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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. O'KENNEDY (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the Assembly. This marks the Assembly's recognition of your unique contribution to its work over the years and the regard of the international community for the constructive role played by the United Republic of Tanzania in world affairs.
2. I am honoured to have the opportunity today of addressing this Assembly as President-in-Office of the European Community and of European Political Co-operation.
3. A world-wide political system of independent nations has come into being since this Organization was founded, and each year the Member States come together in this universal forum to debate the problems of our global society; for mankind now sees itself increasingly as one.
4. Our task now is to order our affairs globally in a manner that measures up to the economic and political objectives of a global society. This requires that we come to grips both with the problems of inequity within the world economy and with the need to resolve conflict and tension without resort to war.
5. Injustices of which we may have previously been only partly aware must, in a global society, be redressed, if dangerous division and dissension are to be avoided. Conflicts which in the past could be seen as local and limited now have an impact on all of us.
6. The need for wisdom and understanding in the management of human affairs is clear, as we face these dangers and come to see the limits of our resources and our environment. We have the framework in which to apply this wisdom. The United Nations and its family of

organizations provide a forum in which interests can be accommodated and reconciled if we accept the implications of our interdependence.

7. What is needed is a determination to make a full use of the opportunities thus provided to act together in the interests of the human family. This means seeking to resolve actual or potential conflict, to organize the world economy more equitably, to relieve human suffering and to promote respect for human rights. On behalf of the nine countries for which I speak, I repeat that we are actively committed to the United Nations as the "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" envisaged by the Charter.

8. We nine countries, as member States of the European Community, feel that we exemplify in a particular way the aim of "harmonizing the actions of nations" because our Community grew out of the determination to make a new beginning in a continent so often torn by war. In building that Community we do not seek to impose a static and rigid order on our diversity, but rather, be a slow and patient process of growth, to move towards a closer union between our peoples.

9. Two developments in the past year illustrate this process. First, our peoples have voted together in the first direct elections to send representatives to a common parliament. This was, I believe, the first such international election in history. It is important to us because it is evidence of our commitment to democracy and because it involves the citizens of the Community in a new and more direct way in shaping its future. Secondly, a decision was taken to enlarge our Community further. Greece signed the treaty by which it will become the tenth member in 1981; negotiations are continuing for the accession of Portugal and Spain; and we are, of course, continuing to develop our relations as a community with other associated States in our region.

10. It is on behalf of this growing Community and its member States—a Community where old enemies have become friends and partners in a movement towards closer integration—that I speak to you today in this wider world forum. We accept fully the responsibilities that go with our economic weight and we seek to develop with the rest of the world a relationship of friendship and co-operation that will take full account of the interdependent nature of our global society.

11. The world economic situation is extremely difficult. For 1979, the Community is likely to register a reduced economic growth rate of 3 per cent and in 1980 this may fall to 2 per cent. We have been less successful than we hoped in dealing with inflation and unemployment. In facing up to this state of affairs, the Community looks not only to its own interests but also to international economic well-being.

12. Last December the European Council agreed to establish the European monetary system. This was a means of bringing about a greater measure of monetary stability within the Community. But it was also intended to have a stabilizing effect on international economic and monetary relations in the interests of industrial and developing countries alike. The adjustments, made during the past week-end, took place within the rules of the system and proved that the system works effectively.
13. The European Council's determination in Strasbourg to frame new energy guidelines for the Community to deal with present and future needs made a significant contribution to the outcome of the Tokyo Economic Summit in June and more particularly to the adoption of energy-saving measures and plans for developing new forms of energy. At the same time, the Community is looking forward with particular interest to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. The Community has also noted with great interest Mr. Waldheim's proposal for a world energy institute.
14. On trade questions we have opposed protectionist tendencies and we have confirmed our commitment to an open system of international trade. I would recall that, despite the recession, the Community has consistently increased its imports from developing countries, especially imports of manufactured goods.
15. In the view of the Community, the recent successful conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations, held under the auspices of GATT, is a decisive step towards the greater liberalization of international trade. The substantial tariff and non-tariff concessions made by the Community and its partners, which were directed to the developing countries to a significant extent, should encourage those countries to participate more fully in the GATT system. The Community has always supported legal recognition of the right of developing countries, and especially of the least developed, to special and differential treatment. Moreover, in the post-multilateral trade negotiations phase, the Community will participate actively in the dialogue with the developing countries on trade matters.
16. The Community's relations with the developing countries have intensified considerably in recent years, reflecting the growing interdependence of the world economy. Through its own development co-operation programmes and through its involvement in the global dialogue on international co-operation for development, the Community has committed itself to the goal of establishing a more just and equitable international economic order. We are determined to continue the promotion of close and harmonious relations with the developing countries, taking fully into account their urgent need for economic and social development. We attach great importance to the work towards a new international development strategy for the 1980s. In the same spirit, at the recent session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the Community undertook to be ready to consider constructively any proposals which may be made with a view to promoting a more effective and fruitful dialogue.
17. It is in this context that the Community and its member States are studying the proposal of the Group of 77 concerning global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development [A/34/34, part III, annex I]. Numerous questions on the precise implications of this initiative remain to be clarified. The answers to these questions would considerably assist us in our consideration of this important initiative.
18. It is understandable perhaps that developing countries should express dissatisfaction at what must seem to them to be the slow pace of developments in the North-South dialogue. The widespread conditions of hunger and deprivation which still prevail among large sections of the population in many developing countries are a particular source of concern and must continue to receive urgent and priority attention from the entire international community. Following the Ottawa Conference,¹ the Community reaffirms its commitment to fight the dramatic problem posed by world hunger by facilitating and encouraging food production in developing countries and by taking the necessary measures to accelerate the implementation of the various food aid programmes adopted by the Community.
19. None of the issues of the dialogue, however, lends itself to easy solution, while many which are structural in nature can only be gradually pursued. Nevertheless, the Community does not feel that the achievements in the dialogue to date can be lightly dismissed. For example, we welcome the March 1979 compromise on the fundamental elements of the Common Fund. It is also our sincere belief that the results of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the multilateral trade negotiations contain worth-while advances for developing countries.

Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.

20. The Community is also pursuing its own development co-operation in favour of all developing countries, particularly the least developed. Recently, the Community concluded negotiations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific States on a successor agreement to the first Lomé Convention,² the provisions of which—particularly on trade, STABEX³ and financial and technical co-operation—contain appreciable improvements on the old one. We in the Community believe that this is a worthy successor. It retains and consolidates the progressive features of the first Convention and introduces a number of new elements based on the experience we have gained and designed to respond to the specific needs of our partners the African, Caribbean and Pacific States.

21. The future holds great promise. In the immediate term, however, the entire international community faces an immense challenge and each of us must shoulder a fair share of the burden. The Community is ready to assume its responsibilities, confident that all others will do the same.

22. The nine members of the European Community believe that this Assembly is an important instrument

¹ Fifth Ministerial Session of the World Food Council, held at Ottawa from 3 to 7 September 1979.

² Signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

³ Stabilization of export earnings.

for facilitating agreement in the field of disarmament and arms control. The first substantive meetings of the reformed and reactivated disarmament bodies, agreed upon in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], took place this year. The nine countries participated actively in the first substantive meeting of the Disarmament Commission. This meeting agreed by consensus on the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and this will now be referred to the Committee on Disarmament. A number of the nine countries are members of the new Committee on Disarmament and they took an active part in its work. We welcome the intensive work which has taken place in the Committee, for example on questions relating to chemical weapons and to so-called negative security assurances.

23. We also welcome the signature at Vienna on 18 June by President Carter and President Brezhnev of the recent Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. We strongly hope that this will give a new impetus to the détente process and make a positive contribution to the atmosphere in which international disarmament negotiations are pursued. We look forward to the early entry into force of the agreement and the prospects for further reductions of nuclear weapons afforded by the continuation of the process involved in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] between these countries.

24. The nine members of the Community are deeply committed to the continuation and expansion of international détente and we have played our full part in the process of relaxation of tension and the development of co-operation in Europe initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Final Act of the Conference, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, is a unique document in that it covers not only relations between States but also those between individuals and between Governments and individuals. As its provisions are put into effect an improvement in these relations becomes apparent, which in turn reduces tensions in Europe. The first review session of the Conference, held at Belgrade in 1977 and 1978, afforded the signatory States an opportunity to review progress made in this respect. The nine countries are preparing for the second review session to be held in Madrid next year in a constructive spirit and in the hope that the meeting will be able to record an improved level of implementation of the provisions of the Final Act in all the signatory States.

25. The nine countries continue to hope that it will be possible to achieve in the Middle East the just, lasting and comprehensive settlement to which this Assembly is overwhelmingly committed. They believe that such a settlement must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), applied in all their parts and on all fronts. It must also be based on the principles set out by them in their statement on 29 June 1977⁴ and on several occasions subsequently.

26. These principles are: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly, the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967; thirdly, respect

for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, recognition that, in the establishment of a just and lasting peace, account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

27. The nine countries emphasize that it is essential that all parties to the negotiation accept the right of all States in the area to live within secure and recognized boundaries with adequate guarantees. Equally, of course, it is essential that there be respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. These include the right to a homeland and the right, through its representatives, to play its full part in the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement.

28. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with the principles I have mentioned, taken as a whole, set the essential framework for a peace settlement. In the view of the nine countries it is necessary that they be accepted by all those involved—including the Palestine Liberation Organization—as the basis for negotiation of a comprehensive settlement in which all the parties will play their full part.

29. Such a settlement would win the endorsement and support of the international community and would meet the legitimate rights and interests of all parties. This includes Israel, which is entitled to exist at peace within secure boundaries that are accepted and adequately guaranteed, and the Palestinian people, who are entitled, within the framework set by a peace settlement, to exercise their right to determine their own future as a people.

30. The nine members of the Community recognize of course that such a settlement is not easy to achieve. But they believe it must be the continuing aim of the international community to promote it. They are convinced that such a comprehensive settlement would bring peace at last to the region; and they recall that they have already expressed their readiness to consider participating in guarantees in the framework of the United Nations.

31. The past year has seen some major developments to which our countries, in view of their close connexions with the region, are particularly sensitive. One of these was the signature on 26 March of the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel. In their declaration of 26 March last,⁵ they stated their position on these agreements.

32. Since the signature of these agreements, which the nine countries see as a correct application of the principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as far as Egyptian-Israeli relations are concerned, there has been progress towards improved relations between Egypt and Israel and there have been withdrawals of Israeli forces in Sinai. The nine countries note these recent developments and recall that one of the basic requirements of a comprehensive settlement is an end to the territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since the conflict of 1967. The nine countries will continue to follow the situation closely

⁴ Declaration on the Middle East adopted by the Heads of State or Government of the European Communities on 29 June 1977 in London at the meeting of the European Council.

⁵ See *The Bulletin of the European Communities*, March 1979, p. 86.

and will seek in every way they can to advance the aim of a comprehensive and lasting peace settlement involving all parties and dealing with all of the fundamental issues I have mentioned.

33. It follows that the nine countries must view with the greatest regret any action or statement which aggravates the present situation or places an obstacle in the way of a peace settlement. Accordingly, they strongly deplore continued acts of violence by any of those involved. They are opposed to the Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in occupied territories in contravention of international law; and they cannot accept claims by Israel to sovereignty over occupied territories, since this would be incompatible with resolution 242 (1967). The security of Israel, which they consider essential, can be guaranteed, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians given effect, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement.

34. The nine states are fully aware, too, of the importance of the question of Jerusalem to all parties. They know that an acceptable solution to this problem will be vital to an over-all settlement on the basis I have indicated. They consider, in particular, that any agreement on the future status of Jerusalem should guarantee free access by all to the Holy Places; and they do not accept any unilateral moves which claim to change the status of the city.

35. The problem of Lebanon is clearly related to the larger problem of the Middle East as a whole. The nine members of the Community have frequently reaffirmed their support for Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They did so most recently in a statement issued by the nine Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Dublin on 11 September. This statement also recognized the courageous efforts made by the Lebanese Government to promote the security of its people and the restoration of its authority over the whole of its territory.

36. Violence has none the less continued in several parts of Lebanon, as is clear from current news reports. The members of the Community recognize that there has been some improvement in the situation, particularly in the south of the country, since the recent meeting of the Security Council requested by the Government of Lebanon. They are concerned however about the constant harassment of UNIFIL, of which certain members of the Community form part, and about the difficulties which have been placed in its way as it attempts to fulfil its mandate. They are particularly disturbed about the military and financial aid from outside Lebanon given to those who have made it difficult for the UNIFIL to carry out its mandate. They call on all parties to give full support to UNIFIL and to respect the decisions of the Security Council.

37. The Community remains convinced that United Nations peace-keeping operations can play a particularly useful role in helping to prevent violence between parties to a conflict, thus facilitating a peaceful settlement. Its members are ready to contribute to such operations in the future, as they have done in the past.

38. A problem which is particularly close to us in the Community is that of the intercommunal conflict on the island of Cyprus. When the 10-point communiqué agreed to between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denk-

taş, was published,⁶ following their meeting with the United Nations Secretary-General on 18 and 19 May last, the members of the Community were hopeful that this heralded a break-through in the stalemate in the intercommunal talks which has existed for so long. In particular, we welcomed the commitment by the two parties to carry out intercommunal talks in a continuous and sustained manner, while avoiding any delay, and to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks. It was with considerable regret that we noted the suspension of the talks within such a short time of the resumption on 15 June. We continue to believe that the best means for achieving a solution to the question is to be found within the framework of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, whose efforts to further the progress between the parties concerned we have consistently supported.

39. Africa has witnessed in the past year a number of developments which have been the focus of world concern. We should not underestimate the dangers arising from political tensions and from the economic difficulties that confront many African States.

40. The Charter recognizes the possibilities for action at the regional level. The countries of Africa have come together in a number of forums to co-operate and to seek a common approach to African problems. In this context, the Organization of African Unity has a pre-eminent role. Our nine countries, for their part, share the view that African problems can best be resolved through African solutions. They reject the concept of the establishment of spheres of influence in Africa by outside Powers. The nine do not themselves seek to impose their political and social system on Africa; rather than reaffirm their desire to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with Africa in promoting its economic development in a spirit of partnership.

41. The situation in southern Africa remains a source of deep concern.

42. The oppressive system of *apartheid* in South Africa is of particular concern. The nine members of the Community condemn and reject this system of institutionalized racism, which is an insult to human dignity and which denies to the majority of the people the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. They reaffirm that the purported independence of so-called "homelands" such as Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda is a false solution to the problems of *apartheid*. The nine have repeatedly stated their belief that a peaceful future for South Africa necessitates the creation of a society which permits the full participation of all the inhabitants of South Africa in the political, social and economic life of their country. They believe that change in South Africa is as inevitable as it is essential. They note and welcome the internal debate on this subject within South Africa, and they hope that this debate may lead to concrete and positive results. The nine countries have sought to encourage this process of change in a number of ways, including the adoption of a code of conduct for all their firms with subsidiaries, branches, or representation in South Africa.⁷ They will continue their efforts to promote the

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

⁷ See document A/32/267.

process of peaceful change in order to bring about the ending of the system of *apartheid* and the establishment of a society with freedom and justice for all. They reaffirm their commitment to use the collective weight of the European Community to influence South Africa to this end.

43. On Namibia, one cannot help but feel disappointed at the very slow progress in resolving the remaining difficulties in the way of a peaceful settlement. The nine members have supported the efforts made by the Secretary-General, the five Western States and the front-line States to implement the plan adopted by the United Nations⁸ and they have rejected unreservedly all efforts to impose an "internal settlement" in Namibia. Such a settlement would not gain international recognition and would merely delay the day when the people of Namibia achieve genuine self-determination. In May this year, in this Assembly,⁹ the nine States again expressed their grave concern at the lack of progress and drew the attention of the South African Government to the consequences that could result. They urgently requested the South African Government to accept without delay the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to permit the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. This remains their view.

44. Since the Assembly's meetings in May, efforts to reach agreement have been renewed. The outcome will depend on the political will of the parties involved—particularly South Africa which has a responsibility in this regard—to overcome the points of difficulty which do not justify the failure to implement the United Nations plan. Accordingly, the nine countries express the earnest hope that all concerned will now agree to the very early implementation of the plan in the light of the arrangements now being discussed. This will avoid the very grave consequences of failure and secure great benefits for the people of Namibia and for all the people of Southern Africa.

45. The nine members of the Community, in their statement on Rhodesia of 11 September, welcomed the understanding reached by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] and the action of the United Kingdom Government in inviting the parties to attend the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London. They trust that this will make possible a solution to the conflict on the basis of genuine majority rule. Continued bloodshed will only serve to prolong the suffering of all the people of Zimbabwe. They therefore reaffirm their support for a peaceful settlement acceptable to all the parties involved. Once such a settlement has been achieved the Community is ready to play its part in assisting the development of independent Zimbabwe.

46. The attention of the world has been focused during the past year on the suffering and death caused by large-scale movements of refugees in South-East Asia. This problem does not exist in isolation—it is a consequence of the instability and widespread unrest in the region. I have already outlined on 20 July at the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia,

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 103rd meeting, paras. 45-54.

in Geneva, the views of the Community on the refugee problem. We believe that everyone should enjoy the right to leave his country freely and re-enter freely, but should not be obliged to leave because of fear or because conditions have been made intolerable. We note with satisfaction the measures agreed at the Geneva meeting and the proposed expansion of the programme previously established by the Government of Viet Nam and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We hope that all concerned will honour the understandings given there. Our Governments await with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation and on the implementation of the action plan agreed at Geneva. We are well aware, however, that the measures already agreed are only partial remedies. The problem of refugees can best be resolved if there is a settlement of the wider problems of the region.

47. The nine members of the European Community are also gravely concerned about the situation in Cambodia. It is a matter of utmost urgency that effective humanitarian relief be given to the people of that country. We are ready to support in appropriate ways relief efforts which are already under way, or which may be launched in the future. If such relief efforts are to be effective and to benefit the Cambodian population, they should be properly supervised, independently administered, and directed to help all those in need.

48. A solution of the political problem of Cambodia is essential to the peace and stability of South-East Asia as a whole. Any such solution must, in our view, be based on an independent Cambodia with a genuinely representative Government, free from any foreign military presence, maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region, and having the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction.

49. Our Charter reaffirms faith in "the dignity and worth of the human person". To fulfil this we must continue our efforts to promote respect for and observance of human rights. Since the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)], the effort to promote these rights has had mixed results.

50. On the one hand, human rights have been defined in an extensive, if not yet complete, series of international instruments. An ever-increasing awareness of these concepts has developed. No State can now hope to avoid criticism where gross and consistent violations occur.

51. On the other hand, the gap between ideal and reality is, too often, distressingly large. Millions suffer from hunger and oppression. Torture, though few admit responsibility, is still practised. Individuals are still imprisoned or exiled because of their political views. Others disappear without trace. Executions take place, apparently without full respect for judicial process.

52. We, in the Community, see all human rights and fundamental freedoms as interdependent. Political and economic rights are not in contradiction. They reinforce and complement each other. Freedom from want without freedom from torture and ill-treatment is not enough. Likewise, the right to participate as a citizen in the political process cannot be easily exercised

by the starving. The realization of each category of rights needs to be vigorously pursued.

53. While human rights have been defined, it has not so far proved easy to devise means by which they may be safeguarded. Our nine countries believe that agreed procedures accepted by States under existing instruments should be fully and effectively used. A continued international dialogue is needed on ways and means of securing greater respect for human rights. Further progress can be made in regional organizations. We will continue to contribute actively to the debate and to seek support for proposals to promote respect for human rights and for their implementation.

54. I should now like, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, to touch on a number of issues of particular concern to us in Ireland.

55. We in Ireland have fully supported the development by the United Nations of peace-keeping forces as a practical means of defusing tension. Peace-keeping operations are by their nature of a temporary character. If they are to be successful in reducing tension, they require, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1, sect. IV], the co-operation of the parties concerned. Peace-keeping operations are no substitute for a political solution; the need remains to seek political solutions actively.

56. As a small nation, Ireland has never had any ambition to involve itself directly in local or regional conflicts elsewhere in the world. We have recognized the value of international involvement in peace-keeping and have contributed actively to it for over 20 years. We have participated in the effort to improve the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and to ensure the equitable sharing of the cost.

57. Ireland at present has a contingent with UNIFIL, and some men with UNFICYP and UNTSO. I have already indicated the concern of the nine countries about developments in the Lebanon and the difficulties faced there by UNIFIL. These difficulties have been the subject of frequent consideration by the Security Council over the past year, and on two occasions Ireland felt obliged to express its concern in statements to the Council.

58. A particular concern to my Government has been the harassment of UNIFIL by the *de facto* forces, which have been assisted by Israel, which prevented the full deployment of the Force in the first instance, and which continue to encroach on the territory held by UNIFIL. The situation thus created has been compounded by the efforts of armed elements to infiltrate and to establish themselves in the UNIFIL area. This has led to serious incidents and casualties. Even as I speak these difficulties continue. I hope that all concerned will respect the cease-fire and assist the Force in achieving its objectives. They should reflect carefully on the possible consequences of any failure to do so.

59. I would wish to express my appreciation for the courage and restraint shown by the men who participate, under the expert direction of the Force Commander and the Secretary-General, in a Force which, as the Secretary-General has pointed out,

“is performing an absolutely essential task of conflict control in one of the most sensitive and explosive parts of the world” [*ibid.*].

60. I would endorse the appeal of the Secretary-General to Member States that have not paid their contributions to reconsider their position, and I hope that ways may be found to improve the financial position in the coming months. My country is naturally concerned that those contributing to this difficult operation are not fully reimbursed for the extra costs they incur.

61. But a commitment to peace is not enough. It must be paralleled by co-operation which helps the developing countries to provide for their peoples the basic conditions for the enjoyment of peace. The Irish Government is committed to co-operation with some of the least developed countries and to sharing the knowledge we have acquired in our own process of development.

62. Although we are still short of the target set by the United Nations, we have doubled our allocation to development co-operation in the last two years and hope to maintain this momentum. In our co-operation programmes we hope we can help to meet some of the fundamental needs of our partner countries, particularly in areas where we may have specific skills and experience to offer.

63. The United Nations is an act of faith in mankind's ability to resolve even the most intractable conflicts through dialogue and negotiation, respect for the rule of law and a common dedication to peace. It is in this spirit also, with an overriding commitment to peaceful processes, that my Government approaches the Northern Ireland conflict, a problem of the deepest and most urgent concern to us.

64. The Northern Ireland conflict continues to exact an intolerable and mounting toll of innocent lives and to cause massive physical destruction. The indirect effects of the conflict are also severe. They are evident in the deterioration in the quality of life and in lost opportunities for economic development. Habits of lawlessness are becoming ingrained, and the outlook for young people in Northern Ireland is blighted because they cannot look forward to a future free from recurring violence. There is an urgent need to create the conditions for peace in Northern Ireland, and the Irish Government is ready to give the utmost co-operation in this task.

65. We recognize, as have all Irish Governments since the foundation of the State, that the only way in which this can be achieved is through peaceful means and by consent. Violence anywhere in Ireland is an act of aggression against the Irish people as a whole and must be dealt with as such. Throughout Ireland there is deep anger and outrage at the repeated atrocities of a callous few. Among their victims have been eminent statesmen and young children, and they have shown that they will shrink from no crime in their deliberate campaign of provoking polarization and confrontation. The Irish Government is committing its full resources to protect the basic human right of every person to life and security against terrorism and to defend the political process against the usurpation of a ruthless minor-

ity. We have passed and implemented stringent legislation to meet this threat and to provide that those who perpetrate violence in any part of Ireland may be made answerable before the courts for their crimes.

66. Our expenditure on security has been increased to the point where the direct cost of countering violence emanating from Northern Ireland now represents a heavier economic burden per head of all population than is the case in the United Kingdom. There is the closest co-operation between the Irish and British security forces in dealing with violence, and our two Governments consult constantly to enhance the effectiveness of the effort against this common threat.

67. But a common effort is also needed to eradicate the root-cause of violence and the factors which prompt its growth and persistence in Northern Ireland. As in all such conflicts, the conquest of violence in Northern Ireland cannot be achieved by security means alone. Political failure, economic and social deprivation and the lack of respect and trust between the two communities are all factors which are exploited by the men of violence in a deliberate strategy of hatred and confrontation. The Irish Government believes that it is necessary to counter that strategy by a resourceful, consistent and imaginative strategy of reconciliation. The determination of the men of violence to impede progress and destroy each impulse for reconciliation must be met by an even stronger resolution on the part of Governments and constitutional parties to work out a political solution based on respect for the aspirations and concerns of both communities in Northern Ireland. If this can be accomplished the strategists of violence will face something they fear more than the most Draconian security measures—the elimination of those political, economic and social factors which they so successfully exploit for their purposes.

68. My Government does not underestimate the difficulties in the way of reaching such a political solution. But if there are difficulties in the way, so too there are resources that can be drawn upon. There is a close relationship and a fund of goodwill between the Irish and British peoples. This must be developed in both countries by informed policies of government. Stories of violence emanating from Northern Ireland have perhaps obscured the many activities on the non-political or personal level which down the years have made a great contribution to the growth of trust and good-neighbourliness between the two communities and between North and South. It is fitting that I should pay a tribute in this forum to the work of the churches, of sporting and cultural organizations, of business and financial organizations and of the trade-union movement. All these transcend political divisions, and they foster a wealth of personal links which have consistently contributed to mutual understanding. The challenge which must be taken up is to mobilize and use these resources of goodwill and solidarity. The deep yearning for peace and stable progress is overwhelmingly more representative of the feelings of the great majority of Irish people than are the actions of a violent few. It is a tragedy that these positive forces have not yet been focused through acceptable political structures in Northern Ireland.

69. The newly elected Government of the United Kingdom has given repeated indications that it is aware of the need for a fresh political initiative in relation to

Northern Ireland. Such an initiative is essential and urgent if constructive politics are to prevail there.

70. The absence of such politics in recent years has left a void which has all too clearly served the strategy of the men of violence. It goes without saying that a political initiative, to be fruitful, must take adequate account of the rights and aspirations of both communities and lead to partnership in political institutions acceptable to both communities. In face of the tragic history and cost of the Northern Ireland conflict, every move along the road that contributes, even to a small degree, to the growth of trust and reconciliation is an important gain and cannot be neglected.

71. The Irish Government welcomes the recognition by the United Kingdom Government of the need for political progress in Northern Ireland. We are at present engaged in extensive studies of ways in which such progress can be encouraged and enhanced and we are confident that the insights and conclusions emerging from our studies will make an important contribution to this objective. The interrelationship between the traditions in Ireland is a fact. What is at stake is the form it will take. There is a duty on all those concerned for peace in Northern Ireland to ensure that this interrelationship moves along the path of partnership and reconciliation.

72. There is an urgent need for an initiative on the part of the United Kingdom Government to mobilize the constructive political energies of both communities in Northern Ireland. My Government, for its part, will be ready to respond to such a development. Our policy is clear and I would like to restate it here. We want to see partnership in Northern Ireland and reconciliation between the people of Ireland, and we will do everything open to us to help to bring this about. I believe that an effort now to promote this would have the support of all our friends, the friends of Britain and Ireland, in Europe and in North America—and indeed of all the nations represented in this Assembly.

73. Miss MacDONALD (Canada): May I join my colleagues in congratulating the President on his election to the high office he now holds. He is even newer to his job than I am to mine. But with his long experience in this Assembly we are confident that he will be able fully to fulfil the heavy responsibilities he has assumed.

74. Although I am a newcomer to this Assembly, I have been one of its close observers for many years. I have always been an unswerving supporter of the United Nations, of the ideals expressed in its Charter, and of the constructive role it has played in the development of the international community.

75. There are many successes of which all of us, as Members of the United Nations, may be justly proud. The timely intervention of United Nations peace-keeping forces has so often brought quiet to a troubled area. Through resolutions and the great conferences of the 1970s, we have identified crucial problems and devised plans of concerted action for solving them.

76. As a specific example, the complex, painstaking negotiations on the law of the sea have now reached the point at which, with one last effort of mutual will, we shall have an agreement of extraordinary significance to us all.

77. Yes, the record of the United Nations has proved how useful—indeed, how essential—it is in world affairs. In the recent past, however, I have become increasingly concerned by the path this body has taken. I see it as my responsibility—speaking for Canada as I do now for the first time in this chamber—to tell you frankly what it is that troubles Canadians about recent developments in the conduct of international affairs.

78. The United Nations today is in serious jeopardy of becoming irrelevant to the peoples of the world. Somehow, in dealing with the many difficult issues that have come before this forum over the years, we have lost sight of the very purpose of this Organization. We have lost our grasp of the human needs that the United Nations was established to help fill, and of the human rights that it is meant to protect.

[The speaker continued in French (interpretation from French)].

79. Too often, the purpose and content of debate is devoted to the interests and aspirations of Governments and politicians, not of the peoples they represent. Too often the energies and skills of delegations are devoted to the goal of political advantage, not to bettering the human condition.

80. As politicians, we know how important it is to choose carefully the means and even the words we use to promote the goals that we want to promote. But we also know that in so doing we must never lose sight of the true best interests of the people we represent. Once we lose sight of this, we are no longer doing our duty.

[The speaker continued in English.]

81. It is in this light that I look at what has been happening recently in this and certain other international organizations. As I look, I become very worried. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations begins, as I am sure you all remember, "We the peoples of the United Nations . . .". This is an organization of people, not of Governments. Yet, what are the tendencies here? We establish a system of procedure and protocol that begins to rival that of Byzantium. We develop a specialized terminology in which ordinary words are invested with arcane significance. Whole paragraphs of ideological meaning are read into the choice of a single ordinary noun or adjective. We form ourselves into international blocs and support propositions or positions that are in violation of our own declared national policies. How, then, can we be seen to foster the well-being of our peoples? Too faintly, too faintly.

82. Over the years, I have travelled widely across the globe and just since this past June I have had an opportunity to talk with people in 10 different countries. The people to whom I have spoken have strengthened my conviction of the vast reservoir of international goodwill that exists in the hearts of individual citizens around the world. Why, then, is so much of the energy of this Organization devoted to acrimonious wrangling among representatives of Governments? What relevance have the debates in this chamber to the ideals, the hopes and the needs of those for whom this Organization was created: the peoples of the United Nations?

83. Too often the answer to this question is "little". We have allowed ourselves to be captured by the self-imposed dictates of this forum. We have lost sight of why we are here. The people of Canada and, I suspect, the people of countries all over the world are recognizing what is happening here. We do not operate in a closed sphere. Modern communications, and an increasingly informed and interested population ensure that what we do is known and understood across the globe. Our credibility is in jeopardy, and with it the very existence of this Organization. For without popular support, we shall be unable to continue. Unless we make our work, our talks, our very motives more relevant to the concerns of the people we represent, we shall lose the support that we need to continue.

84. As I see it, the major challenge facing the United Nations in the next decade is to make itself once again a vehicle for filling the needs and rights of the people of the world. We look to the President to help us begin that task.

85. Thirty-one years ago, when the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)], it took a step of great importance to people everywhere. Similarly, the two International Covenants, one on Civil and Political Rights and the other on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 [resolution 2200A (XXI), annex], reflected the heartfelt aspirations of the population of this planet. These documents summarize what this great Organization is all about: the fostering and protection of rights.

86. There are three broad areas of human rights that I want to speak about today. The first is the sort of thing that immediately springs to mind when the term "human rights" is used. These are the political rights, such as those of freedom of speech and of association, the right to equal treatment before equitable law, the absence of racial, religious or sexual discrimination. The second area is the right to physical safety, the right to peace, the freedom from war. And finally, I want to speak about the rights arising from our natures as human animals, our needs for food, shelter and an appropriate share of the world's riches.

87. One need not look far to find a dismaying number of examples of violations of political rights, all too often committed by a Government against its own people. Indo-China alone provides too many examples. The uprooting, dislocation and often elimination of so many victims in Kampuchea, the desperate plight of the Laotian refugees, the deliberate expulsion of the Vietnamese boat people, all are too well known. The vicious pillage and massacres of the Amin régime in Uganda and its tragic aftermath, the thousands of women and children in refugee camps—one of which I visited last month in southern Africa—are matched elsewhere by the execution without trial of ousted politicians. There is also the sudden disappearance or exile for political reasons of ordinary men, women and children in other countries.

88. These crimes against humanity are common knowledge. The people of the world know what is happening around them. But too often, the international community has been reluctant—or culpably slow—to take steps to condemn and rectify these violations of

human rights. Too often, the political convenience of Governments has caused them to remain silent when ordinary people cry out for action. Public opinion today is calling us to account for this lethargy, this disregard for human suffering, this irresponsibility.

89. And yet, there is cause for hope. By no means have all violations of human rights passed unnoticed by the international community. The Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva in July and convened and skilfully conducted by the Secretary-General, resulted not only in a substantial humanitarian response, in offers of resettlement places and financial aid for refugees, but also elicited a political response by the Government of Viet Nam, which has since been controlling the outflow of refugees. It is still to be determined whether or not the root-cause has been settled, and the whole international community will have to watch developments carefully. Pressure on the Government of Viet Nam must be sustained, but substantial progress has indeed been made.

90. Other investigations hold promise of progress. We are pleased to note the investigation now under way by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights into the situation in Argentina. We also welcome the investigation by respected African jurists into the recent tragic events in the Central African Empire. In addition, the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries, at their meeting at Lusaka this summer, agreed to consider the setting up of a human rights commission within the Commonwealth [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 65]. There has been modest progress within the United Nations Commission on Human Rights itself. I refer to the appointment of a special rapporteur to investigate the situation in Equatorial Guinea, and the Commission's contacts with certain Governments as a result of its *in camera* hearings. All this is gratifying progress indeed. But much more is yet to be done.

91. The United Nations must find better, more certain ways to deal with gross violations of human rights, no matter where they happen. We must be able to take effective action immediately, not years after the abuses begin. That is why Canada has long supported the proposal to establish the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. This proposal, which could effectively set in place an international human rights *ombudsman*, has been explored over the years, but as yet not enough Member States have found the courage to proceed with such an office.

92. Let me propose an alternative, then. The General Assembly at this session should agree to establish a position of Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights, and we should appoint an individual of undisputed stature in the international community to that office. This person would exercise the mandate the Secretary-General has under the Charter to use his good offices in the field of human rights. With this, we could have an instrument through which the United Nations could fulfil this fundamental responsibility given to it by the people of the world.

93. Another step that could easily be taken is to devise a way of ending the distressingly large number of disappearances of individuals in many parts of the world. We urge that the Commission on Human Rights be in-

structed to set up a committee of experts to investigate these unexplained vanishings.

94. But we must not take the progress that has been made as an indication that our job is done. Outrages still exist. Some are long-standing, like *apartheid* and the situations in Namibia and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Others, such as political execution, arise from time to time in various parts of the world. We must find new ways of combating these violations, for world opinion demands it. Unless we can respond, our credibility, our relevance, our usefulness, our very existence are in peril. But our response must be both responsible and timely. The progress being made at this very moment in regard to Namibia and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, for example, deserves our encouragement and support. It would be irresponsible to pre-empt the satisfactory resolution of these problems by precipitous and distracting debate in this or any other forum that some Member States might be inclined to use.

