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

Address by Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza,
President of the Republic of Burundi

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning, the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Burundi. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, President of the Republic of Burundi, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. BAGAZA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): A birth in a family is naturally a source of joy and of hope. Thus the people of Burundi share the legitimate pride of the people of Saint Lucia on their accession to independence and admission to the great family of the United Nations. The entry of Saint Lucia into the United Nations is striking proof of the universality of our Organization. The victory of the people of Saint Lucia is undoubtedly an encouragement to other peoples struggling for their dignity and freedom.

3. In quite different context, let me pay a tribute to the memory of a great African statesman, Agostinho Neto, champion of the freedom and the real independence of Angola and indefatigable defender of peace and dignity in Africa and throughout the world. We wish to convey to the Angolan people our deepest condolences and our feelings of solidarity and encouragement at this difficult time.

4. Ever since its foundation, the United Nations has set itself the fundamental task of safeguarding international peace and security, the establishment of justice in the world and the strengthening of the ties of co-operation and solidarity among all the peoples of our planet. The triumph of these ideals calls, first of all, for the establishment of an equitable and democratic system in international relations and the promotion of an order of mutual understanding and respect for human rights and for peoples in their totality.

5. It is within this context that we should view the struggle being waged by the United Nations to put an end to injustice in the world and to create conditions for

a just and lasting peace so necessary for fruitful co-operation among nations.

6. The work that has been done in this area by the United Nations is, in our view, of particular importance. We should therefore like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the General Assembly, which can take pride in having so consistently lived up to the importance of its task and, therefore, constitutes an ideal framework for co-operation, exchange of experience and decision-making.

7. The positive record of the General Assembly is due not only to the political maturity and sense of responsibility of the Member States, but also to the far-sightedness and devotion of the distinguished persons who have so competently discharged the functions of President of this principal organ of our Organization.

8. In electing you, Sir, as its President, the General Assembly not only acted in keeping with its principles and noble traditions. It also wished by design to mark the importance and gravity that it attaches to this session. Your extensive experience in international affairs and your commitment to supporting peoples in the struggle for their independence and dignity are guarantees of the success of this session. We take this solemn occasion to extend to you our sincere congratulations on the trust that the General Assembly has placed in you. Of course, the tribute we pay to you, on behalf of the people and Government of Burundi, goes also to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, whose ties of solidarity with my country, Burundi, were forged long ago and have been strengthened at the time of our national liberation struggle.

9. We also wish to extend our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, for having so masterfully and successfully conducted the proceedings of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

10. We should also like to extend our greetings to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose competence, integrity and devotion in the service of peace and the liberation of peoples have aroused in our breasts sentiments of the most profound admiration and highest esteem.

11. The work he has been doing ever since he has been Secretary-General of our Organization deserves more than our congratulations and encouragement. We should like to take advantage of our presence here to assure him once again of our confidence and of the total support of the Government and people of Burundi in his noble task of working unremittingly for the triumph of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations Charter.

12. For the first time in the history of our country, the

Head of State of Burundi is personally taking part in the work of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This decision was no accident but a logical consequence of the revolution carried out by the people of Burundi on 1 November 1976. That date marks a major turning-point in the history of our country. To understand this, it is sufficient to refer to the period immediately preceding and that immediately following the radical change that took place on that date. To put you in the proper chronological context, let me briefly describe the true history of our country.

13. A mere 17 years have elapsed since our independence, which was gained by dint of tremendous sacrifices by our people and the valuable support rendered by friendly countries and by the United Nations.

14. At first sight, Burundi is a young State. However, the truth is quite different. Indeed, the most critical history books, as well as other most authoritative sources of information, are unanimous in asserting that the State of Burundi, cohesive and organized in all sectors of national life, goes back as far as the fifteenth century A.D. The nation of Burundi, even at that time, could take pride in its age-old unity, the decisive elements of which remain today. These are, primarily, the will to live together as a people proud and jealous of their national independence and sovereignty, and, secondly, a common national culture and a single national language, Kirundi, which is spoken throughout the whole country without a single dialect.

15. All these factors have served to shape the personality of Burundi. This was the driving force of the Burundi nation, which, under the aegis of the party Union pour le progrès national [UPRONA], was successful in the elections organized by the Belgian administration and supervised by the United Nations on 18 September 1961. This victory was to lead Burundi, as we know, to true independence on 1 July 1962. Thus, the unity of the Burundi people was once again consecrated. This marked the turning of a page after a period of darkness and humiliation, and there opened up a new era of liberty and co-operation.

16. Unfortunately, successive Governments in power did not respect the people's verdict. Irresponsible citizens allied themselves with external enemies of our country to divide and exploit the united, peaceful and hardworking people.

17. It was therefore necessary to establish State structures in such a way as to make possible and irreversible the creation of a society where national concord and social justice would prevail. For this purpose, power had to be handed over to its true holders, the people. In order to achieve this goal, it was necessary to create conditions which made it possible for the Burundi people to embark on a course of national reconstruction. It is within this context that we adopted, from the very outset, a programme of national rehabilitation, the main element of which was national reconciliation. This major concern of our policy underlay all our decisions. All appointments to posts of responsibility and authority were thus inspired solely by the criteria of competence and patriotism.

18. The importance of this policy of national reconciliation did not relegate to a second place the other

strategic sectors of national life. Thus, the programme of national rehabilitation set as its other immediate objectives the fight against hunger and poverty, ignorance and disease on the one hand and, on the other, the struggle against social injustice and man's exploitation of man.

19. This policy was reflected in the following measures. In the field of agriculture, it was decided first to increase production of consumer goods in general, and of food-stuffs in particular. Secondly, it was decided to diversify exports. As far as the rural world was concerned, the Government embarked upon a policy of improving and modernizing living conditions, the electrification of important centres in the country, and supplying water to villages and development centres. In the field of education, the Government adopted important measures with a view to enabling all Burundi citizens without discrimination to go to school and university in the same conditions. This policy of the democratization of education was reflected particularly by the State's assumption of responsibility for all teachers and professors, by the building of school and university infrastructures, by the provision of teaching materials and scientific equipment, and by the granting of scholarships to all students. The sole condition laid down for this was that they be successful in competitions and examinations.

20. With regard to health, the Government decided on the development and improvement of infrastructure in this area, while promoting the training and improvement of cadres.

21. These health measures would have been futile if social justice in all its dimensions had not been established. That is why the people's revolution of 1 November 1976 called for the elimination of the vestiges of feudalism. It was in this context that we decided on agrarian and fiscal reform and also on the installation of a sound system of justice, which would be accessible to the people, by the creation of new courts.

22. All these measures were taken in response to the wishes expressed clearly by the people in the course of many consultations which we held from the very first hours of the revolution on 1 November 1976. It is the constant dialogue going on between the people and ourselves which has made it possible for us today to endow with real content the well-known saying "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

23. The reorganization of the UPRONA party, the crucible of national unity, and repository of the independence of our country, has no other goal but that of transferring power to the people through its organizations.

24. Out of respect for the profound aspirations of the Burundi people, we did everything in our power to ensure that this mass party, membership of which is entirely free, should be in a position to conceive, guide and monitor all political, economic, social and cultural activities in our country.

25. In order to permit the Burundi people effectively to exercise its prerogatives of sovereignty, we created the necessary conditions for the party to be able to

guide and genuinely to control the executive. In other words, the people run and manage their own affairs in the communes and the provinces. Leaders are only kept in their posts to the extent that they enjoy the confidence of the people.

26. Thanks to the political maturity of our people, we believe that the time has come to permit it to choose its leaders at all levels. This task is incumbent on the National Congress of the UPRONA party, a meeting of which is scheduled for the end of this year, and this will constitute in practice the consummation of the action already laid down at the level of the communal assemblies and provincial congresses of the renovated UPRONA party.

27. In the light of the foregoing, we can claim that the State which we are organizing is one which will permit the Burundi people to perpetuate their history, to strengthen their age-old unity, to consolidate the victories they have won, to build their democracy and to determine their future in a free and sovereign manner. It is for the people of Burundi, in fact, to pronounce on the type of society which will safeguard their identity, while guaranteeing their progress in a world full of change.

28. This is the role of the National Congress of the party, and this is why we quite rightly consider that this session of the party will constitute an event of primary importance in the national life of the Burundi people. We were therefore anxious to inform the United Nations and the whole international community of this, especially because we in Burundi consider that there must exist a certain harmony between internal options and a country's foreign policy.

29. The guiding principles of our country's foreign policy are well known. These are good neighbourliness, positive non-alignment, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, international co-operation and support for national liberation movements.

30. In the light of those principles which are, for us, inviolable, we propose first of all to deal with subjects relating to the question of decolonization, problems of security in the world, the advent of a new world order and the question of human rights.

31. The emergence of new independent nations is an event of the first importance in international relations in this last quarter of the twentieth century. This phenomenon is explained by the struggle of peoples subjected to colonial domination and by international solidarity. In the course of this irreversible process of liberation, the United Nations has played an important role. However, in spite of the impressive volume of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council the work of decolonization is not yet done.

