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(United Republic of Tanzania)

Address by Mr. José López Portillo, President of the United Mexican States

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by His Excellency Mr. José López Portillo, President of the United Mexican States. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. José López Portillo, President of the United Mexican States, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. LÓPEZ PORTILLO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is significant and encouraging that we have an outstanding African personality presiding over our debates, in well-deserved recognition of the honourable and consistent role that has been played on the international scene by his country, the United Republic of Tanzania.

3. We recognize, too, the dedication the Secretary-General has shown, and the great effort he has made in carrying out the functions of his position against the backdrop of the controversial happenings of our times.

4. I have said on another occasion that in this world of inequalities and contrasts, North-South and East-West tensions and pressures are crucifying a substantial portion of mankind.

5. In 1973, the disorder of the world economy culminated dramatically in the conflicts marking the availability and real price of hydrocarbons, which in turn had a direct or indirect effect on that long-standing disorder by giving rise to generalized energy problems and thereby affecting the well-being, the development prospects, the standard of living and even the very survival of nations.

6. For 7,000 years peoples have inhabited this earth, and throughout our existence our history has been marked by the search for a common denominator that would identify, bind and unite us all.

7. Our present circumstances seem to indicate that that unifying element, in connexion with which all of us have a responsibility, may well be the lack of energy sources.

8. The energy crisis exists; it is an actual fact. We are witnesses to an obligatory transition period in the world energy situation. We can be authors of that change, and channel it, or we can be simple spectators, and become its victims.

9. Unless we make a timely effort to define our reality as the problem it is, the transition could become a conflagration, perhaps the most violent in all history.

10. Beginning during the final third of this twentieth century, it is a transformation whose duration, scope and consequences have yet to make themselves known. As a result, the cost of adjusting our economy, science, techniques and political determination will be high.

11. Let us be fully conscious of this in order to understand what is happening. Within a few decades, the age of petroleum as a major basic fuel will come to an end. We have reached a watershed between two different eras in the life of mankind.

12. We are the protagonists in that mutation process, which involves both danger and opportunity. That is why we speak of crisis, and not yet of catastrophe.

13. It may be the beginning of a new era. It may be the end of them all.

14. If we are to set our course, find the rhythm of our stroke and move ahead, the truly important thing is to seek not culprits, but responsible men; not to accuse, but to explain; not to vanquish, but to convince.

15. Let us develop a consciousness that is based on rational thought, the gift that is ours alone among all earth's species. Of them all, we are the only beings capable of programming and premeditating our actions. Let us use those abilities to overcome instincts, fear and mistrust, and turn them into determination and reason.

16. Paradoxically, advances in knowledge and ways of doing things are sometimes dehumanizing and do not always contribute to civilization. Zones or groups appear in which simple realities become vital ones, and even the powerful countries run the risk of relapsing into under-development.

17. Energy has now enabled us to travel at supersonic speeds and to receive communications at the speed of light.

18. Thus, we have shortened distances and accelerated time; but also, where many people today are concerned, we have halted the course of historical time and broadened social gaps. There is a dramatic dualism between our conquering space and reaching other

planets and the continued existence, on our own, of stone-age hunger and insecurity; on the one hand, we see what we can be and, on the other, what we really are. Overcoming that dualism is a basic imperative of justice, and will be feasible if we prove ourselves capable of making reasonable use of the opportunity offered us by the existence of a non-renewable resource while it still lasts.

19. Let us base our relations on what we have in common, and use the differences among us to enrich our analysis. Let us make those relations lasting by basing them on mutual benefit and reciprocal respect. Let us shape our behaviour to the circumstances involved. We cannot extend equal treatment to those who are in unequal conditions. Let us treat others as we would be treated ourselves.

20. No country on earth is entirely self-sufficient. We all have need of the others.

21. The surplus earnings of wealthy, industrialized or petroleum-producing countries become the deficits of the weaker economies, and sooner and later have a backlash and a damaging effect on their own cause.

22. We may distinguish five basic types of conditions as a means of grouping the different countries: those which are large-scale producers and at the same time exporters of petroleum, almost all of them developing nations; those which are producers and importers and have attained a high or medium level of economic development that provides them with the resources they must have to cover their remaining needs, in spite of price rises; those with a relatively low level of development which produce but must also import, and to do so confront the difficulties involved in acquiring foreign petroleum without cancelling economic and social projects of national benefit; those which are importers only, have attained high or medium levels of development and have been able to adjust their growth to their energy needs; and those which are not only exclusively importers but are also under-developed, and must therefore make enormous sacrifices, even where essential national projects are involved, to obtain the petroleum and petroleum derivatives they need.

23. From another point of view, it should also be remembered that the industrialized, market-economy countries absorb 60 per cent of all the energy produced in the world. With less than one fifth of the world's population, they consume two out of every three barrels of petroleum produced.

24. In that context, we might ask ourselves the following questions: How much longer will we be able to keep the world moving at its present rate with our available sources of energy? At what cost? To what end? And for whose benefit? How and when can we and must we find substitutes for our present sources of energy?

