could exert a positive influence, especially if the treaty were followed immediately by new bilateral negotiations on further reductions in nuclear and conventional armaments.

42. Political decolonization is almost complete, except for some exceptions such as Namibia and several smaller areas, even on our continent.

43. In Namibia, the United Nations is again confronted with an attempt by the Government of the Republic of South Africa to prevent independence in that area. Pretoria originally gave the impression that it was in agreement with the so-called Western plan to hold elections under the supervision of the United Nations and with the stationing of United Nations troops there. Moreover, South Africa agreed in principle with the proposal of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for a demilitarized zone between Angola and Namibia.³ Since then, however, Pretoria has presented new conditions which are unacceptable not only to the front-line States but also to the United Nations. In this connection I should like to refer to South Africa's attempt to ignore all United Nations resolutions on Namibia, including those in which the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

² Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

³ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*, document S/13862.

44. The problem of Namibia cannot be considered separately from the political situation in South Africa itself, which is determined in all respects by the *apartheid* problem. The Government of Suriname condemns the *apartheid* policy of that country on moral grounds. No other position is conceivable, considering, among other things, that our population is composed of descendants from different continents. Our concept of life and our morality lead to a sharp rejection of any form of racism.

45. Since the founding of our world Organization, much has been said about the *apartheid* problem and Namibia. Various measures which are unquestionably useful have been taken within the framework of the United Nations. One of them is the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], which was signed by Suriname on 3 June this year. However, the resolutions of our world Organization will be powerless as long as they do not affect the economy of South Africa.

46. The Government of Suriname supports, for example, Security Council resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980, which was introduced as a reaction to the terror perpetrated by the Government of South Africa against schoolchildren who had demonstrated against the *apartheid* policy.

47. The call in that resolution on Pretoria to end its *apartheid* policy, to grant an amnesty to prisoners, to refrain from aggression against independent African States and so on, will always be ignored as long as no concrete measures are taken, particularly a comprehensive policy of mandatory sanctions including especially an embargo on oil products.

48. It is important to note that South Africa expressed interest in the Western plan for Namibia only when faced with an impending embargo. The time for verbal condemnation has passed; the time for concrete action has now arrived.

49. The Government of Suriname formally expresses its support for the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa, and in particular for SWAPO, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. It fully supports the struggle for national liberation and the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and colonialism in those areas.

50. In this connection, allow me to make a few remarks about the spectre of a new and subtle form of *apartheid* which seems gradually to be emerging and which has not yet been subjected to sufficiently thorough consideration in international forums. I am referring to the problem of the cultural and ethnic minorities in parts of Europe.

51. The rapid economic development of Western Europe could be achieved only through the importation of a large amount of cheap labour from third world countries, among them Algeria, Turkey, Morocco and countries in the Caribbean region. Those workers were lured from their homelands under numerous pretexts. Roughly one third of the total Caribbean population now live in Western European countries. Western Europe's prosperity would be unthinkable without the contribution and efforts of those so-called guest labourers or migrant workers to its industrial process.

52. However, as a result of the current global recession, we are now witnessing emerging patterns of racism and inhuman and discriminatory treatment of those minorities. The rate of unemployment of people in that category is disproportionately high, their living conditions are deplorable and their children in many cases are being deprived of adequate education, while they are often excluded from public accommodation. They cannot participate fully in the common opportunities of public life because they are often denied access to that accommodation. The ethnic minorities are frequently *de facto* restricted to secluded areas and subjected to police brutality in many cases.

53. This leads me to the conclusion that human rights problems are not limited to South Africa or to certain régimes in some third world countries. They are certainly not alien to Europe. The many cases of infringement on the human rights of ethnic minorities in that part of the world bear witness to that sad fact of life. If not checked, that problem could, in our opinion, turn into a source of tension that will not be in the interest of international peace.

54. For these reasons my delegation suggests that a special session of the General Assembly be convened to deal with this unfortunate problem. In the meantime, we believe that the appropriate organs of our Organization should address themselves more extensively to that phenomenon.

55. In this regard, my delegation will support every effort to improve the lot of migrant workers, a problem which appears on the agenda of the Third Committee at this session of the Assembly. More specifically, my delegation will lend its support to the coming into being of a convention aimed at furthering the cause of those workers and their families. Such a convention could also deal with the serious problem of the brain drain from developing nations. Many among us would not contest the expert opinion that the development aid given to the developing nations is surpassed by the benefits derived from that brain drain.

56. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, held recently, marked the beginning of the third United Nations Development Decade. The outcome of this Decade is uncertain, but it is clear that the economic development of our planet will be influenced by the achievements of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Since the first session of that Conference in December 1973, more than 66 weeks have been spent in meetings to establish a new international régime for hydrospace.

57. Considerable progress was made at the recent session at Geneva. It is our hope that the third revision of the informal composite negotiating text of the draft convention will be transformed into a final draft treaty during the next and, I hope, final session. My Government is concerned at the unilateral mining legislation promulgated by certain States and urges other industrialized States not to follow that example. It is hoped that those States will not limit themselves to paying lip-service to the noble concept of the common heritage of mankind.

58. With regard to general aspects of the law of the sea, the Government of Suriname deplores the fact that no compromise solution has been reached on the delimitation of maritime boundaries between opposite and adjacent States.

It is regrettable that the exchange of views during the ninth session between the two interested groups has not produced any text satisfactory to the sponsors of document NG7/10/Rev.2⁴ and like-minded delegations. It seems to us that on this issue the sea does not escape national egoism. We express the hope that a negotiated solution will be reached at the session to be held in March next year.

59. The Conference on the Law of the Sea is now at a crossroads. The Government of Suriname is convinced that only a comprehensive and carefully balanced treaty on the law of the sea can avoid a scramble of claims to exploit the wealth of the oceans beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, in accordance with the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV).

60. The first international development strategy, adopted in 1960, is already fading away in the mist of unfulfilled expectations. The then prevailing optimism that the gap between rich and poor countries could be narrowed seems, with hindsight, almost incomprehensible and rather frivolous. And yet the first strategy constituted a real breakthrough because of the acceptance by the advanced countries of the fact that the development problem was a matter of mutual concern and interest to both the developed and the developing nations.

61. At that time, however, we did not fully realize that the idealistic ideas laid down in that strategy, in particular those regarding development aid, had to be confirmed by the national legislators of the advanced countries. The expectation that those legislative bodies would prove to be equally enlightened was a serious miscalculation.

62. Having gone through the negotiating process which led to the adoption of a second strategy and after two decades of frustrating North-South discussions about the economic future of the world, we are now painfully aware that it will take gigantic efforts, if not a miracle, to prevent the rich-poor gap from widening even further.

63. The establishment of a new international economic order, aimed at a more just relationship between the poor and the rich nations, remains a distant goal. Frankly, we are rather pessimistic about the willingness on the part of industrialized nations to make the necessary political and economic sacrifices, which are essential to the attainment of that goal. We do indeed wonder if they will lower their trade barriers, amidst the ever-increasing protectionist voices. We are not optimistic that the necessary reforms in the international monetary system will be effected. Neither are we inclined to believe that advanced countries will raise their development aid to adequate levels, and our pessimism does not appear to be unduly great against the background of recession and inflation, coupled with almost automatically rising oil prices, which seem to shatter all hopes for a brighter economic future.

64. Only a few weeks ago, notwithstanding long and often acrimonious discussions between the advanced and the less-

⁴ Informal suggestion submitted by 29 countries with reference to articles 74 and 84 of the draft convention.

advanced countries, during which, as so often in the past, we seemed to talk past and not to each other, we could not even formally adopt the third international strategy for the 1980s.

65. We still hope to improve the North-South relationship, since the rift between the "haves" and "have-nots" in our world is potentially as dangerous and lethal as the Middle East crisis and the arms race. Notwithstanding our somewhat restrained optimism, we vigorously support the continuation of the North-South dialogue, since the maintenance of open communications is what the United Nations is all about.

66. During the eleventh special session of the General Assembly we wasted much time in trying to work out the ground rules for the global negotiations on essential matters relating to official development assistance, monetary affairs and the energy problem. During those discussions, many of us low-income and middle-income countries, haunted by the spectres of recession, inflation and expensive oil, felt completely dismayed and frustrated that those negotiations were prevented from getting off the ground as a result of a deadlock. We are of the opinion that those negotiations, assuming that they are decided upon, should concentrate on root problems such as development aid, energy and monetary reforms, which must be dealt with in an open and objective manner directly related to those problems.

67. The disheartening failure of the Third General Conference of UNIDO, held at New Delhi from 21 January to 9 February 1980, and the fiasco of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, should serve as danger signals for all of us. In this connection, the unfair way in which international development aid is structured should be highlighted. Promises made by donor countries are well publicized and get broad media attention. But actual development aid is slow in coming and difficult to obtain because of red tape, and has many constraints. Furthermore, much of the development aid returns in one form or another to the donor country and only marginally benefits the recipient country. It is obvious that the intention of closing the gap between rich donor and poor recipient countries cannot be fulfilled in this manner.

68. It is not generally recognized that rapid inflation adversely affects the real value of development aid offered by the donor country. Therefore, we would strongly support building inflation hedges into aid programmes. Otherwise those programmes could eventually prove to be birds in the bush and not in the hand.

69. Understandably, we in Suriname are strong protagonists of the indexation of multilateral and bilateral aid in order to prevent offers of such aid from becoming mere token grants—in other words, grants that do not really contribute to development. This may be considered one of the reasons which may urge people to leave their homelands in search of greener pastures.

70. In rightly criticizing the advanced States for their lack of generosity and their often myopic chauvinism or ideologies, we developing nations are inclined to forget that the stagnation in our development sometimes arises from our own shortcomings, particularly in the field of management. Those developing countries which are almost on the thresh-

old of becoming industrialized nations often excel in one particular aspect—for example, in the management of their own affairs. My Government, for one, is willing to acknowledge this fact, since, notwithstanding our ample natural resources, our development has been seriously hampered in recent years as a result of inadequate management. We therefore believe that, apart from and perhaps owing to the absence of the necessary global, regional, subregional and intraregional measures, we should in the next decade rely more on careful but firm management of our own capacities and of our resources.

71. In short, in striving for a better world economy and in supporting those who aspire to a more just New International Economic Order, we must first set sail from the principle of self-reliance in the sea of continuing troubles in our world. On the other hand, having adopted so many undoubtedly highly important global strategies and programmes of action in the past decade, we think that the time has now come to gear ourselves to parallel actions more limited in scope but none the less of essential importance.

72. More concretely, the Government of Suriname, while loyally and actively continuing its participation in the realization of comprehensive universal programmes, wishes to suggest that from now on we should concentrate to a greater degree on the possibility of regional, subregional and intraregional efforts.

73. After having attained our independence five years ago and having been an isolated colony for more than three centuries, we are still trying to establish our own identity. We in Suriname have now made a fresh start towards a better future for our countrymen. In so doing, we realize that the nations of the world cannot live without international peace and security, a principle upon which the United Nations rests. For these reasons, I chose to make my first address to the international community in the forum of our world Organization.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) took the Chair.

74. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I voice my sincere congratulations, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, for the excellent choice which has been made by the international community, represented by this Assembly, in electing you President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election to that high office is a confirmation of your outstanding merits, your skill and the eminent qualities which we recognize you to possess. At the same time it is a deserved tribute to your country, which is making a valuable contribution to the consolidation of peace in Europe and to the easing of tension throughout the world. The delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, which has the closest friendly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, would like to assure you of its full co-operation in order to facilitate your task and to ensure the complete success of the present session.

75. The admission of new Member States to the United Nations is likely to complete and consolidate its universality. Morocco is very pleased to welcome the delegations of

Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and would like to assure them of its complete co-operation. We are particularly happy for the people of Zimbabwe, which has been waging a lengthy struggle to regain its freedom and its dignity and whose delegation has now taken its rightful seat among us. That people has now assumed responsibility for its own destiny after having taken a decisive step on the road leading to the complete and final emancipation of the entire African continent.

76. While celebrating this important victory of Africa, we consider the event an additional reason to redouble our efforts in our action and in our commitment to the other peoples of southern Africa which are still struggling for their emancipation and their freedom.

77. I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for all he has done and is continuing to do to implement the purposes and principles of the Charter.

78. In the early years of the last decade, the beginnings of international détente raised immense hope that dialogue would prevail over confrontation, and that compromise would take the place of conflict. Unfortunately, today that hope is fading and the world is actually faced with an international situation which hardly gives rise to optimism because the factors which make for tension and instability are multiplying in several areas of the world. Latent conflicts run the risk of escaping the control in which we imagine them to be held, of spilling over their geographical boundaries and of leading to generalized confrontations.

79. The chronic tension, threat of war and deadly confrontations in the Horn of Africa are a striking example of that. Equally, the present dispute between Iraq and Iran, which was provoked by a clear violation of the historical rights of Iraq, is another bloody manifestation of those deplorable tendencies, the consequences of which could be catastrophic for international peace if the parties to the dispute do not positively and swiftly enough respond to the appeal for a cease-fire made by the Security Council and the Islamic Conference.