95. A corner-stone of the United Nations is the second type of human right I want to discuss—the right of the people of the world to physical security. Born from the ashes of the Second World War, this Organization is devoted to the peaceful resolution of differences between nations. To many people this is the sole reason for the existence of this Organization: to ensure the human right to live in peace.

96. Here, too, our record gives little cause for satisfaction. Instances of aggression of one country against another continue. As always, righteous justification is claimed by each party to the conflict. There may be righteous warriors, but there are no good wars. The people have entrusted to us the task of stopping this systematic destruction of the most fundamental of all human rights—the right to life itself. And yet armed conflict remains a sorry characteristic of international affairs.

[*The speaker continued in French (interpretation from French).*]

97. Other related threats to our physical safety continue. The arms race, with all its costs and inherent dangers, bounds on apace. The spread of nuclear technology, with all the benefits it can bring, has not been paralleled by an equal commitment to a renunciation of the development of nuclear explosive capability. We know that even today certain States are working to achieve mastery in this field, not for the increased well-being its energy can bring to the people, but for the creation of an explosion—one that will quake the hearts of peace-loving people everywhere. Surely they can expect better of us.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

98. Fortunately, here, too, there are reasons for hope. The first special session of this Assembly ever devoted to disarmament, that is, the Assembly's tenth special session, was a success. For those who believe, as I do, that modern weapons are as much a threat as a protection to the security of nations, this was an encouraging step. Yet the record since that time is disappointing. The new machinery of negotiation in Geneva is blocked by rivalry and suspicion. The testing of nuclear weapons continues, despite the high priority that the

special session gave to the ban. Preparations for nuclear and chemical warfare continue; no agreement has been reached on measures to limit the use of weapons that cause unnecessary suffering; and spending for military purposes grows ever larger.

99. Nevertheless, a hopeful sign of urgency remains. I cite the communiqué signed in Vienna last June by Presidents Carter and Brezhnev, in which they commit their Governments "to take major steps to limit nuclear weapons with the objective of ultimately eliminating them, and to complete successfully other arms limitation and disarmament negotiations" [see A/34/414, annex, sect. II].

100. Canada has a particular interest in the honouring of this commitment—we are the only country that is a neighbour to both the United States of America and the Soviet Union. As such we could not escape the devastation of a strategic nuclear war. Hence, our specific concern.

101. But there is another reason for our deep interest. Canada has been a pioneer in the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Our Candu power reactor is an outstanding success both in Canada and abroad. But we are determined that this technology should not be misused. We demand that stringent safeguards be applied by countries buying Canadian nuclear power facilities or materials. We are looking forward to the conclusions of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation, the international study examining the further means by which non-proliferation standards can be applied to the nuclear fuel cycle. We want to ensure that the continued recourse to nuclear power is undertaken in the most stringent conditions possible, guaranteeing, as far as is humanly possible, against any non-peaceful use.

102. We believe that Governments who accept these conditions, indeed all Governments, have a right to expect that the obligations of nuclear States under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] will be carried out—including the pursuit of "negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date", in the words of its article VI. Yet agreement has eluded the negotiations on a comprehensive test ban for 15 years. Time is running out—and the patience of the people is running thin.

103. Genuine international security is not merely a matter of agreements on arms control and disarmament. Before such agreements can be reached, and certainly before they can have effect, there must be a climate of trust, of decency and justice among the nations of the world. Confidence must be built up by small steps between neighbours, between alliances, and between the nuclear Powers. The United Nations must be allowed to expand its fact-finding and peace-seeking roles if such confidence is to grow. In areas where tensions are too high, concrete steps must be taken to prevent accidents or miscalculations. The people of the world expect no less of us. And the people are right.

104. Finally, as we examine the lessons of the past, and as we assess the challenges of the future, there is one striking fact that dominates all others—the singular failure of the international community to solve the

problem of poverty. We are still haunted by the spectre of hundreds of millions of people living below the poverty line and in danger of starvation. The right to enough material goods to ensure health and dignity is still denied to far too many.

105. Giving effect to this basic human right is the greatest task facing the United Nations for the remainder of this century. The overriding importance of this work is clear to all. Two years ago this Assembly passed resolution 32/130, which, in paragraph 1(b), recognizes that "the full realization of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible." It is insufficient for an individual to enjoy full human rights before the law if he or she does not have the basic necessities of life: enough food, health care; education; shelter. Problems of want must be attacked directly and urgently in the 1980s.

106. I welcome the renewed attention being given by the United Nations family to these problems, for here, too, I see reason for hope. There is growing recognition that development assistance does not imply the foisting of one country's social and economic philosophy on another. The true meaning of co-operation is increasingly understood.

107. It is no answer to the problem to set up a sort of international social welfare system to give handouts to the poorest. Nothing could be more demeaning to human dignity, nor more guaranteed to perpetuate poverty. Our goal must be to enable people to use their own abilities, and to assist States to develop their own potential.

108. These may sound grand words, optimistic words, easy to say. But, frankly, I am optimistic about the capacity of our international community to work together to solve the problems before it. That these problems are huge, numerous and complicated, there is no denial.

109. What I find worrying is not the fact that we have problems, but the manner in which we approach them. I place enormous personal importance on the North-South dialogue. And yet I fear that our present approach is doomed to failure. Many of the problems with which we are grappling in this dialogue are, after all, the result of change—rapid change, dramatic change and, if we are honest with ourselves, change that is often for the better. The last three decades—including the turbulent 1970s—have been ones of unprecedented economic growth for the developing world, at rates faster than those of the industrialized countries. The problem is that this growth has been uneven and, in the minds of those whose expectations have been raised so high, not fast enough. As we look into the decade before us, it is the countries at the bottom end of the economic scale that face the bleakest future and the lowest growth. At the opposite end of the scale, in the wealthy industrial countries, the prospects for the 1980s are, for a variety of reasons, also for a relatively slow pace of economic growth. Between these extremes, however, lie countries whose growth has been much more rapid, and who, in spite of immense problems, are likely to maintain a faster pace in the future.

110. This is a very brief outline of what has been happening in the past and what is likely to occur in the

years ahead. And yet the international discussions of such matters do not take account of these realities. Of particular concern to me is the increasing note of pessimism that seems to be creeping into the North-South dialogue; the contention that nothing has changed for the better anywhere and is unlikely to in the future; the spirit of confrontation between North and South with verbal barrages across an artificial frontier; the allocation of blame for misfortune, not the search for self-improvement.

111. If there is one message I should like to leave clearly with my colleagues, whether they be of the North or the South, it is that such approaches to our problems and such tactics are likely to be counter-productive. I can tell the Assembly that in Canada they do more harm than good. In Canada we have spent a lot of time and effort and money in developing programmes of economic co-operation, and always with the support of the Canadian people. No democratic Government can act without such popular support. I am confident that this support remains and that we can continue to improve our programmes and adapt our policies to the changing international environment. At present, however, we face important domestic problems within Canada. One of them, the energy issue, we share with many nations. I assure members that we are determined to become part of the solution and not part of that problem. But the efforts that our people will be called upon to make to help solve this world-wide problem will be great. As a result, now more than ever we need to demonstrate that our overseas programmes are useful and efficient and actually do contribute to the welfare of people who need assistance. If we hear through the North-South dialogue that after 30 years of effort nothing has changed for the better, that doom and gloom lie in the future, and that our lack of political will is entirely to blame, I am afraid that the reaction of the Canadian people will be to demand that we spend our efforts and money at home. By all means let us define our problems closely, but let us develop realistic responses. By all means let us be frank with each other, but let us maintain a constructive courtesy. Talk, certainly, but act, too. Let us indulge in technical analysis, but let us never forget that it is the individual we are trying to help.

112. Immense tasks lie before us as we grapple with all the issues now on the negotiating table within the United Nations system. The desperate plight of the people of Kampuchea, for example, cries for immediate international attention. Our ability to act effectively in this regard will be a measure of the sincerity of our commitment to the ideals we all have endorsed. My confidence in our ability to find solutions is based in part on the growing recognition in all countries that interdependence is a fact and not a slogan, and in part on the knowledge that we must all work together if we are not to fail separately.

113. This, then, is a partial agenda for the 1980s. The work must begin now, during the President's term of office. Although public confidence in this great international institution is at a sufficiently low level to jeopardize its future, the opportunities to regain that confidence have never been better.

114. With the President's help, we can galvanize this Assembly into a genuine forum for the betterment of the peoples of the world. We can turn away from confrontation between Governments to co-operation among

people. When this session is seen to address the rights of human beings rather than the ambitions of politicians, then we shall have the support of people everywhere, and we can use the world's vast resources of riches, energies and intelligence to meet the challenges ahead.

115. May the President lead us in that direction. I can assure him that the Canadian people will follow.

116. Mr. SONODA (Japan):¹⁰ On behalf of the Government and the people of Japan, I should like to extend warm congratulations to Mr. Salim on his election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, under his impartial guidance based on superb wisdom and wealth of experience, this session will be a most fruitful one.

117. I should also like to express my heartfelt appreciation to Mr. Liévano, who contributed greatly to the successful conclusion of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

118. I take this opportunity also to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We deeply appreciate his dedicated efforts towards the maintenance of international peace and security as well as towards the promotion of international co-operation, thus helping to realize the goals of the United Nations.

119. Let me also take this opportunity to express a sincere welcome to Saint Lucia on its admission to the United Nations. My country looks forward to deepening its co-operation with Saint Lucia within the United Nations as well as in other contexts.

120. The year 1979 is significant as the transitional year from the 1970s to the 1980s. As we recall our experiences of the 1970s and reflect upon their implications for the future in our quest for world peace and prosperity, this session of the General Assembly, held at such an important time, should, in my view, provide us with a new vigour and perspective for the coming decade.

121. Looking back on the 1970s, I consider it a time mixed with promise and disappointment in terms of world peace and prosperity.

122. While tensions have relaxed among certain States with different political systems—as seen, for example, in the progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and in the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China—elsewhere, in such areas as the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the Middle East and Africa, regional confrontations and conflicts are continuing. In some regions we have even witnessed the intensification of tensions.

123. While there have been real international efforts to promote the stable expansion of the world economy, as exemplified by the five summit meetings of the major industrial nations and the GATT Tokyo round trade negotiations, energy problems cast a vast and gloomy

¹⁰ Mr. Sonoda spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

shadow over the future of the world economy, and there is no solution in sight to such problems as inflation and recession.

124. While nation-building programmes of developing countries are progressing, the non-oil-producing developing countries are experiencing extremely serious economic difficulties stemming from sharp increases in the price of oil. Prospects concerning North-South problems are complicated by a great number of difficulties, due in part to the stagnation of the economies of industrialized countries.

125. While, in the international political and economic arenas, interdependent and complementary relationships among nations are generally deepening, co-operative relationships between oil-producing and oil-consuming countries have not yet taken hold. Industrialized and developing countries continue to grope for an international order that is mutually beneficial.

126. These are no more than simple illustrations. Yet, as we look ahead on the basis of these experiences to the coming decade, the prospects for the international community do not allow us to be totally optimistic. At the same time, we need not be unduly pessimistic.

127. As I pointed out last year at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, mutual dependence among nations and regions of the world transcends differences in social systems, size, abundance of natural resources or stage of development, and this interdependence is growing at an increasingly rapid pace.¹¹ Thus, no nation can maintain peace within its own borders unless peace prevails elsewhere in the world; and no country can plan its own economic prosperity in isolation from the development of the world economy as a whole.

128. These are the realities which all the countries of the world must approach dispassionately. In our quest for world peace and prosperity we must recognize the interdependence among nations as well as regions and help each other and complement each other in a spirit of accommodation. If each nation bases its foreign policy on that recognition, I am convinced there will be a way to solve the difficult problems besetting all of us. One of the major tasks for the 1980s will be for each of us to renew our efforts in this direction.

129. My country maintains as its fundamental national principle the pursuit of peace and the refusal to become a military Power that could pose a threat to another country. Thus the basic objective of Japan's foreign policy is to contribute to world peace and prosperity by fully wielding its economic strength and political influence. This policy, of course, is based on the recognition that there can be no peace and prosperity in Japan unless there is peace and prosperity throughout the world. We are determined to strengthen Japan's diplomatic efforts in international political, economic and social areas in order to contribute further to the peace and prosperity of the world community in the coming decade. In so doing, it is the policy of my Government to explore actively from a global perspective the ways in which it can help to achieve the stability

and development of countries in various parts of the world, giving attention to the Asian and Pacific region in particular, but also recognizing the importance of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

130. With this perception of the present, and looking ahead to the future, I should like at this time to explain briefly my Government's position on the major problems confronting the international community today.

131. I should like to comment first of all upon the situation in Asia.

132. One of the most urgent tasks confronting us now is to secure peace and stability in South-East Asia.

133. The members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are steadily pursuing courses of national development based on the progress of regional co-operation. However, serious anxiety regarding the security of these nations is resulting from the conflicts and tensions in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and from the outflow of the refugees from that area. In particular, the problem of Indo-Chinese refugees is no longer solely a matter of humanitarian concern; it has become a destabilizing element in the Asian and Pacific region.

134. Although the United Nations Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva last July, achieved significant results, thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General and other United Nations officials, as well as to those of the various countries concerned, the problem has not been fundamentally resolved. Indeed, each country is called upon to strive even harder in its own way to help to alleviate the difficult situation.

135. First, it is necessary that Viet Nam should continue to exert every effort to stop the illegal departures of its people as it stated it would do at the Geneva Conference.

136. Secondly, in order to provide relief for the refugees as well as to lighten the burden of the first-asylum countries, international co-operation should be further strengthened in the fields of the permanent resettlement of refugees and of financial contributions to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

137. Determined to take an active part in this international endeavour, Japan decided to provide half the funds required this year for the High Commissioner's Assistance Programme for Indo-Chinese Refugees. At the same time, we are making efforts to promote the resettlement of refugees in Japan and intend gradually to expand the target figure for resettlement in Japan, depending on the progress of the programme.

138. I feel it is important to stress, however, that the Indo-Chinese refugee problem cannot be solved in any real way unless the peace and stability of this region is assured. In order to secure peace and stability in Indo-China, it is essential that lasting peace be restored in Kampuchea. I am of the opinion that the only way to accomplish this is for all foreign forces to withdraw from Kampuchean territory so that the Kampuchean people may determine their own political future, free from any foreign intervention.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting, para. 172.

139. This is in no sense an easy task, but we must do everything possible to accomplish it. I think it is important for us, as a first step, to make every effort to promote the common recognition among the countries concerned, including all the parties to the Kampuchean conflict, of the importance of restoring lasting peace in Kampuchea. It is on the basis of this belief that I have repeatedly proposed that a conference be convened in which the countries concerned, including all the parties to the Kampuchean conflict, would participate.

140. In conjunction with these long-range efforts, I should like to call attention to the very urgent task that demands immediate action in Kampuchea. In the devastated nation of Kampuchea, millions of people are stricken with disease and are in danger of starvation. There is undoubtedly a wide range of political positions and opinions regarding Kampuchea's future. But whatever political position one may take, one cannot ignore the millions of Kampuchean people facing death due to starvation and disease.

141. I am convinced that humanitarian concerns must transcend political differences and that it is of absolute importance for all parties, both inside and outside Kampuchea, to take concerted action to bring to the Kampuchean people relief from the starvation and disease that makes a living hell for them. What the Kampuchean people urgently need right now is not an exercise in political polemics, but rather food and medical supplies. It is our responsibility as human beings to see that the Kampuchean people get the supplies they need.

142. First of all, I should like to appeal for the co-operation of all the parties to the conflict in Kampuchea in ensuring that these humanitarian relief supplies reach those who are in need of them. I call specifically upon all the parties to the conflict to come to an immediate agreement with the international organizations concerned on a practical arrangement to ensure that such international relief measures be implemented safely and promptly.

143. Secondly, I should like to urge strongly that all the countries concerned exert every possible effort to make such an arrangement, and that as many countries as possible participate in and co-operate with such international relief measures.

144. The Government of Japan is prepared to co-operate to the fullest extent of its abilities in these international relief measures.

145. Given the widespread and profound sympathy the Japanese people have for the Kampuchean people in their catastrophic privation, the Government of Japan is determined to do everything possible, by mobilizing the resources of both government and private sectors, to extend such co-operative assistance and relief.

146. Even as I express these views on the Kampuchean problem—the most serious problem in Asia today—the implementation of relief measures is being further delayed. Profoundly distressing are the movements that appear to be starting in Kampuchea which might lead again to an intensification of the fighting there.

147. No action must be allowed which would further aggravate the situation in Kampuchea, whatever the reason for such action may be.

148. I therefore strongly urge all the parties, including Viet Nam, who are directly involved in the conflict in Kampuchea to exercise prudence and restraint and I reiterate my appeal to all the countries and parties concerned to make every effort to achieve peace in Kampuchea.

149. Another major task confronting us in Asia is the relaxation of tensions on the Korean peninsula. At present, the dialogue between South and North Korea is suspended. The tripartite talks, proposed jointly to North Korea by President Park of the Republic of Korea and President Carter of the United States, have not yet come about. Since the building of genuine peace and stability on the Korean peninsula is a matter of deep concern to Japan, we hope that a substantive dialogue between South and North Korea will be resumed as promptly as possible. For our part, we will continue to co-operate with all countries concerned to foster an international climate that is conducive to the relaxation of tensions on the peninsula.

150. The problem in the Middle East is one of the most serious problems confronting the world today. Japan maintains the position that it is essential that peace in the Middle East be just, lasting and comprehensive. Thus, Japan thinks the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel should be a first step towards achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. We believe that such a peace should be achieved through the complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

151. We believe that the future development of the negotiations now under way between Egypt and Israel on the question of the autonomy of the West Bank and Gaza will have a serious influence upon whether or not a comprehensive peace will be achieved in the Middle East. From this point of view, we strongly hope that, to avoid further delay in establishing peace in the area, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the peace process will be realized, with Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization mutually recognizing each other's position.

152. I strongly call on the participants involved in the talks regarding the autonomy of the West Bank and Gaza to display courage and flexibility in the negotiations in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions in order to achieve a result that is satisfactory to all the parties concerned. In this connexion, I should like to urge Israel to refrain from any measures that would be detrimental to the atmosphere of the negotiations, such as the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and its military actions in southern Lebanon.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

153. Firm in the belief that stability and development in the Middle East are essential to the peace and

prosperity of the entire world, Japan will continue, in accordance with its independent policy, to co-operate actively in the development efforts of the countries in that region. Out of this concern as well, we strongly hope that a just and lasting peace will be established as soon as possible.

154. The nations of Africa are Japan's vital partners in promoting world peace and prosperity. It is thus my country's policy to extend vigorous co-operation to the nation-building programmes of the African States.

155. The situation in Africa is, however, troubled in some areas. In particular, it is a matter of deep concern to Japan that a great number of people in southern Africa continue to suffer under the yoke of racial discrimination. I am profoundly distressed that progress towards the elimination of *apartheid* policies in South Africa has been so meagre.

156. Regarding the question of Namibia, the Government of South Africa has embarked upon a dangerous course by seeking an internal settlement and totally disregarding the efforts of the United Nations. This is a serious situation and must be considered a challenge to the international community. I strongly urge South Africa to reconsider its policies and to co-operate with the United Nations in achieving Namibia's independence through elections held under the supervision of the United Nations. I should like on this occasion to confirm once again Japan's readiness actively to participate in and co-operate with the United Nations efforts to foster Namibia's peaceful transition to independence.

157. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, Japan sincerely hopes that independence under genuine majority rule will be peacefully realized as early as possible, and thus highly appreciates the agreement reached at the last Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting [see A/34/439-S/13515, *annex, para. 15*]. On the basis of this agreement, I earnestly hope that the parties concerned will continue, in a spirit of accommodation, their constructive talks at the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference now under way in London with the aim of establishing genuine majority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

158. The nations of Latin America are extremely important and are expected to assume increasingly greater responsibilities and roles in working for world peace and prosperity.

159. Recently I visited several Latin American nations, and was encouraged by the efforts they are making toward economic and social development and democratization. There is a growing trend among the nations of Latin America to search for peace and prosperity in an interdependence of broader scope which would extend beyond a regional framework. I believe it will be the task in the 1980s of nations in other regions of the world to co-operate with the nations of Latin America as they strive to attain the fulfilment of their aspirations.

160. There have been movements to direct attention and criticism to specific issues in the democratization processes of certain countries. I rather feel that democratization in these countries would be best promoted if we tried, while making conscious efforts to understand

the positions and processes unique to each country, to help them with their democratization efforts.

161. Concurrent with the efforts to resolve the various regional problems which I have just mentioned, our important task is to effect, step by step, feasible disarmament measures.

162. I therefore welcome the signing of the second SALT Treaty by the United States and the Soviet Union, and I wish to express the hope that future negotiations at the third round of SALT will result in further concrete progress in the quantitative reduction and qualitative control of strategic arms. I should like at this time to make a strong appeal once again for the strengthening of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, establishing as soon as possible a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and promoting disarmament negotiations relating to non-nuclear weapons, including the prohibition of chemical weapons.

163. Efforts exerted solely in the areas I have mentioned will not suffice to secure world peace and prosperity. Problems pertaining to the world economy present us with important and urgent tasks.

164. First, the world economy is beset with a number of difficult problems, notably those having to do with energy, inflation and unemployment. In order to foster the stable expansion of the world economy under the current difficult circumstances, it is imperative that each country seek to strengthen its efforts towards international co-operation with a view to achieving its own economic prosperity within the framework of the stable expansion of the world economy as a whole, and in consideration of the interdependence between domestic and world economies.

165. Fully recognizing the responsibility and the role it must assume in the world economy, Japan will continue to make efforts that will foster international co-operation, including those designed further to open its domestic markets.

166. With regard to the energy question which will surely have a major impact on the future of the world economy, I should like to point out that it is very important for industrialized countries to ensure that the various measures agreed upon at the Tokyo Economic Summit are faithfully implemented. These relate, in particular, to restraints on petroleum imports, the increased utilization of nuclear and alternative sources of energy, as well as to the research and development of new sources of energy. I believe that restrained oil consumption by industrialized countries, including my own, will help to foster mutual trust between oil-producing countries and oil-consuming countries and thus lead to the creation of a more co-operative relationship between them regarding the efficient utilization of energy, which is a task for all mankind.

167. Further, because the energy problem is an important matter that concerns countries throughout the world, I believe it would be useful for the United Nations to consider how it could be best dealt with. Thus I shall follow with interest the initiatives to be taken by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on this subject.

168. Another area of importance is the nation-building and human resources development efforts of developing countries. The qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion of economic and technical co-operation with these efforts must continue to be one of the most important policies of industrialized countries, including Japan. I should like particularly to emphasize that these efforts are all the more important at this time when the world economy is confronted with many difficult problems. Further, industrialized countries should make positive efforts to respond to the expectations and aspirations of developing countries for stabilizing their export of primary commodities and for the stable expansion of their export of manufactured products.

169. Japan, itself an Asian country, was late in joining the modern international community, and thus had to struggle resolutely in order to catch up with developed countries. Consequently, Japan has deep sympathy with the desires and aspirations of developing countries for economic and social development. We believe that it is the responsibility of industrialized countries—including Japan—to respond to the legitimate expectations of developing countries regarding their economic and social development.

170. Accordingly, Japan makes it a basic policy to co-operate to the utmost of its capabilities with developing countries in their self-reliant efforts to promote their economic and social development.

171. The fact that Japan is making efforts to double its official development assistance within three years; that it is working toward untying assistance as well as softening the terms; and finally, that it has taken an active role for the establishment of the Common Fund, are all in conformity with its basic foreign policy. Japan will continue firmly to maintain this basic policy, and, in particular, intends to make greater efforts to expand the volume of its official development assistance and improve the ratio of such assistance to its gross national product.

172. In order to solve North-South problems, a continuous dialogue is necessary. In my assessment, the fifth session of UNCTAD, held last May, was an important process for lending a future orientation to the North-South dialogue against the background of the agreement on the basic elements of the Common Fund. Through this dialogue an increasing awareness of the interdependent and complementary relationship between the North and South should be developed from a long-term perspective, thus laying the foundation for genuine co-operation. This, in my view, is a prerequisite to the solution of the problem.

173. On the basis of these considerations, I believe it is important that the new international development strategy which we are about to formulate should provide targets for the efforts of the international community in promoting the economic and social development of developing countries. In this sense, the new international development strategy should be a joint undertaking involving both developing and developed countries.

174. Furthermore, the new international development strategy should be formulated on the basis of realistic and practical considerations, giving due attention to the alleviation of absolute poverty, which is said

to be still affecting more than 800 million people throughout the world, and in a manner which would enable relatively advanced developing countries to make further progress and thereby contribute to the expansion of the world economy as well.

175. Finally, I should like to say a few words about measures to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace.

176. It is a regrettable truth that the role played thus far by the United Nations in the maintenance of world peace has fallen far short of its original goals.

177. It will be difficult to try to change all at once the way in which the United Nations has functioned since its establishment more than 30 years ago. However, the role of the United Nations must be expanded to meet the changing needs of the international community, where world-wide interdependence continues to develop and the need for international co-operation and harmony is becoming increasingly urgent.

178. Therefore, as a first step in expanding the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace, I should like to propose that its fact-finding functions regarding international disputes be strengthened. If the United Nations could maintain a firm grasp upon situations involving international disputes and present the international community with objective facts, it would be able, by appealing directly to world opinion, to exert pressure on countries concerned and thus facilitate the settlement of disputes.

179. For example, if I may at this point suggest a measure to be taken, each time an important dispute arose a representative of the Secretary-General would be stationed in the area for a certain period to investigate the facts of the situation, and would report to the Secretary-General from time to time. The need for measures of this kind may be readily understood when one considers the developments in Indo-China this past year.

180. Therefore, I believe that the United Nations should make maximum use of the fact-finding functions conferred upon the various organs under the United Nations Charter. In this way the United Nations would be able on its own to investigate the facts which would serve as a basis for debate in the world body. I should like to point out particularly that this is something the United Nations could start doing today if its Member States were willing to have it do so.

181. As I have previously mentioned, I am convinced that, as interdependent relations among countries and regions continue to grow, it will be our task in the 1980s to develop a basis for international co-operation that will lead to world peace and prosperity.

182. This is a tremendously difficult undertaking. But now, with the existence of weapons capable of annihilating all of mankind and with the emerging recognition that the natural resources and space available for man's use are limited, the people of each country must consider their own peace and prosperity as inseparable from that of the world. Each country must realize its responsibility and play an active role accordingly in achieving this common goal of mankind. This is, in my

view, the only path open to the international community.

183. There are indeed a great number of problems in the international community, including those between East and West, North and South, and among industrialized nations as well.

184. I am convinced that solutions to all these problems could be found if each country would refrain from adopting attitudes of confrontation by insisting on its own views and interests and would enter discussions open-heartedly for the shared goal of achieving world peace and prosperity—a long-cherished and common hope of mankind. I believe that the willingness of each country to open itself to such discussions will be the key to determining the course for the international community in the 1980s.

185. In closing, I should like to reaffirm my belief in man's powers of reason and innate wisdom. On the basis of this belief, I am confident that, as we look ahead to the decade of the 1980s, the prospects for the international community are promising.

186. Mr. RALLIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): It is with great pleasure that I extend to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the Hellenic delegation on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

187. During the many years you held the post of Permanent Representative of your country to this Organization you have, on numerous occasions, given proof of your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and a statesman. Africa, a continent which plays a preponderant role in the activities of the United Nations, and the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which mine maintains the most friendly and cordial relations, could not have chosen a better representative to preside over the work of this body, which more than any other reflects the universal character to which the United Nations has aspired since it came into being.

188. At the same time I should like to express to the outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, our appreciation of the authority and competence with which he guided the work of the General Assembly during a difficult period that was full of problems.

189. It is also a pleasure for me once again to extend our most sincere congratulations and profound gratitude to our Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and his devotion to his difficult and sometimes thankless, but very important, task. The considerable successes of which Mr. Waldheim can be justly proud make him an irreplaceable champion of international peace.

190. Finally I should like most warmly to welcome Saint Lucia, which has just been added to the number of young and dynamic countries that have become Members of our Organization in the last few years.

191. The 12 months that have elapsed since the opening of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly have witnessed a wealth of events an assessment of which is unfortunately not very encouraging. Side by

side with some positive developments, we observe stagnation in the resolution of most of the problems that concern the world, most of which date back for many years. What is more, new hotbeds of tension have been added to existing crises, so that peace has seemed threatened more than once, and this at a time when mankind must face problems that concern people everywhere, on the solution of which mankind's very survival might depend.

192. In the Middle East, a region of very particular interest to my country because of its geographical proximity, but above all because of our fraternal links with our Arab brothers, the deadlock continues. The position of my country in respect of this problem is well known. We have always been in favour of the complete application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and of the other relevant resolutions of that body and the General Assembly that call for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, as well as the right of all the countries of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. At the same time, we believe that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to self-determination and to a country must be recognized within the framework of a global settlement.

193. It is in the light of those principles and their effective application that we view the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel. We believe that every effort towards a negotiated settlement of the Middle East problem must be encouraged in so far as there is an attempt in those efforts to apply these principles within the framework of a global solution. But at the same time it is necessary to avoid any action that might aggravate the situation and make the atmosphere in the region even more difficult.

194. In this context we cannot but deplore the policy of settlements pursued by the Israeli Government on the West Bank of the River Jordan, in Gaza and in the Golan Heights.

195. In the same spirit we deplore also the armed incursions into Lebanese territory, and we launch an appeal for the ending of all acts of violence in Lebanon. Without wishing to enter into the details of this complex problem, we must here reiterate our conviction that its solution resides in absolute respect for the territorial integrity of Lebanon and in the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government over the entire territory of the country. At the same time we should like to express our appreciation for the work accomplished by UNIFIL in southern Lebanon.

196. Alas, the Middle East is not the only part of the world where confrontation continues to prevail and where efforts designed to arrive at the peaceful settlement of conflicts have so far remained without notable results. Southern Africa is another striking example. The plan that the five Western members of the Security Council¹² last year submitted to the parties concerned—to enable the Namibian people to accede to real independence has not yet brought about a rapprochement of opposing views—and this despite its acceptance by South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organization and the African front-line States.

¹² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

197. On this point, too, the position of Greece is clear. Any jurisdiction of South Africa over Namibia ceased at the moment the General Assembly terminated its Mandate over the Territory. The only obligation of the Government of South Africa—and this is a clear and imperative obligation—is to co-operate with the competent organ of the United Nations, the United Nations Council for Namibia, in the transfer of power to the representatives of the Namibian people. Those representatives must be designated by means of free elections held under international control and with the participation of all Namibian political forces, including the South West Africa People's Organization.

198. At the same time, my Government most energetically condemns the aerial attacks and armed incursions against neighbouring countries, which constitute a misuse by South Africa of its military superiority and a flagrant violation of the most sacred principles of the Charter.

199. Unlike what is going on in Namibia, the latest developments in Zimbabwe are promising. The decisions adopted by the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at Lusaka [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex] could and should serve as a basis for the establishment of a régime that would confer power upon the majority, while guaranteeing the rights of the white minority. We hope that the Constitutional Conference convened as a result of the praiseworthy efforts of the United Kingdom Government, with the participation of the parties concerned, will be crowned with success.

200. Finally, to conclude this review of the situation in southern Africa, I am bound once again to refer to the stigma of *apartheid*. Our condemnation of the *apartheid* régime, which flies in the face of the most elementary requirements of human dignity, cannot be too categorical.

201. Disarmament continues to be an imperative necessity for mankind. It suffices to consider the magnitude of the resources that could be placed at the service of far nobler causes, such as the development of the less fortunate countries, to realize the need to establish without further delay the principles and the machinery for a disarmament that would be as far-reaching as possible.

202. We are happy to note that the SALT Treaty signed in May last in Vienna by the chief executives of the two greatest nuclear Powers in the world represents a step in the right direction.

203. For our part, our position is well known: a balanced and progressive reduction of nuclear weapons, with a view to their complete elimination, should go hand in hand with a similar reduction in conventional weapons. But such a reduction presupposes strengthening of the sense of security of countries, and particularly of the small countries, because a people which feels threatened has no choice but to arm itself, whatever sacrifices that might entail. What is needed, therefore, is to strengthen the means for the pacific settlement of disputes among States. The necessary machinery and organs exist. They are provided for under the Charter or flow from it. If need be, they can be strengthened or improved. But it is essential that all

States, large or small, should accept and, if necessary, be persuaded to agree to renounce the threat and the use of force in order to have their points of view and their claims prevail.

204. In this context, it is fitting to recall the various initiatives aimed at the maintenance of peace and stability in the world. One of them concerns the non-use of force in international relations. The Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations, which has been entrusted with the drafting of a convention to that end, held a fruitful session and prepared a report [A/34/41] which is on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. Greece, which is a member of that Committee, is prepared favourably to consider any follow-up which might be given to that report, as well as any other initiative which might lead to the desired results. Faithful to the principles of the Charter, we firmly believe that force cannot be used other than for the purpose of self-defence and that only when other means of prevention of aggression have failed.

205. Respect for human rights should be one of the paramount concerns of the United Nations. Greece, where the concept of the protection of human beings against abuses of power came into being 25 centuries ago, aspires to be in the forefront of the struggle to safeguard those rights as defined by a number of international legal instruments, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

206. That is why we are against any violation of human rights, whether within a country or imposed from outside by the force of arms.

207. If there is one people whose most elementary rights have been trampled under foot in the course of the last years, it is the people of Cyprus. The existence of 200,000 refugees five years after the invasion of the island by foreign forces bears witness to this in a most distressing way. The same is true of some 2,000 missing persons, whose fate is still not known. The agreement reached on the latter point in the month of May last between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the head of the Turkish Cypriot community to set up the investigatory body provided for in General Assembly resolution 33/172 had allowed us to hope that it would finally be possible to learn the fate of these persons among whom there are some scores of Greek citizens. Unfortunately, the agreement in question has remained a dead letter to date since the Turkish Cypriot leaders have not communicated to the Secretary-General their formal acceptance of the establishment of that investigatory body.

208. I intend to go into detail on the problem of Cyprus later in my statement. But these humanitarian considerations, which I have just recalled, deserve, I believe, a quick solution independently of any political settlement—the more so since this is required under a series of United Nations resolutions.

209. I shall now deal briefly with certain economic questions. First of all, we are bound to note the ever-growing participation of our Organization in the establishment of a new international economic order, the final objective of which would be to eliminate the enormous disparities between rich and poor countries,

to arrive at a better distribution of wealth on our planet and to secure for all its inhabitants a standard of living which, besides providing for their material needs, would enable them also to develop their intellectual potential and guarantee their fundamental freedoms which cannot survive in a world of deprivation.

210. One of the major events this year in the economic field was the fifth session of UNCTAD. While the results were not as spectacular as one might have wished, they did, nevertheless, enable us to renew efforts toward a greater liberalization of international trade while in a number of cases there was a lessening of differences between the various groups of countries which participated in the session. Furthermore, we should not lose sight of the adverse economic conditions in the world, which make it more difficult to find solutions to problems such as inflation, the reform of the international monetary system, and so on. As for the main objectives of the Conference, my country views with much sympathy any initiative which would tend to alleviate the fate of the least-favoured nations such as, for example, setting up a fund for the stabilization of commodity prices. For its part, Greece, which in the course of the last 30 years has taken major steps toward development, is prepared to continue to play its part in the pursuit of these objectives.

211. In the context of our particular interest in development problems, we have actively participated in the last two major international gatherings: the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development at Vienna, and the third session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174.

212. Finally, there is a subject the long-term economic implications of which are no less than its political or legal aspects. I am referring to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which, as is known, held two sessions this year. The ground covered by the Conference since its inception is, on the whole, satisfactory. Without wishing to minimize the complexity of the problems remaining to be solved, I would say that their solution would seem no more difficult than the obstacles which have been surmounted so far—provided that all countries evince a spirit of compromise. The interests at issue are no doubt important. But the benefits which mankind would stand to gain from the conclusion of an agreement of universal application are well worth the efforts and concessions necessary to reach that goal.

213. Before concluding, I should like to refer to the situation on Cyprus, which continues to be a major cause of concern. Five years after the invasion of the island, euphemistically called a "peace operation", foreign occupation forces are still there. Numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions remain dead letters. The Republic of Cyprus, a country which is an independent and sovereign Member of our Organization, continues to be deprived of the exercise of its sovereignty over almost 40 per cent of its territory. Some 200,000 refugees continue to live far from their homes, while the establishment of settlers arriving from Turkey has never ceased and recently seems even to have increased.

214. In these circumstances, the hope for a just and lasting solution to the problem is growing dim and de-

pends on the sole procedure of intercommunal talks under the aegis of the United Nations. The renewed initiative of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, met with success on 19 May of this year, when the meeting between President Kyprianou and the head of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktas, led to a 10-point agreement that was to serve as a basis for the resumption of intercommunal negotiations.

215. Unfortunately, it appears that we rejoiced too soon. The Turkish Cypriot side apparently felt that the agreement of 19 May, which gave priority to the question of Varosha, did not suit it, and it chose to sabotage it. Thus it set forth prior conditions and introduced new questions that were conceived in such a manner that the initiation of a dialogue became improbable, if not impossible, because these conditions and questions were aimed at nothing less than obtaining concessions on substance, even before negotiations were begun. They were designed to impose on the injured party, on the victim of aggression, a concept that would make it possible to set up the infrastructure for a division of the island at the opportune moment. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Government of Cyprus refused to agree to compromise the survival of Cyprus as a unitary, sovereign and independent State before the negotiations had even begun.

216. In these circumstances, how can we fail to express our concern when numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly continue to be unilaterally ignored? How can we fail to express our profound concern at the pretexts and subterfuges that are placed as obstacles to the resumption of dialogue? It is our firm hope that, given this situation, the General Assembly will demand that its voice finally be heeded.

217. I can assure the Assembly that my Government will continue to support the Government of Cyprus and to support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General for a just and lasting solution of the problem within the framework of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

218. Lord CARRINGTON (United Kingdom): This is the first time that I have had the honour of addressing the United Nations. But no one who has lived through the last 34 years can fail to have been conscious of the United Nations or to be aware of what it has achieved and of what it has yet to achieve.

219. There were 51 founder Members of the United Nations. Now there are 152 Member States. Last week, we welcomed Saint Lucia, formerly a British Territory, as the one hundred and fifty-second Member. I congratulate the Government and people of Saint Lucia on their achievement of full independence. This near-tripling of the membership is largely due to the dissolution of the great colonial empires. The United Kingdom worked with, and not against, that trend. This month, we in my country have mourned the death of Lord Mountbatten, who was a pioneer of decolonization. Since last year's General Assembly, besides Saint Lucia, the Republic of Kiribati has achieved full nationhood. We look forward to Saint Vincent joining them on 27 October. It remains our policy to respect the wishes of the peoples of our few remaining dependent Territories. It is for them to determine their own future in accordance with the principles of the United Nations

Charter. We shall therefore continue to give every support and encouragement to any of them who seek independence. When there are difficulties, we will do our best to overcome them. In particular, we want to bring Belize to secure independence as soon as possible.

220. The dismantling of the British Empire has led us either to join or create two new institutions, the European Community, whose President spoke earlier on this afternoon—and whose remarks I warmly endorse—and the Commonwealth, an institution sometimes referred to as a talking shop. If you are looking for an example of how valuable a talking shop can be, you need go no further than the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka two months ago. Talk there led first to greater understanding between the countries concerned, and then to action to try to solve the problems of Rhodesia.

221. During the last two weeks, the British Government has engaged in intensive negotiations on Rhodesia, and these negotiations are continuing. But I thought it right to come to New York to inform the General Assembly of the stage that we have now reached.

222. I do not intend to go back over the history of the Rhodesian dispute, now some 14 years old, apportioning blame to this party or absolving that. I would like to emphasize at the outset one point: throughout the vicissitudes of the Rhodesian problem, Britain has never succumbed to the temptation to abandon its responsibilities towards that unhappy country, leaving majority and minority alike to endless war. The whole approach of the present British Government is indeed based on a determination to fulfil our responsibilities towards the people of Rhodesia.

223. When my government came to power in May this year, we were confronted with a new situation, though there were also some depressingly familiar features. The reality of change for the better had been symbolized in the elections which had taken place in April of this year on the basis of the principle of "one man, one vote." Those elections have had many critics, but the plain fact is that they have led to the emergence of a parliament and an administration, most of whose members belong to the majority community and which is led by a member of that community. This represented a substantial step forward towards the abandonment by the white community of its privileged position, and my Government was determined to build on that, so as to make a further effort to bring Rhodesia to legal independence in a context of wide international recognition and acceptance.

224. But the Patriotic Front did not participate in the April elections, and the war continued. The constitution under which those elections took place was marred by certain deficiencies. But to decry and dismiss the elections would have been to discourage further change. There was a need for urgent and imaginative action to exploit the opportunity which had been created to achieve a settlement that would gain wide international acceptance and, we hoped, bring an end to the war. Past efforts to solve the Rhodesian dispute showed, however, that it was essential to proceed step by step to build a solid foundation for negotiations.

225. We therefore immediately engaged in an exten-

sive series of consultations with all the parties concerned in the conflict in order to identify the elements for a solution. We spoke to the leaders of the Commonwealth, of the front-line States, of the Patriotic Front, and of the Salisbury parties. We also remained in close touch with our other friends and allies and took account of their views. These consultations were invaluable, and formed a sound basis for our present approach to a settlement.

226. From these consultations two main conclusions flowed. The first was a general recognition of the extent of the changes which had taken place in Rhodesia, despite the short-comings of the Salisbury constitution. The second was the unanimous conviction that there should now be a further attempt to involve all the parties to the conflict in an attempt to find a solution, and that any solution should emanate from Britain as the responsible Power.

227. The next stage was the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at Lusaka in August, and it was here that the foundation of our present approach to a solution was laid. In Lusaka our proposals for a settlement were discussed and endorsed by a very important cross-section of the world community, including three of the front-line States. I wish to pay a tribute to the Heads of Government present at Lusaka for the helpful and constructive attitude which they all displayed during our discussions on Rhodesia, and especially to the wise chairmanship of President Kaunda of Zambia, which made a huge contribution to the successful outcome. The essence of the Lusaka agreement on Rhodesia [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] was the acceptance by the Commonwealth of the British Government's constitutional responsibility to grant legal independence to Rhodesia on the basis of genuine majority rule.

228. In our negotiations with the Salisbury parties and the Patriotic Front, we have continued to be guided by the principles defined at Lusaka. Our first task has been to seek agreement on an independence constitution comparable with the constitutions on which we granted independence to other former British dependent territories. It would be idle to pretend that in the special historical circumstances of Rhodesia, such a task is proving easy. Compromise on both sides is essential. We have already secured from the Salisbury parties agreement in principle to British proposals on the constitution. This was a bold decision by Bishop Muzorewa's delegation.

229. Significant progress on certain points has also been made in discussions with the leaders of the Patriotic Front. All parties must sustain their efforts to continue the momentum of the Conference if the gains so far made are not to be eroded. A heavy responsibility will lie on any who fail to respond to this opportunity to achieve for the people of Rhodesia a fair settlement which will bring international acceptance and an end to the war. Much difficult negotiation undoubtedly lies ahead before the foundations of an independent and democratic society, in which all the people of Rhodesia will be able to live in security and at peace with each other and with their neighbours, are laid. I do not underestimate the difficulties which remain to be overcome, but I dare to hope that the moment may not be too far away when the British Government and Parliament will be able to grant legal independence to Rhodesia on the

basis of genuine majority rule. Many attempts to solve the Rhodesia problem have failed in the past. I hope that it may be our privilege before too long to welcome an independent Zimbabwe to this Assembly as a full member of the United Nations.

230. Namibia is another Territory where we must try to find an internationally acceptable solution through free and fair elections and not through bloodshed. The five Western countries, in close consultation with the Secretary-General, are pressing on with the search for a solution which would open the way to the arrival of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. Discussions are now concentrated on the detailed arrangements, which will need to be carefully worked out with the parties concerned, for a demilitarized zone. The idea of such a zone was proposed by the late President Neto of Angola, whose death we all deeply mourn. Our aim is to achieve early and complete agreement so that a date can be fixed for a ceasefire and the beginning of the transition to independence. Given goodwill and flexibility on the part of all concerned, this goal should not be beyond our reach.

231. Namibia and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia are the immediate issues in southern Africa. But in the longer term it is on South Africa that the stability of this troubled region will depend. We share the international community's distaste of *apartheid*. It is neither just nor workable. But will threats and isolation bring about the changes we all wish to see? We in the British Government doubt it. We believe that the better course is to accept that the Republic's plural society gives rise to unprecedented problems and to offer our help to the leaders of all races to work together to find just solutions. In this way we can all contribute towards peaceful change in South Africa. Otherwise the future promises only violence and misery for all the people of South Africa, whatever their race.

232. In the Middle East, the British Government greatly welcomes what has so far been achieved through the process begun at Camp David. It is in the interests of all parties to explore fully the opening which was created there. We hope that these continuing negotiations will lead to transitional arrangements which will lighten the burden of occupation in the West Bank and Gaza and help to create a climate of confidence and co-operation in practical matters. But the ultimate goal must remain a comprehensive settlement, based on the effective application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts. This involves the acceptance by all parties of Israel's right to live in peace with its neighbours within secure and recognized boundaries. And, equally, it requires the withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied in 1967.

233. There is one area in which a broad international consensus has recognized that resolution 242 (1967) is incomplete—that is, in the handling of Palestinian rights. The resolution takes no account of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinians, which go well beyond their status as refugees. Nor does it take any account of the Palestinians' belief that they are a separate people with a right to their homeland. This, I believe, is an area in which resolution 242 (1967) may be supplemented—not, I emphasize, replaced, amended or distorted, but supplemented—to meet this point.

234. My Government believes that a settlement which

does not command the broad assent of the Palestinian people cannot last. But if the Palestinians are to exercise the right to determine their own future as a people, this must be in the context of a negotiated peace settlement which guarantees Israel's right to a peaceful and permanent existence within secure borders. Only if both parties recognize the legitimate rights of each other will it be possible to achieve the durable peace which all the peoples of the Middle East so desperately need.

235. In the meantime, it is our earnest hope that all parties will avoid doing or saying anything to make it harder to establish the minimum trust without which successful negotiations would be impossible. We call on the Israel Government to cease its policy of settlement in occupied territories. That Government's present policy prejudices the chance of progress in the autonomy talks and makes the achievement of a comprehensive settlement much more difficult. We deplore its recent decision to allow Israeli citizens to buy land in the occupied territories. And moreover, while we understand the Israel Government's preoccupation with security, we urge it to refrain from its present policies in south Lebanon. These undermine the authority of the Lebanese Government and frustrate the efforts of UNIFIL to fulfil its mandate. In that context, I pay a tribute to the dedication and courage with which the officers and men of UNIFIL are carrying out their dangerous and difficult task.

236. Another area of dangerous tensions is Indo-China, where suffering due to natural causes has been made worse by the régimes which took power in 1975. I refer first to the Vietnamese Government, which, as I said on 20 July at the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, in Geneva, has driven so many people to flee its shores that the problem has become one of international concern. I was in Hong Kong in May. I saw there the misery of the people who had risked perilous journeys in unseaworthy craft to escape the tyranny in their own country. It is not an experience that I shall ever forget. Nor can I forget the tens of thousands of those unhappy people who were simply lost at sea. The Secretary-General chaired, with his customary skill, the Geneva Meeting, which my Prime Minister had suggested should be held. As a result, a start has been made to resettle the refugees who did not perish. Most of them came either to Hong Kong or to the ASEAN countries. My Government fully understands the problems which the refugee influx posed for those countries. But the problem is likely to remain until the Vietnamese Government stops bearing down harshly on elements of its population. Meanwhile, I hope that that Government will abide by the undertakings it gave in Geneva about future action.

237. Yet the most serious problems in Indo-China are perhaps to be found in Cambodia. The years of suffering to which that unhappy country was subjected by the Pol Pot Government are well known. That régime's human rights record is among the worst of any country in the world. The then British Government was among the first to draw attention to it. Then the country was brutally invaded by the armed forces of one of its neighbours. Now it is prey to starvation while fighting continues with the occupying forces. Unless those on the spot allow large-scale relief operations to start soon, the people of Cambodia will face yet another catastrophe. Food must get to these people soon, and those who

want to help should not be asked to pay a political price for being allowed to do so. I shall only say now that in the British Government's view the Cambodian people has the same right as any other to live in peace under a Government freely chosen by itself. Without a settlement in Cambodia, stability and peace in South-East Asia will not be possible.

238. In Europe itself possible sources of tension remain. The maintenance of stable East-West relations remains a foremost priority for us and for our allies, most notably the United States. We welcome the signature by the United States and the Soviet Union earlier this year of a second Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and hope that it will soon be ratified. That agreement is an example of the kind of detailed and verifiable arms control arrangement that is needed; mere talk of a desire for peace and co-operation is not enough.

239. Meanwhile, the scale of the military build-up of the countries signatories of the Warsaw Treaty is a matter of serious and legitimate concern to all other European countries. So far the Warsaw Pact has shown little willingness to allay these concerns in any practical way. So we on the Western side have no alternative but to respond. Otherwise, the balance on which détente depends will be lost. Nor can we accept that détente should be a principle applied in Europe but ignored in the rest of the world. Détente, if it is to work anywhere, must work everywhere. The British Government is ready to work for greater confidence, stability and real co-operation. But this must be a two-way process, with give and take coming from both sides. It is certainly in that spirit that we shall approach the review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Madrid next year.

240. But work to reduce the threat of war must go wider than East-West relations. Above all we must avoid the spread of nuclear weapons, while at the same time permitting access to the benefits of peaceful nuclear energy. The 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons now has 111 parties. I much regret that it has not won universal adherence. I hope that further progress can be made before the Review Conference next August. If universal membership of the Treaty could be achieved, it would halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

241. As members know, a comprehensive test-ban treaty is being negotiated between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. We still have difficult problems to overcome. But when the treaty is completed, it will, I hope, meet the objections of those who argue that the non-proliferation Treaty discriminates in favour of the nuclear-weapon States. The latter have also, of course, given the non-nuclear-weapon States various assurances that nuclear weapons will not be used against them.

242. Progress is important, too, in the field of conventional arms control. For this reason my Government supports the work of the Committee on Disarmament. We shall continue to take the position that measures to curb the nuclear arms race must go hand in hand with measures to reduce conventional weapons.

243. This year this Assembly's deliberations take place against the sombre background of tension in sev-

eral different parts of the world. The economic background is grim too. The large and sudden increases in the price of oil this year have serious and damaging implications for the world economy. They will lead certainly to higher inflation and to balance-of-payments difficulties for very many countries. The oil-importing developing countries will be the hardest hit. But we are all affected.

244. The world's reserves of oil are not limitless. We all need to do what we can to use them properly and to reduce our consumption of oil. The British Government stands by the recent decisions of the International Energy Agency, the European Community and the Tokyo Economic Summit. These should have an important impact on the oil market by reducing demand for oil and by encouraging the development of other sources of energy, new and renewable.

245. But we cannot solve our problems by acting in isolation. In energy, almost more than anywhere else, the world is one world. There needs to be joint consideration of world energy problems and closer contacts between those who produce oil and those who import it, whether developed or developing countries. A number of proposals to this end have recently been made. We are certainly ready to consider all these proposals sympathetically in the hope that we can agree on the way ahead.

246. Finally, I should like to say something very shortly about the North-South dialogue. At a time when both developed and developing countries are struggling to stave off the effects of recession, it is hardly surprising that progress should be slow. I have spoken of the dangers of rhetoric. In this field of international economic relations, the dangers of rhetoric are perhaps at their greatest. We must all guard against the creation of new bodies whose primary function is the exchange of rhetoric. The first step has to be a substantial improvement in the shape and state of the world economy. It is increased production, not increased words, which creates resources. And without increased production how can there be a transfer of resources from rich to poor, whether at home or overseas, through increased aid, trade and investment? So our first priority must be to bring about the right framework in which more resources can be produced.

247. That is why my Government has taken steps to cut public expenditure right across the board. That is inevitable, if we are to put our economy in order and if we are to be able to help the less developed countries to achieve prosperity. We are no less concerned than others about the large proportion of the world's population that is unacceptably poor. Nor are we turning our backs on the North-South dialogue, despite its frustrations. On the contrary, we recognize that in an interdependent world Britain has a vital interest—both economic and moral—in bringing prosperity to the poorer nations. That is why we have made it abundantly plain that we are in favour of maintaining the open trading system and of increasing overseas investment. Indeed, to encourage the latter, my Government has introduced considerable relaxations in exchange control. Provided the climate is right, these relaxations should be of direct benefit to the developing countries. Increased trade and increased investment are contributions we can make now. In due course increased growth should make it possible to provide more aid. But there

are no easy short-cuts. The road back to greater prosperity—for North and South—is unlikely to be either easy or short. It will be even harder if each country or grouping tries to make it separately.

248. We are one world, bound to support each other if we are not to undergo greater hardships on our own. This is true of our search for prosperity and it is true of our search for peace and security. In both fields the United Nations provides an essential forum for discussion which can lead to useful action. The tasks of the 1980s are formidable and they face us all. We can overcome them, but only if we allow our common interests to bring us together and work out our solutions as one community.

249. Mr. GRÖNDAL (Iceland): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join my colleagues in congratulating you on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am certain that your wisdom and experience will enable you to give the Assembly the leadership that it needs.

250. I should also like to express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations for their tireless efforts in the slow and often frustrating fight for peace and better conditions for humanity.

251. The Secretary-General opens his annual report by stating: "The past year has been full of uncertainty, tension and conflict" [see A/34/1, sect. I]. No doubt the same could have been said—or was said—about every year in the third of a century during which the United Nations has existed. It is true that there have been rapid changes and that the international scene is becoming ever more complex.

252. But there are bright spots in the landscape. For 30 years there has been peace in Europe—the Old World which has been the battleground of empires for so long. This has, however, been an armed and an expensive peace. Regional alliances, as provided for in the Charter, have formed around the two super-Powers and have established the most sophisticated systems of armaments at immense cost to their two peoples. But, however costly they are, we can be certain that conflict involving atomic weapons would have cost these nations infinitely more in lives and property.

253. Precarious as the military balance may be, in the opinion of the experts, the most important thing is that in Europe and North America the leading items on the political agenda are détente and disarmament. At the same time other continents are ravaged by civil strife and warfare, which cause great misery and damage to large populations. This difference is most striking, and it is to be hoped that Europe will continue to stabilize its peace and that other continents can follow in its footsteps; but, alas, problems are different and they call for different solutions.

254. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe represents one of the milestones of post-war history, as it strives to formalize détente. The Helsinki agreement has had its ups and downs while the participating nations and others have digested its contents. The results seem to be that they want to continue and maintain the spirit of the agreement.

255. The next milestone in the development of détente will be the second Review session of the Conference, to be held in Madrid late next year. Active preparations have been going on for many months already within conferences of groups of States and bilateral discussions. It seems that everyone is anxious to make the Madrid meeting a success to enhance the future development of détente. Let us hope that this great effort will mean a real step forward, and that the optimists will be proved right and the sceptics wrong.

256. The second SALT Treaty is, of course, the latest and most important step in that process. It has still to be ratified and is being critically examined these days. I hope that the results of these deliberations will be positive, not only because of the contents of the second SALT Treaty itself but even more because of the continued process of détente that it promises, as exemplified by a comprehensive test-ban treaty, conventional disarmament in Europe and many other possible agreements.

257. As President John F. Kennedy of the United States once said, we must change the arms race into a peace race. Even the disarmed and the smallest nations are involved in this matter, especially if they are geographically situated in strategic areas. My people in Iceland live on an island in the middle of the North Atlantic, and we cannot but take notice of the immense armament race that goes on throughout the oceans of the world—two thirds of the surface of the globe.

258. There has been little talk of naval disarmament of late, only some speculation about possible confidence-building measures on the oceans. I shall not express impatience in this matter, but I should like to call the attention of my colleagues from lands around the world to the fact that naval power can easily traverse the globe and reach every coastline, however distant from the hubs of power. Naval might used to be the backbone of empires—and it still can be.

Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) Vice-President, took the Chair.

259. Speaking of the sea, allow me to turn to a more pleasant aspect. I refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which this summer finished its eighth session. This has become the longest and most comprehensive diplomatic Conference ever held under the auspices of the United Nations and, counting the previous two Conferences on the subject, is perhaps the greatest effort ever made to bring the rule of law to human affairs, where anarchy has too long been dominant.

260. About six years of long, biannual meetings have, no doubt, tried the patience and endurance of many representatives attending the Conference. But the end is in sight and we must not give up on the final stretch or bring up new problems and complications that might ruin the positive results of years of work.

261. During its last session this summer, the Conference approved a programme of work¹³ providing for the adoption of a convention on the law of the sea next year. Although some issues have yet to be resolved, the representatives attending the conference unanimously

¹³ See document A/CONF.62/88.

agreed that it is possible to adopt a convention before the end of August 1980.

262. Many questions that seemed insoluble in the early stages of the long conference have found solutions through the patient and often brilliant work of the participants in the spirit of compromise.

263. Vital issues have been and are at stake. Perhaps the greatest is the very relationship of man to the sea: whether the immense oceans are to be saved and their resources harvested with prudence or whether they are to be polluted and destroyed, as most certainly would happen in the absence of a comprehensive law of the sea. The draft convention¹⁴ provides for the ideal of giving the profits of the deep ocean to the developing countries of the world, which is a most novel and admirable approach. It also provides for equitable principles of settlement where interests clash and, in return for generous economic zones, coastal States will be charged with the responsibility of protecting the resources of their waters and saving them from pollution.

264. I fully agree with the comment made by the Secretary-General in his report, that

“the outcome of this Conference could greatly influence the willingness of Governments to make full use of the machinery of the United Nations to achieve international understanding on global issues.” [See A/34/1, sect. VI.]

265. The long work of the Conference on the law of the sea has already made a great impact upon international law. With other major ideas, the 200-mile concept has been put into practice by so many nations that it must be regarded as internationally valid by custom as well as by widespread recognition. This one rule leads to many other problems that call for solutions, and all this makes it imperative that no effort be spared to follow the schedule for completion of the convention by next year. Let us hope that by the time the next session of the General Assembly meets in this hall the United Nations will—to its eternal credit—have created the new law of the sea.

266. I should like to turn now to a major question that occupied us especially during last year's Assembly session, namely human rights. While we celebrated in this very hall the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the milestones of international co-operation, we witnessed at the same time continued violence in many countries, the continued use of force, and continued torture and cruelty.

267. The Nordic countries have recently repeated their pledge to continue their active international involvement in promoting and safeguarding human rights. In this context they have re-emphasized the relationship between civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other.

268. The Nordic countries underscored, in the common statement made by their Foreign Ministers recently in Reykjavik, the importance of making progress at this session of the General Assembly in the work of

improving the international machinery for the implementation of human rights. They stressed in particular the development of regional co-operative machinery to protect and promote human rights, and asked for renewed consideration of the proposal for the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights under the Secretary-General. The Nordic countries pledge to continue their efforts aimed at the elimination of torture, capital punishment, racism and racial discrimination, as well as religious intolerance, throughout the world.

269. Once again we join all those who have condemned in this forum South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, and all that goes with that ominous system of suppression and injustice. Eventually, international pressure must bring down this system and see it replaced by a just and equal system for all races in that country.

270. South Africa continues to thwart the implementation of the United Nations plan for free and fair elections in Namibia. Further delay is unacceptable in the negotiations for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence.

271. Recent events in the Zimbabwe conflict have brought new hope—if the results of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka and the talks now going on in London, as so brilliantly described by Lord Carrington, prove to be a basis for genuine majority government in the country. All political groupings must be afforded equal opportunities in elections for a new parliament if such a solution is to be acceptable.

272. The situation in the Middle East continues to be highly explosive and no effort must be spared to keep the peace with a view to securing the right for all States in the area to live in peace and security within recognized boundaries. The Palestinians must be granted their legitimate national rights.

273. I shall not continue to enumerate the trouble-spots of the world. Suffice it to say that the use of force is everywhere to be condemned and is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

274. The economic state of the world is certainly one of disorder. In almost every area economic problems have multiplied. Inequality of wealth continues; poverty and undernourishment are rampant. Producers of certain necessities form cartels to raise their prices and reap immense profits. Some countries suffer from intolerable unemployment or inflation. Trade is stagnant and protectionism seems to be growing.

275. These are all indicators of an economic situation that seems difficult to overcome and likely to cause major difficulties for some time to come. There is, of course, no panacea, but several things come to mind: first, we must break the stalemate over the new international economic order; secondly, we must deal vigorously with the problems of energy; and thirdly, we must especially deal with the problems of oil-importing developing nations.

276. Today we have technical knowledge and communications unsurpassed in human history and beyond

¹⁴ See document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev. 1.

the wildest dreams of a generation ago. Yet we seem to make little or no progress in the field of social science, which should provide adequate guidance for the equitable distribution of the world's goods. This disparity is not new, yet it becomes more terrifying with every passing year.

277. We have within our grasp the scientific knowledge that we need to solve most problems of managing and dividing the resources of the earth and the sea. But we seem to lack the knowledge—or is it the love and the compassion?—that is needed to outlaw wars, hunger and terror.

278. May the work of the United Nations continue to move us in the right direction, and save us from self-imposed catastrophes.

279. Mr. FOLLE MARTÍNEZ (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Salim on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly, in which office, we are sure, he will act with the same skill as in the high offices he has held in his own country in the past.

280. We are pleased also to extend our congratulations and thanks for a job well done to the outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano.

281. We welcome the admission of Saint Lucia to the United Nations family and wish it well as a new Member of the Organization.

282. The major historical crises that mark stages of transition and announce world-wide change in the progress of humanity and wide ranging transformations in every sphere do not come about in a day. It is true that change and exchange of every kind are following more closely upon each other's heels today. But the processes involved none the less, of necessity, cover a long period. Hence, in coming together again in this world body, we are basically facing the same major difficulties as last year. Therefore, it is hard not to repeat the same or similar ideas. This does not bother us, because our job is not to be original but rather to be firm and constant in identifying and showing the consistency of the thinking and action of Uruguay in international affairs.

283. My country feels that the tremendous acceleration in every kind of exchange and the greater interdependency of peoples which gives the concept of mankind its real, concrete meaning and unity, with most important legal and political consequences, is such that today it is practically impossible for any people to live outside the international community, much less to develop and make progress, in isolation from the difficulties and problems of others.

284. "Splendid isolation" is no longer a shield or even a possibility. Interdependence has ceased to be a choice and, consequently, solidarity has become an imperative, as we said last year.¹⁵ It is an idea which we wish to reaffirm and one which we shall not tire of repeating. We are deeply convinced that it is from this undeniable fact, seen as part of contemporary history, that is derived the fundamental role of peoples and nations

which, while having no large economic or technical resources, no material potential for imposing decisions by force, are none the less rich in cultural and legal values.

285. Isolation is no longer a shield, we said. It seems clear, with no need for further demonstration, that not even the great Powers can allow themselves that luxury. To a great extent the future and peace of all peoples depend on their rivalry and antagonism or on their agreement and co-operation. But not even they have the option of a selfish turning inward, in indifference to the fate of the world. There will be no peace and no recovery for the international community as a whole unless the pressing problems of all its members, even the lesser among them, are resolved; unless there is a fair share for all in the riches of the world.

286. In today's world, which has already become or may become one single immense economic, technical, cultural circuit because of a system of communications which is more and more closely knit, no one—and the small countries least of all—can feel safe from political, social, economic or military hurricanes if they take the easy option of isolation. Only through constantly strengthening and consolidating the international legal order, following the guidelines traced by the great changes taking place throughout the world—changes that have promoted population growth and the amazing technological revolution of our time—can the problems, obstacles and challenges we are facing be met. Our era has been marked by particularly striking developments and has made an axiom of Terence's aphorism: "I am a man, I count nothing human alien from me." Nothing human can now be alien to us, whether we like it or not. Solidarity is no longer a choice but an imperative. It involves not only peace, but the survival of the human race for which, in the atomic era, peace is a necessary prerequisite.

287. In proclaiming these principles, my country is merely expressing once again its historical line of thought, the logical development of which leads us to maintain that the radical changes in the modern world determine a need for legal developments and the preparation of humanistic international law, based on solidarity.

288. The world crisis which we are witnessing calls for a supreme effort of the imagination and will in order to find world-wide solutions.

289. At the root of all contemporary problems lie the haphazard development of technology, the chaotic expansion of industry and the economy, the unequal and unfair distribution of the benefits of civilization among peoples, oversized urban agglomerations with their attendant tensions, and problems deriving from the lack of adjustment of a regulatory system that is still inadequate to meet the situation to a material reality that is slipping out of our grasp.

290. Among the critical aspects, one problem such as energy, because of its magnitude and its special characteristics, gives the clearest illustration of these ideas, since on the one hand it is highly representative of the exhaustion of natural resources while, on the other, it is typically an economic problem with deep-rooted social and political connotations.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-Third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 15th meeting, para. 49.

291. We firmly believe that the key to overcoming the current crisis lies in successfully regulating our conduct through laws appropriate to the new requirements of the contemporary world, an adjustment that necessarily implies reconciliation between man and nature. That move can only be achieved through untiring efforts to establish a new international economic order, through dialogue and mutual respect, and the equitable participation of all peoples in the production and use of the earth's resources.

292. As part of the world crisis we have mentioned, today habits of violence, hatred and cruelty are gradually gaining ground, becoming part of the political customs of all societies, both of those with a long tradition of institutional development and political maturity, and of those that recently emerged from the shadows of colonialism. This violence, this blind inhuman terrorism that usually prefers innocent victims, bears no relation to legitimate rebellion, which to some extent has promoted the institutional progress of peoples.

293. Terrorism has emerged and prospered also in societies governed by democratic institutions, where there is respect for individual liberties, civil rights and civic guarantees. These societies are not without their defects, errors and limitations, but at the same time they do offer means and machinery for improvement. Meanwhile, in those societies where systematic terror has been used, where every trace of freedom and free will has been banished, where the totalitarian State has abolished every advance so hardly won over centuries of humanism, paradoxically and symptomatically this problem does not arise.

294. In this tragedy, human rights are of necessity affected. It is very hard to defend institutions, the life and peace of citizens without violent situations arising which entail an incidental loss of law and abuses imputable to the more than natural failings of men and institutions.

295. I am referring in general to our Western societies because it would be very easy to show that similar situations have arisen in all of them lasting varying lengths of time and proving serious to a greater or lesser degree. And I am referring more particularly to my own country, wickedly caught by subversive acts of aggression, while a most legal régime is in full force.

296. My country cannot accept, because it would run counter to justice and law, that the defence of human rights should be systematically invoked against Governments of countries which have had to wage a hard and dearly-won battle against subversion and anarchy, while the trampling of those same rights or complete lack of them, as is the norm in other countries, is passed over in silence. These are calculated and censurable instances of discrimination which, in the final analysis, amount to active interference.

297. At this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, as at previous ones, Uruguay reaffirms its respect for law, including human rights. My country wants to see these more genuinely enforced throughout the world until they are a fact of life, something which is an impossible dream for millions of people who are still held down by totalitarianism today.

298. For this sentiment to be more than a mere

expression of pious wishes, the international community will have to set up the proper legal machinery and impose concomitant attitudes in world public affairs so as to avoid the criminal practices which cast a shadow on the political struggle of our time, so that terrorism in all its pseudo-political forms can be fought. These are often confused with ordinary delinquency.

299. Uruguay has been part of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism set up by the Assembly to find solutions by arbitration, and we are disappointed at that Committee's failure. My country will support all collective measures put forward to combat this modern scourge, since we trust that these will cover every aspect and modality, and will take into account its real criminal etiology and its international character. Similarly, I reiterate support for General Assembly resolution 31/103 and say yet again that we are ready to sign a convention against the taking of hostages in so far as this meets the basic principles underlying our international calling.

300. We would like to see appropriate measures adopted to combat terrorism. We have submitted specific draft resolutions in this regard although we are aware of the difficulties of arriving at objective legal solutions. None the less it is to our satisfaction that two motions tabled by Uruguay [see A/34/37, chap. III, para. 111-112] have been adopted. One deals with the need for gathering sufficient statistical information about terrorist attacks at the world level, giving both the number and kind of victims and the material damage caused. The other is about the strengthening of measures to prevent access to various United Nations offices by terrorist elements. It is really regrettable that criminals should have the opportunity of hampering the process of drawing up international rules expressly designed to curb their crimes, with the tolerance of the very institution that seeks to condemn them and for which, in some instances, they serve as a source of information and advice.

301. Another topic of particular interest to my country is disarmament, which is not only important in itself as a practical outcome of the fundamental purpose to maintain peace, but also because undeniably it has environmental and economic connotations. Paradoxically, of late, particularly in the years of the Disarmament Decade, the arms race has become more intense than ever before. Without stopping to count the cost of unconventional weapons, the mind-boggling total of the arms trade alone is sufficient to explain the growing lack of transfer of resources to the developing countries—a matter which we shall take up later.

302. My country has neither the size, the pretensions or the resources of a great Power, but nevertheless feels rightfully concerned at this frenetic arms race. Not only because of the recurrence of local wars or of the threat to world peace involved in the arms race, but because of the anomalous fact that, while we are witnessing the growth of serious social problems in various parts of the world, and we see with regret that funds essential to protect the environment or to promote the harmonious development of peoples are not forthcoming, astronomical sums, a tiny part of which would be enough to resolve many of these problems, are wasted on stockpiling huge arsenals, the use of which would mean mass suicide for mankind.

303. It is very saddening to see the great divide be-

tween reality and theory, between what is said and what is done. Disarmament is something which people have come apprehensively to regard as merely rhetorical. It is a game, a rarified dialectical diversion, and that is very serious.

304. We should like to reaffirm here our desire, and our conviction of the need to approach this problem realistically and with serious intent, and that is what we should like to see done. Partial compromises can be tried, and there can be categorical denunciation of any form of biological warfare which destroys or poisons ecological systems or alters the climate.

305. We are confident that those who have not already done so will soon accede to or ratify the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). If the world cannot be rid of the atomic nightmare at a single stroke, at least regional agreements of this kind can help to achieve the same results through partial efforts and modest measures.

306. With regard to the deterioration of the environment, and the need for conservation to ensure survival of life on this planet—something I have already mentioned in a general way—my country unreservedly endorses the report of the Governing Council of UNEP which will be examined in detail in the Second Committee. Particularly important are the resolutions on land policy of which the Uruguayan delegation was a sponsor in Nairobi at the seventh session of the Governing Council of UNEP—the resolution on tropical forest conservation and others directly relating to food production sources [see A/34/25, annex I]. My country, in any international gathering in which it has participated, has stressed the very highest priority and importance of a land policy which would ensure the conservation of existing land and the recovery, as far as possible, of land damaged by erosion due to bad farming methods and deforestation. The mere setting up of a World Food Council and a fund for the programme of action to eliminate hunger and malnutrition will have no substantial practical effect if the source of agricultural production deteriorates, as FAO has eloquently demonstrated.

307. This year was proclaimed the International Year of the Child. Children are the most pure and most vulnerable part of humanity, more deserving of attention and concern because they are the future, the continuing link, our hope for the future. The physical and spiritual health of our children is the guarantee of salvation for mankind in the years to come. The world of today offers us little comfort if we look realistically at the situation of children. Of the great masses of people in the so-called developing world who live and eat badly, it is the children who will pay the highest price for the problems, the adults of tomorrow, who will bear the consequences of the shortages of today. It is all very well to proclaim this the International Year of the Child as a means of drawing attention to children's problems and the need to resolve them, but we would be sadly mistaken if we were to believe that we should thus have dealt with the matter and exhausted all possibility of action. The solutions found for the major problems of the contemporary world will determine the fate of children today and of the children of tomorrow. The building of a more just and equitable world economy, the legal regulation of a world of self-seeking individualism and violence, halting the race to destroy the

environment—these are the things which will decide the fate of the children, to whom we have dedicated this year in a gesture which we should like to see as something more than the empty symbol of academic considerations. Children are not a different species whose problems have to be treated as a separate issue. By resolving the major problems of the day we will prepare a better world for them. In this spirit, Uruguay has acceded to the declaration of the International Year of the Child and is carrying out a broad-based campaign about it at the national level.

308. Once again my delegation wishes to declare here its total rejection of *apartheid* as well as all forms of racism and racial discrimination, which we hold to be incompatible with the fundamental principles of our political and moral thinking. This position is not a new one, and it is not a stand we have taken suddenly. My country has forcefully maintained this view since the inception of the United Nations and the beginning of the process of decolonization.

309. Faithful to its convictions, Uruguay is party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A(XX), annex] and was the first country to accept the authority thereby created to receive individual communications and complaints. Despite the fact that there is no problem of discrimination in our country, the Government recently submitted to the Legislative Commission studying the new penal code, soon to be approved, designed to prevent and punish any incitement to racism or any act of racial discrimination. Thus Uruguay, as a State party to the Convention, is taking steps to carry out the aforementioned international agreement.

310. Besides the broad general matters that have a bearing on international policy, there are several practical problems that are of great significance in the sphere of principles or a serious threat to peace.

311. One of the most long-lasting and thorny problems is that of the Middle East, or the question of Palestine. The passage of time, instead of bringing calm and solutions, has seen the problem become more acute since no solution has been found to the plight of the Palestinian people who are guests of other Arab nations or refugees supported by international charity.

312. Uruguay has always maintained that any conflict must be resolved by means of dialogue and negotiation in the light of the principles of justice and healthy international coexistence. It considers that Israel is already an irreversible fact and that it has a right to exist and to the recognition of just and secure boundaries. But, consistent with the principles that have always underpinned its legal thinking and political philosophy, it also feels that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination, to a national territory and to statehood. Therefore it views with satisfaction the steps taken along these lines and warmly supports the efforts being made in the international arena to bring the parties closer to an understanding that would put an end to the deadlock so fraught with danger for the peace of the world. While my country welcomes as a positive step forward the agreements that have been reached, it must still say with deep concern that that does not mean that finally there is peace in the region, because that is inconceivable without a complete and open-hearted

agreement that will reconcile the parties on the basis of equality, mutual respect and recognition.

313. The long suffering of Lebanon, a nation dear to us for many reasons, is clear proof that peace is not possible in that thorny and difficult area of the world unless the principles of justice are applied, and those still seem far from being unanimously accepted.

314. We once again issue our country's appeal—which has been so favourably received in the past—and reaffirm the responsibility of the international community to find, within the United Nations, definitive practical solutions that will ensure the integrity of this people, which has such wonderful traditions and culture, and guarantee its right to live in peace.

315. With reference to the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial past, my country cannot fail to reaffirm its unswerving policy of support for the self-determination of peoples.

316. In the case of Namibia, my delegation feels that the people of this former colony must have the opportunity to attain independence through the exercise of self-determination—in other words, without outside pressure of any kind, in a climate of peace, with the guarantee of temporary administration by the United Nations, which would enable its citizens to decide on the political form they want and to elect their authorities.

317. The work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has now entered its final stage and is to end next year. We must prove those protracted and difficult negotiations worth while by adopting a convention that will give future generations a peaceful régime for the oceans based on equal legal protection of the legitimate interests of all States and the international community as a whole and on just and rational exploitation of the sea and its resources, on efficient and proper administration of the common heritage of mankind, and on an effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

318. Compromise formulas to resolve outstanding issues must be found in order to attain these fundamental goals.

319. The recent eighth session of the Conference took a tremendously important step forward when it included in the first revision of the informal composite negotiating text a formula on the definition of the outer limit of the continental shelf that takes into account in a balanced way the various criteria advanced during the Conference. My delegation supported that formula in a spirit of compromise, and it will continue to make every effort to ensure that the other pending issues relating to the continental shelf may be resolved appropriately.

320. However, we are concerned over certain attempts to weaken in practice the régime of consent by the coastal States for scientific research on the continental shelf. The delegation of Uruguay has declared its willingness to co-operate in negotiating formulas that would improve the text from a technical standpoint or offer better prospects for consensus. But that is not the aim of suggestions that mean breaking with the principle of consent for scientific research in areas under the

jurisdiction of the coastal State or that destroy the logic of the system already included in the composite text after difficult negotiations.

321. We naturally take a special interest in the work of the First Committee of the Conference concerning the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. In that Committee negotiations have come up against major obstacles at recent sessions when there has been a polarization of positions. However, we note with satisfaction the progress made with regard to the machinery of the Authority and the system for exploration and exploitation, and we hope that the progress that emerged at the last session on the transfer of technology and financial agreements—a matter of high priority—will be confirmed. We are also pleased by the effective steps taken in negotiations on the settlement of disputes concerning the sea-bed and on the final clauses.

322. We once again reaffirm the continuing validity of the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV). All the States of the international community—the overwhelming majority explicitly, the others implicitly—have acceded to those principles, which now form part of international customary law.

323. The principle that the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and the resources therein constitute the common heritage of mankind is a binding rule of international law. That principle, along with the complementary principles derived from that fundamental principle contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), especially the international legal régime to govern the sea-bed, form an indivisible normative entity, one of the pillars of the new law of the sea and the basis of any rule or body of law governing the exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources.

324. Any legal régime, be it provisional or definitive, that applies to the area can therefore be established only with the consent of the international community, as it alone represents mankind. No State or small group of States can claim to replace the international community, because they would thus be taking upon themselves an authority they do not have. Therefore any unilateral legislation or measure or any kind of restricted treaty that had this as its purpose would be illegal because it would violate international law and make the State or States involved internationally liable.

325. As we move towards the last stages of the negotiations, Uruguay wishes to reaffirm its intention to do all within its power to ensure a successful outcome so that we may fulfil the hopes of all the peoples and Governments of the world and open up horizons of fruitful and mutual co-operation regarding the sea that will decisively further the advance of civilization and the welfare of all mankind.

326. Almost a year ago we noted in this Assembly Uruguay's special concern about the crisis in the international economic situation during the last few years and its serious impact on the developing countries. One year has passed since then, and the hopes we had

placed in the dialogue between the developing and developed countries, scheduled to be held in various bodies this year, have been disappointed once again. What meagre tangible results did emerge were due to the efforts of the developing countries themselves to lay the foundations for collective economic autonomy.

327. Signs of recession, inflation and unemployment persist in the industrialized countries and these constitute the present economic crisis, which still shows indications of temporary shortages of certain raw materials, a growing shortage of energy resources, instability in exchange rates, serious imbalances in the balance of payments, a return to protectionism, and other phenomena, which reduce our hopes of overcoming the crisis and, in fact, aggravate it.

328. We continue to see that a considerably larger proportion of available financial, scientific and technological resources is channelled into military and hostile activities, rather than into the quest for solutions to the basic problem facing mankind to ensure at least a minimum standard of living conditions for everyone.

329. One cause of the present crisis is the refusal of many developed countries to carry out a logical process of industrial reorganization, which would make it possible to establish industries where they could enjoy comparative advantages and make efficient use of production facilities.

330. In referring to this problem I cannot fail to mention the problem of energy—and to mention it indeed, with deep concern. This is the more so since, as I said one year ago in this Assembly, Uruguay has absolutely no oil and is one of the countries in Latin America whose oil imports account for a major share of its total imports. This distressing aspect of our economy prompted my country to take a realistic approach in dealing with this issue, and that is how we have dealt with it in all the international forums in which the issue has been considered directly or indirectly.

331. We respect the inalienable right of all countries to defend their own products, particularly in the case of oil, which is a limited and non-renewable resource; but we are concerned about the oil supply. It is not difficult to see that the trade balance of those developing countries which have no oil always shows a constant and increasing deficit when the prices of their commodity exports are falling while the prices of all their imports, but mainly oil, are rising sharply, as has been happening again this year.

332. That is why we feel that efforts to solve this serious aspect of the crisis should focus on the following points, which Uruguay has proposed in the relevant regional bodies. First, some machinery should be set up to ensure minimum supplies for developing countries that have no oil, so that they can meet their development targets. Secondly, balance sheets of energy deposits and reserves should be drawn up to provide us with full information about what energy is potentially available. And lastly, new alternative sources of energy should be investigated in a joint undertaking. This would require an increase in the flow of financial resources available for energy research.

333. We hope that the forthcoming United Nations

conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy will help to find ways of enabling countries such as our own to emerge gradually from this deep crisis.

334. Finally, we have been alarmed at the attempts of the developed countries to include new concepts in the new international economic order, such as "basic needs", "graduated approach", "access to supplies", "selectivity", and so on, which we see as an attempt to neutralize the impact of the proposed structural measures and changes.

335. We cannot fail to say at this session of the General Assembly how greatly disappointed we were upon our return from Manila in the middle of this year, after the fifth session of UNCTAD. The Latin American countries had worked very hard and enthusiastically in the co-ordination meetings held in Caracas from 15 to 19 January before the session under the auspices of the Latin American Economic System, at the regional level, and later at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 held in Arusha from 6 to 16 February. Through the Arusha programme for collective self-reliance,¹⁶ in which we placed so much hope, we wanted to start a genuine process of negotiation between developed and developing countries at the fifth session of UNCTAD. It proved almost impossible to achieve this desired and urgent focus of interest on the main issues facing the international community. Suffice it to recall that we came back from Manila with no resolution on the problem of interdependence despite all the attempts at the highest level to agree on such a resolution in the last few hours of the Conference. We also recall how weak a text was drafted, and with how much difficulty, on the short- and medium-term policy, and on action on protectionism. And there was no resolution on the conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations of the GATT Tokyo round either. We were left with a feeling of frustration when we ended those negotiations by adopting rules and codes for international trade that basically met the interests of the developed countries and did not give due consideration to our own.

336. I turn now to monetary and financial problems. Having started from the premise of the need for effective participation by developing countries in the organization and administration of a new international monetary system that would allocate to us sufficient resources to overcome the problems of imbalance in the balance of payments, we were finally compelled to settle for a text which was basically addressed to the countries in the Group of 77.

337. As for the hopes placed in the work of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, which we adopted in resolution 93 (IV) at the fourth session of UNCTAD,¹⁷ we are discouraged to see that the work is progressing so slowly, not only because of the complexity of the problems and uncertainty about the sources and means of financing, but also, unquestionably and primarily, of the lack of political will. The fact that no concrete results emerged from the negotiations is due to the stubborn refusal of the developed countries

¹⁶ See document TD/236.

¹⁷ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A.

to take constructive positions on the basic objectives of the Programme. And so the negotiations to conclude stabilization agreements on commodities have made no significant progress. As for negotiations on the establishment of the Common Fund, although there has been some progress, people in our countries have been understandably alarmed by the modest contributions to the "second window", which is of particular importance in that it is intended to finance activities such as research and development, quantitative and qualitative improvement in production, sales promotion, marketing, distribution and diversification.

338. This build-up of frustration in our dialogue with the developed countries has brought about in the Group of 77, as I said at the beginning of this section of my statement, a strategy of relying first and foremost on its own members in order to achieve development and establish a new economic order.

339. This new form of co-operation among developing countries, which Uruguay has resolutely supported, does not, however, imply a move towards absolutism and in no way affects the need to introduce structural changes in the relations of interdependence between North and South. But it cannot be denied that our hopes are now set on the efforts we may make as developing countries to intensify co-operation within the third world and thus gain greater strength, while at the same time following up development in ways more suited to our needs. Hence our country followed very closely the work of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation Among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires last year, and took an active part in the elaboration of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action.¹⁸ together with the plan of action for economic co-operation among developing countries set forth at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Arusha.

340. As we pointed out last year, the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 must be strengthened so that it can serve as a forum for a large-scale consideration of international economic problems and thus give an impetus to negotiations going on in other economic bodies within the United Nations family.

341. In this connexion, my delegation fully supports the initiative taken by the Group of 77 in submitting to the third session of that Committee a proposal to be considered at this Assembly's session concerning the need to hold world-level negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [A/34/34, part III, annex I].

342. Uruguay attaches particular importance to the problems of science and technology, but development can be achieved on a solid basis only if endogenous capabilities are enhanced in this area. Therefore, we have with the greatest of interest taken part in the work of the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, at which the international community acknowledged the need to strengthen the scientific and technological capacity of the developing world.

¹⁸ Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August-12 September 1978 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. I.

343. The agreements reached at that Conference,¹⁹ although they fall short of expectations, are a positive step forward in that they allow for greater co-ordination with regard to science and technology within the United Nations system, and thereby eliminate unnecessary duplication of effort. Countries also committed themselves to establishing a funding system with new resources.

344. Before concluding, we should like to turn to the Secretary-General's report on the work of this Organization [A/34/1]. In this report, an open-minded, punctilious and objective approach is taken with regard to the many subjects with which it deals. We appreciate that the arduous task that lies before the Secretariat, and we also appreciate the effective way it has given its attention to the difficult international issues falling within the purview of the Organization. We should therefore like to convey our thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and through him to the staff of the United Nations.

345. In conclusion, I should like to express our unswerving faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations that more than ever bind the efforts of the Organization to co-operate in achieving justice in the solution of international problems through law, in finally establishing peace as a consequence of justice and the triumph of freedom, without which, as one of our great jurists said, there can be no real law, no justice and no peace. These are spiritual values which, in the final analysis, condition the material and temporal world. That is why in the same line of thought we attach special significance to the address to be delivered by His Holiness Pope John Paul II, which will be inspired by a humanistic awareness, for it has an important part to play in the quest for just and peaceful solutions to the problems facing the world.

346. We are therefore prepared to do our part as a Member of the United Nations to see that it is an effective instrument in the attainment of these lofty aims.

347. Mr. OLEWALE (Papua New Guinea): I should like to join previous speakers in congratulating the President, on his unanimous election to the high office he now occupies. The accomplishments 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 under his chairmanship to date, as well as his wide-ranging experience in the activities of this body, confirm without any doubt my delegation's confidence that under his leadership, guidance and direction, this thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be a success.

348. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Salim's predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for the most efficient manner in which he presided over our proceedings during the last session. My delegation extend its compliments on a duty well performed.

349. My delegation wishes to convey my country's

¹⁹ See Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20 to 31 August 1979 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21).

condolences to the people of Angola on the untimely death of their leader, the late Agostinho Neto.

350. My delegation is particularly pleased to welcome Saint Lucia to membership in this world body of nations, and we look forward to developing a close and co-operative relationship with it. Papua New Guinea and Saint Lucia are both members of the commonwealth of nations, as well as being developing island States. My country shares with Saint Lucia the feelings of being free from colonial domination, and we take this opportunity to wish it a prosperous future.

351. As on previous occasions, the delegation of Papua New Guinea will participate with interest and hope in the deliberations of the General Assembly on major international issues. We shall attempt to do what we can within our capacities to work towards constructive solutions to these issues. For the first time, we plan to bring to the attention of the assembled delegations the issue of decolonization, which is of particular concern to the people in our region, the South Pacific.

352. As is customary in the general debate, my Government would like to take this opportunity to draw the Assembly's attention to a number of issues concerning Papua New Guinea as a member of the international community. Some of these issues directly affect countries a long way from my own, while others affect countries closer at hand. But those to which I shall refer all have such a bearing on the prospects for peace, stability and development in the world that they cannot be ignored.

353. My Government is concerned about the Middle East situation. While we are heartened by signs of progress towards peace, we are also perturbed by the possibility that the momentum might be lost, at enormous cost not only to the people of the immediate region, but, ultimately, to us all.

354. My Government welcomed the initiatives taken by the Egyptian and Israeli leaders, and it commends the role played by the President of the United States in trying to promote an atmosphere conducive to negotiations leading to the signing of a Treaty of Peace between Israel and Egypt. But my Government also remains troubled by the continuing failure to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

355. My Government recognizes that Papua New Guinea cannot hope to exert much influence on the situation in the Middle East. But we would be derelict in our duty if we did not add our voice to those that are calling for greater efforts to be made in order to achieve lasting peace. Middle Eastern and other world leaders have perhaps the greatest opportunity in a generation to lay the groundwork for lasting peace. My Government urges them, in the interest of us all, to make full use of that opportunity.

356. My delegation is encouraged to note that the prospects for a negotiated settlement in Namibia have become more promising. However, we still wish to emphasize our firm belief that a successful outcome will depend on the holding of elections under United Nations supervision.

357. Papua New Guinea takes particular pleasure in

complimenting the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the United Nations Council for Namibia on the role they have played in seeking a solution to the Namibian problem. Pleased as we are with the progress made, however, we cannot be content until we see the emergence of an independent Namibia. We hope that independence will soon be achieved through the democratic process of free elections. We also hope that such a process will guarantee citizens' rights of freedom and equality in the new nation.

358. My Government remains concerned about the situation in Zimbabwe. We believe that the present constitutional arrangements hold out little prospect for a lasting solution. My Government believes that they must be changed. We think it deplorable that the long-awaited constitution based on "majority rule" turned out, when published, to be but a further device designed to entrench the white minority's interest.

359. My Government notes with appreciation that all parties are involved in renewed negotiations for a durable internal settlement guaranteeing genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe through a free democratic electoral process. Papua New Guinea welcomes the initiatives arising out of the recent Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries and the considerable advance which is being made in the current constitutional talks in London which, we hope, will lead to genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe.

360. With regard to southern Africa, my Government wishes to express its concern and abhorrence at institutionalized racial discrimination and segregation for the purposes of the suppression and exploitation of the black people in southern Africa. It is a subject on which the people of my country have very strong feelings.

361. My Government has, in previous sessions, stated in the strongest terms, that *apartheid* is a disgusting, degrading and inhuman practice. We regret to note that, despite many calls, the racist régime in southern Africa remains reluctant to abolish its *apartheid* policies. I should like to reiterate the fears my delegation expressed last year on the question of *apartheid*. Persistent failure to deal effectively with such a continuing offence to mankind is likely to have a most terrible outcome for both the white and black populations of South Africa.

362. I turn now to events in Indo-China and the question of the Indo-Chinese refugees. As a country which lies at the cross-roads between South-East Asia and the South Pacific, we are concerned about the security implications that have arisen as a result of the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea and the confrontation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. We would like to see peace and stability prevail in the region, and urge those who, in one way or another, are involved in the confrontation to settle their differences by discussion in conference rooms and not by using guns on battlefields.

363. My Government believes that the mass exodus of refugees could be arrested if the Governments concerned would stop deliberately creating unfavourable circumstances that compel citizens to leave their homelands and seek refuge elsewhere. Viet Nam and Kampuchea should co-operate closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to ensure that

those who leave their countries are not inflicted upon their neighbours. These neighbours have so far been compassionate, but they are becoming increasingly disturbed at the burdens thrust upon them.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

364. My country had the honour to be invited by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to a Meeting in Geneva in July this year which attempted to alleviate the crisis caused by Indo-Chinese refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries in South East Asia and to Australia. We were represented at the meeting by a cabinet minister.

365. My Government fully recognizes the humanitarian nature of the refugee problem, which has become a common concern of the entire world community. The Papua New Guinea Government appreciates the role played by the ASEAN countries in meeting the problem. The establishment of refugee processing centres in the ASEAN region is a positive move to alleviate the burdens that have been inflicted upon the countries in the region. May I stress, however, that the success of these centres will depend on a wider response to the need for developed nations to accept more refugees.

366. I should like to inform this gathering that my Government shares the views of those countries which called upon aid donors to Viet Nam to consider diverting their assistance to resettlement and rehabilitation programmes for Indo-Chinese refugees. In addition, Papua New Guinea would like to renew the call for a withdrawal of those external pressures which have increased regional tensions and aggravated the refugee problem. My Government also endorses the call for an end to the flow of Indo-Chinese refugees made at the Tokyo Economic Summit by the developed nations, by the twelfth meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers at Bali in June, and by the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia in Geneva in July.

367. In addition to the regional problems to which I have referred, there are some more general subjects of world-wide significance on which I should like to say something. They include the subject of human rights, which Papua New Guinea considers most important.

368. My Government takes pleasure in noting the measures taken by countries Members of this body to safeguard human rights. But there are still too many instances of governments which continue to deny the basic rights of their citizens. The denial of basic human rights on any grounds—racial, political, economic or any other arbitrary grounds—gives rise to injustices which my Government finds intolerable.

369. We cannot understand how conscientious human beings can continue to suppress the basic rights of their fellow-citizens. The suppression of basic human rights in such circumstances cannot be accidental. My Government appeals to the international community to condemn those Governments which persist in violating basic human rights. We urge Governments which violate such rights to take prompt and effective action to respect the dignity of their citizens.

370. My Government views the question of disarmament as a matter of utmost importance to international peace and security. It is our strong belief that lasting international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weapons. I believe genuine and lasting peace can be created only through the effective implementation of the security system as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. General and complete disarmament under effective international control must be the principal objective of ensuring the survival of mankind and eliminating the danger of war, particularly nuclear war, as well as ensuring that war is no longer an instrument for settling international disputes.

371. It is the desire and wish of small nations, such as mine, for the peoples of this world to have peace and security. The fulfilment of this desire will then enable us to concentrate on our efforts to develop and improve the lives of our people in the social and economic sectors of our over-all development objectives.

372. My delegation is opposed to all forms of nuclear testing—atmospheric or otherwise—because we firmly believe that the cessation of nuclear testing is a step towards disarmament and the prevention of nuclear pollution of the environment. We equally oppose the dumping of nuclear wastes for the same reasons. I refer in particular to the South Pacific region, where nuclear testing takes place every year. I wish to state once again that my Government strongly opposes nuclear testing in the region. We therefore call on those who are responsible to cease all forms of nuclear testing in the Pacific because they are endangering the lives of the inhabitants of the region.

373. As the Disarmament Decade introduced by the General Assembly [*resolution 2602 E(XXIV)*] draws to a conclusion, my Government is disappointed to note that there has not been any real progress towards the reduction of arms nor have there been any negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament. We note with some satisfaction the signing of the second SALT Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, we are still hopeful that some international agreement or arrangements, such as the comprehensive test-ban Treaty, will be negotiated and agreed to as soon as practicable.

374. The international community today recognizes the need to move quickly towards a New International Economic Order, even though there exist differing views on major proposals that have been put forward. The Government of Papua New Guinea is deeply concerned at the slow progress being made.

375. The attempts to regulate world trade in primary commodities, the reform of the external framework for the industrialization of developing countries, the reform of the international monetary system, the strengthening of economic co-operation among developing countries are all still outstanding issues. There are many reasons why they have not been resolved and I do not propose to go into them. But I should like to say that one of the main reasons has been opposition from developed countries, with the result that conferences similar to the fifth session of UNCTAD have repeatedly failed to achieve agreement on any one of the issues that I have mentioned.

376. If the international community has learned any-

thing in recent years, it has surely been that the economic welfare of each sovereign nation depends on a network of interdependence. My Government is deeply concerned at the failure of the long-awaited world recovery to come about. We believe that current economic problems cannot be blamed on the management of individual national economies. The management of each economy is becoming dependent on the external environment. Recovery and development require an enlightened attitude of mutual appreciation of each other's needs, interests and problems on the part of all countries. Without such an appreciation, the prospect that any dialogue between developed and developing countries will lead to constructive changes in the international economic order must be regarded as gloomy indeed.

377. A concrete example of international co-operation for development is the Lomé Convention on trade and aid between the European Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The Lomé Convention expires in a few months and the long negotiations on a successor agreement have been finalized. It appears that the successor agreement will, in general, be similar to the current one. However, the second Lomé agreement will contain a new mechanism which purports to assist mineral exporting countries. The Government of Papua New Guinea welcomes the conclusion of the Lomé negotiations. But we have reservations about the new mechanism in that it offers assistance only to countries which have suffered reductions in their capacity to produce certain minerals and export them to the European market. The assistance itself is restricted to project or programme aid confined to the mineral sector and designed to restore production or export capacity. There is no help for those countries, including my own, which have suffered severe economic damage through low prices for our vital mineral exports.

378. It is our strong conviction that a mineral assistance scheme, if it is to be of real value, must include the provision of concessional finance for countries that have suffered a loss of export earnings or, alternatively, a loss of Government revenue as a result of low export prices.

379. All developing countries are concerned that in a harsh world the poor countries are supposed to be grateful for what they are offered and should not expect to have a say in what the offer contains. Such a situation gives rise to extreme difficulties in the formulation of plans for development. As long as developing countries, to which category my country clearly belongs, are not given a greater say in deciding how they are helped, we shall continue to face great difficulties in providing the basic needs of our people.

380. Finally, the 1970s in the South Pacific will be remembered as the decade in which many of the island Territories gained self-determination and independence. It is in this decade that the following South Pacific Territories have gained their self-determination and independence: Fiji, the Republic of Nauru, Niue, the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, the Republic of Kiribati, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea.

381. I should like to bring to the General Assembly's attention a question of particular concern to the people of the South Pacific. I refer here to the continued French presence in the region.

382. The right of self-determination and independence is inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations. It was reaffirmed in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960. It is a right to which newly independent countries such as my own feel a strong commitment. We feel that we have a duty to our Pacific neighbours to raise the question here and pursue it elsewhere. In fact, we have already done so in the Special Committee on decolonization.

383. Four years ago, Papua New Guinea became independent. Since then, the number of independent Pacific island nations has grown to eight, four of which are Members of the United Nations. The end of the colonial era in the Pacific islands is, we hope, in sight.

384. The people of the Pacific islands have been fortunate in that the decolonization of the region has generally been brought about as peacefully as its name suggests. We have appreciated the interest taken in the process by Members of the United Nations. We have been fortunate that the Australian, United Kingdom and New Zealand Governments recognized our rights to self-determination and continue to play a constructive and helpful part in our development. But we would be wise to remember that, even in the Pacific islands, the process of decolonization was not as smooth, nor the outcome as certain, as may sometimes appear when we look back.

385. Mr. President, you, yourself as well as many of the representatives in the General Assembly will recall the difficulties and doubts you and your fellow countrymen faced before your countries became independent. You will recall, too, the encouragement and support you received from leaders of countries which had previously become independent. You know that, at independence, new relationships become possible with former rulers.

386. My Government feels that it has a duty to see that other Pacific island peoples are offered the encouragement and support once offered to us. In the case of the New Hebrides, that duty is not hard to perform. The United Kingdom and French Governments have recognized the right to self-determination of the people of the New Hebrides. We applaud this attitude and look forward hopefully to its independence in 1980. In other parts of the Pacific, however, we feel compelled to respond to calls for assistance from leaders of people whose rights to self-determination have not been secured. I refer here specifically to the people of other French dependencies—New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna Islands.

387. Elsewhere in the Pacific islands, the former colonial Powers have generally recognized the islands peoples' rights to self-determination without much outside prompting. The French Government has seen elsewhere how the denial of such rights cannot be sustained. My Government appeals to France to recognize the rights of the indigenous inhabitants. We urge other Members of the United Nations to support our appeal.

388. My Government would like to pay a sincere tribute to France for the constructive role it has played in the creation of important new trade and aid relationships between the independent Pacific island nations and Western Europe. We look forward to the day when France's relationships with its remaining Pacific island

dependencies have been transformed and it can play an equally constructive role in their development; but I must emphasize my Government's conviction that the commitment to peace, human rights and development of which I spoke earlier requires us to speak out on our neighbours' behalf.

389. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon. Several representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. I once again recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly. I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

390. Mr. KEAT CHHON (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): In reply to the threats and calumnies uttered by the USSR representative at the previous meeting, my delegation would like to recall here, for the benefit of our Assembly, certain irrefutable and undeniable facts.

391. First, everyone knows what the Soviet *gulags* and the Soviet psychiatric hospitals are like—to mention only those. They are places where the Soviet butchers day and night torture all the opponents of the Fascist police régime of the Soviet Union, which calls itself socialist. After more than 60 years of so-called socialist construction, the great Soviet intellectuals and artists continue every day to flee the Soviet Union. Furthermore, how many hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens continue to die in those *gulags* and in those psychiatric hospitals and other places of mental and physical torture? The least one can say is that respect for the human person is certainly not the strong point of the Soviet Union. My country, Democratic Kampuchea, has no lessons to learn from the Soviet Union.

392. Secondly, in Kampuchea the Soviet Government has contributed and continues to contribute growing military assistance to the Le Duân clique in Hanoi, which is continuing its barbarous aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. That Government is spending at least \$3 million a day in helping the Vietnamese aggressors to massacre our people. Up to date, 500,000 of our compatriots have already been massacred, and the Soviet Government is lending the Vietnamese aggressors its active support in the extermination of our people and our nation.

393. This criminal assistance is not limited to material help. It also includes the active and direct participation of thousands of Soviet military advisers. Quite recently, on 2 and 3 September last, 11 Soviet military advisers were killed and 23 others wounded at the Angkor Monument by the people and army of Kampuchea. Everyone knows that the vast assistance given by the Soviet Union to the Le Duân clique in Hanoi allows it to pursue its monstrous crimes against Kampuchea and to continue to sow devastation and famine in our country. Without that support and assistance from the Soviet Union, the problems of Kampuchea would already have been solved. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea would already have

been recovered, and peace and security would already have been restored in South-East Asia.

394. But the fact is that, thanks to this enormous military assistance from the Soviet Union, the Le Duân clique in Hanoi will intensify its aggression and its crimes in Kampuchea during the coming dry season.

395. Thirdly, the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea have never sought to harm anyone, least of all the Soviet Union. Even when the latter was doing everything in its power to hinder the national liberation struggle of the people of Kampuchea, we have always striven to maintain good relations with all countries, great or small, near or far, on the basis of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. But the Soviet Union has always viewed Kampuchea through the prism of its Vietnamese satellite and it has always encouraged and assisted the Vietnamese to realize its insatiable ambition for an Indo-Chinese federation under the domination and exploitation of Viet Nam.

396. It is regrettable that, as the representative of a major world Power, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union did not demonstrate more reasonableness in his words but used the rostrum of our Assembly to utter threats, lies and calumnies, particularly against small countries and peoples and against all those who in their vote on 21 September last [*4th meeting*] demonstrated their determination to respect the Charter of the United Nations.

397. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has asked to speak in order to reply to the representatives of Canada, Japan and the United Kingdom.

398. First, my delegation would like to repudiate categorically the unfounded assertions and the calumnious allegations made by the head of the Canadian delegation with regard to my country. In claiming to be a champion of human rights, the head of the Canadian delegation showed herself to be ill-informed to say the least on the question of refugees from my country when she impudently referred to the so-called "deliberate expulsion of the Vietnamese boat people" [*see above, para. 87*].

399. The head of the Canadian delegation wants to cure the evil at its root. The root of the evil is nothing but the consequences of the war of aggression of which my country was the victim over more than 30 years, in particular the imperialist war of aggression to which the Government of Canada contributed its unconditional support.

400. The head of the Canadian delegation further urged that pressure be exerted on the Vietnamese Government. I should like to say to her that Viet Nam is an independent and sovereign nation, and will not permit anyone to interfere in its internal affairs, least of all the Canadian Government.

401. The allegations made by the head of the Japanese delegation concerning the situation of Vietnamese refugees are not in accord with reality. In his statement, the head of the Japanese delegation tried to indicate to my country the way in which it should act with regard to

the question of Kampuchea. On this subject, I should like to state the following. As an independent and sovereign country, Viet Nam will not permit anyone to claim the right to dictate to us the way in which we should conduct our internal and external policies, least of all Japan, which has always allied itself with the aggressors against the national interests of its own people. My delegation reserves its right to set forth its views in due course on all the problems raised by the head of the Japanese delegation.

402. My delegation would like to repudiate categorically the shocking slanders uttered by the head of the United Kingdom delegation against my country on the question of refugees. Most of the delegations here are aware of the positive results of the Geneva Meeting on South-East Asian refugees, of the active contribution made by the Vietnamese Government to this meeting and also of its efforts to honour its commitments.

403. The deep-lying causes of the Vietnamese refugee problem are the consequences of the wars of imperialist aggression, hegemony and expansionism of the great nations, just as British colonialism and imperialism are at the root of the expulsion of millions of refugees from their countries, the plunder of their resources and the fact that they are condemned to live in camps in wretched conditions—whether in the Middle East, in southern Africa or in other parts of the world.

404. We may wonder why the United Kingdom delegation waxed so eloquent on the plight of the Vietnamese refugees, as if the United Kingdom had an easy conscience on the subject. Was this an attempt to divert the attention of the international community from Britain's responsibility to the millions of refugees in the regions I have mentioned? If so, the effort was in vain.

405. The existence of millions of refugees in Africa, the Middle East and also in Viet Nam—for the United Kingdom was a close ally of our aggressors—is a con-

demnation of the colonialist and imperialist policies of the Government of the United Kingdom with regard to human rights.

406. Finally, I should like to say that, with regard to the statement of the head of the delegation of Papua New Guinea, which was hostile to my country, my country considers that it is unnecessary to reply, since that representative was only repeating what his masters say.

407. Mr. MANSFIELD (United Kingdom): The representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam criticized my Government for its imperialist activities. I shall say only that the British Empire has been largely dismantled, and a fair number of the members of this Assembly are evidence of this. The representative of Viet Nam speaks for a country which appears to have embarked on the opposite course.

408. Refugees from Indo-China may be seen in Hong Kong and in the ASEAN countries. There is no doubt that they were under great pressure to risk the hazardous journey which cost so many others among them their lives.

409. But my delegation was glad to note the statement of the representative of Viet Nam that his Government would abide by the undertakings it gave in Geneva about future action.

410. The widespread starvation existing in substantial parts of Cambodia is a matter of grave international concern. The essential task is to alleviate this problem. The Government of Viet Nam can clearly play a major part in this and my Government calls on it to allow international assistance to reach the long-suffering people of Cambodia while there is still time.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.