25. I prefer not to mention the ideological or political aspects which would add to the complexity of approaches to the problem. I want to speak only of the facts, to say things that have been said before—things that, in one way or another, everyone thinks or knows. I trust I shall be saying nothing new. It would be grave indeed if at this point in the crisis there were still something new to be said.

26. We must race against time to find new solutions before our present sources run out. Let us place a proper value on what we have, before we lose it.

27. An extravagant and wasteful use of petroleum was made in the decades when its price was low; it was only when prices were raised in order to revalue this resource that efforts to develop alternate sources began. For the most part, it has been used as a fuel. That period will be branded with the stigma of folly, for having burned petroleum that could have been turned into food-stuffs and petrochemical products of prodigious benefit to the whole of mankind.

28. We have turned the petroleum industry into a gigantic mechanism for producing profits and tax revenue to meet urgent short-term needs.

29. We had forgotten the importance of the future, which in recent years has become a drastic present. What is in short supply becomes expensive. What, then, is the price of a commodity whose supply is running out? What is the price of that which no longer exists?

30. The countries that produce petroleum—a non-renewable resource and one that for many countries represents the sole resource provided them by nature—want to invest in ways that will permanently ensure their future. Now organized, they are for the first time successfully defending and revaluing a raw material. They attribute the escalation of prices to monetary and trade disorders and to the ensuing devaluation of foreign exchange, and refuse to discuss oil prices alone, outside the context of a complete new international order.

31. The industrialized countries feel they are being victimized by the petroleum-producing countries, which they accuse of being responsible for inflation and recession. Not yet fully organized themselves, and as consumers *par excellence*, they collectively follow a system of circumstantial and therefore fleeting rationalization; they draft unilateral policies designed to reduce their dependence and consumerism, and they insist on discussing the price of crude oil exclusively without considering other questions of vital importance to all.

32. The poor countries—those without oil, dependent, coerced and sometimes distressed; those without the ability of the wealthy countries to transfer the impact of oil prices to their exports, since these consist solely of under-priced raw materials—are forced to import everything from energy to inflation and recession. They see with despair that, despite the noble and singular, albeit insufficient, efforts of the organized petroleum-producing countries, petrodollars continue to be recycled in the powerful economies.

33. The developing world's joint strategy for enhancing the value of all its raw materials runs the risk of being divided since, to date, although oil has itself been revalued this has not served to trigger a proper revaluation of other raw materials. We must take care to preserve the unity that was achieved with such difficulty.

34. Hydrocarbon prices cannot be considered a matter for bargaining and for a testing of strength between

producers and consumers, particularly when their respective positions are made more extreme by the intervention of other, generally transnational structures, many of which no longer recognize any home country and consequently acknowledge neither social obligations nor political solidarity. Let us reconcile conscience and national values with the interests of fertile and harmonious internationalism.

35. Conflicts of interests among countries must be resolved not through the annihilation but rather through the dialectical integration of such opposing interests.

36. What is not foreseen becomes a problem. Problems that are not solved accumulate, and accumulated problems discourage evolution and foreclose possibilities of development.

37. In order to avoid being overtaken by events, and as a means of facing the challenges that clearly loom before us, we must not wait until crisis compels us to take hasty, piecemeal decisions and then find ourselves bound to those that outweigh the rest by reason of the force, and not the right, they represent.

38. Men are dying today. Let us not offer remedies for tomorrow. In the face of harsh reality, let us not propose idealized stoicism; in the face of true but difficult roads, artificial, dead-end labyrinths; in the face of concrete obstacles, would-be short cuts; in the face of hard-to-overcome lethargy, ephemeral and selfish solutions; in the face of sound arguments, threats and lies; in the face of the power of intelligence, the brute force of arms; nor, in the face of problems shared by all, partial, bilateral or bloc solutions. We would make little progress if we allowed ourselves to be caught up in the illusory reflections of such a mirror game.

39. It would be inexcusable if, in full knowledge of the trends and their implications, we were to fail to take decisions leading to appropriate solutions that will keep the threat of a bitter and conflict-ridden future from becoming an irreparable present.

40. We cannot openly sustain high expectations while concealing evil intentions, for to do so would be to offend justice with irrational acts that would abolish hope and dignity for many millions of human beings.

41. On the basis of those premises, we fully identify with the countries that are struggling to revalue their raw materials. We share the interests of the petroleum-producing countries, but we also realize that it is essential to dismantle a bogged-down system that works to the detriment of all. We are irrevocably pledged to the principles of self-determination, non-intervention, the peaceful solution of controversies, the economic rights and duties of nations, and solidarity, which are the guidelines of our international conduct. That is why we want to cut this Gordian knot.

42. We know that among individuals, as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace, just as we also know that on occasion we must take on new responsibilities so that law, respect and active peace will again come to the fore. The time has come to make renewed progress in establishing the norms and regulations of international law, which must no longer be merely public law but must acquire an authentically social nature.

43. My country, which long ago affirmed the nation's primary ownership of its land and subsoil, a principle that is embodied in our Constitution, was in 1938 the first country to nationalize its oil industry as part of its decolonization process. Today, an important potential producer of hydrocarbons, it desires solidarity with all the nations of the world, and particularly with those which are struggling for their freedom and are most needy and most deserving.

44. We are prepared to back these words with deeds by assuming both normative and operative obligations in efforts to bring about the advent of a new, more equitable and better-balanced world order.

45. With all due modesty as regards our situation and understanding, we would like to offer the following considerations.

46. The first problem, in the presence of so many protagonists with opposing interests, undefined policies, unresolved claims, accumulated resentment and articulated reproaches, is how to pose the problem without giving rise to suspicions of partiality, manipulation or complicity.

47. Defining the problem constitutes a substantial part of the solution. Nevertheless, what I am about to say is so simple that I confess it may appear, in view of the controversial situation in which we find ourselves, to be mere romantic ingenuousness.

48. Energy sources are the shared responsibility of all mankind. Energy sources must not be the privilege of the powerful. All abundance is relative. Such sources have a limit, and will come to an end. Moreover, they must not be used as a disturbing element to offset the insecurity of those who have no other means of ensuring their legitimate survival and self-determination.

49. We want to bridge the gap between extremes by making present-day petroleum supply, demand and price structures compatible with the alternatives we seek for the future.

50. The order that must come about—and soon—can come either as the result of the participation of sovereign nations, of their convictions and their free will, or be violently imposed by the most powerful of those nations. And it is not impossible that it may come as the result of a senseless holocaust, which, in pointless emulation of the punishment of Sisyphus, who was doomed never to finish his task, would nullify what it seeks to gain, and, to our eternal shame, would again loose the horsemen of the apocalypse—this time, however, riding the unleashed energy of millions of horsepower.

51. That is the dilemma before us and the reason for the proposal I am making here today.

52. The United Nations is the only rational and institutional means we have for combating political and economic hegemonies. Only here is it possible for sovereign nations to deal with one another on an equal legal and moral footing; only in this manner will we together be able to settle controversies and to banish abuses and excessive power, so as to develop within a framework of justice rules that, once approved by the

majority, will be binding on all for the achievement of well-reasoned and effective solutions.

53. But this forum is criticized as if it had sprung up by spontaneous generation. It is said that it is too bureaucratic, that it is a frustrating quagmire, or that it is excessively politicized, that it has become an instrument for the exercise of the veto of the big Powers, or for misuse by the majority made up by the weaker nations.

54. Be that as it may, it is our own creation—the best we have been able to devise. If we do not agree on its usefulness, let us change it, but let us not invalidate it.

55. We propose a formula of teamwork, aimed not at pretence or at intervention, but at harmonious participation that will integrate and amplify isolated efforts.

56. The subject of energy has attracted and occupied the attention of this Organization for several years past. Hydrocarbons—as a catalysing element of the economic crisis—have been a recurring theme of the debates, which have revealed varying interests and opinions, good ideas and mistaken ones, and agreement and disagreement cutting across each other in all directions whenever the subject of energy comes up.

57. To mention all the reports and resolutions that have been produced at different levels would take far too long. There are those who persist in thinking of energy matters in terms of the energy source involved; to split up the question in this way into separate parts is illogical and incompatible with the interdependent nature and magnitude of the problems we face today.

58. On what objective criterion could the treatment of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes be based, if we failed to take the production of hydrocarbons into account? Would a conference whose purpose was the study of new and renewable energy sources make sense to us if it excluded consideration of older conventional sources? Would it not be more consistent to co-ordinate all energy matters within one over-all policy, while respecting the special characteristics of each energy source?

59. Neither does it seem justified to allow the shortcomings and problems left over from the past, or the antagonisms of the present, to lead us to classify in separate, watertight compartments matters that are inseparably linked together.

60. We want to make use of what is usable, capitalizing on experience and on what we learn from daily life, in order to draw up a common programme for the development and equitable distribution of energy resources, both existing and potential. Therefore, research should be directed towards optimizing energy production and productivity, so as not to base solutions on reserves, but rather on the available potential for generating resources that are indeed renewable and for the common good.

61. We face what appear to be fundamental problems that are really questions of form and method—of a method for reconciling divergent interests and clarifying the political will of the international community, each one of whose members must claim its rights and agree on and carry out its mission.

62. We are hampered in this endeavour, on the one hand, by the inability to put together in a coherent way the different approaches to the energy problem, the most vital of all for ensuring the continuity of progress; and, on the other hand, by the difficulty of linking them to a much vaster and more complex whole: a new world economic order.

63. Resolving this contradiction means deciding not only what to do, but how to do it; it means dealing simultaneously with both aspects—the new international strategy for development and the means of implementing it.

64. Were we to do otherwise, we would be dissociating what we want from what we do; we would be opposing principles to norms, norms to procedures, and procedures to creative action. We would be running the perilous risk of getting bogged down, of perpetuating the unjust contrasts between scarcity and extravagance, between humiliating backwardness and dazzling progress, between a sterile existence and a decent life.