80. The hegemonistic tendencies, on the political level and in the economic field, the tenacious desire of some to impose their own ideology, the struggle to gain influence and benefit, the ever-growing gap between increased prosperity and overwhelming poverty, the chronic under-development of most of mankind, the heavy burden of debt which affects the emerging countries and the unbridled arms race are also factors which give rise to fear of cataclysms the consequences of which for the stability of the world are easy to imagine. It is therefore essential for us to increase our vigilance so as to avert the dangers looming in the decade of the 1980s, which has just begun, lest they degenerate into destructive conflicts.

81. A number of nerve centres in Asia and elsewhere are still flash-points of tension. There can be no doubt that the Middle East remains our greatest concern because it represents one of the most serious potential threats to peace and international security. The international community concluded that the Palestinian problem was undoubtedly at the core of the Middle East tragedy and that any solution of that

conflict must necessarily entail the complete restoration of the inalienable rights of the fighting Palestinian people.

82. It is heartening to see the broad degree of international support and the ever-growing sympathy which is accorded to the Palestinian cause as well as the striking success which the Palestinian people has achieved under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. The overwhelming majority of States in our community recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and also that people's absolute right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own sovereign State in its territory. I should also like to recall that the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine adopted this summer by an overwhelming majority an important resolution [ES-7/2], which reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, free from any foreign interference, and confirmed its right to establish a sovereign State on its national territory.

83. However, we note with deep concern that the fighting people of Palestine continues to be the victim of the blind stubbornness of the racist Zionist entity and that it is threatened daily with genocide and large-scale massacres. In the meantime, we have witnessed, without any effective reaction, the Judaization of the Palestinian Arab lands, the distortion of their religious and historical characteristics, the methodical modification of the original population, all in flagrant violation of numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and in complete disregard of world opinion in a desperate attempt to destroy Palestinian identity.

84. The Israeli Knesset recently adopted a fundamental law designed to turn the Holy City of Jerusalem into the "unified and perpetual capital of Israel". That decision is another challenge by Israel to the numerous resolutions which have condemned Zionist attempts to Judaize the Holy City and demonstrates, if indeed that is necessary, Israel's total rejection of any just and equitable solution to the Palestinian problem. It should also be recalled that this attitude is in blatant contradiction of Security Council resolution 478 (1980), which determined that all legislative and administrative measures and actions which purported to alter the character and status of Al Quds were null and void and must be rescinded forthwith.

85. In this connection we should like to express our deep appreciation to those States which have decided to transfer their embassies from Jerusalem pursuant to the resolution of the Security Council and in response to the appeal of the Islamic Conference, namely, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, the Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela.

86. The Islamic world quite properly considers that the Israeli steps to integrate Jerusalem are a definite provocation and a challenge to the hundreds of millions of Moslems and Christians. In order to meet this challenge, His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco convened the Al Quds Committee in an emergency session at Casablanca under his presidency, during which the Islamic Conference reaffirmed its commitment to counteract Israeli actions and to work for

the liberation of Jerusalem. The Conference considered this pledge as an Islamic and humanitarian duty incumbent upon all Moslem countries and all countries which love peace and justice and support the struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its rights to self-determination, to return to its land and to establish its own State on that land.

87. My country also had the honour to host last month the special Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic countries who adopted a number of resolutions whereby the participating countries committed themselves to liberating the Holy City and mobilizing their full potential to combat the Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem.

88. The Kingdom of Morocco, whose sovereign is President of the Al Quds Committee, considers the question of Palestine and of the Holy City of Jerusalem as its own and has reaffirmed its total commitment to support the struggle of the Palestinian people until it achieves self-determination and independence and establishes its own sovereign State in its own territory.

89. We therefore ask the General Assembly to take all necessary steps to put an end to the repeated acts of Israeli aggression and to demand the implementation of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel, which continues to occupy the Arab and Palestinian lands and to defy United Nations resolutions and all the decisions of the international community.

90. Morocco is following with extreme alarm the continued acts of aggression by Israel in the southern part of Lebanon and resolutely condemns the criminal raids carried out against Lebanese towns and villages. It strongly reaffirms its complete solidarity with the fraternal people of Lebanon and its full support for the Lebanese Government in the efforts to defend its independence and protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

91. The people of Afghanistan, which for centuries has been paying a very high price to safeguard its independence, is day by day sacrificing the best of its sons to preserve its freedom, its sovereignty and its faith. By an overwhelming majority and in this very hall, the international community has expressed disapproval of the new situation which has arisen in Afghanistan and declared its firm will to put an end to it and reject the *status quo*.

92. My country, which is linked by ancient ties of friendship to the Soviet Union and still wishes to develop those relations, can only reaffirm its solidarity with the Moslem people of Afghanistan and will continue, within the framework of the Islamic Conference, to seek a satisfactory solution to this unhappy problem, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980 [A/35/419-S/14129, annex I, resolution 19/11-P]. It is also the duty of our Organization to support the Afghan people and their inalienable right freely to determine their own way of life. Morocco, which is the repository of an important part of the Islamic heritage and a defender of its eternal ideals and principles, assures the Moslem people of Afghanistan of its complete solidarity with them.

93. Another Asian people, that of Democratic Kampuchea, is today being subjected to a policy of wholesale Vietnamization and is enduring physical and moral agony under the law of a Government imposed from outside. International solidarity is being mobilized, despite the obstacles, to save the people of Kampuchea from famine, epidemics, insecurity and disorder and every effort must be made to support the right of that people to peace, dignity and freedom of choice.

94. The Powers which, a quarter of a century ago, began a thorough reconsideration of their behaviour in Africa on the basis of a more tolerant ethical system and a more comprehending awareness of the aspirations of the peoples, must understand the desire of the African continent today to resist the violent infiltration of ideologies which are alien to it, attempts to cause destabilization, introduce hegemonism and shamefully exploit its wealth and the economic dependence which maintains the existence of many areas of unjustifiable under-development.

95. At a time when we are welcoming the advent of the Republic of Zimbabwe, we cannot forget that the Namibian people is still waging a heroic struggle in order to hasten the process of decolonization started by the United Nations, which has been frustrated so many times by the South African racists. The tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, as well as the United Nations proposals made last June, have been met by intolerable delaying tactics on the part of the authorities in Pretoria, who reject with disdain the numerous resolutions adopted almost unanimously by our Organization.

96. May I say here that the Kingdom of Morocco hails the struggle of the heroic people of Namibia and supports its fight for unrestricted independence and absolute territorial integrity.

97. Now that tolerance has become more and more widespread in the behaviour of nations and at a time when the world is becoming aware of the need to respect human rights in all forms, South Africa and its racist régime continue to practise the odious policy of *apartheid* against the people of South Africa who are constantly subjected to acts of mass repression. Those who directly or indirectly lend their support and co-operation to South Africa impair the force of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and become the *de facto* accomplices of the South African racists who preach the doctrine of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

98. There is an evil which affects a number of regions of the world and which is for Africa a particularly disquieting tragedy, and that is the problem of refugees, who now number in the millions. It can escape no one that this tragedy has a very deleterious effect on the African countries whose economies are already in a precarious state, and thus adds to the present problems. From Sudan to Somalia, from Cameroon to Zambia, millions of human beings are in a state of total deprivation and are anxiously and impatiently awaiting a gesture of international solidarity, which has not as yet been forthcoming. The action which has been undertaken by the High Commissioner for Refugees is extremely beneficial and welcome, but it is far from having obtained all the funds and assistance that is needed, despite the impulse to international solidarity that it has succeeded in arousing.

99. North-west Africa is also unfortunately subjected to tension that has been artificially created and deliberately maintained by forces from abroad. What we now call "the problem of Western Sahara" is really only a reflection in the region's politics of a methodical hegemonism that aims to take over the economy and the ideology by unscrupulous force, all disguised as the defence of principles which certain countries proclaim with highly suspicious enthusiasm. Last year, I denounced⁵ the manoeuvres of the enemies of Morocco's sacred cause of national unity, who tend to create belief in the existence of an entity for which a specific identity has been devised and the existence of a so-called "Sahraoui State", for which titles of legality are being sought, against every rule of law and common sense. I recalled also how Morocco had suffered from the most pernicious form of colonialism, which, by alienating its independence, has been particularly prejudicial to its territorial integrity since it involved the organization of five separate zones of foreign occupation and a sixth area under international jurisdiction.

100. Despite the fact that the colonial occupation of Morocco lasted almost 50 years, our territory was not invaded in a single operation. The invasion was gradual and stretched over a long period of time, proceeding by stages in which the territory was reduced province by province. For that reason, the independence of Morocco was also won piecemeal, while the national struggle was being carried out.

101. The central part of Morocco, which was a French protectorate, became independent on 2 March 1956. The northern part, which was a Spanish protectorate, was reintegrated into the motherland on 7 April of the same year. The international zone of Tangier was recovered in the autumn of 1956. The northern part of the so-called Western Sahara was returned to Morocco in 1958 under the name of Tarfaya. The Ifni enclave was detached in turn from the so-called Spanish Sahara and returned to Morocco in 1969, in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations which asked Spain to negotiate with my country on the problems involved in decolonizing that territory and the then so-called Spanish Sahara. Finally, the territory of the so-called Western Sahara was restored to Morocco in 1975, and this was noted by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975.

102. Morocco's struggle for the restoration of its territorial integrity lasted many years; it covered the whole colonial occupation period and continued after the independence of the northern and central areas. The national independence movement began its fight in all the provinces of Morocco, from the north to the south of the territory.

Mr. Carías (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

103. When in 1956 colonialism was forced to make major concessions by abandoning regions where it could no longer withstand the national movement, it attempted, by the ploy of giving them different kinds of status, to perpetuate its domination over fringe areas, whose economic potential was foreseeable but as yet unexploited. However, both in the liberated areas and in those areas that remained under

Spanish and colonial domination, the national movement called the tune and, where necessary, organized the struggle for total liberation and national reunification.

104. Thus, at that same time, in the spring of 1956, the Congress of the Western Saharan peoples, held at Oum Chgag in the region of El Ayoun, adopted a still famous manifesto by which all the tribes in the region swore to the late King Mohammed V complete faith in and loyalty to the Alaouite throne and the Moroccan nation, of which they are an integral part. The delegation that represented the peoples of that region visited Rabat and was received by the sovereign, King Mohammed V, who welcomed them during an official ceremony in the course of which he committed himself to ensuring their protection and their reintegration into the mother country.

105. The Spanish colonial Power was particularly hesitant in permitting Morocco to recover its rights and so a Moroccan liberation army was formed in that region and successfully undertook direct action in order to recover our national territory. The decisive battle of Dcheira in the region of El Ayoun in 1975 sounded the death knell for foreign military presence in Moroccan Western Sahara by routing the occupying forces. That was when the famous Ecouvillon operation was mounted, in which the Spanish forces of the region and the French forces that came from Algeria and western Africa had to combine their efforts for many weeks in order to overcome the resistance of the liberation army at a time when it had already virtually liberated the major part of the territory.

106. At the same time and later as well, an independent Morocco used every means available to it in order to make its voice heard and to recover its rights. Thus, without ever getting out of touch with the Spanish Government with regard to this point, Morocco was the first and the only country to introduce in the United Nations the question of "Ifni and the Spanish Sahara". Thus, for many years, Morocco was the prime mover in all action aimed at the final decolonization of its Sahara.

107. Within the Territory, the National Movement was organized around various fronts and parties whose actions converged to the same end. Besides the liberation army, we had the Front de l'Unité, the Front pour la libération du Sahara marocain, the Mouvement révolutionnaire des hommes bleus, the Front pour la libération et l'unité, and the Parti de l'Union Nationale Sahraouie. Most of these movements have since 1966 reaffirmed, in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, their commitment to Morocco and explained the meaning of the struggle they were waging.

108. After the reincorporation of the Saharan provinces into the motherland, democratic life resumed in these provinces, as in the case of the other Moroccan provinces, and the populations were consulted four times, at the local and national level, on the basis of universal suffrage. There were the communal, provincial and professional elections in 1976, legislative elections in 1977 to appoint seven deputies to the national House to represent the Saharan provinces, a national referendum on 23 May 1980 for an initial amendment to the Constitution and, finally, a referendum on 30 May 1980 for a second amendment to the Constitution.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 20th meeting, paras. 119-190.

109. Thus, more than 95 per cent of the population of the Saharan provinces is actively involved in all aspects of the life of the nation, is going about its business peacefully and regards the question of its liberation and reincorporation into the mother country as a matter which has been settled once and for all.

110. In view of the fact that the territory is freely open to observation from outside, this situation gives the lie to the wrongful and tendentious claims whereby our adversaries have tried to mislead world public opinion.

111. The latest population census carried out in 1973 by Spain, which was at that time the administering Power, was performed in conditions of technical precision that no one can call into question. It establishes, in a document which has been registered with the United Nations, that the total population of the territory at that time was slightly in excess of 73,000 inhabitants.

112. The simple fact that approximately 68,000 inhabitants have at present been recorded in the towns and villages of Moroccan Sahara shows just how unworthy of credit are the false claims—emanating from Algiers—regarding representation of the populations of the Sahara.

113. Morocco would like solemnly to recall that the decolonization of its Saharan provinces was carried out in conditions which met all legal and diplomatic standards and that its complete achievement of territorial integrity in accordance with international rules is an irreversible and definite fact.

114. Africa, which realized the dangers for the entire continent involved in the persistence of this artificial problem, at the time of the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980, instructed the "Committee of Wise Men"—or *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State and Government on Western Sahara—to carry out a mission of reconciliation among the parties to the conflict [A/35/463, annex II, AHG/Dec.118 (XVII)]. Despite the reservations which were made by my country in connection with certain members of the Committee whose impartiality was by no means certain, Morocco took part in the Freetown meeting to demonstrate its desire for peace and its willingness to co-operate in an African context in order to restore to the area an atmosphere of harmony and good neighbourliness.

115. Furthermore, the presence at Freetown and the presentations before the "Committee of Wise Men" of the OAU of 10 organizations representing movements of resistance to Spanish colonialism and political entities from the Saharan provinces militating in favour of a return to the mother country, provided irrefutable proof that the peoples of the Sahraoui region had once and for all chosen to remain Moroccan. Those organizations also provided sincere testimony which definitely impressed the "Committee of Wise Men", who had before them all the necessary direct evidence which enabled them to get a better understanding and a fairer picture of the problem.

116. Despite the fact that our cause was just and our desire for peace unshakable, our national territory has been sub-

jected to constant aggression from abroad which we are meeting with vigour and determination, as our duty dictates and in accordance with our right to self-defence.

117. Throughout its history the people of Morocco has always fought successfully, when it was necessary to preserve its faith, its national unity or its territorial integrity. Nevertheless Morocco, which has constantly cherished and sought peace has always invited its opponents to seek ways and means of restoring peace, stability and traditional good-neighbourly relations.

118. During the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the OAU at Freetown, the heads of African States decided to consider the problem of the prevailing tension in north-west Africa from a new angle, by placing it in its true context, that of a dispute between African States. Thus, they opted for a peaceful approach in accordance with the spirit of fraternity and solidarity advocated by the charter of the OAU. In paragraph 2 of the decision adopted by the Assembly at Freetown, the "Committee of Wise Men" is clearly requested, under its new mandate, "to continue its work with a view to reconciling the parties to the conflict and seeking a peaceful and lasting solution thereto" [*ibid.*].

119. Thus, the Conference decided to cease enclosing the members of the "Committee of Wise Men" or the parties involved in the strait jacket of references and narrow principles which up to now have only succeeded in paralysing the attempts at achieving peace. Throughout the world voices are being raised, calling for concrete measures to strengthen international security and to advocate the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

120. We hope for the emergence of real international détente, and we deplore the fact that the problem of disarmament, which is intimately linked with international security and the survival of mankind, remains in a state of deadlock and that the encouraging results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, have produced no positive effects on the unbridled arms race. The great Powers, which hold considerable stockpiles of nuclear weapons and which devote no less considerable financial resources to perfecting them and to making them more sophisticated, should not remain deaf to the appeals of mankind, which is so distressed by the threat represented by these stockpiles of weapons.

121. I should like to take this opportunity to express my strong disapproval of the biased campaign launched against certain developing countries, Iraq among others, which are trying to develop programmes for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The developing countries in general are perfectly entitled to acquire nuclear technology, and to use it for peaceful purposes; they are also entitled to improve their knowledge and experience in this area.

122. Morocco noted with profound concern the failure of the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons recently held at Geneva as well as the lack of a consensus on the strengthening of the Treaty. This failure has further increased our anxiety about the fact that no progress has been made towards nuclear disarmament, which is the first step in general and complete disarmament. Morocco, which is

working actively for disarmament at both the world and regional levels, will combine its efforts with those of all peaceful forces with the object of concluding international conventions prohibiting all weapons of mass destruction.

123. In the quest for détente and collective security, the non-aligned movement, which was able to resist the pressure exerted on it during the most crucial years of the cold war, can play a very important part if it remains faithful to the principles which have been the mainstay of its strength and is able to keep clear of blocs, to avoid allegiances, and to oppose the movement being monopolized by a minority of States wishing to take advantage of it. For its part, Morocco will spare no effort to restore to non-alignment its purity, its strength and its influence.

124. In a few weeks the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will convene at Madrid. Morocco wishes member States all success in their efforts effectively to ensure security for their continent and to organize fruitful and sincere co-operation among themselves. But we cannot reasonably conceive of the consolidation of peace and security in Europe as long as the Mediterranean basin is beset by conflicts. This is why Morocco is greatly interested in being invited to this Conference to express its views on co-operation with Europe and its concern about the indivisible security of the whole of the region.

125. Because of its geographical position in the Mediterranean basin, the Kingdom of Morocco has special responsibilities with regard to the historic role of the Strait of Gibraltar. For that reason my country has, since the dawn of history, been a dynamic bulwark in the interplay of civilizations between Africa and Europe, which has made it possible for it to fill a decisive role in the links established between the Islamic and Christian civilizations. It is also for that reason that Morocco is determined to continue to shoulder its responsibilities in drawing the two continents closer together and in bringing about understanding among the communities of the entire region. This determination can be seen today in what my country is doing to establish a permanent link between the two shores of the Strait of Gibraltar, a link on which preliminary technical studies are under way with a view to its taking effect shortly. This gigantic project shows our faith in the establishment and consolidation of ties of peace, mutually beneficial development and fruitful co-operation among the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea, and particularly at the Arab-African-European level, for the benefit of all the peoples of the region.

126. The world economic situation has reached a level of deterioration whose consequences will spare neither developed nor developing countries. International economic leaders and institutions are studying with profound concern the upheavals of recent years. The developing countries are viewing with trepidation a number of phenomena which, born of ossified and ill-adapted structures, are beyond their control. The now chronic crises of indebtedness and unemployment, and the social upheavals and political unease which follow them, accentuate the vulnerability of the economy of the third world, are likely to mortgage its development, and also nullify the rare signs of progress achieved despite unforeseen circumstances.

127. The international economic conferences which have met in recent years have revealed the need to reorder the world economy by reducing the gaps between the poor and the wealthy and by eliminating economic injustices and inequities. This was the objective of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the Third General Conference of UNIDO. The third world took part in these various meetings in the hope of finding a working platform acceptable to all. But, here again, there was a lack of political will among the other participants who, concerned only with perpetuating their primacy, were reticent on the subject of the establishment of the new international economic order.

128. Now that we are on the threshold of the Third United Nations Development Decade, analyses and studies of the second strategy show that we fell far short of its goals. Moreover, the situation has grown increasingly worse for the developing countries, which feel more severely the effects of the international economic crisis: inflation, increased commodity and equipment prices, worsening of their balance of payments, and so forth.

129. Therefore, co-operation has become imperative for all, co-operation in a spirit of equity towards the developing countries which are entitled to demand measures which will make it possible for them to increase their share in world industrial production, the reform of the international monetary system, the setting up of foreign financial support for their development programmes, relief of their external debt, the adoption of new measures which will enable them to process their own raw materials, the abolition of the protectionist policies pursued by the developed countries and technology transfer adapted to the needs of developing countries and within their financial means.

130. Even more recently, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to development, unfortunately ended its work in partial failure. The third world, which was entitled to expect a comforting degree of compromise, once again noted the hesitation expressed—hesitation all the more intolerable because it comes from what is called the “solidarity of the wealthy”. Nevertheless, Morocco attaches great importance to having the thirty-fifth session continue the work that was started at the last special session and would like to appeal to all Member States to reach general agreement on the development strategy, in order that preparations can be made for joint action which will eventually be crowned with success.

131. Africa, which became acutely aware of the importance of this question during the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in the capital of Nigeria on 28 and 29 April 1980, will make its own contribution and welcomes the fact that the Plan of Action drawn up at Lagos is taken into account in the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which will come into effect in January 1981. We hope also that in the course of this session the Assembly will be able to remove the final obstacles which still face us in the North-South dialogue, so that no later than next year global negotiations may be undertaken.

132. The Kingdom of Morocco is very satisfied with the results of the ninth session of the Third United Nations

Conference on the Law of the Sea, which this year gave us greater hope and, indeed, opened new prospects for success next year. Nevertheless, in the final stage of this arduous negotiating process, it is important that we consolidate what has already been achieved by making necessary improvements which, by taking account of the fundamental national interests of States and by effectively contributing to a more equitable distribution of world resources, will ensure that the future universal convention on the law of the sea will win the largest possible degree of adherence as quickly as possible. It is also important that, until all the institutions of the international sea-bed régime are set up, States should display wisdom and restraint and abide by the terms of the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], which solemnly declares the international area of the sea-bed and ocean floor to be the common heritage of mankind.

133. To ensure international security, to work towards peace, to promote economic development, to help colonial peoples to become free: these are all lofty objectives to which the United Nations has been devoting itself faithfully and with perseverance. That lofty enterprise will be stopped if the international community does not devote itself with renewed vigour to promoting civil, political, economic, social and cultural human rights and if it does not ensure the strict implementation of the respective covenants.

134. We are living in a world which essentially needs confidence and security and which wishes to spare mankind from the evils of war and total destruction. Our world is crying out for economic self-sufficiency, but also for respect of human dignity.

135. Morocco is determined for its part to persevere in its efforts to create a social and political atmosphere, both internationally and regionally, propitious to the establishment of relations of constructive co-operation, which it hopes will represent a co-mingling of the genius of all peoples who are carried by the same impetus for construction and development, away from rancour and conflict.

136. We remain convinced in Morocco that respect by all for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of the Organization itself, so that it can become the ideal forum for fruitful dialogue among Member States, will help us in our common progress towards achieving the ideals to which mankind aspires.

137. Mr. RAO (India):⁶ I extend to Mr. von Wechmar the warm felicitations of my delegation on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. His nomination to that high office is a tribute to his personal qualities as an experienced and skilful diplomat. It is also fitting testimony to the dedication of his great country to the ideals of the United Nations, and his opening address amply demonstrated his personal devotion to the fundamental principles and purposes of the Charter. I wish him every success in his challenging assignment and pledge my delegation's full support in his endeavours.

⁶ Mr. Rao spoke in Hindi. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

138. It is a matter of particular satisfaction for me to place on record the sincere appreciation of my delegation for the outstanding work performed by his predecessor, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. His presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, as well as of the three special sessions during the past 12 months, was indeed an eventful one. The patience, skill, sincerity and unfailing courtesy displayed by him will long be remembered in the annals of the General Assembly.

139. It is a pleasure for me to greet once again our distinguished Secretary-General. We admire the way in which he has been discharging the onerous and delicate responsibilities which the complexities of the international situation impose upon him. His travels and efforts straddling the globe, covering points of crisis and explosive situations, have helped defuse tension in our troubled world.

140. I already had the opportunity at the eleventh special session to extend my congratulations to the freedom-loving people of Zimbabwe on the achievement of their hard-won independence and their membership in the United Nations. I should like once again to welcome Zimbabwe to our midst and to wish it all success in its exciting and difficult task of nation-building.

141. It also gives me great pleasure to extend our warm and sincere felicitations to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which has now become the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the Organization. We rejoice with them in their hour of triumph and joy and trust that their aspirations to a better and brighter future will be amply fulfilled in the years to come. India looks forward to establishing mutually beneficial relations with the new nation.

142. The Indian delegation participates in this General Assembly in the context of a transformed domestic political perspective. India has had another general election since the General Assembly met last year. The people of India appraised the challenges that they had faced, reassessed the nature and quality of leadership required to meet them and massively reaffirmed their conviction in the leadership of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

143. The new Government in India is engaged in the difficult and enormous task of national reconstruction and regeneration of a pluralistic multilingual, multireligious and diverse society, and this by democratic means. Intractable though our problems may seem, our national efforts to resolve them since our independence have borne results to a great extent. This has imbued our people with a sense of confidence and inspired them to the objective that India shall emerge as a strong, self-reliant and modern nation.

144. It is also an abiding conviction of my Government and my people that India's future stability and development depends on the success of the international community in creating a world order characterized by durable peace. There is a national consensus, therefore, on the content and objectives of India's foreign policy. There is unanimity of opinion in India about the relevance of the principles of non-alignment and the imperative need for friendship towards all nations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

145. Developments during the past year have not been such as to bring credit to the international community as a whole. The collective behaviour of nation-States in recent months has only deepened the sense of insecurity and distrust in the world. New and ever more ominous strategic doctrines are being propounded, bringing the world closer to the cataclysmic outbreak of an all-out nuclear conflagration. The scientific genius of mankind is being exploited for the perverted purpose of manufacturing means of destruction, perhaps in the search for the "ultimate weapon" which, it is believed, I think quite erroneously, would enable one or the other group of States to impose its will on the others. Increasing recourse is being made to might in a manner which has threatened the national independence and integrity of small and medium States. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States has been observed more in breach in a variety of ways, covert and overt. All means are considered legitimate in the pursuit of the objective of expanding spheres of influence. International economic relations continue to be marked by inequity, selfishness and shortsightedness, particularly by those who possess the means to bring about a change and to start the process to usher in a New International Economic Order. The wisdom which was evident last year when certain significant decisions were taken in the sphere of the North-South dialogue seems to have lost some of its momentum this year.

146. Living as we do in this small and increasingly interdependent world, no one can completely escape responsibility for the current atmosphere of gloom, fear, frustration and diffidence. But the primary responsibility must rest with those who literally possess the power of life and death over all of us and who do not hesitate to wield that power, without caring too much for the consequences of their action. A few powerful nations are claiming and blatantly exercising what they consider their right to cause destabilization in any place and at any time and with any means of their choosing. It is obvious that the weak and poor nations cannot look upon this unenviable lot of theirs with equanimity. They have, therefore, to be eternally vigilant if they are to survive, if they are to preserve and promote the well-being of their peoples and if they are not to become pawns in the game of great-Power manipulation. They have to speak up on behalf of their mute millions, assert that they have no intention of acquiescing in the dangerous activity of big-Power brinkmanship and that they do not wish to face annihilation either by the deliberate design of callous Powers or by accidental errors of mindless machines.

147. It is in this context that the policy of non-alignment assumes greater validity. Non-alignment is the embodiment of the aspirations of the vast majority of nations and peoples to protect their existence, their freedom, honour and dignity. The non-aligned movement is not directed against one or the other bloc. Over the decades it has come to represent a positive force—a force of life and not of death—in international relations which is now recognized even by those who had at one time ridiculed it. At the same time, the non-aligned movement has had to pass through certain vicissitudes. The general atmosphere of doubt and recrimination seems to have contaminated the movement to some extent. Internal problems within the movement have tended to

affect its unity. We have to examine these problems closely and devise ways and means of ensuring the unity and continued effectiveness of the movement. While reserving these tasks for discussion at the forums of the non-aligned movement itself, I shall only express my confidence that, both by positive determination and by sheer necessity, non-alignment shall be restored to its original concept and sweep when it was devised to deal with global issues of détente, disarmament, decolonization and development.

148. There is an organic relationship between these four issues. Progress in any one of them would help create the proper atmosphere for forward movement in the others. By the same token, setback in one leads to increasing difficulty in the others. The present international situation vividly illustrates their interrelationship. The collapse of détente has led to stalemate in disarmament negotiations and absurd increases in defence expenditures which, in turn, have prevented the developed nations from achieving what was expected of them in international economic co-operation and development or, at any rate, tended to provide them with an alibi for falling far short of expectations.

149. It is a matter of considerable anguish to my delegation that the continent of Asia, which has given the world all its major religions and served as the main cultural pathfinder over several millenia, is at present the scene of most of the conflicts and much of the suffering caused by these conflicts—West Asia, South-West Asia and South-East Asia. The Indian subcontinent, I am happy to say, has been free from conflict for some years now, and it is my earnest hope and the constant endeavour of my Government to see genuinely peaceful and co-operative relations continue to develop in this area.

150. In West Asia, the threat of a conflagration will continue to persist so long as the Palestinian problem is treated as a refugee problem and as long as the commitment of the United Nations to establish an independent State for the Palestinians in their homeland remains unfulfilled. Far from heeding the call of the United Nations to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, Israel has unabashedly colonized Arab lands and illegally annexed the Holy City of Jerusalem in total disregard of its sacred heritage. I firmly believe, as I said a few weeks ago during the seventh emergency special session,⁷ that a comprehensive solution to the problem of West Asia entails the following elements: the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights, including the right to establish an independent State; the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem; and the guarantee of the right of all States in the region, including Arab Palestine, to live within secure and recognized borders. A peaceful solution cannot be attained without the full and equal participation of the PLO, the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, in any negotiations. Experience has shown that attempts at partial solutions without the participation of the PLO have neither succeeded nor contributed to peace in the region.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting.

151. The people and Government of India are saddened by the recent and continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq, two close neighbours of ours. Our cultural and economic ties with the peoples of the two countries are as old as history itself. Since our independence in 1947 those ties have become even closer and acquired new dimensions.

152. Iran and Iraq are both developing countries, as in India. We cannot but express regret that the conflict will inevitably lead to retarding the process of economic and social development which is so vital to the needs of the peoples of the two countries. At the same time the conflict weakens the solidarity of the non-aligned and developing countries. We therefore urge Iran and Iraq to settle their differences peacefully, in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

153. The developments in Afghanistan have been engaging the serious attention of the Government of India. India has historical and traditional ties with the people of Afghanistan. We are deeply concerned and vitally interested in the security, independence, stability and tranquillity of our friendly neighbour. Over the past months the Government of India has been in touch with the countries of the subcontinent, as well as other countries, in order to prevent the aggravation of these dangers and heightening of tension.

154. We have consistently emphasized the inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations or intervention or interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. It is also our firm belief that only by upholding the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States can peace and stability be preserved in the area. Observance of those principles would not prejudice the legitimate security interests of any State and, in fact, would go a long way towards safeguarding them. What is required is a dialogue among the parties concerned, without pre-conditions, so that the contours of a political settlement, acceptable to all, can emerge. I am satisfied that such a dialogue is possible, since most of the difficulties are essentially notional and at best technical and non-substantive. If the countries of the region are left in peace to work out their own destiny, without the competitive attention of great Powers, that will permit them to embark on relationships based on mutuality and a developing trust in bilateral negotiations as the best means of settling outstanding problems.

155. India's relations with Kampuchea go back several centuries. Indeed, the temples of Angkor Wat bear testimony to the close interconnections between the cultures of our two countries. The gentle and peace-loving people of Kampuchea have suffered very greatly through no fault of their own. The world will not forget nor condone the calculated and heinous crimes perpetrated in the recent past by a cruel régime against the innocent and defenceless people of Kampuchea. It is a great irony that, while emphatic references are being made time and again to human rights, the first and foremost right of the Kampuchean people, namely, the right to live, has been glossed over conveniently. Politically motivated callousness seems to have crossed all limits when it is realized that remnants of the very same despotic régime are representing, as it were, their own victims of Kampuchea in this Assembly.

156. The countries of Indo-China have been subjected to conflict, destabilization and war for far too long and should be allowed now to concentrate on the development of their economies and societies. The Government of India has decided to establish diplomatic relations with the Government headed by President Heng Samrin. This is an expression as much of the overwhelming majority of public opinion within India as of our general policy of recognizing the reality of the political situation inside Kampuchea.

157. We value highly our relations with countries of ASEAN and believe that the development of our relations with all our neighbours in South-East Asia will enable us to assist in the solution of the problems that confront them at the present time.

158. Every objective analyst of the situations in South-West and South-East Asia must be convinced by now that extreme positions have not helped ease tensions in either region; on the other hand, they have only hardened attitudes and prolonged the sufferings of the concerned peoples. India's approach is based on the conviction that the search for a solution in both cases lies in political means and not through military force.

159. There should be no illusion that India is seeking merely momentary peace. As we have repeatedly stated, we are against the presence of foreign troops or foreign bases in any country. But if we desire to move towards finding a positive solution, what is required is an assiduous and continued effort to devise suitable package solutions which take care of the concerns of all and succeed in eliminating outside intervention and interference. Willingness in this regard on the part of the concerned, howsoever partial, should be taken advantage of for furthering a solution and not being spurned out of hand. If only the efforts of influential countries had been bent in this direction, these problems would, I am sure, have already been well on the way to satisfactory solution. That has been India's approach, and I am glad to say that it has over the months begun to receive at least grudging approval by many. In this connection, I should like to make special mention of the beginning of a dialogue between Viet Nam and Thailand, with the good offices of the Secretary-General. This is the right direction, and I hope it will proceed to ultimate success in that region as well as elsewhere.

160. The Indian Ocean has become over the past decade and a half the arena of increasing great-Power confrontation. The stresses and strains of their relationships have often been reflected in the corresponding arithmetic of their military presence there. That the littoral and hinterland States have expressed their unified and determined opposition to such military presence and called for its elimination in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace in resolution 2832 (XXVI) is a fact of history which is often sought to be conveniently ignored.

161. The current uncertainties in the political and security climate in the Indian Ocean as well as its environs, as evidenced by the frantic efforts to develop the Diego Garcia base, further underline the urgency of addressing ourselves to this central preoccupation. Both in the recently enlarged *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, where we have welcomed the participation of the great Powers and major

maritime users, and at the Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be convened during 1981 in Sri Lanka, India will clearly identify the key concern of the littoral and hinterland States in securing the effective implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We are firmly committed to the convening of the Conference in 1981 in Sri Lanka and expect that the decision of the present session of the Assembly will contribute to that goal.

162. On 1 October 1980 the President of Pakistan in his statement before the General Assembly [18th meeting] referred to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of India. That reference, attacking as it does the territorial integrity of India, was unfortunate. Three times in 24 years Pakistan attempted to detach the State of Jammu and Kashmir from India by the use of force. It received a befitting response on each of the three occasions. In 1972, India and Pakistan signed the Simla Agreement,⁸ which provides for the settlement of all issues between the two countries through bilateral negotiations. But since 1977 Pakistan has repeatedly raised the issue of Jammu and Kashmir at the United Nations and other international forums. References are made to relevant United Nations resolutions on the subject, quite forgetting the fact that those resolutions have become irrelevant because of the action of Pakistan itself. In the face of such references, I am constrained to wonder whether Pakistan's adherence to the Simla Agreement has undergone a change. There is a clear contradiction between the expressed desire of Pakistan to normalize relations with India in accordance with the Simla Agreement and its pronouncements in various forums which attempt to set the clock back. India's stand, on the other hand, has remained constant, and we continue to be prepared to settle all matters with Pakistan through bilateral channels.

163. There is an old Indian metaphor likening the world to a frog resting in the shadow of a cobra's hood. Such is the plight of peace in our age. The question of the relationship between ethics and power in international politics has long engaged the attention of both the philosopher and the practitioner of foreign policy in the nation State. Our principal concern in this nuclear age is, however, that the leadership of the most powerful nations of the world should consider not only the political appositeness of their foreign policy prescriptions but their consequences for the very survival of the world. We run the risk today of being carried on the wings of a collective paranoia. The situation calls for restraint and responsible behaviour so as to bring the world away from the edge of a nuclear catastrophe.

164. Yet, judging by the current climate of international relations, the shadows of such a catastrophe have become darker. Not only have the expectations of the first Disarmament Decade, and especially those of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, been belied, but there has been a staggering, almost quantum leap in world military expenditure, which today totals nearly \$US 500 billion. Familiar arguments of "deterrence" and doctrines of "balance of terror" are adduced to justify the continued escalation in the build-up of nuclear weaponry.

⁸ Agreement on bilateral relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, signed at Simla on 2 July 1972 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308).

New doctrines of limited nuclear war are being postulated which, by making nuclear war credible, increase the risk of such a war and even give it a semblance of respectability.

165. All too often we are reminded of the dangers of an accidental nuclear holocaust being triggered off by human or technological error or by computer malfunction. The very existence of such weapons makes the possibility of system failures resulting in outright catastrophe frighteningly real. Over the years India has consistently argued that the only effective guarantee against the use, threat of use or accidental use of nuclear weapons is the total elimination of such weapons. Their use has been declared a crime against humanity and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. Pending, however, the total elimination of nuclear weapons, all States possessing nuclear weapons should give a binding commitment not to use them under any circumstances.

166. India is firmly of the view that, like the Geneva Protocol of 1925,⁹ which completely forbids the use of biological and chemical weapons, a convention on the total prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would be a most desirable objective which should be pursued energetically by the international community.

167. We understand that the United States and the USSR are scheduled to resume shortly their dialogue on some aspects of the question of curbing the arms race. This is a welcome development.

168. We have noted the proposals put forward by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union on urgent measures for reducing the danger of war. My delegation will give those proposals its most serious consideration.

169. It is pertinent to recall that it was India which first brought the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons to the attention of the United Nations in 1964 by inscribing in the agenda an item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons". Our approach was based on the premise that both horizontal and vertical proliferation were integral parts of a problem which had to be dealt with as a whole. This concept was endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 2028 (XX), which declared, *inter alia*, that any treaty "should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers".

170. Unfortunately, this concept was deliberately altered in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, concluded in 1968. If the Treaty has become an unworkable document, it is only because it has adopted the narrow and illogical approach of addressing itself only to the question of horizontal proliferation. The conclusion of cartel-type arrangements, the attempts to impose full-scope safeguards and discriminatory constraints on the peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon States are all aimed at perpetuating a kind of nuclear feudalism which is unrealistic, illogical and unacceptable.

171. India is opposed to nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Government of India is firmly committed to the

⁹ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138, p. 67.

peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. We would oppose any moves or measures which are discriminatory in nature and which come in the way of our programmes to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should not be confused with the right of all States to develop, acquire and use nuclear energy and to determine their peaceful nuclear programmes in accordance with their national priorities, needs and interests.

172. As we prepare to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the United Nations can legitimately be proud of its record of achievements in the field of decolonization. Except for a few pockets where colonialism and racism are desperately fighting the forces of nationalism, the world today is free from colonial domination and exploitation. While the independence of Zimbabwe and Vanuatu was first and foremost the result of the freedom struggle of their peoples, the contribution made by the United Nations has been significant.

173. We were hopeful that the independence of neighbouring Zimbabwe would set an example for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. The United Nations plan for Namibia contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) had established a framework for the early independence of Namibia. Its acceptance by the parties concerned had marked a step in the right direction. But the racist South African régime has continued its dilatory tactics by raising extraneous issues and by questioning the very impartiality of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We should certainly support every effort for a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia which would be to the satisfaction of the people of Namibia. However, we regret to note that even the most recent communication, dated 22 September 1980, received by the Secretary-General from the South African Government¹⁰ does not indicate that South Africa has any intention to implement the United Nations plan. The only means left to the United Nations in the present situation is for the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, so as to compel South Africa to abide by the wish of the international community. Meanwhile the Member States should continue to provide moral and material support to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, in its struggle for national liberation.

174. Permit me to refer briefly to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which concluded its ninth session at Geneva recently. The Conference has been in session since 1973 and before that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction had reviewed the law of the sea and done preparatory work for about six years. During that long period, understanding was reached on a number of significant issues, including a 12-mile territorial sea, a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, limits of the continental shelf, a régime for marine environment and marine scientific research, and a régime and international machin-

ery for the exploration and exploitation of the international sea-bed area and its resources, which have been recognized and acknowledged by all States as the common heritage of mankind.

175. We note with satisfaction that the Conference was able at its last session to make progress on some more critical questions and we hope it will successfully conclude its work of finalizing a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea in the near future.

176. The year 1980 marked the mid-point of the United Nations Decade for Women. Considerable progress has been made during the first half of the Decade in focusing the attention of Governments and peoples on the need for improving the status of women. Women in India have traditionally enjoyed pride of place in our society. Long before the International Women's Year and the Decade for Women, the Indian people had enacted into law equality of women in all respects. That was no accident, for it flows from the best traditions of our history and culture, and in particular of our struggle for independence, when men and women together accepted sacrifices and rejoiced in the dawn of freedom. I hope that the Programme of Action adopted at Copenhagen¹¹ will provide the guidance and framework for action-oriented programmes to work towards the implementation of the objectives of the Decade through the United Nations and other international forums.

177. The year 1981 will be the International Year of Disabled Persons. There is a vast segment of mankind, estimated to be around 400 million, which, being handicapped in one way or another, is unable to live with the dignity which is the right of all human beings. The bulk of those unfortunate beings is in the developing countries. We in India intend to reinforce our efforts in the rehabilitation of the disabled and, more important, in the prevention of disability. We have already taken several steps, including the establishment of a National Committee, in preparation for the International Year of Disabled Persons.

178. We have just emerged from the frustrating processes of the eleventh special session and the agonizing memory of its disappointing ending is still fresh in our minds. However constructively one may try to look at the outcome of the special session, one is unable to escape the conclusion that the failure was not so much because of the complexity of the task but because of the absence of political will and the incomprehensible stubbornness of a few—to be precise, just three States Members of this Organization. In their incessant quest for an orderly and co-operative approach towards a new international economic order, the developing countries were persuaded to accept a compromise text on procedures for the global negotiations. That was the irreducible minimum for securing a process that would have provided hope of finding solutions to the critical problems facing the world economy as a whole and the economies of the developing countries in particular. A vast majority of the affluent nations, whose fortunes are interlinked with the destiny of the developing world, also accepted the procedures worked out through extremely difficult negotiations

¹⁰ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14185.*

¹¹ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

during the special session. Not all of them could have found those procedures entirely satisfactory, but they responded to the imperative of interdependence and to the obligations implicit in it. And yet, in the final analysis, all those endeavours ended in total collapse and the international community was at the end left chasing the wisp of international co-operation and interdependence. It would be less than candid on my part not to affirm that those who prevented a consensus being reached must bear the entire responsibility for the failure of the special session.

179. It would be appropriate to ask why the concept of interdependence does not seem to have received acceptance in practice, particularly in all developed countries. There is a view that the fact of interdependence either is not quite apparent or is not urgent enough to be taken into account in formulating current economic policies and decisions of developed countries. The dialogue as well as the argument based on interdependence, therefore, takes on a rather academic and unreal character and does not seem to carry conviction with the people of developed countries. That is the distinct impression one gets from their media, whatever the pronouncements of their political leadership. It is time that this hiatus in understanding was seriously taken note of.

180. Of course the position is not the same in all developed countries or on all occasions in the same country. It would therefore not be correct to lump all developed countries together in that respect. There are distinct variations in the perceptions of the Governments and peoples of those countries and it would be both relevant and prudent to analyse them closely. The extent of the genuine realization of interdependence on the part of the Governments and peoples of the developed countries is the real measure of success which the North-South dialogue will achieve.

181. Until three days back India was the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York and, as such, articulated the aspirations of the developing countries. India will continue to endorse the stand taken by the Group of 77 as before and contribute its mite for the success of the global negotiations. The Group of 77 has taken a reasonable and balanced stand. We hope that in due course it will find a favourable response from developed countries, mainly through a process of appraisal of their own long-term interests, which can be achieved only through co-operation with developing countries. That process obviously needs a persuasive and positive effort on the part of all right-thinking and sober elements in both the developed and developing camps. The attitude of charity would be just as unreal and fallacious as the approach of obligatory expiation would be impracticable and counterproductive.

182. The nature of the phenomenon that we witnessed at the eleventh special session is disturbing and its consequences ominous for the future of economic co-operation among nations. My delegation is concerned to hear arguments of domestic pressure inherent in a democratic set-up preventing adherence to or fulfilment of international covenants and agreements. Whether it is the law of the sea, where difficult negotiations over long years are promising to come to fruition soon, or multilateral trade negotiations on which agreement was reached last year at Tokyo, or other internationally binding agreements, their sanctity is being breached

in the name of national compulsions and with increasing impunity. Is it very difficult, I ask the members of this Assembly, to infer from all this that a wilful departure is being made by those countries from the concept of interdependence and from the process of international co-operation?

183. Thirty-three years ago, when we achieved our political independence, we deliberately chose the democratic path of government. Democracy to us became a way of life, permeating the intricate political process as well as the methodology of development. Like most other nations, we too faced the conflict between national sovereignty and international obligations implicit in our existence as a member of the world community. To the best of our ability and belief, we have never turned away from our international obligations, nor can we be accused of violating the sanctity of international agreements freely entered into by my country. Such a course often involved domestic sacrifices, but our democratic structure gave us sustenance and strength in remaining true to our international or multilateral obligations. It would be particularly unfortunate if the leadership of a democratic country were to plead helplessness in fulfilling valid international obligations on the ground of opposition in its legislature. This helplessness would, in fact, detract from the credibility of the democratic system itself in international relations. So those who are having recourse to this argument, for whatever reason or short-term exigency, are in reality undermining the validity of their own cherished system. My earnest appeal would be that this tendency be eschewed.

184. So far as India is concerned, we are determined to continue our efforts to bring about an early resumption of the North-South dialogue. For our part, we would expect the few developed countries which have still not fully accepted the logic of global negotiations to join in the process that would make the resumption of the North-South dialogue possible. It is also my expectation that we should be able to see this movement in the course of the current session of the General Assembly so that the preparatory work for the launching of the global negotiations could be completed before the end of this year.

185. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly did manage to reach a consensus on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, embodying the goals and objectives of an integrated process of economic and social development during the 1980s and the policy measures required to achieve those goals and objectives. It remains to be seen to what extent the commitments undertaken in the Strategy when it is adopted during this session, will represent unambiguous and unanimous agreements. This is true particularly in regard to official development assistance, industrial redeployment, international trade and monetary issues. Having said this, I would like to underline our satisfaction at the consensus that exists in regard to measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries.

186. At this session the General Assembly is expected to consider and take appropriate action in regard to the suggestions made by the Secretary-General¹² last July for overcom-

¹² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 24-29.*

ing the critical economic situation of many developing countries. We await the elaboration by the Secretary-General of his suggestions and trust that it will be possible for him to go into all relevant details, such as the feasibility of raising the amount required for additional assistance and operational arrangements for its disbursement among low-income countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis.

187. I should also like to refer to the policy measures for the most seriously affected countries that have been agreed to in the context of the International Development Strategy. The General Assembly resolution on the subject last year [resolution 34/210] called upon the Secretary-General to submit an analytical report at the special session in 1980 and called upon all donor countries to consider in the meantime extending relief and assistance to the most seriously affected countries. While the special session was unable to consider the report of the Secretary-General in detail, the International Development Strategy does refer to agreed measures that will need to be urgently considered by the international community and this Assembly.

188. Many years ago Jawaharlal Nehru, reflecting on the dilemma of his time over the futile attempts at disarmament, wrote:

“The real difficulty . . . has been that there are two classes of countries—the satisfied Powers and the unsatisfied Powers, the dominant Powers and those that are suppressed, the Powers that want the present state of affairs to continue and those that want a change. Between the two there can be no stable equilibrium, just as there can be no real stability between a dominant class and a suppressed class Nothing proves the unreality and mockery of international politics today so much as the failure of all attempts at disarmament. Everybody talks of peace, and yet prepares for war.”

189. These words, written more than 40 years ago, have a ring of tragic prophecy. They are symptomatic not only of disarmament negotiations but of the entire gamut of international relations today. Sometimes, looking at great stretches of history, it is difficult to believe that the ideal of co-operation and working together for the common good has made much progress. And yet, if we are to avert a catastrophe, we should resolutely continue on the path of dialogue and co-operation and turn away from sterile polemics and confrontation. All of us perhaps perceive the danger and recognize the challenge, but the will to act has so far been sadly lacking. Let us, therefore, so readjust our sights and conduct our affairs that future generations may not condemn our times as yet another barren stretch in the history of man.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) took the Chair.

190. Mr. DA LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):¹³ Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you our warmest congratulations on the occasion of your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth ses-

sion of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute to your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which Cape Verde maintains fruitful ties of co-operation, and a recognition of your qualities of eminent political and experienced diplomat.

191. It was also a great honour for us, and a cause of deep satisfaction, to co-operate with the former President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim. The competence and dynamism with which he conducted the work of the thirty-fourth session demonstrated yet again his undeniable qualities as a politician and a dedicated and skilful diplomat, devoted to the great causes of mankind.

192. We also wish to express our admiration and gratitude to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the dedication and competence with which he has always endeavoured to serve the United Nations and to transform it into an effective instrument in the search for solutions to the great problems of our time.

193. We express our warmest greetings to the Republic of Zimbabwe, built with the courage of its people and the blood of many martyrs, which has demonstrated the transitory character of all régimes of oppression, however brutal, when confronted with the determination of an entire people to liberate itself. Zimbabwe's leaders, who, during the struggle for national liberation, understood and properly reflected the most profound aspirations of its people and led it to true and authentic independence, have given proof of political maturity, generosity and tolerance, demonstrating also that while Africa makes demands it also knows how to make concessions when its ideals of justice and equity are safeguarded.

194. We also welcome with great satisfaction the admission to the United Nations of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which has just acceded to sovereignty. The strengthening of our Organization by countries which have recently become independent is without doubt an important factor in the attainment of a better understanding and knowledge of the problems of our time, and represents an inestimable contribution to the enrichment of international relations.

195. In expressing before this Assembly the position of the Republic of Cape Verde with respect to the important items on the agenda of the current session, we cannot fail to note that a number of questions have been discussed year after year, thus proving the intransigence of divergent interests which, in flagrant violation of the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, obstinately resist the course of history, perpetuate armed conflicts and situations of oppression and injustice and frustrate the process of economic and social development, which should be the fundamental objective of the efforts of mankind.

196. That situation is a reminder to all nations, and in particular to small countries like Cape Verde, of the global threat that weighs over mankind and the long road that lies ahead before peace and security for all men may be regarded as being based on general observance of the principles of equality, mutual respect, peaceful coexistence and co-operation among nations, which are the true corner-stones of our Organization. As the United Nations embarks on this

¹³ Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

new decade, it is confronted with a very complex world situation which adds to the burden of its responsibilities.

197. As stated from this rostrum in 1978 by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cape Verde, Commander Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires,¹⁴ our country remains loyal to the guiding principles of the policy of non-alignment, in particular the principle of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the peaceful coexistence of all peoples of the world.

198. Cape Verde, ever faithful to those principles, wishes to make its contribution to the noble work of the United Nations which, although rendered difficult by a number of limitations, has undeniably contributed to the progress of the idea of justice—as reflected in the strengthening of the general principles of equality and self-determination—and to the greater awareness of the sense of solidarity which is a requirement for all States Members of the international community.

199. Step by step, the United Nations is achieving full universality, which is a prerequisite for the full realization of its objectives, namely, to become a forum open to all the peoples of the world represented by independent and equal States, capable of co-operating in discussions of problems that are of concern to us all and in the search for solutions which contribute to the well-being of mankind. Thus, 20 years have elapsed since the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), which, by reflecting the ideals governing the creation of the United Nations and expressing the aspirations of a large part of mankind, has greatly contributed to the establishment of a new system of international relations directed towards universality of the Organization's field of action and a broader concept of justice and democracy.

200. Soon the task of decolonization to which the United Nations has contributed so much will be completed. However, the few colonial situations still remaining deserve the full attention of the United Nations, not only by reason of the intransigence of those Powers which support them, but also because they risk becoming conflicts which would threaten an entire region.

201. In Africa, where the recent national liberation movements clearly demonstrated the firm will of its peoples to live as masters of their destinies, we are still confronted with the challenge of *apartheid*, which continues to subjugate and oppress the heroic South African people.

202. Important events last year marked the life of the South African people, who unambiguously demonstrated its total rejection of the régime under which it is kept and its unity in face of that violent system.

203. Faced with the developments in the internal situation, the *apartheid* régime, while taking so-called liberalization measures, is at the same time intensifying repression against the militants and sympathizers of the national liberation movement, steadily increasing its military potential, in

particular through the mastery of nuclear technology, and is making aggression against neighbouring States the keystone of its African foreign policy.

204. It is high time, we believe, for the States Members of this Organization to implement effective measures to assist the South African liberation movement to achieve its objectives with a view to bringing about the advent of majority rule in that country while compelling the minority régime to renounce, once and for all, a policy that, if perpetuated with immunity, could seriously endanger peace and stability in the region.

205. In Namibia, the situation remains tense and uncertain as a result of South Africa's practice of delaying implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of that country.

206. The aims sought by the international community, which coincide with those of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must quickly become a reality so that the Namibian people may as soon as possible return to its proper course in history and join other sovereign nations in the international community.

207. In that decisive combat, the Angolan people—who since Angola's independence has paid a heavy toll for its unflinching support to the liberation struggle of the Namibian people—deserves the admiration and firm support of the international community for the sacrifices it is making on its behalf.

208. It is incumbent on the United Nations to take urgent measures to force South Africa to respect international legality and, in particular, the principle of non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. To that end, the establishment of a demilitarized zone along Namibia's frontier with Angola and Zambia would be of the greatest importance.

209. On the question of Western Sahara, we cannot but deplore the continued worsening of the deadly conflict caused by the obduracy of the occupying Power, despite the efforts of Member States and the initiatives taken by the OAU with a view to finding a just and durable solution.

210. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State and Government on Western Sahara, appointed by the OAU in yet another attempt to solve the conflict peacefully, met in September at Freetown, confirmed the recommendations made at Monrovia and declared itself unanimously in favour of a cease-fire and of the organization of a referendum under the supervision of the OAU and the United Nations.

211. However, we are of the opinion that conditions for a cease-fire will be met only by the total withdrawal of the occupying forces from the territory of Western Sahara, which would certainly open up prospects for negotiations between the parties involved in the conflict—Morocco on one side and the Polisario¹⁵ Front and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic on the other. The United Nations

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 23rd meeting, para. 267.*

¹⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

should protect and guarantee implementation of the resolutions on Western Sahara that it adopted, in particular those relating to the self-determination and independence of the Sahraoui people.

212. This session of the General Assembly should pay particular attention to the fratricidal struggle in Chad. If a positive solution is not found soon, as we hope it will be, very serious consequences might ensue, possibly undermining the future of that country for a long time to come. Despite the efforts of the OAU and certain African heads of State, there seems to be no end to the conflict.

213. Solutions involving the help of the United Nations have been proposed and deserve in-depth study in agreement with the Government of Chad.

214. The Middle East continues to be a permanent source of concern for the international community. Israel's intransigence has doomed all peace endeavours to failure and has plunged that region into a situation of instability fraught with serious consequences for world peace and security. The recent Israeli law declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel and the continued policy of occupation and resettlement of Palestinian lands constitute a new act of defiance and a provocation that the international community as a whole should most categorically reject.

215. The Middle East conflict calls for an over-all solution involving all the parties directly concerned. That solution requires the definitive resolution of the Palestinian question and the restoration to that people of its legitimate national rights, including the right to create its own national State, as well as the total restitution of all Arab territories occupied since 1967.

216. The present instability in Lebanon—another aspect of the Middle East conflict—should induce all Member States to make every effort to neutralize those forces which seek to plunge the country into total chaos.

217. In East Timor, the right of the Maubere people to self-determination and independence, as recognized by the majority of Member States, continues to be denied by Indonesia, and every effort made thus far by the international community to overcome the countless difficulties suffered by that people in its struggle for national liberation has proved inadequate.

218. The international community can no longer ignore the tragic situation in that Territory or the determination of the Maubere people, guided by FRETILIN,¹⁶ its sole and legitimate representative, to exercise its legitimate national aspirations. It was with satisfaction that we took cognizance of a recent communiqué in which the Portuguese Council of Ministers reaffirms its responsibility for the process of decolonization of Timor. We must encourage the Council to carry through its programme of approaching all the parties concerned in order to guarantee, as soon as possible, the exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination and independence.

219. Concerning the question of Cyprus, we thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his good offices which led to negotiations between the parties to the dispute. We believe that renewed efforts should be made to bring the two communities on the island to a clear understanding in the interest of that non-aligned country's unity, independence, peace and sovereignty.

220. The tension created in Asia by the state of war between Iran and Iraq is equally disquieting. Aware of the danger this represents for the whole of the international community, we call upon the two parties to cease hostilities forthwith and to adopt peaceful methods of settling their dispute in accordance with the principles of international law laid down in the Charter of the United Nations with a view to safeguarding international peace and security.

221. With respect to the situation in Afghanistan, an important factor in the crisis now prevailing in Asia and the gravity of which cannot be ignored, we believe that the people of that country should have the right to determine its own destiny and to choose freely its political and social system, thus safeguarding its position in the world as an independent and non-aligned country.

222. With regard to South-East Asia, we continue to be convinced that the conditions for a return to peace and for a climate essential to the pursuit of the development and progress of the peoples in the region require the opening of a dialogue and political negotiation between the various parties involved, on the basis of their legitimate interests.

223. Similarly, our Organization should spare no effort to lead the parties concerned to respect the fundamental aspirations of the coastal States of the Indian Ocean to make it a zone of peace and fraternal co-operation and not a source of tension and destabilization.

224. Despite the encouraging decisions and realistic recommendations of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, and despite the creation of bodies and commissions charged with facilitating the implementation of and ensuring respect for the principles adopted at that time, we are witnessing yet again a dangerous recrudescence of the arms race. It is urgent in this context that the bodies established by our Organization formulate recommendations which are essential for the resumption of negotiations, and do everything in their power to reverse the arms race while contributing to the adoption of practical measures with a view to limiting and eliminating weapons of mass destruction. In this connection, we believe that everything possible should be done to bring about the active and determined resumption of negotiations on the SALT II agreement, which represents an important step towards the objective of peace, which we all pursue.

225. The existing objective links between disarmament and development should thus lead our Organization to develop specific proposals in order to enable the international community to devote an important part of the resources released from the arms race to meet the fundamental social and economic needs of the developing countries, and in particular the poorest among them.

¹⁶ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

226. The continual and irreversible deterioration of the economies of the poorer countries which prevails in international economic relations calls for the assumption of active and immediate positions in order to avoid reaching a point at which dialogue is no longer possible. All of us—rich and poor, developed and developing, industrialized and non-industrialized, belonging to the most diverse political systems—are aware of the need to redefine existing economic relations. The question of palliatives or fragmentary solutions does not even arise. What we must do is to solve the problem of the creation of new international economic structures which would create new relations. All monetary, financial or economic instruments should be reformulated, some because of their ineffectiveness and the negative role they play in normal relations between States, others because they constitute instruments of domination.

227. The establishment of the new international economic order demands more than resolutions, international conferences or declarations of goodwill. A new international economic order is built through well-programmed and concrete actions but, above all, through committed political will. The choice is between a complex and difficult struggle where undoubtedly there will be no victors but only losers, or the elaboration of a sound project to build a new international economic order which may contribute to the economic and social development of all countries, allowing all peoples decent living conditions, free from hunger, the spectre of disease, premature death, illiteracy and cultural backwardness.

228. The Group of 77 has often made constructive proposals for the definition of a new strategy for development based on global negotiations. Unfortunately, those proposals have thus far found no echo in some of the industrialized countries, which have not yet demonstrated the necessary political will to permit the negotiations to break out of their existing deadlock.

229. This is unfortunate, as we have said, because without that political will the results will be negligible at best, although all the objective conditions have been created by the demands of the international economy itself. Proof of this is the failure of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. That situation is to be deplored, because a dialogue would be useless without collective concessions and without concrete steps by the developed countries, steps which would revive in us the confidence which has been shaken by so many failures. Without a profitable dialogue the future will be very bleak for the poorer countries but it will also be uncertain for the rich.

230. Manifestations of interdependence, which have become increasingly marked during the past quarter century, give food for thought regarding the possibility of moving forward together. At present it is unrealistic for any country to believe that it can avoid maintaining economic relations with other States, if for no reason other than the fact that it needs to guarantee its supplies of energy, raw materials and a share of the market for its own products. The well-being of all peoples has already begun to depend on the well-being of each one of them. But it is premature to speak of absolute interdependence. Relations of dependency still clearly prevail for the developing countries; this is a factor which must be taken into account.

231. There is no doubt that something must be done at the level of the developing countries. It is true that there are many bridges to be built between North and South. The oil-producing countries possess financial resources which could be placed on a priority basis in the service of the development of the poor countries. Many of the developing countries have enormous reserves of natural resources which, in conjunction with the technology already developed by some of them, would enable us greatly to improve our share of world production. In this connection, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries¹⁷ and the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations¹⁸ contain very important elements for co-operation among the developing countries.

232. At the regional level, an inventory has been made of these problems, and the measures to be taken have been defined. This is a contribution to the definition of a new international economic order. The Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Maputo, Lusaka and Lagos—to mention only initiatives at the African level—have already defined the short-term, medium-term and long-term measures necessary for the economic and social development of Africa. However, experience shows us that the co-operation of the developed countries is needed for our just aspirations to materialize.

233. Financial, monetary, scientific and technical resources built up in the industrialized and rich countries are indispensable factors for the economic progress of all, and should be placed at the service of all mankind. Contemporary civilization demands this; the creation of a new international economic order demands it. The survival of mankind demands it.

234. When it has created a new order in the regulation of the oceans and their resources, the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will have produced a legal document of the greatest importance in the defining of the new international economic order. We are convinced that it is extremely important that the convention, whose text has been under negotiation these last six years, should reflect the interests of all countries, especially the under-developed countries.

235. We know that for the new international economic order to take root, changes in international structures will also call for changes in the internal structures of countries. Ours is a small country which became independent barely six years ago; it is one of the most severely affected countries in the world, with its insularity combining with the problems inherent in its location in the Sahel region. The problems deriving from this situation are sufficiently well known to the international community.

236. Our lack of natural resources and the limitations on our agriculture—both in the area of arable land and in the

¹⁷ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August-12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. I.

¹⁸ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), annex VI.

availability of water for irrigation—restrict our ability to achieve by our own means the wealth necessary for the requirements of development. Our gross national product is inadequate to balance our economy and does not suffice by itself to reorient our growth rate. However, the development effort of the people and Government of Cape Verde, under the direction of their vanguard party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, to lay the foundations for a viable economy serving the well-being of our people, is well known.

237. In this connection, Mr. Aristides Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde, has affirmed that:

“The fact that we have rid ourselves of colonial administration and have regained the fundamental right of independence after long years of glorious struggle, does not prevent us from recognizing that sovereignty has other dimensions, and that the battle for national reconstruction is also a battle for true sovereignty.”

238. In this context, our Government is pursuing an intensive development programme. Our rate of investment in the various sectors of our economy has nearly trebled since 1974, that is to say one year before independence, and has reached the figure of 60 per cent of our gross domestic product.

239. Thus, the Government of Cape Verde has concentrated its investments on the creation of a hydroagricultural infrastructure, the search for and exploitation of underground water sources, the extension of irrigated lands, reforestation, the construction of infrastructures for land, sea and air transportation, the building of schools and hospitals: in short, it has concentrated them on the creation of the bases for development and on the fight against prolonged drought and desertification, which constitute an alarming threat for our country.

240. We are happy here to express our gratitude for the important co-operation which the international community and the United Nations bodies have always extended to Cape Verde.

241. We continue to be open to co-operation with all countries which, like us, respect international legality, the sovereignty and the right of peoples to develop in accordance with the social order which best serves their true interests. We uphold co-operation when it is the result of collective responsibility in the struggle against economic, cultural and social under-development.

242. It is with these principles in mind that we call upon the international community and the United Nations organs to continue to grant to our country the technical and material support needed for our economic and social development, and we guarantee that the Government and people of Cape Verde will respond with the effort and dedication which are well known to the international community, so as to make Cape Verde a country of justice, peace and progress.

243. We cannot conclude without reiterating our confidence in the inestimable efforts made by our Organization to bring into being a world in keeping with the cardinal aims

and principles of our Charter. The United Nations is showing itself more and more to be the primary framework for international relations. To date it has accomplished a notable task by bringing together the vast majority of the world's peoples to discuss collective problems, in the joint quest for comprehensive solutions to the ills that threaten them.

244. Faced with a future which seems disquieting, the role of the United Nations remains irreplaceable because of the universal dialogue it encourages, the democratic coexistence among nations which it provides, and the progress it fosters towards a new international order oriented towards collective well-being, subject to the profound changes in international morality and law, the result of the effort of all nations, and accepted by them all.

245. Prince AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first, Sir, to add my voice to the voices of those heads of delegations who preceded me in addressing this session, and to congratulate you on your assumption of the high position to which you have been elected as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. This is an election which reflects the great esteem enjoyed by you and by your country. We hope, under your wise guidance, to achieve substantial progress towards the realization of the goals and objectives of the United Nations and towards dealing with the issues before us, as was the case during the presidency of your highly esteemed predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

246. In this connection, I must not fail to extend my thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts to achieve the goals of the United Nations, goals on which the hopes and aspirations of peace-loving nations are centred.

247. It is my pleasure to join in welcoming the State of Zimbabwe as a new Member of the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to extend my country's congratulations to the people of Zimbabwe, whose determination and national struggle have been crowned with the attainment of freedom and independence.

248. We also welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of our Organization and look forward to its positive contribution to the activities of the United Nations.

249. It is also my pleasure, while the world of Islam is on the threshold of its fifteenth century, to take note of the comprehensive and well-rounded speech delivered by Mr. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq [*18th meeting*], President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. That statement constituted in itself a comprehensive framework and a true and genuine expression of the attitude of the Islamic States, and in particular of the Islamic Conference, towards the various regional and international issues and problems.

250. In this world, where the interests of the various nations interlock and overlap, where various trends and ideologies compete for predominance and where a conflict rages between the desire to acquire influence and control and the hope to achieve a permanent peace which would allow all peoples of the earth to live in freedom, friendship and equality of rights and obligations—in this kind of world, the United Nations stands as the beacon guiding the

steps of peoples on the road to the future to which they aspire.

251. I am not going to cite in detail the achievements of the United Nations in the various fields of human endeavour; other heads of delegations have already done so. We all, in one way or another, bless those efforts and believe in their importance and in the need for them and contribute, to the extent of our ability and as far as possible, to them. However, I feel it is necessary to reiterate the basic goals for which our Organization was established—the goals on which its Charter was based and to the achievement of which the United Nations devotes tremendous efforts. I mean the goals of establishing and preserving world peace and laying the foundations of justice through co-operation among nations in the political, economic and social fields.

252. If there is a hope of avoiding the woes and horrors of war and if there is a way for peoples to realize their aspirations in terms of welfare and prosperity, that hope or way lies in the capacity of this Organization to work to maintain, consolidate and serve those goals. This requires a sincere effort to prevent the use of the tools of mass genocide and destruction, which have become so powerful and so effective as to be capable of annihilating the population of the world within a very short period and of endangering world peace in every way.

253. We know, of course, that this overwhelming threat and the horrible "balance of terror" among those Powers that possess such awful weapons—especially the United States and the Soviet Union—are among the main reasons preventing the recurring crises in the world from turning into full-scale destructive wars.

254. It is natural to hold the super-Powers responsible, first and foremost. They have the capability to launch the forces of destruction. Since they bear such important responsibilities in this field, they are required to commit themselves, devotedly, genuinely and efficiently, to maintaining peace and realizing justice and equity, since those ideals represent the basic objectives with a view to which this Organization was created.

255. It is taken for granted that international détente is an arrangement among those Powers, an arrangement imposing obligations and responsibilities on them rather than giving them rights and privileges. An arrangement among them does not mean that they have the right to impose their will and desires on nations or, on the pretext of that arrangement, to divide the world into zones of influence and dominance. Détente does not mean giving preference to certain areas of the world. We welcome initiatives and conferences aimed at maintaining the security of certain areas in the world, provided that such initiatives and meetings do not expose other areas to conflict and aggression. On the contrary, those Powers are bound by their obligations and responsibilities to uphold the interests of the small nations and support their independence. They are also obliged to create the bases for a balanced and just international co-operation. World peace will not be established and consolidated unless it is based on the principles of right, equity and justice. In their totality, those principles form an indivisible and integrated framework for peace.

256. There is indeed no doubt that the destinies of the world should not be left in the hands of a number of Powers to steer as they wish, imposing their authority and dominance through their weapons of terror and destruction and the advanced technology they possess. If we allow those States to do this, we shall be consecrating a theory that history has proved to be extremely dangerous and extremely unjust. It is the theory of the strong dominating the weak and controlling their fate and destiny. Also, we are suspicious of and question the conduct of the super-Powers that proclaim themselves the protectors of world peace and security, while at the same time they do not hesitate to use sheer force, domination and military intervention to impose their will and achieve their greedy aims. Such conduct also reflects a logic that in effect says that the super-Powers, just because they are so powerful and so dominating, have the right to interfere in the affairs of any independent State they consider to be within their zone of influence in order to protect their so-called interests or, in fact, to impose the political system they want on that State. Unfortunately, when the interests of the super-Powers are incompatible while they seek to impose their influence and control, the net result is the development among them of conflicts creating concern and tension throughout the world and leading, ultimately, to the destruction and doom of mankind.

257. The responsibility for establishing a just and equitable peace throughout the world should be shouldered by all of us, as Members of the United Nations, even when we also recognize the special responsibility assumed by the great Powers, which should be complementary to the responsibility of the United Nations and in no way contrary to it.

258. As developing and third world countries, our role and duty in that respect should be based on our ability to avoid the evil of international polarization and, with growing determination, to give our homelands the chance of avoiding the climate and tension of international conflict, so that they may be far removed from any kind of "umbrella" of domination. At the same time, we should realize that it is necessary to correct the course of the non-aligned movement so as to restore its originality, efficiency and vitality and enable it to produce results compatible with the genuine aims and principles of non-alignment. To do this, it is imperative that we exert every possible effort to keep our homelands out of the conflicts of the super-Powers and in no way allow them to become the theatre for such conflicts. We should never become obedient tools in the hands of the great Powers—Eastern or Western—and we should not allow them to use our homelands as fuel in the furnace of their conflicts.

259. By seeking relentlessly to consolidate those principles, we shall be securing many advantages; most importantly, we shall be achieving international security and stability, and thus we shall be able to rescue mankind from the threat of destruction as a result of international conflict. In that way, we can also uphold the ethics of dealings among nations—ethics ordained by our Islamic principles and traditions. At the same time, we should be keen to guarantee that our relations with the great Powers are based on mutual respect and in no way prejudice the legitimate interests of those Powers.

260. If world peace cannot be established unless several prerequisites are met, including the achievement of political equity among the nations of the world, that equity nevertheless cannot be realized without economic equity. The set of realities, economic and other factors that swept away the foundations of the traditional economic structure of the world—especially when we view that structure in the light of the increasingly acute crises of food shortages, unbalanced growth and population explosion—created the necessity of reconsidering the structure and foundation of the international economic system in order to find appropriate solutions for those problems and to make the system more capable of establishing equity while respecting the rights of all the countries of the world, whether developed or developing.

Mr. Carias (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

261. The aim of establishing a new international order is to prevent the pooling of the wealth of the world in certain States and instead to channel and direct this wealth, in real terms, to the developing countries. This aim, even if it requires short-term sacrifices, represents, in the long run, the opportunity for the advanced industrial States to maintain continued economic growth. The transfer of wealth to the developing countries enhances the potential of development and lessens the degree of rivalry in the commercial and industrial fields among the industrial States arising from keen competition and the curtailing of opportunities for marketing their products. Consequently, this will bring about a relaxation of world tensions in general.

262. We wonder how we, as a developing nation, can accept the blame for the current economic situation when, in the first instance, we are one of its principal victims. The advanced and industrial States, first and foremost, should be held responsible for this situation. Consequently, it is their responsibility to assist the developing countries in their efforts to industrialize while co-ordinating their new industries with their natural resources and the needs of local and international markets. They should also transfer technology to these developing countries. The Eastern industrial States should contribute to this effort as well. Their international responsibility in this respect is not less than that of the Western industrial States. Certainly, the developing countries should bear a considerable share of the responsibility. They should redouble their efforts to absorb the aid they receive. They should also work hard to create an organized and carefully considered co-ordination between their resources and potential and avoid committing harmful blunders in exploiting their resources and managing their industries.

263. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has spared no effort or opportunity to demonstrate its solidarity with the other developing countries seeking to establish this new economic order. It has expressed its readiness to contribute to any international effort aimed at the resumption of the dialogue in the relevant fields under a formula taking account of the aspirations of the developing States in particular and the Members of this international Organization in general. On the basis of this stand, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports the trend towards holding international economic negotiations to discuss those world economic issues that

have been raised and establish the new international economic system.

264. The object of holding the eleventh special session of the General Assembly was to assess the progress achieved in the establishment of the new economic order; and, on the basis of such an assessment, appropriate measures were to be taken to enhance the development of the developing nations and international economic co-operation. During that special session, the General Assembly achieved some success in relation to the main issues pertaining to the new international development strategy which, in turn, represents an important and vital part of the efforts exerted for the establishment of the new international economic order. But the session completely failed in its attempt to reach agreement on the round of global negotiations. That will not help to improve the prevailing atmosphere of mistrust among nations and will not strengthen international political stability.

265. The establishment of the new economic order requires an approach covering all aspects of economic and social development and based on the concept of co-operation and sacrifice. It behoves the advanced industrial States to realize that their technological progress and industrial superiority will not bring them prosperity and security unless they share that technological progress with the developing nations. The countries of the world are no longer isolated; in fact, they have taken long strides on the path of increasing and consolidating their interdependence. It is useless to place all the blame for certain deteriorating economic situations in the world on a certain State or group of States. In varying degrees, all States should be held responsible. That being so, the advanced industrial States—Eastern or Western—are bound to bear their full share of responsibility towards the international economy in general and the economies of the developing countries in particular.

266. At a time when we are stressing the need to achieve political and economic equity and social justice for all the peoples of the world, we in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are deeply grieved at the recent unfortunate developments in our region affecting Iraq and Iran. We pray God the Almighty to crown with success the efforts of both the Islamic Conference and the United Nations to remove the reasons behind this conflict, put an end to the bloodshed and restore peace to these two countries. We also appreciate the roles played by President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan and the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Habib Chatti. We are gratified by the good and hospitable reception extended to them by the two countries. We consider their initiative as the first step on what we hope will be the road to the settlement of the conflict between the two States.

267. We welcome the Iraqi Government's positive response to the cease-fire resolution and its unilateral announcement that it will comply with it. We consider that move as representing a positive step and initiative helping to clarify and improve the climate. We hope that the Government of Iran will also respond positively to that resolution. However, what is important is to see the good offices continued in order to put an end to the conflict without any foreign intervention, whether from the super-Powers or any other quarter.

268. Unfortunately, during the same year in which we are celebrating the independence of the State of Zimbabwe, we see another independent and sovereign State, Afghanistan, the victim of an invasion that deprived it of its independence. The dangerous situation created by the Soviet invasion and flagrant military occupation of Afghanistan has raised fears among the people of the region and posed a threat to its security and stability. It also threatens international peace and security. It is a matter of concern to all the peoples of the world. Accordingly, it is the duty of those peoples to assume their full responsibilities in opposing this aggression and regional expansion. It is an aggression and an intervention committed by a super-Power that constantly claimed to be pursuing a policy of international peace and friendship and proclaimed itself the protector of world peace against an independent and sovereign State, a full-fledged Member State of the United Nations, and a member of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. All attempts by the Soviet Union and the régime it imposed by force and coercion on the people of Afghanistan to find justification and fabricate pretexts for and allegations to cover and defend that intervention and aggression have failed. That is because intervention in the internal affairs of other States is totally rejected, since it is incompatible with the right of peoples to self-determination and deprives those peoples of the freedom to choose their own system of Government.

269. What renders that intervention more objectionable and reprehensible is the fact that it came from a super-Power in such magnitude and violence as to attain the dimensions of an attempt physically to obliterate the people of Afghanistan, with acts of aggression committed against the sanctity of mosques and peaceful villages, and their strafing with napalm bombs. It has gone even so far as using chemical means of warfare and attacking the most fundamental principles of human rights.

270. Unfortunately, the world community has failed so far to adopt decisive measures to put an end to the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan and to the inhuman actions committed by the Soviet army of occupation there. However, the States members of the Islamic Conference, with one voice, have shown the world the serious dimensions of that intervention, condemned the Soviet Union and stressed their demand for an unconditional and complete withdrawal of the Soviet military presence from Afghanistan and non-recognition of and non-co-operation with the régime established there.

271. We call on the other States of the world to help and support the Islamic Conference in its stand against the action taken by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. We call upon them to denounce such action, to support the struggle of the people of Afghanistan and to work for the elimination of injustice, oppression and occupation so as to enable the Afghan people to free itself, to secure its right to freedom and independence and to enjoy sovereignty over its territory. None of those objectives will be achieved unless and until the Soviet Union withdraws completely and unconditionally from Afghanistan.

272. Thirty-two years ago—more specifically on 29 November 1947—forces from the East and West combined and collaborated to partition Palestine, in total disregard of

international law and against the will and wishes of the majority of the population of Palestine. Under the partition scheme the now so-called State of Israel was given half the Palestinian homeland. The Palestinians were driven from their homes and their rights and lands were usurped. Later, Israel devoured the remainder of the Palestinian territory. Not satisfied with all that, it has gone further and occupied lands of neighbouring Arab States, Members of this Organization. In its arrogance, its challenging of and scorn for the international community, Israel has been encouraged by the unconditional support that it receives from the United States. The Security Council has been rendered powerless and unable to adopt a resolution to deter Israel; and every resolution adopted by the General Assembly denouncing and warning Israel—which owes its very existence to a resolution adopted by this Organization—is ignored and goes unheeded by Israel. Israel's stand and actions run counter to those resolutions. What is more, Israel has been attacking the United Nations and accusing it of bias and prejudice, and may ultimately accuse it of anti-Semitism.

273. The General Assembly has adopted dozens of resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East. The Security Council has also adopted several resolutions on the same matter. But as long as those resolutions fail to provide for sanctions, Israel will continue to ignore them and publicly announce its determination to challenge them.

274. It is worth mentioning that this year the Security Council adopted three resolutions on the Holy City of Jerusalem—resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980). In the second and third resolutions, the Security Council firmly and decisively declared that Israel's proclamation of the City of Jerusalem as its capital is basically null and void. The Security Council called upon all States not to recognize that Israeli measure and called on those States which had established diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw them.

275. Accordingly, and on the basis of those two resolutions, my Government objects to the participation of the Israeli delegation in the deliberations of this and future sessions of the General Assembly. Israel does not enjoy a privileged status that allows it to ignore and challenge United Nations resolutions.

276. In the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I should like to extend our thanks and profound gratitude and appreciation to all the States which have complied with the resolutions of the Security Council and withdrawn their missions from Jerusalem. The stand they took was based on principle.

277. The Zionist aggression represents the greatest challenge and the most dangerous threat to the goals for which the United Nations was established. The continuation of that challenge and threat subverts the effectiveness of the Organization and shows disrespect for the aims and principles of its Charter. The tool of that aggression, that is Israel, has not been satisfied with its aggression against the Palestinian people, coupled with colonial and settlement practices, persistently carried out in those territories occupied by force with a view to emptying the land of its rightful population. Israel has gone further in its aggression: it has annexed other Arab areas, sown the seeds of subversion and destruc-

tion in the neighbouring countries and desecrated the Holy Places in Jerusalem—yes, the Holy Places revered in all revealed religions and by believers everywhere.

278. Israel, having secured for itself continued human, military, economic and political support from the great Powers, led by the United States, and feeling assured of success for its schemes to sow dissension and division in the ranks of the Arab world, went further and challenged and showed disrespect for Arab and Islamic feelings and world public opinion. It decided to annex Jerusalem, proclaim it its capital and ignore, with unprecedented arrogance, the relevant resolutions of the international community whether adopted by the United Nations, the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States, the non-aligned Movement or other international organizations.

279. Those practices, coupled with other crimes against religions, international values, traditions and rules, are not new. But what is strange is to see Israel continuing its aggression and at the same time claiming that it is seeking peace. However, its conduct and intransigence belie its assertions of peace and show clearly the falsehood of its pretensions. Israel remains a racist and expansionist State.

280. While Israel continues its aggressive practices, the Arab countries have tended towards settlement by peaceful means. That tendency does not stem from weakness or defeatism; it stems from the Arabs' keen interest in seeing the world avoid the horrors and woes of war and in maintaining international peace and security. The Arab States are seeking a just and permanent peace through the adoption of the principle of international legitimacy. They have spared no effort and have done everything possible to give momentum to the advancement of peace in the region. The courageous and heroic residents of the West Bank have stood up and struggled against the criminal actions of Israel in all occupied territories and they are still resisting and making sacrifices, regardless of their daily sufferings from the cruellest forms of oppression, torture, liquidation and deprivation. But Israel, by the aims of its racist and expansionist policies against the Palestinian people and international legitimacy; by its repeated barbaric acts of aggression against southern Lebanon, in violation of international rules of law and ethics; by the ideals and values of mankind; and recently by its annexation of Jerusalem which it has declared its eternal capital, Israel, I repeat, is dissipating every Arab hope and all prospects for achieving a just and comprehensive peace, thereby obstructing stability in the Middle East and pushing the region towards a crossroads.

281. Confronted with these challenges, the Arab countries have exercised self-restraint and sought peace. Their position stems from their Islamic principles, which call for peace, from their keen desire to avoid the horrors of war in the region and in the world and from their preoccupation with the development of their social and economic resources, while achieving internal security, peace and stability. But Israeli challenges and practices are forcing the Arab nation to react in self-defence and protect its inalienable and legitimate rights, which cannot be trifled with. We believe that nobody can fairly attribute blame to our nation, after all the good intentions it has shown and the desire it has demonstrated for peace based on righteousness and justice. Our nation has exhausted all possible ways and means of

achieving that goal. Yet those efforts have met with hostility, scorn and further challenges. I do not think anyone will blame us if we mobilize our potentialities and devote our resources and capabilities to repelling Zionist aggression, based as it is on religious, racist and military arrogance and on greedy expansionist ambitions.

282. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, faced with dangerous Israeli practices which aggravate the conditions in the region and the Israeli challenges to the feelings of the peoples of the region has no recourse but to call for a jihad in order to establish the supremacy of right and justice and to eliminate falsehoods. In calling for this we aim at restoring usurped rights and defending the profaned Holy Places. The jihad we call for begins with self and involves dedication and pooling all our potentialities and spiritual, cultural, physical and military capabilities in one melting-pot. This call is as important to hundreds of millions of Christians as it is to hundreds of millions of Moslems. It requires the development of Islamic-Christian co-operation to rescue Jerusalem. This is the only way to free Jerusalem from the grip of racist zionism.

283. Genuine peace in the Middle East region will not be established without full recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State and until the Israelis withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, including, first and foremost, Jerusalem.

284. There can be no real peace in the Middle East as long as Israel continues to establish Jewish settlements in usurped Palestinian and Arab territories.

285. True peace will not prevail in the Middle East while Israel continues to violate the most basic human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and to subject them to various kinds of torture and terrorism.

286. Genuine peace will not prevail in the Middle East until Israel desists from its repeated barbaric acts of aggression against the Lebanese people and its land, ignoring the presence of the United Nations forces. Peace will not be attained unless the United Nations resolutions are implemented and those States that support Israel take clear-cut positions regarding aggressive Israeli practices and practical steps to guarantee the restoration of their legitimate rights to those deprived from them.

287. Last, but not least, genuine peace will not prevail in the Middle East as long as Israel continues its expansionist schemes and racist policies.

288. What the United Nations and the peoples of the world aspire to, in terms of a just and comprehensive peace in all parts of the world, can be realized if intentions are genuine and sincere and if all peoples and Governments of the world mobilize all their resources and capabilities, sacrifice all that is precious to them and co-operate constructively and positively among themselves for the benefit of all and to give momentum to the march of mankind towards a better and brighter future.

289. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): Allow me to extend to Ambassador von Wechmar my warm felicitations and those

of the delegation of the Republic of Maldives on his election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that his vast experience, skill and personal wisdom will guide our deliberations to a fruitful and constructive conclusion.

290. I should like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for his important contribution to the work of this Assembly during the past year. We shall certainly remember for a long time his personal qualities of dedication and impartiality. I sincerely wish him continued success.

291. I also recognize with gratitude and profound appreciation the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and my delegation wishes to compliment him on his devotion and on the exemplary manner in which he discharges the responsibilities of his high office as progressively greater, more urgent, more complex and more delicate international issues confront this Assembly, in which 154 independent nations are represented.

292. We are happy to welcome Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations as new Members. We are particularly delighted to observe in this the growth of this world Organization towards the attainment of its ultimate objective of universality of membership and equality among nations, big or small, powerful or weak, thus fulfilling the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

293. We are meeting at a time of increasing tension and anxiety. The problems and challenges which face us today are so pressing that we need more than ever before shared responsibility and a high level of political will. The imbalances in the state of affairs which we are experiencing today are leading the world to an intolerable situation, and unless we all sincerely join hands today to eliminate the causes, without the prejudices of nationalism and protectionism, future generations of mankind will have no choice but to suffer the consequences of our failure.

294. We do not lack the wisdom to give effect to the principles of peace, justice and equality. All these and other noble principles that have evolved in the human mind from man's sufferings and experiences are clearly inscribed in the Charter of this great Organization. It is our solemn duty to uphold these principles and to fulfil our commitments to our peoples.

295. Peoples and nations today insist on the right to be heard and to take an active part in shaping world developments, politically and economically. Therefore we must not allow the politics of strength to dominate our work, or the policies of suppression to return within our ranks. The achievements of freedom, peace and equality which we have been able to foster together must be protected and further enhanced.

296. It is the dream of every one of us to live in a world free from wars and conflicts and free from poverty, hunger and disease. However, the events of today seem to take us far back to an era of anxiety and uncertainty. The armed conflicts between countries, as well as the subversive trend of

armed interventions, are not only undermining international peace and stability but also give rise to the possibility of devastating consequences, especially in view of the proliferation of nuclear technology and the acquisition by States of destructive weapons.

297. On the other hand, the armament race is bound to continue unless the world community is able to enforce effective measures for disarmament. At the same time, he who is oppressed has no choice but to fight back for his cause as long as the aggressor is being supported and comforted by the strong and the powerful.

298. The questions of world peace, disarmament, the prevention of aggression by one State against another, the elimination of intervention in the internal affairs of one State by another and the settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means, cannot be solved without the political will of the super-Powers. The sooner they realize that and act effectively towards that end on the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, the safer it will be for mankind.

299. No longer shall we tolerate any form of colonialism or imperialism. Nor shall we condone any discrimination on the basis of colour, race or creed. We do not look with any degree of favour on the settlement of any problem on the basis of the survival of the strongest. It is on those principles that we hope solutions will be found by this great Organization.

300. The question of the Middle East still remains unsolved, with Israeli aggression continuing against the Arab territories and peoples. The denial of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination on their own land will impede the realization of a just and lasting solution of the issue. Israel's recent unilateral decision illegally to annex the City of Jerusalem to its territory has added serious dimensions to the problem.

301. My delegation wishes to emphasize once again its support for the Palestinian people in its struggle for self-determination and freedom. No one can now deny that the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East crisis and that without the equal participation of the Palestinian people, represented by their legitimate representative, the PLO, there can be no just and lasting solution of the crisis. We shall also continue to support the efforts of this Organization to end the Israeli aggression on the Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

302. My delegation views with anxiety the situation in the region of South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean. Continuation of the rivalry between super-Powers in the region bears the threat of escalation into conflicts of wider dimensions. We should like to emphasize that an urgent and sincere search for grounds for a political compromise is needed. In that context, we hope that the major military Powers will co-operate with the countries of the region in easing tensions as well as in the solution of the existing problems. Among those tense issues we should like to make special reference to those of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. It is our view that the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of coun-

tries should be upheld, even when moral, national or other justifications may tempt some of us to violate it. We remain convinced that international peace can be preserved only when the people of every country have the unimpaired freedom to decide their own destiny.

303. The key to the solution of the problems in the region, we believe, is the removal of the elements of intervention, including the withdrawal of foreign troops and the abandonment of schemes to install and strengthen foreign military bases. Though we realize the complexity of the current situation, we sincerely hope that the countries of the region and the other major Powers will continue their dialogue with a view to making the region peaceful and free from nuclear weapons and conflicts by proxy.

304. We are disappointed to find the problem of *apartheid* and racial discrimination still among the most pressing issues of the world. That is a problem which has taken us too long to solve, again because there has not been the collective will amongst us to eliminate it. However, with the independence of Zimbabwe and the glimmer of freedom spreading down towards the south, along with the determination of the heroic people of Africa, we hope that that age-old problem will soon be eliminated. We, for our part, will continue to support the people of South West Africa under the leadership of SWAPO, in their struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence for Namibia.

305. I come now to the international economic situation, which, during the past few years, has been moving in a direction such as to make all of us seriously think about the future, our children and the generations to come. The growing gap between the developing and developed countries is clear evidence of an impending catastrophe of mass suffering. The awareness of the dangers by the international community has prompted us to start our search for a new international economic order based on justice, equality, interdependence and mutual respect. It has become obvious that the existing system of privileges is the source of many disruptions in the world economy and that the new realities of human existence, if not human prosperity, demand that we attempt a major change.

306. We therefore attach special importance to the recently concluded session of the General Assembly devoted to the problem of economic development. Although the

session did not adopt a decision on the launching of global negotiations, owing to the absence of political will on the part of some of the developed countries, we are happy to mark our deliberations there as being a further step towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the world. We hope that during this regular session this Organization will be able successfully to complete what we had started and to add new needs and perspectives to this important issue.

307. Despite the many disappointing developments across the world political and economic spectrum, my country remains consistent in its support for the work of this Organization and as firmly as ever committed to the principles enshrined in its Charter. We shall extend our fullest support and co-operation to any efforts which will strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace in the world, restoring the rights of peoples and upholding the values of human rights, justice and equality.

308. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Pakistan wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

309. I call on the representative of Pakistan.

310. Mr. BHATTY (Pakistan): The Minister of External Affairs of India felt obliged to refer to the address which the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan delivered on 1 October in his capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Conference.

311. The reference made by the Minister of External Affairs of India to Jammu and Kashmir did not reflect the correct position in respect of this recognized international dispute of long standing, and was also contrary to the commitments of the two countries under the relevant decisions of the United Nations, as well as bilateral agreements between them.

312. As this reference calls for a considered statement of the correct position, the delegation of Pakistan reserves the right to make a reply in this forum at a later date.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.