32. We believe that the time has come to tackle the true obstacles to decolonization.

33. In so far as concerns Africa, we have come to the conclusion that it is strategic and material interests which put a brake on the liberation of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Western Sahara.

34. In our day Africa has, unfortunately, become the

proving-ground for rivalry between the great Powers. This renewed interest in Africa can be explained, first and foremost, by the geographical situation of our continent, which is washed by both the Atlantic and Indian oceans and the Mediterranean Sea; secondly, by the disruption of political-military alliances in southern Africa following the liberation of Mozambique and Angola; and, thirdly, by the fact that Africa constitutes a vast reservoir of primary commodities and possesses very sizeable resources still unexploited owing to a lack of skilled people and adequate financial resources.

35. Those three elements underlie certain policies of power and domination, such as those implied by the establishment of military bases and the presence of warships off the African continent and the policies of aggression continually engaged in by the racist colonial régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. It is also those strategic and economic interests which inspire the plans of certain Governments for the political and economic destabilization of progressive régimes in Africa.

36. Conscious of those obstacles in the path of the liberation of African Territories still under racist colonial domination, we are convinced that it is our Organization's task to take the courageous measures that the situation requires.

37. In the light of the events occurring in southern Africa, the United Nations must take energetic and bold measures that are called for and made necessary by the requirements of freedom and dignity. In particular we call upon Member States which maintain various relations with those racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa to review their policy which, in any case, is in quite clear contradiction with their own system of government and their statements in the United Nations. At a time of co-operation between States and of interdependence it is incomprehensible that millions of human beings should be sacrificed on the altar of strategic and economic interests, interests that are futile, because sooner or later the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe will become the true masters of their own countries and resources. History is rich in lessons in this area.

38. It is for this reason that we suggest to the great Powers with their interests in southern Africa that they turn over a new leaf in their record of co-operation with the racist and colonial régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and instead turn towards support for the national liberation movements with a view to preparing for the independence of those countries which are still under colonial domination and laying the foundations for solid co-operation.

39. The example of the intensive co-operation which exists between the independent States of Africa and their partners in the Western world should calm the exaggerated apprehensions and unjustified fears of certain countries or certain societies with regard to the maintenance of their interests in southern Africa after the liberation of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

40. For all those reasons, we believe it is realistic completely to isolate the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa. We therefore urge the Security Council to make use of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter to impose economic sanctions on

South Africa. Furthermore, we hope that the economic sanctions decided upon against Rhodesia will be strengthened.

41. We, for our part, will continue to support the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], that is to say, the South West Africa People's Organization for Namibia, the Patriotic Front for Zimbabwe, and the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.

42. We should also like to pay a tribute to the front-line countries, whose solidarity with the liberation movements has been the greatest encouragement for all the peoples engaged in the struggle for their survival and dignity. The international community should offer further support to those countries victims of repeated acts of unprovoked aggression by those régimes which have been condemned by history.

43. The situation prevailing in Western Sahara is the result of a deliberate policy of recolonization, which has been reflected in the invasion, occupation and denial of the identity of the Saharan people. The sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia, Liberia, in July last, both reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence and recognized the need to permit that people to take a free decision about its future [see A/34/522, pp. 90-91]. The Burundi Government has always supported the just cause of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.¹ We hope that the voice of African wisdom will be heeded by all the parties concerned and that the Saharan people will finally become masters of their Territory and destiny. Then arms will fall silent and a new era of co-operation and peace will dawn in the region.

44. The situation prevailing in the Middle East is a matter of the greatest concern to us all. The international community has recently witnessed a major diplomatic offensive which culminated in the signing of the agreements between Egypt and Israel. Some thought that that was an important step towards peace. Unfortunately, at the present time peace and security still remain in jeopardy. The Palestinian people are still without a country and many other issues still remain unresolved—such as Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the status of Jerusalem.

45. A just and lasting solution to the question of the Middle East must take account of all those elements the point of convergence of which is the concept of a homeland and the formation of an independent State. It is in this context that we would encourage any initiative designed to revive peace negotiations among all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] representing the Palestinian people.

46. In the face of increasing tension in the Mediterranean we call on those States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to transform the region into a zone of peace and co-operation.

47. Also in the context of the maintenance of interna-

¹ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

tional peace and security we whole-heartedly support the aims of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1971. We call on all States to review their policies of power, which consist of setting up or maintaining military bases in that area, in order to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and fruitful development of the region.

48. Peace is an indivisible whole. Security in Africa, Europe and the Middle East would indeed be precarious if Asia, where most of humanity lives, were faced with large-scale conflicts. We have great respect for these peoples with their very old civilizations. Africa has ties of active solidarity forged through the history of the liberation of the African and Asian countries.

49. We ask all South-East Asian States to settle all their conflicts or disputes themselves without outside interference, so as to safeguard world peace in this region. We sincerely hope that, thanks to their own genius, these States will be able to overcome the obstacles to their negotiations, so that the conditions for viable peace and fruitful co-operation in the region may be created.

50. On the question of Korea, our Government supports the efforts towards the peaceful and independent reunification of that country. So that this goal may be achieved, all foreign troops must be withdrawn and all bases and other foreign military installations in South Korea must be dismantled. We would also like to draw the attention of the international community to the untoward effects the admission of a divided Korea to the United Nations would have.

51. The Second World War was enough to demonstrate the drama of mankind's existence threatened by the huge arsenal of destruction made available to human societies through science and technology. Therefore it is urgent to do everything possible to avoid a new global conflagration and to discourage any escalation of violence, for the very survival of the human race. The only way to achieve this is to carry out complete and general disarmament. This will only be done by promoting a sense of solidarity and friendship among peoples and by making people aware of the danger represented by the arms race.

52. In these circumstances, only political commitment by States can unleash the disarmament process. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2] represents a stage which should be stressed within this context. It is important that the measures recommended in this document should be followed up.

53. The signing of the agreements reached at the conclusion of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] by the United States and the Soviet Union is another encouraging sign. We hope that the negotiations during the third round of SALT will start soon.

54. There is every reason to encourage the initiatives undertaken towards creating nuclear-weapon-free zones. Here we consider it imperative to take the appropriate measures for the application of the Declara-

tion on the Denuclearization of Africa,² for the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons in the Middle East and in South Asia, and for the respect of the treaties and protocols banning nuclear weapons in Latin America.

55. All these measures are of course only aimed at the establishment of true peace. There is no doubt that this implies stopping the arms race, reducing stocks of conventional weapons and destroying stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction.

56. Nevertheless, if we want to achieve real peace, we must work towards the universal establishment of an order of justice and equity in international relations.

57. The ever-growing gap between rich and poor countries, the persistence of an unjust international order in the distribution of resources and the maintenance of relations of domination are factors which give rise to serious tension which, in the long term, threaten the establishment of true peace on a global scale.

58. The response to this situation can only be sought through the United Nations resolutions relating to the establishment of a new international order based on justice and equity. The advent of a new international order in the field of economic relations and information will be our next subject.

59. In spite of the efforts made at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and later at the North-South Conference in Paris³ and at sessions of UNCTAD, we have to face the fact that the situation of inequality and injustice is getting worse; hence the need to transform the system of dependence and exploitation into relations of mutual benefit. It should be made clear at once that this struggle for economic liberation by the third-world countries is not directed against the industrialized countries.

60. The claims of the developing countries are in fact those of having the sovereign rights to their own resources, the establishment of machinery for stabilizing the prices of primary commodities which they export, the creation of reasonable conditions of access to the international market, the transfer of science and technology to the developing countries, the reform of the international monetary system and finally international co-operation free of any alienation or humiliation.

61. These demands by the third-world countries take real account of the interdependence of nations and the complementary nature of world economies.

62. The full importance of this factor was really felt during the 1973 oil crisis. Drastic measures to deal with the root causes of the crisis should have been taken from then on. The industrialized countries did not have the courage to follow this course; hence the almost insurmountable difficulties which all countries must face. However, we must recognize that this crisis was

most deeply felt by the least-developed of the developing countries and by land-locked countries.

63. This is why we believe that this category of countries deserves special attention from the international community. We hope that in the new development strategy and in the programmes being followed by the United Nations system as a whole the bulk of aid will be devoted to those countries which are the poorest.

64. In this context we would like to stress the particular difficulties of land-locked countries. For some time the international community has been aware of the situation. The United Nations has even advocated special measures aimed at them.

65. The creation of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries was a response to these countries' concern. Unfortunately, for reasons which are still unclear, this fund enjoyed neither the sympathy nor the necessary support of the developed countries for the achievement of its aims. We can only express our regret, because the problem of being land-locked can only be overcome with the aid of the industrialized countries. When we say this we in no way wish to minimize sub-regional or regional co-operation in this field.

66. The need for granting greater financial and technical assistance is particularly justified because these land-locked countries fall into the category of the least advanced of the developing countries. As members know, the international community has been made constantly aware of the vulnerable position of these poorest of the developing countries.

67. In response to the wishes expressed by these countries, the fifth session of UNCTAD advocated a programme of action⁴ which deserves the unreserved support of Member States and the whole of the international community. Within the same context, we hope that the international community will strengthen its co-operation with the countries which have suffered from drought, and natural disasters and those which suffer from geographical disadvantages.

68. Assistance on the part of the developed countries will only be able to achieve its objectives to the extent that the developing countries themselves are convinced of the need to strengthen their co-operation.

69. The United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires last year, set up some important milestones in this area. We would like to reaffirm our support for the Plan of Action adopted by the Conference.⁵ It does, indeed, seem to us appropriate to appeal to our friends in the third world who possess technology adapted to our conditions of development or who possess sizeable fi-

² Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its first ordinary session, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

³ Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

⁴ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one A, resolution 122 (V).

⁵ Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries. See *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).

nancial resources. In this context, we welcome as an important factor the intense co-operation which exists between Africa and the Arab world, whose historical, geographical and cultural ties are guarantees for the strengthening of this solidarity.

70. We are also gratified by the growing co-operation between Africa, Asia and Latin America.

71. However, this co-operation among developing countries would be strengthened if the movement of people and goods were not curbed by, among other things, the lack of infrastructure in the fields of transportation and communications. This is particularly true of Africa. The United Nations has officially recognized this fact by the proclamation of the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa for the period 1978-1988. This decision has been welcomed as an essential factor in the integrated development strategy of the African continent. We therefore hope that the programme and the measures proposed by the OAU will call forth a widespread response from Member States and the whole United Nations system.

72. We should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to UNDP, which has done pioneer work in this field. Indeed, UNDP has set the tone by its decision to set aside a certain sum from its reserves in order to support the objectives of the Decade. It is our firm hope that this example will be followed by Member States and all international institutions.

73. It is, further, indispensable to reserve an important place in the new development strategy for the United Nations Transportation and Communications Decade in Africa.⁶ In our view this would be an important contribution to the advent of the new international economic order.

74. The new world order is founded not only on justice and equity in international economic relations, but also on the democratization of information. It is impossible to stress too much the role that information can play in the area of comprehension among men and mutual understanding among peoples. We believe that in order to attain this objective it is indispensable to strengthen vertical and horizontal co-operation with the view of bringing about free and balanced circulation of information. We must recognize the value and quality of the work done in this area by UNESCO.

75. We should also like to encourage the work of the Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities. We would, however, welcome close co-operation between UNESCO and the United Nations Department of Public Information. In this effort to seek objectivity in the field of information, we must recognize the important role of non-official organizations. We must encourage efforts to establish better organized and more fruitful co-operation between the public and private information sectors.

76. We, for our part, are ready to look into any formulas for co-operation with the representatives of the information sector, a sector which exercises such a great influence on the lives of individuals and peoples.

Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to claim that much change in the world is the result of the technological revolution in the information media. For example, if respect for human rights is today an important element in the credibility of a Government, this is in large measure due to the publicity resources employed by the information media.

77. Since we are on the subject of human rights, I should like to make clear the position of my Government on this question, which is a matter of fundamental concern to the international community.

78. For a long time, stress has been laid on civil and political rights, while economic, social and cultural rights have been left aside. For our part, we believe that all these rights are indissolubly linked in terms of their conception and the universality of their application. Conceived in this way human rights embrace the rights of the individual in general, of women and children in particular, and also the rights of peoples and States.

79. It is clear to us that it is the whole gamut of human rights that should guide us in our policies and positions in the appropriate United Nations organs. As a member of the Commission on Human Rights, Burundi has every intention of discharging its responsibilities in this area.

80. We hope thus to deserve the confidence which the Governments of Member States have placed in our revolution.

81. We assure the Assembly of the commitment of our Government to the triumph of the cause of liberty for men and peoples. In this way we will contribute to the building of a better world in which justice and co-operation prevail. We say this because, like all the other members of the Assembly, we are convinced that all our efforts should be aimed at the building of a new society, based on friendship and solidarity. For humanity, to which we all belong, shares a common destiny.

82. The participation of all the nations of this General Assembly is the most convincing testimony of their commitment to justice and solidarity.

83. We wish to extend our greetings to this Assembly as the builders of this society where peace, brotherhood and solidarity will prevail.

84. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Burundi for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

85. Mr. FRANÇOIS-PONCET (France) (*interpretation from French*): The sole aim of our General Assembly is to serve peace, and yet session after session here we note the consequences of disaster. To us, as leaders, one year means a great deal of diplomatic activity. But for some peoples one year means a great deal of suffering. There are 1 million refugees and 250,000 victims of war, and some 15 of our Member States are embroiled in armed conflicts.

⁶ See document E/1979/77.

86. However, serious and distressing though these conflicts may be, none of them has so far jeopardized the global peace that the world has known since 1945. It is an inadequate peace to be sure, but it is peace just the same. Without it, all efforts towards progress would be destroyed in the general calamity. This peace is not based on terror and immobility. Despite its shortcomings and its failures, our world has made more progress during the final third of this century than it did during the three preceding centuries. I shall take just three examples. The old nations of Europe have been able to forget their age-old conflicts and to join together in a process of reconciliation; that vast country China, which had so long been kept aside, has taken its rightful place once more in the community of nations; and, lastly, more than 100 States have become independent and are now able to make their voices heard in this forum, which has truly become a world forum.

87. These examples prove mankind's ability to change. They are evidence of the fact that catastrophes are not inevitable as long as human will is exerted.

88. The community of nations has been able to demonstrate its unanimity on one point, a negative point to be sure but one that will henceforth be a fact of history. I am referring to the avoidance of a world war for more than 30 years. Why not go even further now, and express that unanimity in a positive manner by uniting our efforts against the other threats to peace?

89. Thirty years without a general war: we have shown that that is possible. Thirty years to ensure the survival of humanity: that is the very concrete problem that faces us, because between now and the year 2000 there will be another 2 billion human beings to feed—2 billion. In 1925, that was the entire world population.

90. If a world divided into antagonistic blocs quarrels over limited resources instead of uniting to develop them, living in interdependence will pose a threat. Instead, the world should organize its interdependence into solidarity so as to enable it to achieve greater security and genuine organization, which are the three components of true peace.

91. That is why I shall discuss these three points in turn: first, a world of greater solidarity, one that will succeed in settling for the benefit of everyone the two problems on which the future of each of our peoples depends—poverty and energy; secondly, a more secure world that will undertake disarmament; and, thirdly, a better organized and a more human world, in which, alongside an Organization such as ours, whose role can only grow, the new kinds of regional solidarity will become organized.

92. Concerning a world of greater solidarity, without for one moment forgetting the moral duty that gives solidarity its full significance, I intend to show that solidarity is also essential for the survival of mankind, for in fact we shall survive only if we resolve two problems—poverty and energy. Poverty is the failure of progress and hence the failure of us all. Energy is the key to progress and therefore an imperative common to us all.

93. It is difficult to describe the scourge of poverty without lapsing into abstract figures and the demagoguery of sentimental platitudes. And yet we have to

acknowledge an obvious fact that our minds reject: poverty is not on the decline. Development has succeeded in keeping it in check, but not in reducing it. The poorest regions are becoming poorer still. A half billion souls are going hungry. At least a half billion can neither read nor write. More than 1 billion have access neither to drinkable water nor to basic medical care. Poverty has not relinquished its hold. It scoffs at the modern world. It is no longer the humble, silent poverty that once escorted mankind throughout its history and all over the globe. It has borrowed from the modern world its violence, its clamour and its great surges. The poverty of shanty towns, the poverty of homeless people, the poverty of frustration that is at least as great as hunger—that is the face of the world, and we must not avert our eyes from it.

94. We must, on the contrary, confront this poverty, and together we must all declare war on it on several fronts. Concerning the food front, a major rural development effort at the national and international levels must take up where the "green revolution" of the 1960s left off so as to improve the growth rate of agricultural production, especially in low-income countries in Asia and Africa. In the field of unemployment, a massive drive to create productive jobs—550 million between now and the year 2000, according to the World Bank, is crucial to the battle against poverty. In the matter of financing, all countries have a stake in preventing the constraints of financing from halting the progress happily already under way towards world economic integration. Now, the debts of the developing countries have more than doubled since 1974 and at this point debt-servicing costs are increasing faster than the debts themselves. France will therefore support measures designed to augment the financing capacities of the IMF regarding balance-of-payments adjustments, in the hope that the action taken will be specifically directed to the needs of the most impoverished countries. France also advocates greater efforts on behalf of those countries in the area of public development aid. I should like to recall that France has cancelled the debts owed to it by some countries.

95. All countries should contribute to this aid—which, by the way, does not exempt us from giving our help to other developing countries—in particular by opening their borders to manufactured products from the most deprived countries; by allowing them access to natural resources, especially those from the sea; and, lastly, by increasing the volume of multilateral aid. France for its part has decided to double its contribution to UNDP between now and 1981, with an increase of more than 50 percent this year.

96. As to energy, the anguish of tomorrow's world will arise from the sudden changes which we now see threatening us: the population explosion and the scarcity of resources, which would jeopardize growth and therefore the increase needed in employment. There will be neither growth nor new jobs without more energy, even if the advancement of technology and organization were to make growth possible at a rate faster than that of the increase in energy needs.

97. True, and we all know this full well, countries in the different categories do not have the same interests or make the same analyses of this energy problem. To solve it, let us begin by understanding one another and accepting the validity of our respective concerns.

98. The producer countries are legitimately concerned with preparing for their future development and therefore with securing the foundations of their future growth in a prosperous economic climate by managing carefully their non-renewable resources and maintaining the value of their assets.

99. The industrialized countries, for whom oil is still a basic resource, want the volume and price of supplies to remain stable, so that they can guarantee the growth, which, whatever happens, is necessary to the world economic balance.

100. The developing countries that do not produce oil, and especially the most impoverished ones, are in a paradoxical position: they feel the effects of tensions in the oil market more severely than others, even though the place they occupy in that market is small. Nevertheless, their economies are more seriously affected by increases in oil prices.

101. We must, I affirm, understand each other and move closer to each other's positions. There is nothing impossible about the quest for coherence among the policies of the three categories of country. Only that quest can help us to pass from the interdependence to which we are subject, to an organized solidarity.

102. Let me say unequivocally that it is up to the industrialized countries to take the initiative in instituting stricter policies, because it is they who are the largest consumers. The decisions taken in Tokyo last June⁷ were a major turning-point. I emphasize that they were based on an initiative of the European Economic Community, which thereby in the circumstances demonstrated its sense of economic responsibility at the world level. The pledges made there to set ceilings on oil imports are significant in two important ways.

103. On the one hand, they would break the link between the pursuit of economic growth by the industrialized countries and the growth of oil imports. Sustained but sober growth on the part of the industrialized countries will henceforth be fueled by energy sources other than oil.

104. On the other hand, these pledges indicate that the oil energy so indispensable to the developing countries will be available for their use.

105. France, for its part, has committed itself to a policy of conservation of energy and development of new energy sources that will enable it, I assure you, to achieve the goals it has set itself.

106. I am confident that the oil-producing countries recognize the importance of this major change. Once the industrialized countries actually set out on the path of controlling their energy imports, the producer countries will be able to take into consideration the effects which their decisions have on the world economy, as they manage their resources. Any breakdown in supply, any reassessment of the price levels reached to date, would have disastrous consequences for the world economy.

107. But oil is not solely the concern of the oil-

producing and industrialized countries. In the interests of solidarity, the new energy needs of the developing countries must be met. To that end, a world programme of investment is indispensable. France supports the World Bank's plans in that regard, but feels that they should be further expanded. France is already making a substantial effort to provide technical assistance in regard to oil.

108. Finally, we must work together more closely to ensure that the decisions made by the different parties are consistent. The 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy will assuredly bring progress in an area as yet largely unexplored, but one that is of capital importance for the future.

109. We must do more. In this regard, France has taken note with interest of the proposal made by the Group of 77 to start new, comprehensive talks within the framework of the United Nations.

110. Concerning a world of greater solidarity, and, at the same time, a more secure world, let us not deceive ourselves. To reduce the poverty of the poorest and to overcome the energy crisis, a concerted effort is needed. This will not be readily agreed to and will not produce results except in a climate of security and trust. When suspicion, mistrust and fear reign, we immediately see hallowed self-interests placed first, before all other considerations. When armed conflicts break out, the work of several years is reduced to nothing in a few days.

111. We shall build a world of greater solidarity only if we work together to make it more secure.

112. That is why France sets such great value on the progress of détente and has made it one of the major and permanent lines of its policy. It welcomes, in this respect, the favourable development of its relations with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries in Europe, especially Poland.

113. In Europe, détente has not only made it possible to defuse the most visible causes of confrontation. It has paved the way for dialogue and co-operation. It has made, and is continuing to make, an essential contribution to world peace.

114. I mention the progress of détente, not to encourage complacency and passiveness, but rather to urge new efforts to expand détente and make its effects felt more deeply. Détente has probably been a contributing factor in containing flash-points all over the world, although it has not yet succeeded in dousing them completely. It has certainly put a brake on the excessive build-up of arms, although it has not stopped it altogether.

115. It is time for us to attack these two problems. The results achieved give us the means; they therefore also show us our duty.

116. A review of the situations of crisis and tension that persist in the world shows that these fall into two categories. Some situations are linked to the process of decolonization, of which they are an anachronistic survival. This is the case with Namibia and Rhodesia. Others result from military faits accomplis and should

⁷ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 79, No. 2029, pp. 8-9.

be neither endorsed by the peoples concerned nor recognized by the international community. I refer to the Middle East and to South-East Asia. However, in all these instances, the crisis situation can be attributed to the fact that deeply rooted realities are being ignored or misperceived; that needed changes—needed because they are natural and legitimate—are being opposed or blocked; and that in some quarters the mistaken conviction that "might is right" still persists.

117. In Namibia as in Rhodesia, the deep-seated reality is the legitimate aspiration of the peoples involved to accede to genuine and internationally recognized independence. In this respect, hopeful signs are beginning to emerge. It is up to us to encourage them. For this reason, France has welcomed the agreement reached at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka in August [see A/34/439-S/13515] and places its hopes in the success of the talks that have opened in London under the aegis of the United Kingdom Government. For this reason also, in the case of Namibia France is participating actively—together with four other States and in close liaison with the Secretary-General of our Organization—in the five-Power initiative⁸ with a view to achieving a solution for that territory that is consistent with the principles of our Charter.

118. Turning to the Middle East, I come to a conflict that is quite different. It is as old as our Organization. Thirty years have elapsed, and with them how many hopes have gone unfulfilled and how many paths have been explored in vain in an effort to find the key to peace.

119. My country makes no claim here to define a new framework for negotiation or to devise, in the wake of so many others, some new procedural skill. That is not where the problem lies. There has been too much passion and too much suffering for it to be possible to hope to be able to build peace on ambiguities.

120. Here again, what is needed is recognition of the realities instead of escape from them, tackling the problems instead of evading them.

121. The realities in this case are: the right of the Arab States to recover their territorial integrity; the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland; and the right of all the States in the area, the Arab States as well as the State of Israel, to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed boundaries.

122. These three realities form a whole. They cannot be dissociated without being forsworn; they are valid for all the parties concerned, including—as the nine countries members of the European Economic Community have just stressed—the PLO.

123. This presupposes that both sides at last make the effort to look the facts in the face; these two great peoples, the people of Israel and the Palestinian people, will not be able to postpone indefinitely the moment when they recognize one another. It will be necessary to enlarge the dialogue, to cease insisting on exclusive rights; all the protagonists must agree to talk to each other. Certain indications lead us to hope that the time

is approaching. France is following the situation attentively and will make every effort to see these signs multiplied, because they point towards the only real path of peace.

124. In speaking of peace in this area, I also have in mind Lebanon, which has so many ties to my own country. In recent months, Lebanon has been the object of attacks whose repetitive and excessive nature prompted the Security Council to convene. France condemns these attacks that strike at the unity and independence, as well as the territorial integrity, of Lebanon. They affect the Force sent by the United Nations to the southern part of the country; they put in jeopardy the very existence of one of our Organization's Member States.

125. Lastly, South-East Asia and, more specifically, the situation in Cambodia. Last year, at this very rostrum,⁹ my predecessor stressed the grave dangers of the situation. The events of the past 12 months have unfortunately confirmed our fears.

126. The oppression and bloodshed of an inhuman régime have been superseded by the tragedy of a foreign invasion. The Indo-Chinese peninsula has once again been thrust into a state of war.

127. My Government asked at the time, together with others, for the withdrawal of the forces to the international boundaries they had crossed; I note that the withdrawal has not been general.

128. France cannot acquiesce in Cambodia's becoming a prize in and an arena for a confrontation that dwarfs it and that is in fact utterly alien to it. Cambodia has the right, like any other State, to see its independence and integrity respected. Its people, whose very existence is threatened even as I speak, has the right to live and to determine its destiny as a sovereign nation in peace and friendship with all its neighbours by acquiring a Government representative of the different political tendencies in the country. The exercise of its rights is indispensable to the reconstruction of this ravaged country and to the safeguarding of peace in the region. It is not compatible with the presence of a foreign army on its soil.

129. Flash-points ignite violence in the world, but it is the incredible build-up of arms that could at any moment transform a local explosion into one of cataclysmic proportions. If we want our world to be more secure, it is not enough to defuse the causes of violence. We still have to control the inordinate quantity of instruments of violence; in other words, we must aim for genuine disarmament.

130. All of us here know how arduous the task is, and we are familiar with the consistent way in which technological progress and the complicated mesh of mistrust can thwart the aspirations of peoples and the intentions of Governments.

131. France for its part is too old a nation to imagine that disarmament is easy. But it believes too much in the future of humanity to think disarmament is impossible. Rejecting illusion, which is misleading, and resig-

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 1-68.

nation, which leads to despair, France is convinced that concrete progress can be made, providing that these three conditions are fulfilled: clarity and realism in objectives; continuity in action; imagination in initiatives.

132. The President of the French Republic sought to meet the first of these conditions when he came here last year to set forth the main lines of the new approach France is proposing.¹⁰

133. First, there is the right of each State to security. This right is the corollary, in disarmament terms, of what is, in the context of détente, the right of each State in sovereignty to decide on its internal options and its international alliances.

134. Secondly, there is the idea that disarmament is first and foremost a universal problem: no State, no group of States, may arrogate to itself the right to determine the rules unilaterally and for all. The entire international community must share in the implementation, benefits and controls of disarmament.

135. Finally, there is the need to bear in mind what I will call the "geography of security". The regional level would in fact be the easiest level at which to make concrete progress in this area.

136. Once these principles have been accepted, they still must be put into practice, and this is where continuity of action enters the picture.

137. Since the tenth special session was held in the spring of 1978, some progress has been made. We must not, however, relax our efforts.

138. The new Committee on Disarmament, which together with others we helped to establish, has begun its work. The results of the first session show that broader and more equitable participation aid the progress of the discussion where bilateral debates might lead the talks to become bogged down. At this point we should take care not to disappoint the expectations that have been expressed. France for its part will work actively in the Committee in the hope of reaching concrete results at the next session, particularly in the area of chemical weapons.

139. The United States and the Soviet Union have signed the second SALT agreement.¹¹ France is well aware of the importance of the step that has recently been taken. It considers the agreement to be balanced as a whole and hopes that it will enter into force soon. The fact remains that even with this agreement we are still only at the preface to true disarmament. The level of nuclear weapons held by the two signatory Powers is not only high now, it is to go still higher in the next few years. The future negotiations, for which the second round of SALT has paved the way, will, I hope, bring this level down very substantially. As for France, it would take appropriate action on the basis of such reductions only if there were a change in the extent of the disparity persisting between those two arsenals and

its own arsenal, which France keeps at its disposal to ensure the security and credibility of its deterrent.

140. In Europe, finally, France has proposed the convening of a conference on disarmament. By linking confidence-building measures and effective disarmament, by making a distinction between arms that serve deterrence and security and those that might fuel threats and intimidation, by defining a cohesive and significant geographical framework, its proposal aims to take into account the specific facts of Europe's situation. The positive reactions that have been forthcoming from various quarters have strengthened our conviction that this approach corresponds both to a real need and to a real possibility, thus encouraging us to proceed.

141. In a field as difficult as that of disarmament, determination needs the help of imagination.

142. With a view to stimulating reflection and imagination, we proposed the founding of an international disarmament institute. At the tenth special session, we also advocated that the most modern technology be made available to the international community by proposing the establishment of an international satellite monitoring agency. In both cases, we would be mobilizing science and scientists for the cause of disarmament.

143. To this same end I should like to announce today that France is proposing to organize an international symposium in Paris on the theme "Science for disarmament". This symposium, which could serve as a kind of preface to the work of the institute, would seek to involve the scientific community more closely with disarmament by demanding an intellectual and moral contribution from it.

144. A world of greater solidarity, a more secure world, but also a more organized world is what we seek.

145. The world we live in, if we reflect upon it, has two essential characteristics: diversity and disparity. There is diversity in political régimes, philosophical and religious creeds and national traditions and cultures. The disparities lie in power, wealth and access to knowledge.

146. Diversity brings people closer together because it encourages them to participate in dialogues and exchanges. Disparities separate them, on the contrary, because they divide people and set them one against the other.

147. How can we act to preserve the former and to eliminate the latter?

148. Allow me, as a European, to draw upon my experience. Thirty years ago the nations of Europe were emerging from world conflict, drained and in ruins. Where they had once been among the most powerful and wealthy of nations, now they did not even have the resources needed to set themselves back on their feet.

149. Thirty years have gone by. Now those same nations have regained their place in the world thanks to the aid they received, thanks to their own efforts, but thanks also to the close co-operation they forged among themselves. Without relinquishing their identities or

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 3rd meeting, paras. 3-72.

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

compromising their independence, they have formed a Community which, by the very fact that it exists and that it has demonstrated its ability to act, today constitutes an essential element in international equilibrium.

150. There may have been fear in some quarters that the Europe of six, and later nine, countries—and undoubtedly tomorrow of twelve—by organizing itself, would become inward-looking. The experience of what is now more than 20 years has shown the opposite: among groups of comparable size, the European Community is without a doubt the most open to the world. This applies equally to its trade, to its part in aid for development and to its contribution to solving major world problems. Nor is it an accident that *détente*, throughout the entire European continent, has advanced at the same pace as has the organization of Western Europe.

151. By increasing their co-operation and strengthening their cohesion, the countries of Europe have not created a bloc. Quite the contrary; they have introduced a new type of regional grouping. Because this co-operation is founded on the natural affinities of history, geography, culture and human values, it protects diversity and helps to attenuate disparities.

152. The case of Europe is significant, it seems to me, but it is not an isolated case and is becoming less and less unique. Everywhere we are witnessing the advance of regional solidarity. There is growing vitality at the level of continents and subcontinents in geographically oriented organizations such as the Organization of American States, the OAU, the Andean Group and the Association of South-East Asian Nations. The phenomenon is too widespread for it not to be a response to a universally felt need. In my opinion, it reflects an aspiration on the part of each of our nations to reconcile two fundamental requirements—the need to assert themselves without becoming isolated and the need to participate without becoming subservient.

153. The pluralistic, multipolar world that this aspiration heralds will be different from the world of yesterday—profoundly so. The conviction of France is that it will be a better world. So long as there are only two camps, the gains of one will inevitably appear to be the losses of the other. The logic of their relationships is confrontation—the only possible compromise is the *status quo*, in other words, immobility. In contrast to this, the multiplication of poles allows for more flexibility in the general equilibrium. It encourages necessary changes and makes it easier to resolve local conflicts. The positive role played by the Organization of American States in the evolution of events in Nicaragua and the decisive assistance provided by the African States in achieving a peaceful solution of the problem of Chad are telling examples.

154. The recent events in central Africa provide a new and clear illustration of this. It was the Africans themselves who, by the decisions made at the Kigali conference,¹² substantiated and condemned the atrocities perpetrated. It was the former President of the Central African Republic, the Prime Minister in office and other leaders who took the initiative of liberating their country. France, which had suspended its aid as

soon as the Committee of African Magistrates presented its conclusions, gave an affirmative response to the request made of it on the spot by the new authorities. Thus it was possible to eliminate a tyrannical rule without bloodshed.

155. There need be no fear that the strengthening of these regional organizations is likely to infringe on either the individual identities of national sovereignties to which we are attached or the universal nature of the international community. Quite the opposite; it cannot fail to protect the one and to enrich the other.

156. This can be seen quite clearly, even here within our Organization. The existence of regional groupings has never prevented us from examining the great questions of our time. Indeed, it has made such examination easier and more productive.

157. It is indeed characteristic of regional organizations that there is no better way of affirming their identity than through dialogue and co-operation.

158. It is in order to take into account this new dimension of today's world that France has renewed its interest in the Latin American continent and, on this subject, I should like to recall the two visits made by Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to Brazil and to Mexico respectively. It was with this same idea in mind, too, that the French Head of State put forward the concept of a "trialogue" between Europe, Africa and the Arab countries. By giving substance to this project, these three groups will not only underline the obvious complementarities that unite them; they will also place them at the service of progress and peace. They will help to construct the foundations of a more balanced, more open world, where the old temptations of hegemony will have made way for the call to solidarity.

159. The world of greater solidarity, security and organization that France hopes to see and which it is working to bring into being will have meaning only if it serves mankind, its dignity and its rights.

160. Owing to the universality of our Organization and to the legitimacy conferred upon it by the membership of almost all nations, it has in this respect a crucial role to play. Our Organization is the expression of the universal conscience and, at the same time, of the diversity of cultures. More than ever, the Charter is the indispensable reference that will allow us to live together better and to render more effective and more widespread the dignity of man that it proclaims and that is defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The dignity of man must be expressed through the equality of all. Together with the entire international community, we condemn régimes that are founded on racial discrimination, such as *apartheid*.

161. The United Nations is a decisive safeguard for the peace of the world and for the dignity of the individual. It has shown this in a great many situations, whether by recalling the principles and spelling out the law or through its actions and calls for the assistance of States. In the tragedy of the South-East Asian refugees, for example, our Organization, by acting in accordance with its peaceful and humanitarian purpose, has fulfilled its unique role. France, as is well known, has given the Organization its full assistance. As a country

¹² French-African Summit Conference, held from 21 to 22 May 1979 in Kigali.

of asylum and refuge, it has opened its doors wide to those who have been exiled and will continue to receive all those to whom it is able to offer a future commensurate with their hopes.

162. The efforts of our Organization and of States to respond to urgent and desperate situations should not, however, make us forget the silent hope of millions of individuals imprisoned by poverty. No man, no leader, can ever rest easy so long as suffering, fear and contempt for the law reign on this earth. This is one battle that we should all wage together, regardless of our differences, for it is the battle for peace on earth.

163. Mr. PAHR (Austria): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to see you presiding over this General Assembly. I wish to congratulate you most sincerely on your election.

164. You are the representative of a country and of a continent to which Austria feels particularly close. In the course of almost 10 years as Permanent Representative of your country you have combined rich experience and thorough knowledge with a deep devotion to the ideals of our Organization. Your qualities of leadership and diplomatic skills augur well for the work and the successful conclusion of this session of the General Assembly.

165. At the same time, I should like to express my sincere gratitude and that of my country to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the former Foreign Minister of Colombia, for the tact and the extraordinary political understanding with which he presided over the last session of the General Assembly.

166. I also wish to say a special word of welcome to the delegation of Saint Lucia. With the admission of Saint Lucia to the United Nations this Organization has taken a further step towards the universality of its membership and strengthened its role as a forum for global international co-operation.

167. One year ago, when I spoke before this Assembly¹³ there was little reason for optimism or satisfaction. The international situation today merits an even less positive assessment. We are living in a world of regional conflicts threatened by an uncontrolled arms race, by economic disruptions, increasing poverty in developing countries and steadily deteriorating environmental conditions. Wherever we look, we face human suffering, misery and lack of freedom.

168. In such a situation we cannot afford to despair or to be cynical. Instead, we must confront the major international problems and try to solve them in a spirit of human solidarity.

169. Efforts to eliminate the imbalances in the international economic system have, thus far, not been very successful. Poor States continue to become poorer and rich States richer. New and renewed endeavours will be required in order to overcome the persisting problems of the world economy, especially those affecting the more disadvantaged countries.

170. We are encouraged by the initiative taken by developing countries to launch a round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. We feel that such a global round, which would take place within the United Nations system and with the full participation of all States, could make a significant contribution to the solution of major global economic problems. In order to secure the success of such negotiations special attention will have to be paid to their most careful preparation.

171. The recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development impressively demonstrated the fact that, with the necessary political will and determination, the international community is able to respond positively and constructively to the challenges of development. We are confident that the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development¹⁴ will open new avenues of international co-operation. Austria has already taken the necessary steps to contribute its share to the newly created Interim Fund.

172. Any meaningful effort for global economic development will have to include industrialization as one of its basic elements. In agreeing on the new constitution for UNIDO, the international community has recognized the central role of that organization in the promotion and co-ordination of activities in this field.

173. In pursuing our efforts to make progress in the various areas of the North-South dialogue, we should, above all, bear in mind two basic considerations which could help to achieve a decisive break-through in the establishment of a just and new international economic order.

174. On the one hand, I am thinking of the concept of a significantly increased transfer of resources from industrialized to developing countries, a concept which has repeatedly been put forward by the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Mr. Bruno Kreisky. If properly implemented, it would provide developing countries with additional means for the development of their infrastructures.

175. On the other hand, I should like to reiterate our conviction that in a world of limited resources, mounting arms expenditures represent an enormous waste of technical and of human resources. They should finally be brought under control. Reducing arms expenditures would undoubtedly make a substantial contribution to bridging the economic gap between developed and developing countries.

176. The efforts of the international community to take specific, militarily significant and verifiable steps towards arms control and disarmament have, unfortunately, in no way prevented the unobstructed continuance of the arms race. The immense danger created by the arms race for the future existence of mankind has not diminished.

177. On 18 June of this year, the second SALT Treaty was signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in Vienna. This was a very important step in the process of

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 12th meeting, paras. 153-199.

¹⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21), chap. VII.

reduction of tensions between East and West. Impetus for that process is indeed urgently needed. The political importance of this treaty cannot be overrated. We are happy that this historic event took place in Vienna.

178. This positive evaluation of the second round of SALT, however, cannot make us forget that the treaty represents only a step on the way towards disarmament. Our satisfaction with the signing of the SALT treaty is combined with the earnest hope that the treaty will soon be ratified; and that it will be followed by further negotiations leading to a meaningful reduction of the threatening arsenals of the nuclear-power States. Furthermore, the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, scheduled for next year, should serve as a timely reminder of the urgency of effective disarmament in the nuclear field.

179. We also hope that the successful completion of the second round of SALT will stimulate other efforts in the military sphere aimed at the relaxation of tensions.

180. In this context we have in mind in particular the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe. After more than six years of negotiation, tangible results are essential for the whole of Europe.

181. We expect, moreover, that the Treaty will have positive effects on the outcome of the second follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held next year in Madrid. There are many indications that questions relating to détente in the military field will play an important role at the Madrid meeting. Initiatives such as the plan for a European disarmament conference submitted by France and the proposals made by the Warsaw Pact States in May of this year lend justification to hopes for progress particularly in the context of initiatives for confidence-building measures.

182. Austria attaches great importance to disarmament measures since we are convinced that a continued positive development of détente largely depends on success in the area of disarmament. Austria strongly believes in the policy of détente for which we do not see any meaningful alternative. However, without visible progress in stemming the arms race this policy would lose credibility and would be compromised.

183. In the area of human rights there is already talk of a so-called third generation of human rights. At the same time we must note with dismay that in large areas of the world not even the first generation of human rights—that is, those basic rights flowing from the concept of individual freedom—have been implemented. Each day we hear of trials where the most severe penalties are handed down, without compliance with even the most elementary right of defence. We hear of torture, expulsion and oppression. The death penalty remains a recognized practice in the criminal law systems of many States. In Austria, we firmly reject that type of punishment as being incompatible with human dignity and the sanctity of human life. We hope that efforts to eliminate universally this cruel and inhuman punishment will soon prove successful. The initiatives undertaken within the Council of Europe are of particular importance in this area.

184. The situation is equally depressing in the area of implementation of the so-called second generation of human rights, that is, those basic rights which flow from the concept of equality and which are meant to ensure the material requirements for human existence. I need only refer, for example, to the daily reports on the high rate of unemployment in many parts of the world. The situation of unemployed youths who are denied the right to work from the very outset is particularly alarming. We must also not forget the millions of people whose lives are threatened by hunger and who face the future without hope for any improvement in their economic and social conditions.

185. This is particularly true of the millions of refugees living in many parts of the world. All those refugees are victims of human rights violations, both those who seek asylum as the result of racial or religious discrimination or political persecution and those persons who are denied the right to a homeland or who are forced by hunger to leave their country.

186. In Europe there are many thousands of such persons, while in the Middle East 650,000 Palestinians are still living in camps. In Africa several million people are forced to live as refugees in miserable and often hopeless conditions. In the course of this year the exodus of refugees in South-East Asia caused a dramatic situation which called for immediate action. We gratefully acknowledge the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, prompted by that compelling situation, convened a Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia in Geneva in July for the purpose of improving the lot of those refugees. That Meeting had a purely humanitarian objective, which it achieved thanks to numerous commitments to provide assistance. However, the political issue underlying the refugee problems remains unsolved. I can only repeat the appeal that I made at Geneva for respect of the basic rights of all persons to ensure that no one is forced to seek asylum abroad any longer.

187. At this point I should like to underline the extraordinary efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in carrying out his ever-increasing tasks for the alleviation of the lot of refugees throughout the world and to convey to him and his staff the gratitude of my Government.

188. Terrorism constitutes a serious threat to human rights, to the existing order of our societies and even to world order itself. We firmly condemn every manifestation of terrorism, whether it be politically motivated or purely criminal. We condemn any act of terrorism by private individuals, organized groups or States. There can be no justification for terrorism whatsoever. We support all efforts by the international community to combat terrorism, in particular the initiatives taken in this regard by the United Nations. We are pleased to note that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages has succeeded in completing a draft text [see A/34/39]. We hope that that draft will soon meet with general approval.

189. Of the many conflicts in today's world I wish to refer only to three which I consider to be representative of the many existing elsewhere: Cyprus, the Middle East and southern Africa.

190. Austria, like many other countries, had hoped that substantial progress would be achieved as a result of the decision reached in May of this year to resume the talks between the ethnic communities in Cyprus. So far those hopes have not materialized.

191. The fact that United Nations troops have been present in Cyprus for 15 years now should induce the parties to the conflict to work harder to achieve a lasting solution satisfactory to both communities. The presence of United Nations troops in Cyprus should also serve the purpose of creating the necessary conditions for a negotiated settlement. It is important that no one get the impression that the United Nations presence in Cyprus is sanctioning the *status quo*.

192. I should like to take this opportunity sincerely to thank the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to mediate between the two parties to the conflict. At the same time I should like to thank all United Nations soldiers in Cyprus, as well as in the Middle East, for their contribution in support of United Nations peace-keeping operations and to express to them our full appreciation.

193. The crisis in the Middle East, owing to its complexity and its relation to political, economic, social, religious and human rights problems, is one of the most explosive and dangerous in the world.

194. We fully recognize the efforts made by Israel and Egypt, supported by the United States of America, which finally led to the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty of Peace of 26 March 1979. Unfortunately we have to note that no further steps which are necessary for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, based on the principles set forth in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and on the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, have been forthcoming.

195. However, there are also positive elements in recent developments. We are of the impression that the PLO has modified its earlier political objectives and has thus gained a more realistic assessment of the political possibilities in the Middle East. At the same time, the international community shows an increased tendency to realize that there can be no lasting peace without a just settlement of the Palestinian question. Such a settlement can be achieved only through direct negotiations with the Palestinians. The great majority of Palestinians today accept the PLO as their representative. The situation has evolved in such a way that negotiations with the Palestinian people are possible only through the PLO. It is likewise clear that whoever is interested in learning the views of the Palestinians will also have to establish contact with the PLO. As long as the Palestinian question is not resolved and Security Council resolution 242 (1967), including the general recognition of the secure existence of the State of Israel, not fully implemented, there will be no peace in the Middle East.

196. Since the peace efforts of the past two years have not produced the results we have all hoped for, it will again be the task of the United Nations to strengthen its efforts in this regard. Therefore, it appears to me desirable to invite the Secretary-General to convene a forum for direct negotiations among all involved and interested parties.

197. Events in Lebanon confront us with the tragic result of this unresolved conflict. The many victims of the conflict and the extensive destruction it has caused give us ample proof of the urgency of achieving peace in the Middle East. The world should not and must not sit by passively while this small and long-suffering country continues to be the victim of constant military intervention.

198. The situation in South Africa gives us cause for great concern. There is little indication that the South African Government is moving away from its policy of institutionalized racial discrimination. The oppression of the opponents of *apartheid*, the banning of organizations and the continuation of the policy of bantustanization can only increase tensions in southern Africa and lead to tragic results. Austria condemns the policy of *apartheid* and advocates continued United Nations efforts to eliminate this form of institutionalized human rights violations.

199. Last year we had hoped that we would soon be able to welcome Namibia among the Members of the United Nations. Our hopes have again been frustrated. Nevertheless, we remain convinced that the United Nations plan for the establishment of an independent and democratic Namibia is the only feasible and promising way to achieve a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. We strongly appeal to all parties concerned to be ready to co-operate in order to make it possible for the negotiations to be resumed and successfully concluded. Austria remains ready to participate actively in the implementation of the United Nations plan.

200. The Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka last August, has brought about a new stage in the question of Southern Rhodesia. We welcome the efforts of the front-line States to facilitate solutions to the benefit of the people of Zimbabwe. We also appreciate the new initiative undertaken by the United Kingdom to reach a solution acceptable to all parties.

201. Although the picture of the world situation I have presented is hardly optimistic, I do not wish to join the critics of our Organization. On the contrary, I realize that the international situation would be even worse without the help of the United Nations. A world organization and a world order, as imperfect or ineffective as these may appear at this moment, are becoming increasingly necessary and even indispensable. The creation of a new world order and universal peace and security: this is the challenge of our time.

202. While the methods and means of traditional diplomacy may be sufficient to keep some of the great problems under control, they cannot offer lasting solutions. We must find new ways to resolve conflicts. Such measures are already the subject of intensive study by the scientific community, particularly in the field of peace research.

203. We should try to apply science and its perceptive capacity to the organization of international co-operation and to the cause of improving the political decision-making process. A mere fraction of the human intelligence and ability now being wasted on the de-

velopment of vast military arsenals could, if used in these positive directions, yield promising results.

204. In any event, greater use must be made of science and scientific knowledge in order successfully to face the ever-growing problems and dangers which plague mankind today and which are often the root of political conflicts. I am referring in particular to problems relating to energy, the exploitation of new technology and the protection of the environment.

205. Among these problems the question of energy appears to us of particular significance, since it is at the very centre of many issues of future economic and social development. The growth prospects of the world economy will to a large extent depend on the way in which we are able to deal with this problem. We feel that especially in the field of energy there is an urgent need for a strengthened international framework for action. We believe that the United Nations would be a most suitable forum for dealing with the energy problem on an overall global basis. In this context the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy to be held in 1981 in our view assumes special significance and importance.

206. Bearing this in mind, the Austrian Federal Government has decided to invite the United Nations to convene that Conference in Vienna. We believe that the Austrian capital, as the seat of a number of important international and United Nations organizations and agencies in the field of energy, industry and technology, would offer a most appropriate setting for the conference.

207. In accordance with its traditional policy of neutrality, Austria wishes to live in peace and freedom with all nations of the world. While differences in the degree and intensity of our relations still exist, we have succeeded in establishing good and friendly relations with all countries. This applies in particular, and irrespective of their social and political system, to our neighbours and to the permanent members of the Security Council. The Austrian Government will continue to make every effort to pursue a consistent policy of détente by not only maintaining but also further developing good relations in all areas.

208. In this context, I would like to refer to the non-German-speaking ethnic groups living in Austria. We consider them as an enrichment of our cultural life. These groups serve at the same time as a bridge to neighbouring States. It is therefore our declared will and policy to guarantee the existence of these ethnic groups and to protect their language and culture.

209. It has been almost 10 years now since Austria and Italy agreed, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI), on a proposal for the solution of the question of South Tyrol. This solution has been approved in a democratic way by the competent political bodies of Austria, Italy and South Tyrol. The consensus on a new arrangement for the autonomy of South Tyrol, together with the ongoing implementation of the planned measures contained in the so-called South Tyrol package, have created new possibilities for better neighbourly co-operation between Austria and Italy.

210. Despite the progress made over the last few years, I must however note that a number of issues, including some of vital importance, have not yet been successfully resolved. Nevertheless, we may continue to hope that our efforts will—in the well-perceived interests of all parties—succeed in achieving solutions to the remaining problems in the near future.

211. In concluding my statement I should like to reaffirm Austria's strong support for the United Nations. On 23 August this year Austria handed over the Vienna International Centre to the United Nations. This will serve as the permanent headquarters for a number of important organizations and agencies of the United Nations system. This should be seen as a symbol of Austria's continued commitment to the United Nations.

212. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to the office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We know you as a greatly respected representative of a country with which Finland maintains a particularly close relationship. Under the leadership of the eminent statesman, President Nyerere, the United Republic of Tanzania has played a major role in African and in international affairs. Let me pledge you the full support of the Finnish delegation in your important task.

213. May I also extend a warm welcome to the newest Member of the United Nations, Saint Lucia.

214. We come to this rostrum to speak in the name of our Governments. We do so because the United Nations is an Organization of sovereign States. Yet Governments represent peoples, and it was in the name of those peoples that the United Nations was founded. As representatives of Governments, we should base our action on the hopes and aspirations of our peoples.

215. Individuals, today's youth in particular, perceive the future as uncertain, even as frightening. Despite the efforts to achieve progress in arms limitations and disarmament, the arms race continues. Although there is consensus about the imperative need to solve the problems of under-development and poverty, the gap between the poor and the rich is widening. The wasteful use of scarce natural resources and the deterioration of the human environment endanger the basic living conditions of the present generation and of future generations.

216. There is a widespread feeling today that the world is adrift, and time does not seem to work for us.

217. First of all, this uncertainty is increased by the fact that the positive trends of détente and disarmament—only recently so clearly discernible—seem to be losing their momentum. Disarmament, while yielding some significant results, is put in jeopardy by the concomitant intensification of the arms race. This threatens the results achieved in terms of enhanced security for the parties themselves and for the world at large. At the same time, it represents an added economic burden on nations and individuals. Patterns of peaceful co-operation based on détente are in danger of being eroded. The use of force is on the increase between nations as well as within them.

218. Secondly, in the world economic system, it has become evident that the old order no longer functions. Yet there are no new mechanisms ready to take their place. Problems of under-development are recognized, but consensus about solutions is yet to emerge. The resulting confusion and uncertainty are something that none of us—whether developing or developed—can afford.

219. Thirdly, industrial growth threatens to lead to an increasing use of non-renewable resources, putting a heavy burden on the environment. Energy in particular is a case in point; all available energy alternatives that are quantitatively significant have detrimental effects on the human environment.

220. Since they are faced with this situation, the bewilderment and deep anxiety of individuals in all our countries is not only understandable, it is justified. This is a reality that the Governments here at the United Nations have to take into account.

221. What we need is a clear sense of purpose and direction. To control its future, the world community must have an effective international machinery. Because of its universality, the United Nations is in a unique position for harmonizing the action of nations on the key issues of our time, whether political, economic, social or environmental.

222. In view of the vast challenges before us, we must ensure the efficiency of the world Organization. Therefore we must be prepared to examine ways to improve both the structures and the procedures of the United Nations system, its peace-making and peace-keeping capabilities in particular.

223. The signing of the SALT Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States is an encouraging development, although it is a partial and limited measure. It should be implemented without delay. If it is succeeded by subsequent qualitative and quantitative limitations of nuclear weapons, the Treaty will be a significant step towards making the world safer from the outbreak of a nuclear war. The Talks are an indispensable contribution to the process of détente. We hope that the SALT Treaty will prove a further contribution to that end, and particularly to the relations between the two leading nuclear Powers.

224. In all disarmament negotiations, new approaches are needed. As weapons become ever more sophisticated, negotiations to limit them face danger of getting trapped in a morass of analyses and comparisons of their technical properties. The use and purpose of a weapon and its impact on over-all security, rather than its technical qualities, should be given more weight in negotiations.

225. My Government is a consistent supporter of all efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and has made several initiatives in this field. We have voiced our concern over developments that we have considered contrary to these efforts. We have been particularly concerned about the prospect of nuclear weapons in regions where peace and security are already in jeopardy. Recent indications that an increasing number of Governments in the world's areas of conflict might be pursuing a nuclear weapons capability are a forceful reminder of this danger. We believe that the Treaty on

the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is the best instrument to avert the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons. We have noted with satisfaction the recently increased adherence to the Treaty. We look forward to the second Review Conference on the Treaty, which we hope will further contribute to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime.

226. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for a comprehensive test ban, as it has for a treaty on chemical weapons. We regret that, despite certain advances, neither of these important goals has yet been reached. In spite of these disappointments, there is reason to welcome the recent steps towards a treaty on radiological weapons.

227. Our own continent, Europe, seems perilously close to yet another, even wider, round of arms build-up, both nuclear and conventional. All efforts should be made to avert this danger. Thus, the talks in Vienna should be intensified. Further, the recent initiatives to approach disarmament in Europe on a continental scale should be given more consideration than they have received.

228. The negotiations, whether regional or global, should be urgently broadened to deal with weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, at present outside their scope. As a contribution to the solution of arms-limitation problems in Europe, Finland has pursued the suggestion that President Kekkonen made in May 1978 on a Nordic arms control arrangement designed at the same time to keep the Nordic region outside nuclear strategic speculations.

229. In Europe, despite uncertainties in many fields and areas, the community of interest in security and co-operation has generally remained stable and balanced. The process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, highlighted by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act¹⁵ over four years ago by the high representatives of 35 participating States, has continued. The recently growing interest of States participants in the Conference in confidence-building has focused the attention of Governments on more direct and immediate factors of security. These signs of interest and political will, together with consistent efforts towards the full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, would give reason to approach the second follow-up meeting to be held in Madrid in 1980 with expectations of substantial results.

230. The future of Europe in a changing world cannot be founded on power politics and continuing armament but must, rather, be founded on tolerance of diversity and willingness to compromise and to seek solutions based on co-operation. This pattern, represented by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, cannot, perhaps, constitute a model in a larger international context. But the basic spirit—an approach based on the indivisibility of security and mutual interdependence—reflects a broader trend in the nature of international relations in which responsibility is shared and a common interest is jointly recognized. This spirit is needed in the United Nations also.

231. This thirty-fourth session of the General Assem-

¹⁵ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

bly was preceded by the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September. Finland has remained outside power blocs of all kinds, like the members of the non-aligned movement. Recognizing that movement's importance in world affairs, Finland has attended its meetings since 1964 as an invited guest. At this time we hope that the non-aligned movement, which comprises the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, will continue to play its traditionally constructive role in this Organization.

232. The goal of the United Nations in the Middle East is to establish a just and lasting peace. This presupposes that all Governments and parties concerned will commit themselves to the search for peace in the region. Time itself does not work in favour of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. The Finnish Government had expressed the hope that the Treaty of Peace between Israel and Egypt would promote the achievement of a comprehensive settlement. Such a settlement alone can bring a just and lasting peace to the region. It is the well-known and unchanged position of my Government that a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Further, the solution requires recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination. The Palestinians must be fully involved in any settlement and be able to participate in its negotiation. Israel has to withdraw from Arab territories occupied in 1967. Likewise, it is imperative that the right of Israel and its neighbours to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries be guaranteed.

233. It is essential that all parties to the conflict demonstrate a spirit of accommodation and moderation and avoid measures that would further complicate the peace efforts. The Finnish Government deplores in particular the failure of the Government of Israel to abide by United Nations resolutions with regard to settlements in occupied Arab territories.

234. The cycle of violence in southern Lebanon has seriously endangered the safety of the civilian population and has hindered implementation of the mandate of UNIFIL. The Finnish Government fully supports restoration of the authority and sovereignty of the Government of Lebanon over its territory.

235. While the search for peace goes on, the United Nations peace-keeping forces in southern Lebanon, on the Golan Heights and in Cyprus continue to play an invaluable role in the maintenance of international peace and security. Their presence, which must not be a substitute for the peaceful settlement of these conflicts, should be fully utilized by the parties for peace-making. These operations put a heavy burden on the Organization, and particularly on the troop-contributing countries. The General Assembly should therefore bear in mind the need further to strengthen the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations. This would also help the Organization to respond more efficiently to new demands that it carry out peace-keeping operations.

236. The situation in southern Africa is perhaps the gravest challenge to the capacity and, indeed, to the very credibility of the United Nations. The policy of *apartheid* is at the core of the problems in the area.

South Africa is the only country in which racism is an official State philosophy. During recent weeks we have seen fresh examples—such as the creation of a new bantustan—of the South African Government's defiant pursuit of the practice of that doctrine in the face of universal condemnation. Systematic violations of human rights within South Africa itself and acts of armed violence against neighbouring countries are inherent in that policy. As long as it continues, the United Nations has no alternative but to increase international pressure against South Africa. The Nordic countries will continue their active involvement in this work.

237. As for Finland, we still maintain a degree of hope for a negotiated settlement aimed at majority rule and genuine independence in both Namibia and Zimbabwe. This is so not only because of our general conviction that international conflicts should be solved by peaceful means but also because we sincerely believe that negotiations are the best and most realistic method of seeking independence for those countries in a way that is acceptable to the international community. It is obvious that the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the Security Council must be maintained until an internationally acceptable solution has been reached.

238. It is against this background that we continue to give our support to the ongoing efforts to implement the Security Council plan for the independence of Namibia and welcome the initiative of her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, endorsed by the Commonwealth countries, to bring all the parties directly involved in the Rhodesian issue to the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London. These recent developments are encouraging but, at the same time, they may very well be the last chance to achieve peaceful solutions. Were it not for the patience and statesmanlike flexibility shown by the front-line States and other African countries, there would exist no such chance at all.

239. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, has declared its readiness to assist in the process of transition towards the independence of Namibia and Rhodesia. That commitment stands.

240. The Government of Finland, on the basis of its Nordic traditions of freedom, solidarity and justice, stands ready to support effective international respect for human rights. I have had the occasion to state from this rostrum the view of my Government that human rights are a matter of importance for peace and good relations between States. This applies with equal emphasis to all human rights, civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. It applies also to the work being done, particularly now, during the International Year of the Child, to secure the enjoyment of human rights for children, the generations of the future.

241. The plight of refugees is one aspect of the general question of human rights, which has recently been at the centre of attention because of events in South-East Asia. It is encouraging to note that the international community has been able to take action quickly with respect to the situation of refugees and displaced persons in that region, particularly as a result of the Geneva Meeting in July of this year. This shows that co-ordinated steps can be agreed to on a large scale and that they can produce concrete results in matters of international human concern.

242. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that only partial solutions have been achieved. The total dimensions of the problem derive from the fact that there are as many as 12 million refugees in South-East Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America who are deprived of their basic human rights. Their suffering should serve as a constant reminder to all Governments of the need to share the responsibility both for giving immediate relief and for reaching peaceful solutions in situations of political crisis that may cause flows of refugees.

243. On the threshold of the 1980s the international community seems to have accepted the fact that there can be no return to the old economic order which has prevailed since the Second World War. Despite its obvious short-comings, that order at least bore the semblance of being based on a set of established ground rules. At present, rampant inflation, the threat of worldwide recession, the glaring contradictions of waste and want, all point in one direction. The current turmoil in the world economy must be resolved by the establishment of a New International Economic Order reflecting these new economic realities. Otherwise, we shall run the risk of losing whatever control we may still have over the international economy. But the New International Economic Order must also reflect long-term considerations of central importance, in particular with respect to the rational use of the world's finite natural resources and the preservation of man's environment, which are the key questions in all global economic and social planning.

244. The world community is also beginning to realize that the establishment of such a new order is not possible without necessary adjustments in the production and consumption patterns in all countries. It is important to perceive these inescapable adjustments as a continuous process. In Finland, adjustments to changing conditions in the international economy through structural changes in production remain an essential element of our economic tradition, which is based on a market economy. Against this background, my Gov-

ernment approaches with an open mind the new situation, in which our relations with the economies of the developing world occupy an increasingly important place. Yet, efforts by individual Governments are of little avail, unless a degree of accord exists among the nations of the world on the general direction and purpose of structural change. We look to negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations system to provide the international community with such guidance.

245. The proposals which emerged from the recent Conference of non-aligned countries and which were further considered in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 are, in our view, a valuable contribution to this process of negotiation. My Government has repeatedly stressed that global issues, such as energy, should as far as possible be debated in global forums. The time has indeed come to formulate instruments of economic and social policy for the rest of this century. The main instrument in the United Nations must be the international development strategy for the 1980s. In this context we welcome all initiatives which sincerely aim at an open and universal dialogue on the most pressing and immediate problems of the world economy and which hold the promise of providing the international community with unity of purpose on economic matters.

246. The most important task of the United Nations in the 1980s will be the promotion of détente and disarmament, and the realization of a New International Economic Order in accordance with sound ecological principles. We must focus our action not only on ourselves but also on the coming generations.

247. Our principal concern should be the individual human being, his welfare, his dignity and the quality of his life. In short, our task is to implement the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.