65. We already have economic norms and provisions that are generally accepted by States. By basing our efforts on these norms, and thereby giving them substance, it will be possible to design an all-encompassing and balanced joint development strategy that would be expressed in legal form and based on international law. As at Bretton Woods we were able to establish an orderly structure for handling monetary and reconstruction matters, so today we could, in this now fully instituted forum, establish a new and more orderly structure for handling energy and revitalization. Because of all this, I am in a position to assure you that a general debate on this subject is not only essential, but possible.

66. I therefore propose the adoption of a world energy plan that covers all nations, both the haves and the have-nots, one that is binding on all and that has as its fundamental objective the assurance of an orderly, progressive, integrated and just transition from one age of man's history to the next.

67. The plan must contain programmes designed to accomplish the following goals. It must guarantee the full and permanent sovereignty of each nation over its own natural resources. It must rationalize the exploration, production, distribution, consumption and conservation of present-day sources of energy, particularly hydrocarbons, by providing financial and technical assistance. It must ensure and increase the systematic exploitation of potential reserves of all types, both traditional and non-conventional, that have not yet been exploited owing to lack of financing or applied research, including the sun that heats our tropics and burns so many deserts; the water that runs uselessly down so many mountainsides, eroding the soil along its path; the disregarded heat within our earth; the unused energy of the wind, and that of the sea, of the atom and of life itself. It must make it possible for all nations to draft energy plans that are compatible with world policy, so as to ensure the consistency and effectiveness of objectives, content and instruments. It must devise measures for the promotion in developing countries of the formation and integration of auxiliary industries in the energy field, and especially of capital goods in that field. It must establish a short-term system, to be put into effect immediately, for resolving the problems of developing

countries that import petroleum, a system which would guarantee supply and the honouring of contracts, stop speculation, provide for compensation for price increases, and even ensure considerate treatment on the part of the exporting countries. It must set up financing and development funds, which could be made up of proportional and equitable contributions from the developed consumer countries and from producer and exporter countries, in order to meet both the long-term objectives and the urgent needs of the underdeveloped oil-importing countries. It must institute a system for disseminating and transferring technologies, together with their respective training programmes, that would include a world-wide registry of advances and follow-up in energy research and experimentation. It must support the establishment of an international energy institute. This proposal, which coincides completely with the ideas expressed here, has already been made by the Secretary-General of this Organization, whom I wish to thank for his guidance in this regard.

68. To carry forward this world energy plan, I propose the establishment of a working group, composed of representatives of the petroleum-producing countries, of industrialized countries, both capitalist and socialist, and of developing petroleum-importing countries, which would prepare the documents and pertinent specific proposals.

69. In only 21 years we shall have reached the horizon of the year 2000; by then the babies who are born today will be grown men and women. Then, the only substitute for petroleum will still be the petroleum that remains to be discovered; it will not be until the dawn of the twenty-first century that other energy sources will begin to be of real service to us. Hence the imperative need to rationalize the use of hydrocarbons and the purposes they serve.

70. For all this to come about we shall have to apply our greatest efforts to the task, giving of our best in good faith and with intellectual honesty, imagination, constancy and determination.

71. May the union of our diversity give rise to the conditions for universal peace. May it be a productive peace, bringing to all the opportunity to live and earn the right to lasting happiness for ourselves and for all our children.

72. The challenge is for all of us, because we are all part of the problem, and therefore we are all part of the solution as well.

73. That is Mexico's proposal.

74. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank His Excellency Mr. José López Portillo, President of the United Mexican States, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

75. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):¹ First of all, I should like, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, to extend to you, Sir, warmest congratulations on your unanimous election

as President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. With you as President, this important task falls to an experienced diplomat who, during his many years of service at New York, has rightly won everyone's respect. You can be sure of the full support of my delegation in carrying out the important tasks ahead of you.

76. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose untiring efforts on behalf of the world Organization we greatly respect.

77. Crisis of economic growth and development, crisis in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in Indo-China—these are the subjects dominating international politics and especially politics within the United Nations. In his report, Secretary-General Waldheim speaks of "deep-seated feelings of anxiety" [*see A/34/1, sect. 7*].

78. In such times it is more important than ever to look beyond the day and to reflect on the fundamental current of history. That fundamental current was switched to a new course 200 years ago by the proclamation of civil liberties and by the Industrial Revolution. Up to that time oppression and poverty seemed to be the unalterable lot of the great majority of people. But then there opened up a future which gave all men the hope of one day living free from bondage and free from want. Ever since then the world—despite all crises and setbacks, despite terrible wars and inhuman crimes—has been pursuing that goal.

79. The trend towards freedom has gathered momentum dramatically in our age: human rights became a universal idea; peoples living under colonial rule asserted their right to self-determination and achieved independence; the process of industrialization extended to the nations of the third world; and in spite of the population explosion the *per capita* income of those countries grew 3.4 per cent annually in the 1960s.

80. But people in many parts of the world are still suffering from hunger; there is still oppression; the problems of economic and social development are still unresolved; and world peace is still not secure. Indeed, today we must face new challenges: growth and development have slowed down, but the armaments spiral is spinning faster; the independence which the third world has only just achieved is threatened by new hegemonic aspirations; and violations of even the most elementary human rights show the great distance that still has to be covered before respect for the dignity of man becomes the day-to-day practice of all nations.

81. Will mankind continue along the road to peace, to freedom from want and oppression, or will it not? The decision lies in our hands.

82. The limits to progress that we have come up against are not insurmountable ones dictated by nature. They are social and political limits which we have imposed upon ourselves, because we still try to master the challenges of our time with the attitudes and methods of the past. A fundamental change in our way of thinking is

¹ Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

more urgent than ever. This also holds true for international politics. Peace is no longer the exclusive concern of the big Powers, and economic stability is no longer a task for individual States alone.

83. Safeguarding peace today requires the participation of all countries. The individual country can achieve growth only if the others achieve growth also. This new reality of global interdependence demands of us a different approach, a different kind of action.

84. The power of fact forces nations onto the road of world-wide co-operation on the basis of equal rights. Multilateral diplomacy and international organizations are moving into the foreground. Their focal-point is the United Nations.

85. This Organization has played an indispensable role in the peaceful process of decolonization, in defusing conflicts and in accelerating development. It has thrust the issue of mankind's future into our field of vision and opened up avenues for new dimensions in international co-operation. Its task is still to overcome the disparities in the world by means of co-operation and the reconciliation of interests.

86. Those who want the world to achieve further progress must increase the efficiency of the United Nations. Because of new and wider-ranging activities its methods of work need to be streamlined. The mushrooming of institutions will have to be stopped.

87. But for the United Nations to be able to fulfil its global responsibilities it will also be necessary to keep the principle of universality intact. The exclusion of Member States would affect the United Nations in its essence and deprive it of its ability to foster world-wide co-operation.

88. Active and responsible participation in the work of the United Nations is a major element of the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. We uphold the principles of the Charter; they point the way to a future for mankind free from want and bondage.

89. Progress requires peace. The policy of my country is a policy for peace, and the basis of that policy is our membership in the European Community and in the North Atlantic Alliance.

90. The Irish Foreign Minister has set out the foreign policy positions of the nine States members of the European Community [8th meeting, paras. 2-53].

91. Essential to the safeguarding of world peace is the consolidation of peace between East and West. East and West have different concepts and values and, consequently, different political objectives. We cannot erase this fundamental difference, but moderation must prevail. We must find ways and means of developing the co-operation necessary in this interdependent world, notwithstanding the contrasting systems.

92. However, peace cannot be safeguarded unless there is a balance of forces. That balance is the basis of détente. The Federal Republic of Germany has from the very beginning been one of the main contributors to détente. We shall continue to make this contribution, together with our partners in the North Atlantic Al-

liance and in the European Community. To us, a policy of détente is a long-range policy; it is not just a fair-weather phase. This makes it predictable for all. No one has cause to doubt the unambiguity of our policy.

93. We are constantly developing our relations with the Soviet Union and the other States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty. We are equally active in the multilateral process of détente in Europe, based on the Final Act of Helsinki.² All signatories of the Final Act should prove the sincerity of their will for détente by consistently honouring the commitments they entered into at Helsinki.

94. Of special significance for détente is the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, since the border between East and West divides Germany. No nation can have a greater interest in détente than the German nation. Our aim is the continuous development of co-operation with the German Democratic Republic.

95. We want to increase the possibilities for Germans on both sides to come to one another. Détente must be perceivable and tangible to the people in exercising their rights and in their daily lives. The German nation is divided against its will. But history has not spoken the last word yet. It remains the declared aim of our policy to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German people can regain their unity in free self-determination.

96. The switches for historical development have been thrown: for the realization of the right of self-determination and for peacefully bridging divisions, not deepening and perpetuating them.

97. The symbol of détente in Europe is the city which in the years of the cold war was so often the scene of perilous tensions which affected the whole world: Berlin. The 1971 Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin has been a decisive feature in reducing those tensions. Its strict observance and full application remain the first essential for the progress of détente.

98. Détente is indivisible. It must also prove itself in the East's and the West's relations with the nations of the third world. The East-West conflict must be kept out of the third world. The right of the developing countries to determine their future in their own way must be respected.

99. The Federal Republic of Germany is opposed to any form of hegemony—whether it be military, political, economic or ideological. We do not want to force our form of government or social order on anyone. Rather, we want a world order in which all nations choose their way of life in free self-determination. A policy of partnership based on equal rights is the policy for the future.

100. The movement of the non-aligned countries is of great importance to them in asserting their independence and their right of self-determination and hence in securing global stability. That movement will, however, be able to fulfil its task only if, rather than looking

² The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

back, it recognizes the dangers which threaten independence and non-alignment today.

101. In his speech at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana early this month, President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania said:

“The non-aligned movement must remain itself—a group of countries which are proudly independent, which stand for justice and equality between men and between nations, and which refuse to ally themselves with any power bloc or major world Power.”

If the movement of non-aligned countries adheres to that principle it will remain a powerful force for peace, stability and progress in the world. Anyone who wants to make that movement the so-called natural ally of the socialist camp is trying to lead it into a new dependence, to paralyse it and ultimately to deprive it of the basis for its actions.

102. Respect for the right of self-determination of nations also means respect for their cultural identity, respect for the right of every nation to go its own way. We agree with the nations of the third world that do not see modernization as the blind adoption of foreign models but as the expression of their own character in the conditions of our time.

103. Mankind needs diversity of cultures if its creative energies are not to peter out. We break a lance for the free exchange of ideas and information based on mutual respect and tolerance. We must promote this exchange and at the same time develop the ability of the third world to play an equal part in it.

104. To be able to safeguard peace one has to settle conflicts by negotiation and the fair reconciliation of interests. I wish to single out the three conflicts which feature prominently in the General Assembly debates: those in the Middle East, southern Africa and Indo-China.

105. In spite of all the efforts that have been made, peace has still not been achieved in the Middle East. The treaty between Egypt and Israel³ has aroused hopes of a comprehensive peace settlement after 30 years of seemingly insurmountable hostility; but we know that there is still a hard road ahead and that many serious obstacles have to be cleared away before Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) can be implemented comprehensively and globally.

106. The tragic situation in Lebanon also remains a source of great concern. The efforts by the constitutional authorities in Lebanon to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country deserve the support of us all.

107. The Middle East is a region which has always been closely linked with Europe in many fields. Peace in that region is our peace, and vice versa. Together with our partners in the European Community, we have on several occasions, especially in the statement by the

European Council on 29 June 1977,⁴ set out the principles for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Irish Foreign Minister explained and reaffirmed those principles on behalf of the nine countries the day before yesterday.

108. The nations of the world are becoming increasingly aware that without the inclusion of the Palestinian people in a comprehensive settlement there will be no lasting peace in the region.

109. In the view of the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel's right to live within secure and recognized boundaries, like the other States in the region, is unassailable. The recognition of this right, as well as of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, by all concerned is necessary for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement. We called for the realization of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people as early as 1974 during the debate on the question of Palestine in this forum.

110. In southern Africa, only the removal of the remnants of colonialism and *apartheid* can bring peace to Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa.

111. In Namibia and Zimbabwe, a new approach is being made to the problem of ensuring a peaceful transition to independence. We are actively involved in the Namibia initiative of the five Western States.

112. We welcome the new British initiatives to find a solution to the Zimbabwe problem with the agreement of all concerned; and we hope that the efforts of all participants in the London negotiations will at long last give the people of Zimbabwe the peace they long for.

113. These efforts should not be disrupted by any side. The sooner the Republic of South Africa decides to take the necessary steps for the total elimination of all racial barriers the sooner will it be possible to enable people of all colours to live together in peace.

114. The situation in Indo-China is a threat to peace and stability in South East Asia; it can become a threat to world peace.

115. In Cambodia, peace can be restored only on the basis of that country's independence. That nation, which has undergone such a terrible test, needs a Government which expresses its will and which is recognized by all countries in the region. Neither the murderous Pol Pot régime nor the Heng Samrin régime installed by foreign forces meets this requirement. But the starving people of Cambodia cannot wait until a political solution has been found. They need help at once. The parties to the conflict must make it possible for that help to reach the people in all parts of Cambodia. No more time should be lost, since it is literally a question of a nation's survival.

116. The misery of the refugees from Viet Nam poses yet another humanitarian challenge. Hundreds of thousands of desperate people have left their homeland. “Boat people” has become a new, horrifying phrase in the international vocabulary. The Federal Republic of Germany is doing all it can to help the Vietnamese refugees. Although we are a densely populated country, we are offering many of them a new home. We also support the programmes introduced by

³ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed in Washington on 26 March 1979.

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

the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the benefit of the refugees in South-East Asia. But, here again, it is necessary—over and above the humanitarian aid—to get to the root of the problem. The freedom to leave one's own country is a human right; but it is equally a human right to be allowed to stay in one's native country.

117. Starvation and distress still prevail in many parts of the globe, but the nations of the world are expending resources in excess of \$400 billion a year for military purposes. The community of nations is called upon to make every effort to stop the armament spiral. The arms build-up is a threat to peace, it hampers development and it impairs the ability to provide development aid.

118. The Federal Republic of Germany welcomes the fact that, with the resolutions adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly in 1978, the United Nations has intensified its efforts to achieve disarmament. In a world in which hegemonic aspirations remain unchecked, every country must inevitably be at pains to maintain its security. The Western Alliance is resolved to do so, but it is doing no more than is necessary for the defence of its members. The Federal Republic of Germany is not a nuclear-weapon State, nor does it want to be. Nobody should underestimate the security interests of others.

119. It is therefore essential for the safeguarding of world peace that nations should seek security, not in military supremacy, but in balance. Supremacy creates insecurity. Together with our partners in the Western defence alliance, we want to achieve such a balance, a balance at a lower level of armaments. That is the object of the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. Their purpose is to establish an approximate parity of ground forces on both sides in central Europe.

120. The participants in the negotiations in Vienna should now consider what agreements will be possible in the foreseeable future on the basis of reliable data. The agreement reached as a result of the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]⁵ likewise derives from the concept of parity. The Federal Republic of Germany welcomes that agreement and hopes that it will soon enter into force. It is a major contribution to stability. It is, moreover, an important prerequisite for progress in other areas of arms control and disarmament. It is also of major significance for the progress of détente.

121. In the context of the third round of SALT, there will also have to be negotiations on strategic medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe. Arms control and disarmament presuppose mutual trust. In Europe, the Final Act of Helsinki envisages confidence-building measures. One of the main tasks of the follow-up conference to be held in Madrid in 1980 must be to consolidate and further develop such measures. This is another reason why the Federal Republic of Germany considers that that conference should take place at the political level.

122. We support the initiative of France for a conference on disarmament throughout Europe, which in the initial phase would concentrate on the conclusion of agreements to strengthen confidence.

123. Confidence-building measures could also make for greater stability in other regions and make it easier to predict military and political conduct. We have, therefore, together with other countries, submitted a working paper entitled "Elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament,"⁶ which is designed to generate incentives for such measures. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will achieve further progress on the basis of that resolution.

124. This year three major conferences have taken place in the context of the North-South dialogue: the fifth session of UNCTAD⁷, the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development⁸, and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development⁹. These conferences have brought progress and opened up new areas for the continuing negotiations.

125. It is, however, evident that the two sides have so far not really taken full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the North-South dialogue. The developing countries have proposed a global dialogue in the United Nations.

126. We shall do everything in our power to ensure that this dialogue is structured in such a way that concrete results can be achieved within the foreseeable future.

127. All concerned must negotiate in a new spirit and at long last recognize that in the North-South dialogue it is not a case of one side gaining and the other losing.

128. Our common aim is to make accelerated progress in the developing countries and stable growth in the industrial countries possible again. But to achieve this, the industrial and the developing countries will jointly have to define which policy each side should pursue in order to reach this goal.

129. A key issue is energy. The United States Secretary of State has rightly emphasized this [5th meeting]. The challenge confronting us all is how to lead the world smoothly from the age of oil into an era of renewable sources of energy. This can only be achieved through the closest possible co-operation in a spirit of common responsibility. The Federal Republic of Germany, therefore, supports the idea of a world-wide, long-term energy dialogue.

130. The oil-importing developing countries, whose oil requirements grow much more rapidly than those of the industrial countries, have the biggest problems. They must devote all their efforts to the development of their own sources of energy. The Federal Republic of Germany will increase its assistance to that end. We attach great importance to the United Nations Confer-

⁵ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

⁶ See document A/CN.10/8.

⁷ Held at Manila from 7 May to 1 June 1979.

⁸ Held at Rome from 12 to 20 July 1979.

⁹ Held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979.

ence on New and Renewable Sources of Energy scheduled for 1981.

131. In order to accelerate development, the exports of the developing countries must be increased. The industrial countries will therefore have to resist the pressure of protectionist forces and keep their markets open for increasing exports, especially of manufactures, from the developing countries. This also applies to the Communist industrial countries. Up to now these countries have absorbed less than 3 per cent of the exports of the third world, while the industrial democracies account for nearly 75 per cent.

132. The Federal Republic of Germany advocates better access to markets. It is committed to the aim of restructuring the traditional patterns of trade within which the developing countries primarily supply commodities and the industrial countries supply manufactures.

133. Accelerated development requires an increase in the transfer of capital. In the case of developing countries with low incomes, it will above all be necessary to increase official aid. The Federal Republic of Germany will in the three years ahead increase the growth rate of its aid twice as fast as that of the national budget.

134. The main concern of middle-income developing countries is the transfer of private capital. These countries already meet well over two thirds of their external financial requirements from private sources. Direct private investment features prominently in private capital transfers. In order to promote such investment, two conditions will have to be fulfilled: the developing countries must have the assurance that such investment will dovetail organically with their development and that it will not be associated with any attempts to gain political influence. The investors, on the other hand, need legal security.

135. Of major significance is the need to secure a fair balance of interests in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which will permit us to exploit the great economic possibilities of the oceans for development and growth. This concerns the utilization of two thirds of the earth's surface. A settlement giving fair consideration to all interests is above all necessary for sea-bed mining. It must give all States and enterprises access to the raw material deposits on the ocean floor and, at the same time, establish legal security without which the necessary long-term and large-scale investment will not be possible.

136. However essential it may be that the industrial and the developing countries establish on their joint responsibility the global economic conditions for faster development and stable growth, we must all remain aware that this does not in any way diminish the importance of national economic and development policies. The industrial countries must bring inflation under control. They must conserve energy. They must economize on all raw materials and prevent waste. And they must master the structural change ensuing from the world economy and technological progress. All this requires painful adjustment processes, and we are aware of that.

137. Adjustments will also have to be made by the countries of the third world. New development strategies are necessary so that the masses of the poor can be brought into the development process. In the developing countries, too, it is necessary to prevent a division of the economy and society into a modern, prospering sector and a traditionally stagnating sector. It is a question of creating development strategies designed to achieve growth not merely through capital-intensive investment, but also, and to a far greater extent than hitherto, by mobilizing human labour. The task is to give the millions of underemployed and unemployed the ability and the chance to use their energies for productive employment and self-fulfilment.

138. Such a strategy requires in most developing countries the development of an efficient agriculture. A rapidly growing agriculture will in this process, owing to the demand for fertilizer, agricultural machinery and mass-produced consumer goods, become at the same time a driving force of industrialization.

139. Instead of industrial enclaves there must be industrialization that forms an integral part of the economy of each of the developing countries concerned and at the same time helps those countries to improve their export capability on a broad basis.

140. Only the development of agriculture can avert the threatening food crisis in the third-world countries and free them from the need to import food. This is the only way in which the unemployment problem can be kept within tolerable limits. Finally, only a strategy that links growth and social justice can prevent development from slipping into social unrest and internal chaos.

141. One acute problem is the alarming increase in the number of executions in the world, many of them with a political background. The death penalty should be limited and ultimately abolished, as it was in my own country over 30 years ago, after the bitter experience of history. The next session of the General Assembly should debate the death penalty as a matter of priority.

142. Thirty years ago the General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the common standard of achievement for all nations. That standard, more than any other, indicates how distant our goal remains. Human rights have still not been realized world-wide—neither the civil and political rights nor the social, economic and cultural rights.

143. In the United Nations we have created procedures and institutions with the help of which we can actively promote the realization of human rights. These procedures are still weak. None the less, combined with the moral pressure of world opinion, they have already induced many countries to bring about improvements.

144. We must strengthen and develop the institutions of the United Nations for the protection of human rights. Although many misgivings are still expressed about the establishment of a United Nations court of human rights, I am convinced that in the long run it will be generally realized that such a court would be meant

solely to safeguard human rights and would not be directed against any country.

145. International terrorism is a challenge to us all. Only by joint action shall we be able to overcome it.

146. Effective measures against the taking of hostages are among the indispensable instruments for the protection of human rights. It was this consideration that prompted me three years ago to propose to the Assembly a convention against the taking of hostages.¹⁰ That proposal met with support from the General Assembly. We are now all gratified that the *Ad Hoc* Committee appointed to elaborate a convention has completed its draft [see A/34/39]. I hope that this session of the General Assembly will adopt it.

147. The future of the world has its beginning in man's consciousness, a consciousness that is today imbued with belief in the inalienable rights of the individual and the right of nations to self-determination. The will of the individual and the will of nations to assert those rights are the prime movers of our time. It is not possible to halt them, not even by force. In this certainty, the aim must be to work with determination and by peaceful means for the world-wide assertion of human rights and the right of self-determination.

148. All men must be enabled to live in peace, free from fear, free from hunger, and free from want.

149. Mr. WOJTASZEK (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to address to you our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the high and responsible office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I do so with special pleasure because you are a representative of a country whose successful socio-economic progress has been well known to and admired by us, a country with which Poland is developing mutually beneficial and fruitful co-operation. We are convinced that your remarkable diplomatic talents and your rich international experience will significantly add to the constructive work of this session.

150. May I also be allowed to express our gratitude and respect to Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, who conducted the work of the last session with great dedication and efficiency.

151. Allow me also to assure Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, of our traditionally high regard and support for his active efforts aimed at the implementation of the purposes of the United Nations.

152. The important and at times tragic developments of the last year have not halted the trends towards ensuring lasting world peace and social progress and providing man with dignified living conditions. This gives reason for satisfaction to Poland and to all States that dearly cherish the cause of peace, and it justifies hope for progress in resolving the key problems of the day, to which this session of the General Assembly can and should make a significant contribution.

153. Last year's record is, however, not totally positive. Tensions in various regions have been maintained, wars have continued, and new armed conflicts have emerged throughout the world. The tension, the wars and the conflicts stem from the obstinate denial of the legitimate rights of nations; they result from a policy of aggression, as has been the case in the Middle East and in southern Africa, or from the hegemonistic aspirations of a great Power in South-East Asia. Nor has success been achieved in effectively curbing the arms race. Disruptions in the global economic situation, notably in the field of energy and raw materials, as well as protectionist practices and other barriers to the development of international trade, have given rise to the justified concern of many of the nations of the world.

154. All this poses difficult and responsible tasks for the United Nations and most importantly the duty of effectively settling controversial problems and developing international co-operation, the fundamental conditions for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. I am stressing this latter point as representative of a people that 40 years ago was the first to stand up, weapons in hands, against the aggression by Hitler's Third Reich. In an unequal struggle the people of Poland gave proof of supreme heroism and a spirit of sacrifice. