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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): It is with great pleasure, and a modest measure of pride, that I congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the Tanzania delegation, upon your assumption of the high office of President of this General Assembly. Your special relationship with us needs no explanation. All we are left to do is to wish you great success and assure you of our total co-operation in the honoured role in which you have been placed by the international community. I wish, at the same time, to express our thanks through you to the States Members of the United Nations. The United Republic of Tanzania sees in your election to the presidency of the General Assembly a mark of appreciation of its contribution to the endeavours of this world body to promote international peace, understanding and co-operation. We are certain that you will discharge your responsibilities with skill and distinction, and thus do credit to the African region and the non-aligned group of nations to which you and your country belong.

2. Your predecessor, Ambassador Liévano, distinguished himself in office by his dedication, patient diplomacy, fairness, courtesy and competence. We hope his record will be an inspiration to you, and we wish him continued success in the service of his great country, Colombia.

3. Allow me now to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has had a very busy year. His untiring efforts in search of solutions to the complex problems of the world have taken him to many places around the world. I want to recall particularly his unfailing efforts to solve the problems of southern Africa. I also recall his fruitful attendance at the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in July in the Liberian capital—Monrovia—where he made a comprehensive review of the state of the world today. By the dedication and constructive role Mr. Waldheim has charted for his office, the pres-

tige and the hopes that we have in this world body have been very much enhanced. We wish him continued good health.

4. We learnt with deep shock of the untimely death, early this month, of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. Mr. Neto and his countrymen have had a long association with my country and people, a relationship which deepened through Angola's armed struggle for independence. The association ripened in the post-independence years as, along with the other front-line States, we met, planned and worked together to discharge the duty entrusted to us by the OAU to act as a firm rear base for the armed struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. With his passing, Africa has lost a great son, a great patriot, a great freedom fighter, a great revolutionary thinker and a great statesman. I ask the Angolan delegation to convey my delegation's heartfelt condolences to the family of the late President, to the MPLA¹ Workers Party, and to the Government and people of Angola.

5. Since the United Nations was founded over three decades ago, visible and significant success has been achieved in the process of decolonization. Tanzania salutes the invaluable contributions made by the United Nations in enhancing the cause of peace and the freedom of millions of peoples from colonial domination and oppression. From the time the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV), 19 years ago, many countries, including my own, have joined the ranks of free and independent nations whose tribute to the United Nations is their presence in this chamber as equal Members. In this session we have admitted to membership the new State of Saint Lucia and I take this opportunity to congratulate that State and to welcome its representatives in our midst.

6. This Organization's decolonization agenda is not yet finished; in fact, what remains is the most critical phase. In what is now almost an annual ritual, this General Assembly will address itself to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa, in conformity with the various resolutions of the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations. Over the past year we have seen a lot of movement but no basic change in the political situation in the region.

7. In Rhodesia, the illegal racist régime succeeded, through a constitutional fraud and an electoral farce, in entrenching white minority rule with a front of black faces. No Member State has been deceived by these manoeuvres, and we urge the maintenance of sanctions against that régime, and the denial to it of international recognition.

8. The new Government of the United Kingdom has

¹ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

called a conference in London of all the parties to the Rhodesian conflict following the Commonwealth agreement reached at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, at Lusaka in August, on the way to proceed to a negotiated settlement [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. I should like to reiterate my country's attitude to these talks.

9. We support the Commonwealth agreement on Rhodesia. We welcome the talks and believe that they can produce agreement on a genuinely democratic constitution and on the modalities of free and fair elections acceptable to the international community to put such a constitution into effect. Ian Smith, who is avowedly against majority rule, together with his black puppet Government, must not be allowed to stand in the way of an agreement. We stress the imperative, affirmed by the United Kingdom Government itself, that independence should not be given to Rhodesia by the United Kingdom on the basis of principles and conditions essentially different from those which applied at the accession of other former British colonial territories to independence.

10. The talks in London provide a last opportunity for a negotiated settlement. Should they fail to live up to the Lusaka agreement, there is only the alternative of war to the finish. And my country will support the Patriotic Front so that it can intensify and win that war.

11. Namibia, which is a United Nations Territory, continues to be occupied illegally and with impunity by South Africa. South Africa has blocked the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), thus dealing a contemptuous blow to the expectations of a settlement by peaceful means. Not only has South Africa continued to defy the will of the international community over Namibia, but it continues to use that Territory to commit repeated aggression against neighbouring African States, killing and maiming thousands of defenceless refugees and engaging in the wanton destruction of property.

12. The responsibility of the United Nations is clear: in its turn, must answer the challenge of South Africa. The United Nations must reaffirm and demonstrate increased support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, which is committed to ending South African occupation. Secondly, the United Nations now must impose sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. Censure, in the circumstances, is not enough; it is in fact the same as condonation.

13. In South Africa itself the régime's enforcement of the policy of *apartheid* has become more vicious as it receives and develops more weapons of oppression against the majority African people. More Western investment flows into the country to provide the economic buttress of *apartheid* and the most vile system of oppression of man by man. Once again the United Nations must institute effective measures, including sanctions, to force South Africa to abandon *apartheid*. To stretch the Organization's tolerance further will do great damage to its credibility.

14. During its thirty-third session, the General Assembly affirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan

people to self-determination and independence [resolution 33/31 A]. I want to seize this opportunity sincerely to commend the Government of the brotherly Republic of Mauritania for the great statesmanship it has displayed in dealing with the problem of Western Sahara. The decision of the Mauritanian Government to withdraw from Western Sahara should be saluted by all people of good will. The people of Western Sahara, like any other people, have the right to self-determination. My Government has always given unqualified support to the Saharan people through their authentic representatives, the Frente POLISARIO,² in their struggle against colonial occupation.

15. We recall that Morocco once laid claim to the whole of Mauritania as part of its territory, refusing to recognize Mauritania's independence. But in the end it had to give up that claim. We hope that sooner, rather than later, Morocco will be persuaded to accept the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and national independence.

16. We are at the end of the Disarmament Decade, as well as the Second United Nations Development Decade. The General Assembly resolutions which declared the Disarmament Decade envisaged a relationship between disarmament and development, anticipating that resources saved from the arms industry would be diverted to social and economic development for the benefit of the population of the world. Today this objective has not been achieved. Considerable human and material resources are tied up in armament programmes, to the detriment of development, particularly for the third world.

17. Only limited measures have been achieved in disarmament, from the 1963 test ban Treaty³ to the current agreements reached within the framework of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]. And sometimes one is constrained to wonder if these treaties do not set the rules for spurring the arms race, rather than stopping it. Nevertheless, they do give some encouragement, because they are a pointer to the fact that the will to negotiate, to reach a broad level of disarmament, is not lacking.

18. The developing countries have a vital interest in disarmament. They must be concerned about the ever-growing military complexes in the powerful countries in this world. Power rivalries have a habit of spilling over into the third world, causing local wars, tension between small and poor nations, and the continual diversion of scarce human and material resources to national defence. Therefore, the arms race among the big Powers contributes to world-wide inflation and increased poverty in the third-world countries and militates against co-operation for development among them. My delegation therefore supports and renews the call for general and complete disarmament under international supervision.

19. As one of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean, my country notes with great concern that over the past

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

few years great-Power military presence has greatly increased there. We call for greater co-operation from the great Powers and the major maritime users of that ocean in the efforts and negotiations aimed at implementing the 1971 United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

20. The Cyprus stalemate persists, at the cost of great human suffering. We urge the parties concerned to give momentum to the initiative taken earlier this year by our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, so that a political settlement may be achieved, based on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

21. In the Middle East peace remains as elusive as it was at the time of our last session. My delegation believes and supports the view that peace cannot obtain in this region while two gross injustices are allowed to continue and to become entrenched. One is the denial to the Palestinian people of the right to a homeland and State of its own; the other is the occupation by Israel of Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian land. We support the right of the Palestinian people, led by the Palestinian Liberation Organization, to have a State of their own; we support the right of Egypt, Syria and Jordan to use all appropriate means to recover their territory; and we energetically condemn Israel's murderous military attacks on Lebanon.

22. To come nearer our own country: we consider that the island of Mayotte is part of the Republic of the Comoros and support that country's aspiration to maintain its political unity and territorial integrity.

23. My delegation notes that Korea remains divided. We appreciate the Korean people's desire for peaceful reunification. We hope that this goal will be achieved, without foreign interference, on the basis of independence, peaceful reunification and a greater national unity.

24. Mr. President, we would like to echo the ringing appeal you made in your inaugural address [*1st meeting*] on the plight of refugees around the world. Refugees represent a global humanitarian problem which demands the attention of this Organization. In Africa alone we have more than 4 million refugees, who have to find resettlement in other African countries, which already find it difficult to maintain a decent standard of living for their own populations. It will be seen that the world has so far paid only scant attention, in terms of the input of resources, to resettling African refugees, some of whom are victims of oppression and of the suppression which is visited upon them by the minority racist régimes in southern Africa. We therefore support the creation of a special fund for refugees and commend all steps now being taken to alleviate the human tragedy that is taking place in South-East Asia. We hope that, as a result of the lessons of this tragedy, equal attention will be paid now and in the future to the problems of refugees in other parts of the world.

25. The world economy is in the throes of the most severe crisis in history. Inflation, unemployment, currency fluctuations and instability in the international commodity trade have now become commonplace.

26. The impact of this crisis is being felt by all peoples and all nations. The developing countries, however, whose economies are much weaker and more vulnerable to the influence of external conditions, have been hardest hit. Thus for many developing countries the world economic crisis has led to the deterioration of their terms of trade, the aggravation of their already severe balance-of-payments difficulties, heavier debt problems and the erosion of their meagre savings which could have been used to finance development programmes for people already living below the poverty line.

27. Some developed countries, individually and collectively, have over the past few years adopted and implemented some measures aimed at insulating them from the impact of the world economic crisis. These measures have not only failed, but they have also aggravated the economic problems of the developing countries which have had to bear the cost of the adjustment measures adopted by those developed countries. For example, we have seen the proliferation of protectionist measures adopted by certain developed countries which then apply them to the imports of both primary and processed goods from the developing countries. These measures have produced serious constraints on both the agricultural and industrial development efforts of the developing countries and have led to further deterioration in their terms of trade.

28. The failure of these isolated, self-seeking and piecemeal measures confirms our conviction that the economic problems which continue to haunt the world stem largely from the incompatibility between the existing international economic system designed for the colonial era, and the new realities of today's world of interdependence. These are not problems of a mere cyclical nature; they are clearly rather of a structural nature. Mankind can only be rescued from further economic disruption and political conflict through the fundamental restructuring of economic relations among nations and the establishment of a new equitable international economic order.

29. Unfortunately movement in this direction is not spirited and there are those who think that time is an unfailing catalyst of economic regeneration. In the ongoing negotiations for the establishment of a New International Economic Order, too much time has been spent in restating the problems and too few concrete decisions have been taken. This gap between words and deeds is a manifestation of the lack of political will in some developed countries.

30. At the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila a new programme of action for the least developed countries⁴ was launched but, sadly, agreement could not be reached on some of the major issues which constitute the foundation upon which the programme could be successfully built. These include market access for the manufactured goods of developing countries, reform of the international monetary system, the establishment of a compensatory financing facility to meet shortfalls in the export earnings the developing countries derive

⁴ 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), part one A, resolution 122 (V).

from commodities and automaticity in aid disbursement. The refusal of some developed countries to pledge contributions to the "second window" of the common fund of the Integrated Programme for Commodities is one more indication of this lack of political will.

31. We are therefore approaching the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade with no room for complacency. With a full load of resolutions by this Assembly and other United Nations organs largely unimplemented, the backlog of action that will be carried over to the third development decade is extremely heavy. Nations and Governments should be required to renew their dedication and commitment, but above all there will be a need for the political will to translate the various decisions into a time-table of concrete action. My delegation wishes to express the hope that the third development decade will be more dynamic and that greater political commitment will emerge among Member States in the search for a more balanced world economy and greater prospects for real development in poor countries.

32. Both at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha from 6 to 16 February this year, and at the recently concluded Conference of non-aligned countries,⁵ co-operation among developing countries within the framework of national and collective self-reliance was strongly emphasized. We urge both the United Nations development system and the developed countries to give full support and assistance to the developing countries, so that they may strengthen and expand their mutual co-operation.

33. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is a decisive test of the spirit of meaningful dialogue between the North and the South. Sea-bed resources declared to be the common heritage of mankind by this Assembly touch the very core of world peace and equity. The joint management of sea-bed resources should have as its primary objective the promotion of equal opportunity to acquire sea wealth and should be seen to have the effect of redistributing global wealth. The progress made thus far at the negotiations in Geneva and in particular the unanimity reached in establishing an international sea-bed authority should give all of us cause for satisfaction, despite the crucial operational details that still remain outstanding. We also trust that the Conference will respect the August 1980 deadline for concluding the negotiations.

34. The year 1979 is the International Year of the Child, and it is now resolutely drawing to a close. I wish to commend all the Member States which have striven to make the year a success. I wish also to commend UNICEF, which was given the onerous but joyful responsibility of focusing upon and promoting the welfare of children. It is my hope that member nations will increase their contributions to UNICEF, so that the interest in and concern for the rights of the child, so widely generated in this Year, may be promulgated by permanent programmes for the development of the child. If we are to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war as the Charter enjoins us, we cannot do better than invest in our youth.

⁵ Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

35. We are on the threshold of a new decade. We may appraise the past decade differently. Some may see in it a heap of thwarted ambitions; others may see a pit of unrealistic expectations and demands. But on one thing we can agree. We can agree that this has been a decade of dialogue, a momentous dialogue, about how we should shape our world anew so that all its people can live in plenty and in peace; so that all its nations can survive and thrive in equality, freedom and friendship. Let us then proceed to agree that we shall make this coming decade a decade of action to promote these goals of progress and prosperity, in the spirit of the United Nations.

36. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): I should like to begin by offering my congratulations and felicitations to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Our two countries, Mr. President, share a common historical tradition, although we inhabit different continents. Together, our nations have contributed to the growth of African-Asian solidarity, on which the structure of the non-aligned movement was built. We are fellow-members of the Commonwealth. More intimately, we have had occasion to appreciate your sense of internationalism, your judgement and your unflinching commitment to the cause of peace and harmony, both in this august Assembly and in the working bodies of the non-aligned movement. We are aware of your outstanding contribution to the success of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and we are confident that you will bring the same skills and dedication to bear on the proceedings of the General Assembly. Your election as President at a comparatively early age adds to the distinction.

37. Allow me to pay a tribute as well to my friend and distinguished colleague, our outgoing President. I need hardly recall that he presided over the work of the General Assembly at a trying period in the history of this Organization. He acted with firmness and fairness, contributing decisively and effectively to the conduct of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Our gratitude is due to him and is offered in full measure.

38. Previous speakers have commented on the continued assistance the international community has received from our Secretary-General. Let me reinforce those comments, on behalf of my Government and myself. Mr. Waldheim's erudition, his willingness and ability to hold the balance between contending parties and his calmness under the most difficult circumstances are widely recognized. We admire and appreciate his efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in world affairs and we pledge our continued co-operation.

39. It is with pleasure and pride, too, that Sri Lanka welcomes Saint Lucia as a Member of this Organization. The growth of the membership of this Organization underscores its universality, which is an objective set forth in the Charter itself and without which the authority and effectiveness of our Organization would be seriously eroded.

40. Those of us who make the annual pilgrimage to the

opening session of the General Assembly must have all realized by now that our journeys are in grave danger of turning into a kind of political tourism. For a long time, pamphlet writers have assured their readers that travel broadens the mind. Perhaps it does. On the other hand, I should like to think that those of us who are entrusted with the task of formulating and implementing the foreign policies of our respective countries were endowed with this responsibility because we had already showed more than passing familiarity with the affairs of the world. If the only purpose served by our annual visits here is to participate in a mind-broadening exercise, then the General Assembly, and indeed the United Nations as a whole, is achieving considerably less than its founding fathers intended.

41. My comments should not be mistaken for carping criticism. I speak as a fervent believer in the United Nations, as one who is convinced that, at this time in the history of mankind, if the United Nations did not exist we would very soon be going about the task of setting it up. I speak, moreover, as the Foreign Minister of a country whose foreign policy has consistently emphasized the need to respect, strengthen, and work within the ambit of, the United Nations.

42. I make my comments in this spirit. I make my comments in the hope that the full potential of the United Nations can be realized within our lifetime—in the various aspects of human effort that add up to the sum total of human life. The political, social and economic aspects of human life are all part of our Organization's responsibilities, and they all deserve equal attention. They require attention, moreover, in a practical down-to-earth manner, devoid of polemics, rhetoric and sterile theorizing.

43. As representatives here are aware, it was Sri Lanka's pride and privilege to be the Chairman of the non-aligned movement for the last three years—an office that we handed over to the Republic of Cuba only two weeks ago. During the three years of our stewardship, the movement faced many challenges, and some of those challenges threatened the very foundation of the movement, but Sri Lanka is proud that we were able to keep the unity of the movement intact in the face of serious bilateral disputes that arose within the membership.

44. When Sri Lanka assumed the chairmanship in 1976 there were 86 members, and on the threshold of our handing over the movement after three years the membership had grown to 96. This is also a paradox, because every time we met the prophets of doom predicted that it would be the last time we would be meeting. Today, the movement is a dynamic factor in the conduct of international affairs. It has become the unchallenged, the uncontested and the unquestioned official spokesman of the people of the third world. We are happy to report to this Assembly, two-thirds of whose membership is drawn from the non-aligned movement, that Sri Lanka has been able to uphold that sacred trust deposited with us by the membership of the movement and to hand it over at the expiration of our office, as my President, His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, the outgoing Chairman, said in his address at Havana, "unchallenged and undiluted".

45. We wish to take this opportunity to thank all for the support that had been rendered us to ensure that Sri

Lanka carried out its responsibilities in the most constructive manner. We wish the new Chairman, the Republic of Cuba, every success.

46. During the past two and a half years, it has been my privilege as Chairman of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries to visit many countries and to discuss international affairs and international strategy with a wide range of the world's political leadership. The overriding impression I have gathered during those discussions and inquiries is that of an international paradox, the coexistence of hope and despair; achievement and stagnation; precept and reluctance to practice it. The result is a feeling of disharmony—a sense of unfulfilled obligation, of unfulfilled expectation. This is true of almost any aspect of human endeavour in our times.

47. For instance, ours is widely described as the scientific age, an age in which the wonders of science and its handmaiden, technology, are considered capable of solving almost any given human problem. Unfortunately, however, the advantages of the scientific age are not universally felt, as speakers at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August, rightly pointed out. The result is a paradoxical mixture of success and failure, of imbalance side by side with growth. Man glories in his conquest of outer space, and in the excitement of successful journeys to the moon. Today's medical technology enables a medical technician to complete simultaneous tests on a single sample of blood. Building technology has progressed to the point where a prefabricated apartment can be assembled in slightly over 30 minutes. New strains of miracle cereal have produced undreamed-of increases in the world's food production.

48. Yet the numbers of human beings who are hungry, malnourished, inadequately housed and poor are counted not in hundreds or in thousands, but in millions. Even more paradoxical, the very societies that nurture millionaires, fast cars, streamlined hospitals and opulent housing are at the same time the scene of sky-scraping living costs, galloping inflation and explosive unemployment. Forget the labels of the North and the South, forget the labels of East and West. The stark fact is that within whatever form of society one may live, the wonders and successes of the scientific age leave large segments of the population untouched.

49. In political terms, ours is considered the age of decolonization, and rightly so. In the nineteenth century, the greater part of the world's land mass and of its peoples was drawn into the fold of imperial hegemony. That was the extent of colonialism in formal terms, with unequal treaties signed and large areas of patrimony ceded. In less formal arrangements, where colonial power was exercised without a permanent colonial presence, the extent of subjugation was wider and deeper. A scholar has calculated that on the eve of the Second World War some 80 per cent of the world's land mass and 75 per cent of the world's population was in one way or another actually under the control of colonial Powers. Let us not quibble over figures. The facts of the colonial period are too much a part of history to need debate. In the same way, the facts of decolonization are beyond dispute.

50. From the late 1940s, when India and Sri Lanka

became independent, to the 1970s the world has seen the rapid dismantling of empires. Over a hundred nation-States took their places in the family of man, and we need not wait for history to assure us that the role and influence of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement in this process were strong and decisive. Cynics sometimes say that decolonization has actually unleashed acute problems and disorder in newly independent States. This argument, in fact, is sometimes used to justify the existence of a few racist and colonial redoubts in the world today. The existence of these pockets of outmoded political forms is in itself a paradox. Yes, these pockets must go.

51. In our times there cannot be, and should not be, one man unfree or one inch of land occupied by an aggressor or colonial Power, whether in the Middle East, in southern Africa or in any other part of the world. Quenching the thirst for freedom is more essential and more satisfying than accepting some artificial form of order superimposed by the might of a distant metropolitan Power. And if today's politically independent nation-States find themselves in economic disarray, that, too, is partly the result of another international paradox: the survival of economic domination despite their political freedom.

52. These paradoxes can be viewed from an esoteric perspective, providing hours and days of delight to academics and pundits who pile libraries high and deep with sophisticated but unfeeling descriptions and analyses of the human condition. They can, on the other hand, be set against a background of political confrontation, or, to put it differently, in a perspective of "we" and "they". Neither approach is helpful. There is a third option, however: that of seeing the situation in human terms and attempting to remedy it, also in human terms. My appeal to representatives today is that all of us accept the third option and strive relentlessly to improve the human condition and not just reduce it to a jumble of platitudes.

53. This is particularly applicable at a time when the North and the South do not seem to know precisely how to get moving again in their faltering efforts at togetherness. The reason for this diffidence is understandable. A common struggle is simpler to mount when a discernible common enemy can be identified, attacked and eliminated. The campaign is more difficult when the enemy cannot easily be identified. Who, for instance, can draw a route map leading straight to the source of monetary imbalance? In fact, the enemy we face today is not a single enemy. There are several enemies: want, hunger, disease, enmity, environmental pollution, unemployment, the waste of precious resources on destructive armaments, inflation—all lurking behind the fact of international paradox. And, just as the enemy is manifold, so too are the results of its activities, which strike rich and poor nations alike.

54. There is a certain pessimism in the air about the inability of the world community to resolve disputes that have now become almost a permanent feature of international life. I do not fully share that pessimism because I believe that in our times we must find solutions to these issues. When I say that, I am not unmindful of the conflicts and confrontations that seem to surface day by day. There is a fresh wave of unrest, suspicion and tension sweeping across the continents. Borders and boundaries seem to pose a challenge to

international security and stability. Jockeying for power and position has never been so subtle and scientific. To add to all this, the explosive potential of economic imbalance and paradox is perhaps far greater than has been realized or conceded.

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

55. The poor, the hungry, the undernourished and the unemployed need immediate relief. We cannot ignore their interests. In human terms, their interests are at the very core of our concerns, because for politicians to lose their sense of humanity is for them to lose the very reason for their existence. In political terms, similarly, their interests are paramount because the continuance of desperation and frustration must eventually raise tensions and hopelessness to the point at which only a violent release is possible.

56. It is against this background that I wish to state the urgent need for a resumption of the North-South dialogue in a meaningful manner. The first phase of the North-South dialogue has come to an end, and, while it is neither fair nor accurate to call that phase a total failure, it has produced little but despair in the South and aloofness in the North.

57. In the first phase of the North-South dialogue some new slogans came into being. Slogans hamper progress, as they give rise to a situation of confrontation, which is of no use to either side.

58. It is clear beyond doubt that the existing economic order is both outdated and lop-sided; it is inequitable and unsatisfying, to both the North and the South.

59. The North, though ostensibly the beneficiary of this system, is still grounded by the malaise of inflation, economic stagnation and recession—problems that were supposed to be endemic only to the South—so a restructuring of the economic structure will benefit the North as much as it will benefit the South.

60. The attempt to restructure the present economic order should not be approached with slogans or threats of deprivation. That will yield nothing but a lot of hot air. Hot air will not satisfy hunger in the South, nor will it strengthen the shrinking dollar. The situation must be approached in terms of co-operation, not confrontation.

61. The restructuring of the present economic order is a formidable task. It is not one that can be approached without preparation and rethinking by both the North and the South. The North should enter the negotiations with a definite commitment to set up a new order that would accommodate the legitimate interests and aspirations of the poor nations. The South, on the other hand, should pursue its plan of action and substantive work proposals to back this up. Calm analysis will achieve results and prevent the kind of frustration that followed the end of the first phase of dialogue.

62. In other words, the second phase of the dialogue must go beyond mere discussion directly into the area of negotiation. And negotiation, of course, has to be conducted within an agreed framework. Negotiators cannot be like a musician who says, "Give me the piano

and I will play the tune". Negotiations need the equivalent of a musical score as well. Producing this score is not beyond the bounds of human ingenuity in an age of manifest creativity. In fact, experts have been working in different forums at producing an agreed set of principles to guide North-South negotiations when they next get together. A composite of their views would provide us with at least the outline of the required framework.

63. It can be argued, for instance, that the framework for negotiation should consist of five broad principles, all of them designed to facilitate understanding and co-operation.

64. First, the need to reshape the international order is not felt only by a particular group of countries or peoples. The discipline of interdependence is being forced on us by circumstances, and that discipline cannot be applied within the existing order, which is largely based on the maxim "I'm all right, Jack".

65. Secondly, and this flows from the first principle, it must be accepted all round that the purpose of reshaping the international order is not to benefit a single group of countries, but to improve the human condition as a whole. If this purpose is kept in mind throughout the negotiating process, then there can be legitimate trade-offs which result in all sides feeling the beneficial impact of a reshaped international order.

66. Thirdly, while the concept of basic needs is commendable, it is equally true that needs cannot be met until resources are adequate. Resources are not unlimited, but, within natural constraints, resources can be expanded through processes of economic growth in such a way that there is sufficient for sharing. Population planning is quite obviously an integral part of this equation.

67. Fourthly, equitability must be a key objective of the exercise, that is to say, not only equitability as between today's rich and poor nations, but within rich and poor nations as well. It would be a travesty if an international exercise aimed at reshaping the international order were undertaken purely to make the rich in both rich and poor countries richer. Better and more effective forms of income distribution need to be fashioned even as international economic restructuring takes place.

68. Fifthly, restructuring has to take place in an orderly manner, with agreed phasing, targets and appraisals as part of an agreed programme.

69. I do not claim either originality or exclusivity for the principles listed. They can be put in different ways. What is important is that they should be agreed on—and acted on.

70. Sri Lanka's position on issues such as southern Africa, the Middle East, disarmament, the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and other important questions that will come up before the current meetings of the General Assembly has been repeatedly stated here and in other international forums quite clearly and in detail on many occasions. For this reason, I have chosen not to take up the time of the Assembly by restating it here.

71. Next year's special session of the General Assembly, when we will be taking up development strategy and other matters connected with the third United Nations development decade, will provide us with a golden opportunity to turn our intentions and thoughts into deeds. We can very easily turn that session into yet another talking marathon in which we engage in ceaseless recriminations or ceaseless platitudes, or we can use that session as a take-off point for action. The choice is ours. How will we decide?

72. On the part of Sri Lanka there is no hesitation about what choice should be made. We should like to see the entire membership of this Organization enter that session with a prior commitment to action. We should like that session to be the occasion for negotiation on broad lines, not for mere debates. And we should like to see that session end with the acceptance of a concrete programme of action which would then go to bodies such as UNCTAD for implementation.

73. Will the international community accept this challenge? Or will special interests once again deprive the disadvantaged peoples of the world of their right to human dignity? If this is not achieved, we face the danger not only of a deepening economic crisis, but also of political explosion. To ward off this danger and to guarantee permanent peace is the responsibility of the political leadership of our times. We must make some constructive progress towards meeting the minimum economic needs of the underprivileged peoples. This is a duty and an obligation we owe to history.

74. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): I should like to begin by expressing the gratitude of my delegation to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia.

75. Secondly, I should like to congratulate President Salim most warmly on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. At the age of 37, he is the youngest person ever to have been elected to that high office. In the short time during which he has presided over this Assembly, he has already impressed us with his efficiency, competence and fairness.

76. I should also like to pay a sincere tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. He is a tireless worker and traveller in search of world peace and of peaceful and constructive solutions to international problems. During the past year he visited the countries of East and South-East Asia in order to learn from their leaders about the problems of their region. We also commend the Secretary-General's initiative in convening the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

77. I propose to depart from the usual practice of focusing attention on numerous specific regional and national issues. My delegation will deal with those when they come up for consideration.

78. The close of a decade is conventionally the occasion for a retrospective assessment of the past to discern what the future holds for us. The 1970s, which we are leaving behind, has by all accounts been the most disastrous decade for mankind since the end of the

Second World War. In comparison with it, the preceding two and a half decades were years of steady achievement for most of mankind; and even those who experienced disappointments and setbacks were hopeful that, given time and effort, they could correct their errors and join the mainstream of progress and advancement.

79. The 1970s have rudely shattered this easy optimism about the future. A great many things have happened during the 1970s to convince some people that the era of uninterrupted progress is over and that mankind has entered a new cycle of chaos and disintegration. There is an all-pervading uneasiness that we are inhabitants of a planet where more and more things are getting out of control and that we are plunging towards some undisclosed disaster. Not a day passes without world leaders meeting to reverse this drift but their failures so far leave the impression that they are trying to manage the unpredictable.

80. It is true that the decades preceding the 1970s were marked by crises too. They, too, had their moments of anxiety and uncertainty. But by and large they were manageable crises: temporary aberrations in an otherwise stable world order.

81. The crisis of the 1970s is of a different order of magnitude. It attacks the accepted foundations of the system, suggesting strongly that they can no longer bear the load of human problems. The system's potential has been used up. It has reached the point of exhaustion, decay and spreading chaos. It is what sociologists call a systemic crisis and the 1970s have given clear warnings that we are drifting towards such a crisis. A feature of systemic crisis is that it infects all subsystems—political, economic, social and ideological. It embraces all nations and the crisis afflicts the rich and advanced nations as well as the poor and developing nations.

82. What I want to do is direct the Assembly's attention to the global crisis because it embraces us all and, if left unresolved, can affect solutions to regional and national problems, for these, too, have their roots in the global convulsion. I can think of no better forum for the resolution of the global crisis than the United Nations. Collectively the 152 nations present here represent all of humanity. The global crisis which threatens us is not the creation of Providence, but the consequence of sins of commission and omission on the part of all of us represented here. Since the crisis is of our making, it is also within our capacity, provided we have the courage to face up to new realities, to undo what we have done. That is why I do not believe that the ongoing crisis is irreversible or that we should resign ourselves to the inevitability of disaster.

83. If we approach the present crisis in a spirit of resignation or, as some of us are inclined to do, minimize the importance and extent of the global crisis, then the 1980s will inflict far greater damage and human suffering than that exacted by the 1970s. It is my considered view that the weight of the crisis, as in the 1970s, will bear down more heavily on the third-world countries than on rich, advanced societies. Some of us may find satisfaction in the sorry plight of the developed and rich countries. True, the rich countries are going through the torments of political instability, sluggish economies and growing unemployment. But their suf-

ferings are of a different order from those rampant in the third world. The victims of the crisis in developed societies are buffered by various forms of welfare assistance which may not make life satisfactory for them but prevent it from being a life-or-death struggle. The rich countries can ride the crisis better and emerge when the crisis ends—as it eventually must—battered and bruised certainly, but without having lost their powers of recuperation. A dramatic illustration of this thesis is the example of Japan and Germany. Both those countries suffered nearly total destruction politically, economically and institutionally. Yet within a decade or so they recovered sufficiently to exceed their pre-war achievements first in the economic field and now in other spheres of endeavour. This is because bombs and enemy occupation, including colonial and imperial occupation, could not destroy the accumulated knowledge and skills of those two peoples or their patriotic will to undertake the great sacrifices and stringent discipline necessary for their national recovery. That is the miracle of Germany and of Japan.

84. The impact of the crisis on third-world countries is of a different order altogether. Foremost among the disasters it has brought is that, as the danger of open conflict between the rich, advanced nations has receded, the third-world countries have been emerging as the arenas for international turmoil and conflicts. These initially take the form of conflicts between third-world countries, but, because modern wars have to be fought with sophisticated arms that only advanced nations can provide, these bilateral and multilateral third-world conflicts can easily be converted, as they now are, into proxy wars for great Powers.

85. Since 1945 there have been in all some 135 major and minor wars involving some 80 countries and responsible for some 25 million casualties. With rare exceptions the armies involved were from third-world countries. Today the fighting armies are wholly from third-world countries. The great Powers have so perfected the technique of proxy wars that it would not be necessary for advanced, rich nations to fight future wars on their own soil, or to use their nationals, their citizens, as cannon-fodder. Why should they, when third-world countries provide the cockpits and the cannon-fodder, wittingly or unwittingly?

86. If the global crisis is left unresolved, the indications are that in the 1980s civil wars, small-nation wars and proxy wars will spread further in the third world. Already across southern Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Central America, border and territorial disputes, recollections of injustices from times past and social upheavals are igniting countless conflicts among comrades and brothers in underdeveloped countries. All these conflicts are ripe for conversion into great-Power proxy wars. Though I welcome the détente between the great Powers, we in the third world should be aware of the dangerous implications it has for us. The détente is an understanding between the great Powers that under no condition will they wage war directly against one another because nuclear wars imply mutual annihilation. That is what détente is all about.

87. But nowhere does détente repudiate great-Power rivalry or resort to proxy wars. So it is inevitable that the third world should provide the arenas for proxy wars. That this could be the trend is evidenced by the

militarization of an increasing number of third-world countries, most of them desperately poor, through the supply and sale of arms by advanced countries.

88. An even more telling evidence of militarization is the third world's share of global military expenditure over the past decade. According to an estimate made some five years ago, it shot up from 15 per cent of total global expenditure to 23 per cent in the third-world countries. In the light of the proliferation of new wars since then, such as the major one in Indo-China, the percentage has probably increased. A quarter of the third world devotes more than a quarter of its public spending to arms. This is the militarization of the third world.

89. One significant point worth noting about these wars, whether proxy or not, is that they can be switched on and off at will by the half dozen or so of the world's major arms suppliers. The arms supplier can call the tune to which his desperate clients must dance. The proxies, having liberated themselves from classical imperialism, are now in bondage to new forms of imperialism—perhaps not as visible as the earlier version, but affording as much control by the overlord over his subordinates as was afforded by the earlier imperialism. When third-world armies can be induced to operate on an intercontinental basis where their national interests are not even remotely affected, then we get a measure of the powers of control this new imperialism can exert.

90. This control is based on exploitation of the petty and, from the point of view of the great Power, totally irrelevant ambitions of a growing number of small nations. This has contributed in significant measure to the crisis of the 1970s.

91. Nationalism, initially a positive and constructive force in third-world countries, has now entered a destructive and reactionary phase. It is now reproducing in the third world the errors and distortions that European nationalism produced in its immature historical phase. Third-world nationalism has entered its phase of racial, religious and cultural persecutions. The solidarity which transcended racial, religious and cultural differences has weakened or totally collapsed in many third-world countries. The third-world countries quite justifiably charged their former imperial rulers with racial discrimination, and yet an increasing number of them now adopt this terrible vice as necessary for national dignity and survival. I need only draw the attention of this Assembly to the openly-declared policy of Viet Nam of ejecting millions of its nationals who have lived for generations in that country for no reason other than that they are ethnic Chinese.

92. Racism is not a monopoly of Europe: we have adopted that vice. I mention this only as an instance of the growing tendency of third-world nationalism to adopt the vices of its former imperial masters, while carefully eschewing some of their virtues. And this tendency has now culminated in the greatest vice of all: the emergence of third-world imperialism. In the 1970s we had many instances of a third-world country invading another and absorbing it outright for the greater glory of the fatherland, or setting up suppliant puppet régimes. We are learning: picking up the vices of our former masters, but not their virtues.

93. The ongoing invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam

is but a recent example of emerging third-world imperialism. An interesting feature of the war now going on in Indo-China is that the proxies, as well as their patrons, all profess the Communist faith: Viet Nam, Kampuchea, China, the Soviet Union.

94. So the crisis of the 1970s brought to the surface the hidden fact that wars are not wholly a capitalist phenomenon, and nor are aggression and imperialism. In fact, today capitalist States live far more amicably with one another than do Communist States or those that claim inspiration from that doctrine.

95. These, then, are some of the weaknesses, largely self-induced, within third-world countries which make them easy candidates for proxy wars. Unless these weaknesses, which are spreading rapidly throughout developing countries, are remedied, the 1980s may see many of them broken and battered beyond recovery, or once more enslaved to mighty nations. It may take some of them many generations more to shake off the new servitude because, unlike the first, its chains are nearly invisible and its operations too complex and subtle for identification and resistance. The enthusiasm and utter sincerity with which proxies, wittingly or unwittingly, promote the interests of their patrons is evidence of the tantalizing invisibility of the new imperialism which some advanced nations are erecting. Most proxies sincerely believe that their patrons give lavish aid and assistance to the military efforts of small nations and risk conflicts with other great Powers simply to further the happiness and the trivial ambitions of their proxies. The proxies may have serious reservations about this in private, but their public enthusiasm is incredible. It underlines my belief that once a hold has been secured the proxy has little free will left.

96. These aberrations can be taken as unmistakable warnings to the third world that greater tragedies await it if it does not correct its accumulating errors. I believe that these errors can be rectified and that the disaster that could engulf us can be averted. We can and should do it in the 1980s. After that, it may be nearly impossible for the third-world countries to change course. But to reverse this drift towards disaster, it is necessary for the third world to recognize that it has committed and is committing errors, instead of attributing its difficulties to its imperial past and to the machinations of the rich advanced nations. Certainly, our imperial past is a factor, but with each passing day the consequences of imperialism are becoming more tenuous and our problems are increasingly the consequence of our own actions. Many of us discarded colonialism and imperialism some 30 years ago; to keep on invoking the past as responsible for our present condition is to ignore that this is the consequence of what we ourselves have done since independence. The fact that some third-world countries are doing better in coping with the present crisis suggests strongly that what we do, rather than what a vanished imperialism did, is the primary source of our difficulties.

97. Equally, I admit that the rich and advanced nations are not exactly bending over backwards to help us. On the contrary, if the 1970s are any guide, political and economic stability in third-world countries is not high on the advanced nations' priority list. As I elaborated earlier, great-Power rivalry requires the ignition of safe proxy wars, and proxy wars are more possible if there is an unstable third world.

98. In the economic field, the post-war zeal on the part of the rich countries for promoting economic development in third-world countries has evaporated. There are many reasons for this, one of which is the ending of the first cold war and the advent of détente. The need to win over cold-war allies from the third world is therefore not as pressing as it once was.

99. The other and more important reason is the fear, on the part of developed countries, of competition from economically successful third-world countries. A number of third-world countries, primarily from east and south-east Asia and from Latin America, have demonstrated a capacity to compete successfully with advanced countries in an expanding range of industrial products. Initially these were simple manufactures like textiles, garments and foot-wear, but in the 1970s a few third-world countries were turning out more sophisticated products which compete successfully with those of advanced countries.

100. The third-world countries which reached this level of competence were no more than a dozen, but it was enough to set off an alarm in advanced countries, which saw in such successes a possible threat to their dominant economic position and privileges should third-world countries—over a hundred of them—reach a similar level of competence in the course of time.

101. From the economic standpoint, these fears about an economically dynamic third world are both groundless and self-defeating. But given the fact that the advanced countries had already entered a recessionary phase, this minor challenge from the third world has stimulated further protectionist tendencies. The most strident demands for protection from third-world competition have come from Western trade unions, rather than from their capitalists. The Western proletariat views the emerging third-world proletariat less as an ally and more as a foe.

102. The protectionists from the developed world are, in effect, arguing that the post-war liberal economic order established in 1944 at Bretton Woods⁶ should be dismantled. One of the main pillars of that arrangement was free trade, with provisions for the removal of tariff barriers. And the biggest proponents of this are liberals in the developed world. They are also against the Bretton Woods economic order.

103. Yet, under the Bretton Woods arrangement—though it was not wholly responsible for it—there was a sustained rise in income levels such as was never witnessed before in human history, in both developing and developed countries. Though the average figures may mask differences in the performance of individual countries, *per capita* income in the third-world countries under the Bretton Woods arrangements grew at an unprecedented annual rate of 3.4 per cent, slightly higher than that for countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. It is also a fact that economic growth was fastest in developing countries based on a free economy and with no inhibitions about the flow of foreign investments or multina-

tional operations. This is a fact, unpleasant though it may be.

104. The developing countries which are now demonstrating a capacity to compete successfully with the advanced nations are wholly those based on a free economy, those which took full advantage of the Bretton Woods agreement.

105. For these reasons, Western protectionists are keen on scrapping the old liberal order—the Bretton Woods arrangement. What they would like to see emerge out of the ashes of the old order are more barriers to competition from third-world countries. Given such barriers, there is very little hope of third-world countries ever emerging economically and, of the few that have managed to climb up the ladder, being able to remain there for long.

106. There is much in the criticisms advanced by proponents of the New International Economic Order which is valid, but some of the practices and attitudes of the developing countries will, I believe, work against the third world and reinforce the strength of the protectionists in rich countries.

107. First, the developing countries cannot demand free trade while growing more and more protectionist themselves. There is possibly a case for a constructive protectionism for third-world industries in their early stages, but protectionism can become a cover to protect inefficient and uneconomic enterprises sustained largely by exploiting the local consumers. Their ability to grow by competing in the more lucrative international markets would be severely curtailed. Rich countries can afford to featherbed ailing industries, but poor countries cannot for long.

108. The other is the confrontational approach of third-world countries towards multinationals. Admittedly, the multinationals are not philanthropic organizations; they are profit-oriented, and their loyalty is to this central fact. But when they are assured of this, they bring new technology, skills and established world markets which poor countries, given the need to operate in a global economy, cannot acquire, if ever, even over many generations.

109. Here, some developing countries see eye to eye with the protectionists, who are perhaps even louder in their protests over the havoc wrought by Western-based multinational operations overseas. But if you read the protests of the protectionists in the developed countries carefully, you will discover that their objections are not to multinationals as such but to their operations overseas. More multinational operations overseas mean fewer jobs at home and more effective competition from third-world countries. No great multinational enterprise has been closed down in any advanced country by either industrial action or government legislation, but it would have been if it was intrinsically evil.

110. The main point I want to put across is that it is in the long-term interests of third-world countries, whatever the shape of the New International Economic Order that will emerge, to ensure that the principle of free trade should be made a cardinal principle of that Order. Sooner or later, the present economic crisis must work

⁶ United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods in 1944.

itself out, and the world economy will enter a new phase of prosperity and expansion. When that comes, protectionism, if well entrenched, will once again ensure that the third-world countries get only the leftovers from the main banquet table.

111. But to take advantage of the new prosperity, our domestic economies must be sound and dynamic. The third-world countries must re-examine brutally and frankly the many economic shibboleths which they have translated into economic policies and which have propelled them from one disaster into another. They should search other third-world countries objectively to make a compendium of economic policies that have worked and those which have not.

112. In my view, the policies that work best are those based on free competition, with the government's role limited to protecting the people against the harshness and injustices that unrestrained competition could inflict, and redistributing the fruits of competition without deadening the competitive spirit.

113. The other approach is economic development through government controls and bureaucratic planning. However attractive this may be in theory, in practice this has rarely worked in third-world countries: even third-world countries which believe in controls turn to the free economies of the Western world—not to the socialist economies—with demands for aid, investments, markets and technology.

114. Underlying the turmoils and conflicts in the third-world countries, to which I referred at the start of my address, is mounting economic discontent. Sixty percent of the world's population belong to the low-income group, and they are all in the third world. Life is getting not better, but worse, for more and more people, thanks to uncontrollable population increase. We can produce statistics testifying to advances in this or that sphere of life in the third world, but growth rates can hide unpleasant realities.

115. I can do no better than to quote an eminent World Bank official, Mahbub Ul Haq, on the real meaning of statistics about economic performances:

“When you rip aside the confusing figures on growth rates you find that for about two thirds of humanity the increase in *per capita* income has been less than \$US 1 for the past 20 years.”

116. What the statistics about *per capita* income tell us is the extent to which national wealth has grown, but not how this has been distributed among the population. If there is unequal distribution of wealth between rich and poor countries, there is also just as great a disparity in its distribution between rich and poor people within third-world countries.

117. Therefore it is imperative in the 1980s that we approach our economic problems not in the spirit of mediaeval religious ideologues who debated and killed one another over the question of how many angels could dance on the point of a needle, but as problem-solvers who must deal with realities as they are and change them on the basis of what is possible or not possible at a given time.

118. The rich world will continue to remain indifferent to the pleas from the third world, sunk in poverty, whose main demand is that it should get a free lift on the gravy train of the rich. I do not think we are going to get any free lift, however much we shout. The hitch-hikers will, in my view, most certainly be left behind.

119. However, a prosperous and economically dynamic third world, comprising some two thirds of the world's population, would be sufficiently attractive to get better terms from the rich than we can now. The market-hungry rich nations would be on the doorstep of prosperous third-world countries with their money and their blueprints. Where they could make profits they would be less inclined to make mischief. They would have a vested interest in ensuring our economic and political stability, because that would provide them with their bread and butter too.

120. Mr. GARCÍA-BEDOYA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased to convey to the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania its congratulations on his election to the presidency of this General Assembly and to congratulate his country, recalling that Peru attended its first non-aligned conference in Dar-es-Salaam. In connexion with this election we also recall President Nyerere, a distinguished statesman and a living symbol of the highest African and universal virtues.

121. We also wish to express our thanks to Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the noted jurist from the sister Republic of Colombia, for the way in which he conducted the business of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

122. We also welcome a new Latin American State, Saint Lucia, to this Organization. Its admission brings us one step nearer our ideal of universality.

123. The presence in this Assembly of the official delegation of the people of Nicaragua, represented by the Government of the Junta of National Reconstruction, fills Latin Americans with pride. Forty years of a régime shameful to Nicaragua and the conscience of Latin America have been left behind. Thanks to the struggle of the Sandinista Front and the whole people of Nicaragua, the way to freedom has been opened and today the hard task of building a future of dignity is beginning. It is up to the international community to provide effective and decided support. The Nicaraguan people have paid a high price for their freedom: human lives were lost, the economy was shattered, and the countryside was razed. Today a new era is beginning, an era of solidarity among all our countries, which have awaited and hailed the triumph of the Nicaraguan people, and this must urgently be translated into the financial and technical assistance needed by Nicaragua, without restrictions or provisos.

124. The fall of the Somoza dictatorship means not only victory for the Nicaraguan people but it also means that Latin America has come face to face with its destiny of freedom. While it is true that the revolution in Nicaragua was an heroic undertaking on the part of its people, it is also true that the firmness of purpose shown by several countries in the region also contributed to some extent to that victory. Some saw to it that the

inter-American system took the right decision at the right time.

125. The countries of the Andean Group can say with legitimate pride that they helped to save an ethical tradition of the region. The initiative which they took, at a particularly difficult time, was tantamount to a commitment to justice.

126. As a non-aligned country, Peru was pleased to take part in the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Havana. There, together with many other small and medium-sized countries from all regions, we reaffirmed our basic commitment to the policy of non-alignment, with its fundamental principles and common aims.

127. Our participation in such a conference and in the non-aligned movement as a whole is seen by us as the clear political option of a country which has fought and will fight to strengthen its independence and consolidate its sovereignty and to ensure respect for other principles which our non-aligned movement recognizes as being of universal validity, many of which are also contained in this Organization's Charter. It is the option of a country which supports the completion of the process of decolonization and which is opposed to the division of the world into spheres of influence and military blocs and which is opposed to any policy of colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism, expansionism or hegemonism.

128. Consequently, my country feels that at Havana the substance of our common cause was reaffirmed, when it was reiterated that regardless of political, economic or social systems, which constitute the non-aligned movement's essential plurality, the countries in the movement recognize that non-alignment is an independent, world-wide and creative factor in international relations and one which has as its aim and essential focus to make international relations more democratic, to set its members apart from military blocs and to get rid of these blocs in order to bring peace and security to all States.

129. Non-alignment has made a substantial contribution to the establishment at the international level of a new law of the sea. We are therefore convinced, and would like to believe that all other parties in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea are also, of the importance of what is at stake. We have to be aware that never before has such a large joint effort been made by so many complex interests, that must nevertheless be essentially common ones. Just as there is one sea, so must there be one body to govern and regulate its peaceful use, the exploitation of its resources and its conservation. We are therefore worried about the fact that at this stage of the debate some Powers are still suggesting unilateral action which we would regard as threatening. However, we will not even entertain the idea of failure but will invoke the highest political vision of all States so that one single coherent system may regulate the essential undertakings. My country, which has been in the vanguard of this struggle, has the authority to call for respect for the sovereignty of the coastal States and a just agreement for the administration of what we have called the common heritage of mankind.

130. At the beginning of this session of the Assembly,

we are once again facing the challenge to the Organization that resides in the persistence of situations in various parts of the world which to a greater or lesser extent jeopardize international peace and security and have been critical for far too long. There are also various manifestations of policies of power which seem to be possible because of the ineffectiveness of the security systems and obvious short-comings in the capacity of the United Nations to preserve the universal application of its principles.

131. Racist minority régimes in southern Africa persist in their defiance of the imperatives of nature and history. The international community, openly or covertly challenged, must not ease up its pressure or slacken its application of sanctions which, after so many violations, seem to be the only means of forcing changes, which we should like to be peaceful.

132. The international community has clearly established guidelines for the changes required to resolve the critical situation in the Middle East. We are aware that the process of the interrelationship of States in that very important area has invariably and tragically led to confrontation and war. The effective exercise of the rights of the Palestinian people, which we firmly support, and respect for the sovereignty of all the States of the region are central elements of one form of peaceful coexistence and co-operation which we recognize as pressing.

133. In Cyprus, in South-East Asia, in regions of Africa and in other parts of the world conflict and war are presenting us with the daily disasters of invasion, occupation, the displacement of people as refugees, suffering and death. What peace are we talking about when these circumstances prevail?

134. When the principles and provisions of our Charter are being violated or distorted and the will, if any, to deal with situations calling urgently for action seems not to exist, we must agree that there is real danger in our times.

135. It is almost routine to deplore the growth of military expenditures and the continued acceleration of the arms race, which, while to some extent it may give a transitory sense of security, has created a situation which is not satisfactory to anyone but rather increases the risk for all. For our part, at this stage, again we have to say that we do not all have the same responsibilities, for not all of us subject mankind as a whole to the same threats. We should like to think that some effective steps are being taken or at least that negotiations are under way to check or at least slow down the arms race, which so often originates in and is promoted from central countries expanding outward and thus involving every part of the world in a dynamic process which our countries have not created but the effects of which we cannot fail to perceive.

136. Latin America, while not being an area of the developing world that devotes most resources to military acquisitions, has made some responsible efforts to find common criteria to control and limit military expenditures. The Declaration of Ayacucho,⁷ tripartite meetings and meetings of Andean countries, among others, have been accepted in Peru as a far-sighted

⁷ Signed on 9 December 1974. See document A/10044, annex.

driving force. Unfortunately, progress has been limited. Despite this we believe that Latin America can also in this complex problem take the lead, advocating regional agreement which, in view of the urgency and realism of the case, should lay the basis for a joint policy.

137. In inverse proportion to the growth of arms, the international effort for development shows signs of slowing down and indeed stagnating. After very many conferences and meetings dealing with political and technical aspects, with small or universal participation, ranging from the sectorial to the world-wide, we have time and again seen the distressing frustration of the developing countries as a constant factor. It is all the more distressing when it is clear that very seldom before has mankind as a whole longed as deeply as now for peace, stability, social justice and development. We believe that this should be a cause for thorough consideration which would make it possible to throw light on new paths and possibilities and generate a new dynamic to resolve these conflicts and contradictions, and in this last part of the second millennium of our era give all the peoples of the earth the hope that the harsh lessons of history have not been in vain.

138. In a few days we shall have the opportunity of listening to His Holiness John Paul II. While we shall hear in it the noble and authoritative words of the representative of the Catholic world, we also must remember that with him comes the memory of one whose name he took, who gave the name of peace to the development of peoples and who showed in its dramatic starkness the paradoxical contradiction between poverty and justice.

139. The problem of development comes up periodically and in varying degrees of intensity for consideration by States Members of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the Organization has shown itself to be incapable of dealing with the problem and finding a solution in terms that would provide a reasonable expectation of success.

140. Over a period of many years we have been building a broad complex of ideas, items and proposals, believing that through those we could find a solution. The facts have shown that we were wrong. It seems clearer every day that the problem lies not only in the will of States to do this but in the approach taken to development and the way it is to be discussed in international bodies.

141. The continuing failure of the economic negotiations carried out since the General Assembly in 1974 adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] shows the lack of political will of the developed nations to adopt measures in the right direction, and also it seems that we as developing countries have been following a mistaken strategy in trying to bring about a fundamental change in the existing structure of international economic relations.

142. We therefore have to give consideration to the question of devising new ways, on the one hand, of strengthening co-operation among developing countries, with a view to changing the present trend, which reinforces the dependence of the periphery on

the centre, and, on the other hand, of strengthening the negotiating power of our countries vis-à-vis the developed nations. This is not the time to engage in repeated, futile complaints against the prevailing unjust international order; rather it is the time to take decisions to change the terms of these relationships. We must offset the traditional attitude of obtaining minor concessions from the industrialized nations by our firm proposals to try to break new ground, to escape the trap of our present relationships with the industrialized countries and the characteristics of the negotiating process in which we have become involved.

143. What is called for is a qualitative change in our policies in order to effect a radical modification of the ties of dependency that have kept our economic development and social life subordinate to the interests and policies of the industrialized nations. This change must of necessity entail a stage during which we must reject the development models of the "transnationalized States", whose styles of life and of consumption are based on a certain level of income and on distribution mechanisms that are the product of an historic process we cannot emulate.

144. Therefore, that development strategy not only must be designed to create a new international economic order, but must be oriented, in turn, towards a search for new models appropriate to our own societies. These new models must enable us to deal with the fundamental aspirations of the population as a whole, ensuring democratic participation by all sectors of society in setting common objectives and selecting the appropriate means of achieving them. We must seek change on the basis, not of the models the large, industrialized countries offer us in an attempt to extend their systems to our nations, but of models designed to form new ties that will enable us to preserve our own true identity and to provide for our own protection as distinct and free societies in the future.

145. It is a question of discovering whether the multiplicity of statements and regulations agreed to over the last few years contain any option suited to our own development, or whether we must repetitively imitate experiments that emerge from a history that differs from our own because the role we have had to play in the world's economic system was different.

146. This does not mean that we need seek Utopian autarkies in our development models or a total break with the industrialized world. Today, in any case, there is an obvious interrelationship that has altered the traditional form of dependency. Instead, we must undertake our own development on the basis of an internal effort to define objectives and basically national priorities, and avoid attempts to force us into roles that would simply accentuate the inequalities and contradictions within our societies.

147. This is important, for if present trends are not corrected, we will continue to mortgage our economic and social development projects through international finance and trade mechanisms that are controlled by the industrialized nations. The inevitable result will be that by the year 2000, the trade deficit of the developing countries will amount to more than \$200 billion to the industrialized countries, whereas our own trade will have increased by 1 per cent. In other words, we shall continue to increase our debt to the industrialized Pow-

ers in order to cover the deficit we already have with them.

148. In light of this prospect, we may well be fostering development by means of machinery that will not ensure a proper distribution of real income; with an inflated gross national product that will conceal immense social inequities; with a process of industrialization either deficient or based on industries exported by the developed nations because they are not competitive enough or because they are a serious threat to the environment; with outdated technical processes or processes artificially incorporated into our system of production; with a system of popular education that is filled with short-comings and is highly wasteful; and, lastly, with an agricultural production based on exports that in turn perpetuate chronic food shortages. In short, it will be a development that is more apparent than real, and one that is in conflict with the needs of the peoples and with the social dimension of human rights.

149. For these reasons and many others which I do not feel I should dwell on now, we must question the very bases on which current international development planning is founded. It is our firm belief that, instead of meeting in august and debilitating bodies to consider the problems of development and co-operation with the same worn-out view that has prevailed in recent years, we should rather come together in a serious frame of mind, issuing at the outset a firm "No," to debate the current concept of development and its international treatment. We should attempt to ensure that through this joint exercise we shall arrive at an integral redefinition of the problem and hence a possible way of contributing to the true establishment of an economic and political order aimed at creating a balance and symmetry in international relations, based on a new perspective seeking to reconcile legitimate interests and the demands of justice. This attempt to conceptualize and articulate a new mode of conduct for the developing countries must go hand in hand with an internal effort made by those countries to regroup their forces; it must emphasize to the full the opportunities that exist for co-operation among them, thereby increasing their negotiating capacity. We must clearly set forth the true dimension of the development problem and the possibilities of its being successfully dealt with on the international level by employing a new viewpoint that will be essentially political in nature and will re-evaluate the contribution of the developing world to world peace and security at its proper weight and significance.

150. For that enormous task, as we approach a new decade, we feel that—once shorn of the myths woven round it by the European imagination—Latin America has something valuable to offer in the present international debate. The experience of Latin America, enriched by years of political vicissitudes and various attempts at integration, is a meaningful one, and should facilitate its participation in dealing with the problems of our time. It is not mere chance that our region offers such a panorama of cultural diversity, of permanent struggle to affirm its own identity, of a development marked by the imbalances deriving from the international division of labour imposed upon the world by the great Powers. Our extremely rich variety of situations and experiences contains the elements that the region must employ in setting up a new and dynamic relationship with other areas of the world.

151. Peru is convinced that, once shorn of some of its illusions, Latin America is finding itself through a precise definition of its own interests and its own institutional machinery. The clear perception of the distinct reality that is our continent will guarantee a more creative participation with the rest of the third world in efforts to bring about a new international order embodying a structure of justice.

152. Hence, in the light of the experience of recent years and in view of the perspectives open to the Latin American region, and particularly the stimulating presence of the Andean Group, we feel that it is necessary to have the militant participation of Latin American social democracy joined in common cause with the various areas of the third world in the international life of our time. Although third-world countries act on the assumption that democracy is the political organizing process that best suits their interests, it is clear that they should not adopt exclusively formalist and liberal concepts of this. These have recently turned into unstable appendages of the large Western Powers. Without losing its essential qualities, the democratic concept must be effectively adapted to the particular characteristics of the developing countries, and it must at the same time be given the revolutionary impetus needed to enable it to carry out militant and creative activity at the international level. Therefore Latin America must without doubt make the demands of the third world its own. At times, this attitude has led to inevitable confrontations with other States which, while equally democratic, have a level of development that places them in the industrialized world and consequently puts them in a position to defend interests which are not those of the developing world. The representative democracies of the third world must therefore accept the challenge of opposing to those interests their own, and of giving the internal social substance of their own democratic life the international projection that will, of necessity, involve them in differences with the industrialized democratic Powers to which they are linked by a thin umbilical cord of political concepts, common in origin but divergent in their present objectives.

153. We feel that the Latin American democracies—those already in existence and solidly established, those emerging and being established, and those that we expect to be set up in the near future—all have to embark on a new course of shared international responsibility that is at once a challenge and a stimulus that can give Latin America and other democracies in the developing world a new and vigorous role in building the international society of the future.

154. With the foregoing, we are trying to provide the framework for the possible organic establishment in the developing world of an alternative that will at one and the same time be in competition with others of a different ideological stamp and open to a convergence of views and co-operation. We are talking about social representative democracies of the third world, revolutionary democracies under the banner of change and participation aiming at radical transformation of sclerotic structures at the national level and at radical change in the unjust international order, which is not moral and which has, tragically, been shown to cause pain and war and not to bring progress and peace.

155. In the last 10 years Peru has tried to bring all its efforts and concern to bear on this problem. In order to

do so we have established a foreign policy that we feel is in keeping with our capabilities and furthers our claims. This policy is based on the clear idea that a country that is not a great Power but rather a small one can and rightly must boldly grapple with the problems of its time. We believe that we can only make history by taking part in it. The major legitimate and traditional foreign problems of a State must in no way distance or isolate a country at the international level from the vast and complex scheme of things which in the final analysis, for better or worse, it shares with the rest of the world.

156. In keeping with this feeling, in due time my country took the heady risk of taking part as far as possible in endeavours to build a better world, although that might involve inevitable confrontations in some instances and blind incomprehension in others. But we persevered, and we believe that Peru's foreign policy has made positive and useful contributions both to the political strengthening of the third-world nations and to the reworking of ideological frameworks available to the under-developed countries.

157. It is in this spirit that we have made this statement. We all have an obligation and a commitment in this world Organization. In this instance, we have sought to contribute to the debate by touching on some of the problems considered in this body.

158. We are drawing close to the decade of the 1980s. We must not be shackled by previous decades and strategies. We must shake off labels and approaches which claim to save by their very wording. We all know that the problem is greater and more difficult than that, and that we shall not resolve it by decking it out in clothing borrowed from the international paraphernalia of the past. Let us modestly but without concessions seek a new language to express old aspirations that were not satisfied. For this arduous creative labour, Peru offers its unreserved will to work on the basis of a long tradition of effort shared in solidarity, which has enabled the former inhabitants of its territory to eliminate hunger and plunder and to create a just community structure.

159. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout the world people are wondering whether next year will succeed in being the year of justice for the peoples, since 1979 has been for the third world, and for Africa in particular, a year of disappointments.

160. Embroiled in an accelerating evolution and precipitated into a series of crises—the energy crisis, the economic crisis, the moral crisis, the financial crisis—our world has probably never been so much a prey to self-doubt as it is now concerning its capacity to resolve the problems it faces.

161. The fear distilled in various places by crises both profound and irrational has, as it were, forced human societies into a defensive posture in which they withdraw into themselves. In attempting to draw up the balance sheet—whether when dealing with UNCTAD or the North-South dialogue—we are inevitably led to note a record of failure: justice for peoples is still hard to find.

162. Politically speaking, aside from the major

catastrophes caused by the need of peoples to recover their liberty by bloodshed and armed conflict, other even more deadly catastrophes are being bred in secret because those who could still do something to change the course of events remain bent on their own narrow and selfish exclusive interests and are, as always, awaiting the advent of the irreparable before they begin timidly to grope towards a solution in the name of who knows what right of what people, whereas they have within their grasp the actual key to solutions for the crucial problems of our time: justice for peoples in order to bring about universal peace.

163. While speaking of justice and universal peace, we wish to pay a respectful tribute to the memory of a man who devoted his whole life to the emancipation and well-being of oppressed peoples. Of course I have in mind Mr. Agostinho Neto, whose sudden death was a cruel loss to Africa and the world.

164. Before I set forth in this Assembly the views of my Government on some of the problems that face the international community, which in varying degrees affect our peoples and dangerously threaten international peace and security, I should like to convey to Mr. Salim the very warm congratulations of the Togolese delegation on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. His distinguished personal and intellectual qualities, his well-known and highly appreciated tact, his vast experience and profound knowledge of international affairs, hand in hand with his acute sense of impartiality, are in keeping with the importance of the tasks that await him and are an earnest of success for our work. I should like to assure him that the feelings of profound and sincere friendship of the Togolese people for the fraternal people of his great and beautiful country, the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as for the illustrious African leader Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, are abiding.

165. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, upon the particularly brilliant way in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

166. I should be failing in my duty if I were not to pay a particular tribute to our dynamic Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the indefatigable messenger of peace, for his tireless efforts to seek the best possible solutions to international problems that are so complex and at times so difficult. I am not unaware of his difficulties, but I know how much of himself he invests in all conditions and circumstances, and how he does his very best and uses his competence to the utmost in grappling with these problems. We should like him to see in these words testimony of our profound feelings of gratitude and admiration.

167. We should like to congratulate Saint Lucia on its admission to our Organization.

168. Once again, we have met in this temple of dialogue, of consultation and reflection in order to consider together the difficult problems of a troubled and disoriented world that is sliding irresistibly towards major tragedies—unless we all do everything in our power to see to it that this last quarter of a century does not become one of despair but rather a time when justice for men and peoples becomes actual fact.

169. The events which have disturbed and shaken our universe, our values and our certitudes have woven an ever more inextricable web and have forced all of us to face up to the fact that we have an imperative duty, each nation having to do its best within the limits of its means and responsibilities, to contribute to the building of a new world revolving on an axis of the cardinal concepts of justice for men and justice for peoples.

170. An illustrious thinker once said quite rightly that peace does not come about by chance. It is not just an idea in the mind. It is a creation that requires effort and patience. Nations are the midwives of peace, but peace is not delivered without effort. Peace cannot be the product of a benevolent order given from outside. It must be the end of a journey, of the determination of all to win it and to strengthen it; it is the fruit of justice for peoples.

171. It is to indulge in understatement to say that the international political situation has never been so tense, so uncertain and so threatening. It is thus with sadness and bitterness that we observe that this peace, which we so ardently seek and about which we have spoken so much at each of our sessions, has not yet been brought about.

172. These are the grim realities which embroil our troubled universe, rent as it is by convulsions of all kinds which augur nothing reassuring. In the face of these facts, we have no right to refrain from expressing an opinion on the situations of conflict, the most crying injustices or the gravest infringements of the rights of peoples and of States, because this state of permanent tension, of social injustice and profound economic imbalance comprises the factors that threaten international peace and security.

173. On the African continent, the South African and Rhodesian colonialist and racist régimes, on the strength of the material, financial and military support of certain States, which are, incidentally, members of our Organization, are trampling underfoot with impunity, in a permanent attitude of defiance, the fundamental rights of millions of Africans. The active complicity of certain States still makes it possible for these political systems that are an outrage of the man of today to prosper in the shadow of a repressive and particularly ruthless apparatus.

174. The situation prevailing in Namibia is one of the tangible manifestations of this. The Namibian people have constantly been subjected to acts of inhumanity of all kinds—arbitrary arrests, torture, murder, deprivation of elementary rights, intimidation and so forth. What is worse, the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is continuing with the complicity and connivance so familiar to all of us, despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly of our Organization and of the Security Council. By its obstinate desire to destroy by every possible means the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, the racist and retrograde régime of Pretoria is giving us additional evidence of a further escalation in its defiance of the international community by unilaterally organizing elections in this Territory in flagrant contradiction of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

175. It is our impression that the retrograde régime of *apartheid* and racism wants, in defiance of the will of all

mankind, to stifle the voice of justice which rang out from the hearts of Soweto and Sharpeville and which was echoed by all southern Africa. Where is justice for the Namibian and South African peoples?

176. This situation, which is, to say the least, inadmissible, flouts the moral authority of our Organization and constitutes a constant source of concern for all States that prize peace, justice and freedom.

177. Today, the forces of oppression are still able to contain the anger of the young people within certain limits, which are illusory because they are transient, by trampling underfoot elementary rights and human dignity, but they will not be able to go on doing this indefinitely. If they continue in their obstinacy, tomorrow the youth of Africa, over-exploited as it is, will choose the path of desperation and mobilize itself on the model of the international brigades of 1936 to demand in an historic trial of strength that the right of the peoples of Namibia, of Zimbabwe and of the blacks of South Africa to dignity, liberty and independence be finally recognized.

178. If it is this that is sought by those who are so stubborn in sustaining *apartheid*, those who obstinately refuse independence to Namibia and Zimbabwe, those who obstinately reject elementary justice for all, it is to be feared that our Organization will tomorrow find itself on the horns of a formidable dilemma. It is high time to practise equity and justice for peoples in order to avoid the inevitable social explosions with their incalculable consequences.

179. South Africa will, sooner or later, have to face the fact that the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence can be effectively established only by means of free elections held under the auspices and control of the United Nations. Similarly, the transfer of powers can take place only within the framework of the relevant resolutions of our Organization and in respect for the integrity of that Territory, which includes Walvis Bay.

180. It was, therefore, just that the international community rejected the so-called elections of December 1978 organized by South Africa with a view to perpetuating its abominable policy of *apartheid*, racism and bantustanization. In order to thwart the annexationist designs of the racist régime of Pretoria, our Organization should hesitate no longer in taking against Pretoria the energetic measures prescribed in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. All the required conditions already exist. We no longer have the right to remain indifferent to this painful and tragic problem, which is liable, by reason of its insupportable and explosive nature, to plunge us all inevitably into open warfare, with all the attendant suffering. It goes without saying that the destiny of Namibia will be decided on only by its true and authentic representatives—in other words, by SWAPO, and not by the henchmen of *apartheid*.

181. Never, I am sure, has it been more urgent for the international community to demonstrate its solidarity with the liberation movements in southern Africa, to render increased and more sustained material, military and financial assistance to SWAPO and at the same time to step up its pressure in order to facilitate the peaceful settlement of this problem by the speedy reali-

zation of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and true national independence in a Namibia that includes Walvis Bay, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 33/206.

182. With regard to Zimbabwe, does the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference now under way in London, which is following up the commitments recently made by the United Kingdom, the administering Power, open up any fresh prospects?

183. At all events, the administering Power, the United Kingdom, and all participants must realize that no solution apart from the actual effective and complete transfer of power to the black majority under international control is liable to settle the problem of Zimbabwe, and this transfer will always remain a fiction if a solution is sought without the participation of the Patriotic Front.

184. In the meantime, it is our duty to condemn all the numerous attempts on the part of certain Powers and of transnational corporations aimed, on the one hand, at violating or neutralizing the sanctions against Rhodesia and, on the other hand, at according a semblance of legitimacy to a régime that would exclude the Patriotic Front.

185. It is therefore important that all States Members of our Organization work together to create the necessary conditions for the accession, in security and dignity, of Zimbabwe to independence. In this way, we will be giving proof of our will for peace, justice and freedom to be established finally in this country.

186. In this regard, the 19-member Committee on Assistance to Front-line States set up by the OAU at its most recent meeting in Monrovia will study specific solutions to the numerous problems facing the peoples of the region and will have as its primary objective the consolidation of the economies by initiating a process of breaking the isolation of the front-line countries with a view to increasing and strengthening their collective autonomy.

187. Along with this series of initiatives, which will quickly be set in motion, it is the duty of us all to help to train young people from these countries in distress. Each of our countries should in the future consider offering facilities for the training of these young people. My country, whose actions for peace require no further proof, considers as an honour and a privilege the trust vested in us once again by the OAU by confirming us in the chairmanship of this committee. We will therefore do everything in our power to make our modest contribution to this historic action on which the whole of Africa has embarked with courage and determination.

188. With regard to the Western Sahara, the agreement [A/34/427-S/13503, Annex I] recently signed between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO constitutes a new basis for a peaceful settlement of this distressing problem. The Togolese delegation, while congratulating Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO for their efforts, expresses the hope that this agreement, which ushers in a new era of peace in international relations, will be followed by others.

189. In this regard, we wish to make a pressing appeal

to Morocco to join this movement for peace. My country feels that self-determination through universal suffrage is the only path to peace in the region. Decolonization by means of a so-called referendum—which has never actually been organized—is, to say the least, surprising, disturbing and unacceptable. Also, since the problem of Western Sahara is a clear-cut problem of decolonization, the situation calls for a global approach—especially in view of the fact that decolonization by a tacit referendum is unprecedented and inconceivable; nor is it in keeping with the rules of international law, with the right of peoples to self-determination or with the requirements of justice for peoples.

190. My delegation remains, therefore, convinced that the States of the region will succeed in finding a satisfactory solution to the problem of Western Sahara which will take into account the aspirations and the legitimate interests of the Saharan people.

191. In the Middle East we can detect a faint glimmer of hope. But there remains a long way to go before a just and lasting peace is achieved. As the old Chinese proverb says, "Even the longest journey begins with the first step"—and I would add that the essential thing is that the first steps should be in the right direction. That is why any search for a lasting solution must of necessity be free of tangential preoccupations and must be resolutely oriented towards peace; that is why it is necessary to face all the facts or we risk falling prey to the greatest of illusions. The Middle East problem must be rightly identified.

192. To say that settlement of the present problem of peace in the Middle East must take account of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people is merely to acknowledge the simple truth. It is a matter of justice, of justice for the Palestinian people.

193. We wish to reaffirm to these people our unreversed support in the valiant struggle which they are waging under the aegis of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole and authentic representative, for the exercise of their inalienable and imprescriptible rights to self-determination, to a homeland and to national sovereignty.

194. We remain convinced that in the Middle East there can be no valid or lasting solution if it does not settle the central question of the plight of the Palestinian people. A just and lasting solution can only be found with the participation of all the parties concerned and can only be based on a general consensus inspired by justice, a consensus which would make it possible for all the peoples of the area to have their place in the sun and to live as good neighbours in a climate of mutual respect, concord and solidarity.

195. The Zionist policy of allowing the wanton establishment of settlements on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip is hardly a positive sign on Israel's part with regard to the Palestinian question. For our part, we continue to believe that sooner or later Israel will shed its outmoded ways of thinking and face the fact that peace in the Middle East necessarily entails the implementation of the relevant resolutions of our Organization, particularly those relating to the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, for, fundamen-

tally, a solution must be found which will ensure justice for all the peoples of the region. It is only this justice which can serve as the solid basis for a lasting peace.

196. The Government and the people of Togo cannot bring themselves to concede that these essential elements—the right to self-determination and a homeland for one group and the right to existence and tranquillity for the other—should be sacrificed on the altar of arrangements which are liable to complicate the situation even further.

197. Much has been said and without doubt much will be said in the course of this session about the Camp David agreements.⁸

198. With regard to my own country, Togo is neither a zealot nor an unconditional supporter of agreements to which it is not a party, but neither is it willing to be a fanatical opponent of them.

199. The fact is that the Togolese Government is firmly devoted to the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means and is moved by any initiative leading to that end. That is why Togo has stated its position by expressing satisfaction at the peaceful orientation of the approach to the Middle East problem, while indicating that these agreements would be a good thing if considered as only a beginning: a point of departure for a solution to the fundamental problem constituted by the essential elements which I have just outlined.

200. Who would dare to deny that these agreements have gaps and pitfalls in them? Aware as we are of the reflexes which inspired certain of the clauses, it does not seem to us positive consistently to condemn those who are making attempts at finding peace. The weight of our Organization should serve to create the conditions of trust needed to fill the gaps and avoid the pitfalls.

201. For our part it is not possible for us to concede the argument that Egypt has embarked on a process of peace with the clearly defined intention of betraying the Arab cause, a cause which it has defended for more than 30 years in conditions familiar to us all, and of cynically sacrificing the Palestinian people.

202. This, too, is a question of justice to the authorities and people of Egypt. Surely it is premature to charge them with deliberate betrayal.

203. We further refuse to believe that the hostility expressed towards the Camp David agreements is the result of a plot hatched against peace by those who would view with favour, and would in some way profit from, a war. Nor are we convinced that attempts to bring about a settlement of the Middle East problem can stem from a vicious and cynical intention to involve any one of the peoples of the region in a conspiracy against any other.

204. We understand and profoundly respect the sensibilities and reactions of all the parties and, rather than giving ourselves over to the unfair exercise of

putting people on trial for their intentions, we invite all peoples of the area to a new communion so that together, in a spirit of tolerance and solidarity, they may once again find the conditions for a lasting and fraternal peace.

205. This peace which we all so ardently desire will only be effective if it extends also to all parts of the world in which there are unfortunately still hotbeds of tension which could tomorrow become real powderkegs.

206. In this regard, the Togolese delegation regrets that concrete initiatives have not been taken with a view to creating the objective conditions needed for the peaceful reunification of Korea in accordance with the South-North joint communiqué of 4 July 1972⁹, that is: the withdrawal of all foreign military forces stationed in South Korea and the transformation of the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement.

207. The Togolese delegation hopes that the true aspirations of the Korean people will prevail without foreign interference because throughout the world justice for peoples can only be brought about and guaranteed in so far as negative external influences are removed.

208. With regard to the Comorian island of Mayotte, note should be taken of the wish expressed by the Comorian and French authorities to abide by the recommendations of the OAU and the United Nations, which call upon them to discuss the problem of that island and thus to find a solution in keeping with the requirements of justice and the principle of the territorial integrity of colonial entities at the time of decolonization.

209. The excessive accumulation of nuclear weapons and the strengthening of military bases, particularly in the areas of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, South-East Asia and in other parts of the world continues quite rightly to arouse tremendous concern and to constitute a dangerous threat to international peace and security.

210. As in the past, the Togolese delegation will continue to support and endorse all positive initiatives with a view to making of those regions true zones of peace, free from the presence of all foreign military forces.

211. We must, however, recognize that peace can only be effective if it leads to complete and general disarmament. That is why the convening in 1982 of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament is in that regard most timely. We wish to express the hope that concrete measures will be adopted to that end. The Togolese delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express once again to the United States of America and to the Soviet Union its satisfaction at the most praiseworthy efforts which they have undertaken in the SALT negotiations and it calls upon them to conduct those negotiations, under the authority of the United Nations, until complete disarmament has been achieved.

212. A distinguished African head of state, known for

⁸ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

his wisdom and his lucid appraisal of the events which disturb our world, declared quite rightly with regard to military expenditures:

“Is it possible for us to contemplate without bitterness the unequal weight respectively accorded in the world to expenditures for life and death? Surely it is a matter of infinite sadness that the most costly and most often followed course is not that of international mutual assistance, but rather that of military armaments and budgets which each year swallow up more than \$US 200 billion.”

To waste money in order to acquire deadly weapons which are used to hold in check and maintain in destitution the poor people who are being exploited—such is the tragic formula of deterrence adopted in our time to perpetuate injustice. This is at once revolting and shocking, especially when we realize that more than 2 billion human beings live in conditions of total deprivation; and that, furthermore, more than a billion suffer from hunger and malnutrition. These figures express the grim reality of every day that the Lord gives. When will justice shower its blessings on human beings in distress? It is high time, because anger is at its apogee and there are rumblings of revolt.

213. Today less than ever can the developed, industrialized countries which persist in wasting the wealth of the planet continue to shroud themselves in a veil of modesty, the better to hide from themselves the deprivation of the rest of the world, because it is certain that deterrence will result rather from a democratic sharing of abundance than from the bogey man of the bomb.

214. The risks of revolution by those who are hungry and exploited will be eliminated rather by the practice of justice for all and solidarity than by the diversions of scientific exploits in outer space. Peace in the world will result from the establishment of justice for the people and this justice itself resides in the equitable distribution of abundance rather than in the unbridled arms race and subversion throughout the world.

215. The economic problems with which we are confronted contain within themselves elements of genuine confrontation, and thus permanent danger. Hence they are liable at any moment to lead to breaches of the peace, if we do not in common devise means of overcoming those problems, which are born of profound imbalances in the unfair and iniquitous structures of economic international relations.

216. That is why we should like to be able to interpret General Assembly resolution 32/174, which convenes for 1980 a special session to evaluate progress towards the establishment of a new international economic order, as the sign of that determination to accelerate the advent of a new kind of economic relations which would finally lay the groundwork for justice for the peoples.

217. In the face of the repeated failures of development strategies, the failure to adapt objectives of growth to the actual concerns of developing countries, and the lack of political will and generosity on the part of industrialized countries, it is more than ever urgent and indispensable to reformulate the fundamental conditions which should be met by the whole complex of

relations between the third-world countries and a renovated international system.

218. Since 1973 the energy crisis, by aggravating the international economic situation in other respects, has given a new dimension to the problems of inflation, to the imbalance of payments and to the evolution of the cost of living. The deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries jumped abruptly from \$US 12 billion in 1973 to more than \$30 billion in 1977 and it is expected that it will be in the neighbourhood of \$35 billion in 1979. For the end of 1977, the external debt accumulated by the developing countries which do not export oil was estimated at about \$US 300 billion. Behind these figures lurks the spectre of poverty, starvation, malnutrition, of endemic disease and illiteracy from which the majority of the people of Asia, Latin America and Africa suffer. Behind these figures, where does one find justice for the people?

219. Social injustice in the affluent countries has created a category of misfits, incapable of integrating themselves within the global society, a category of alienated people without ideals, who believe that they have to drown their troubles in alcohol, in drugs and in vice. Thus in the so-called developed countries we find those who have become the exporters of a product of a completely different kind: mercenaries. This scourge mobilizes men of no scruples whatsoever, hired killers, and sends them to developing countries—the very countries which have the least need of this kind of product and which rightly do not ask for these mercenaries. In this field, too, the affluent countries impose by force merchandise unfit for consumption while the developing countries seek nothing other than justice and peace for their people.

220. In the final analysis, it is the whole complex of international economic relations which is in crisis, just as is energy. The failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD has served only to aggravate further the already worrying situation, and has obstructed the process which should lead to the establishment of a new international economic order. In the face of this tragic situation which is liable, unfortunately, to last for a long time to come, the international community should define as quickly as possible a global approach likely to give a concrete and achievable content to international economic co-operation, assuring prosperity for all, and according particular attention to the specific needs of the most seriously affected developing countries: the least advanced, the land-locked and island countries, as well as those affected by natural catastrophes. The industrialized world must demonstrate more willingness to listen, more understanding, a greater spirit of solidarity. It is a matter of reason; it is a question of justice, justice for all people. Peace and tranquillity depend on this, and therefore the salvation of us all.

221. A ray of hope was born with the recent conclusion of the negotiations concerning a new Lomé convention. In many respects, the new convention certainly proved to be less innovative, reflecting in its provisions a kind of contained fear in the face of the uncertainties of the future. In spite of this weakness, the second Lomé convention does clearly and unequivocally express the will of the 57 African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the 9 States members of the European Economic Community to contribute to bringing about a new order of more balanced and closer relations

between the industrialized and third-world countries. Our country which, in 1975, was the host for the signing ceremonies is honoured that it has once again been chosen to play host to this historic event. Togo, land of peace, working as it does with determination and consistency to bring about a world of greater justice and solidarity, is not indifferent to this mark of confidence.

222. As we see, tremendous tasks await our Organization. For them to be carried out fully the increased support of all its Members, large or small, rich or poor, weak or powerful, will be needed. It behoves each and every one of us to make a contribution, however modest, to the performance of these noble tasks. There can be no doubt that this is a long-term enterprise. The road is strewn with traps, with conflict, with contradictions, which must be overcome. However, our constant readiness to envisage change which will recognize and guarantee the right of peoples to live in freedom, decency and dignity should encourage us to transcend our differences in the name of the necessary complementarity and interdependence of us all, in a world which is shrinking more each day.

223. How true it is, in the words of the President-founder of the *Rassemblement du peuple togolais*, His Excellency General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, President of the Togolese Republic:

“It is up to us to allow hope to spring anew in the breast of man by our determination to remain what we are, to find our own road and to follow the paths which we must trace ourselves.”

224. May all States Members of our Organization, acting in a spirit of firm solidarity, join forces to combat the growing threats to our collective well-being, and unite in order to establish the framework of a world order where all destinies will draw upon the physical and intellectual energies available to build in common a world more in keeping with the profound aspirations for peace, justice for men and justice for peoples.

225. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): One representative has asked for the floor in exercise of his right of reply. I should like to recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided

that statements in exercise of the right of reply would be limited to 10 minutes and that representatives should make them from their seats. I should also like to recall that the President announced it was his intention to have that provision strictly enforced. I call on the representative of Viet Nam.

226. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation categorically rejects the pretentious and provocative statements made by the head of the delegation of Singapore, as well as his slander of my country.

227. The head of the Singapore delegation arrogates to himself the right to give my country a moral lesson regarding patriotism, racism and the imperialism of the third world, and so on. He did so perhaps following the example of his masters, who took it upon themselves at the beginning of this year to teach us a military lesson, with disastrous consequences for themselves.

228. We would remind the head of the Singapore delegation that in the past the Government of Singapore actively co-operated with an imperialist Power in its war of aggression against the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, gaining financial profit from the blood of the people of those three countries.

229. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Government of Singapore will not repeat its grave errors of the past and will not allow itself to become embroiled in the policy of expansionism and hegemonism of another Power, and take sides against Viet Nam in response to the policy of peace, friendship and co-operation which my country pursues with all the countries of South-East Asia.

230. Regarding the policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam towards the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and with regard to the problem of refugees, among whom there are Vietnamese of Chinese origin, or Hoa, as well as concerning the relations of friendship and solidarity between Vietnamese and Kampuchean people, my delegation reserves the right to speak on these topics in due course.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.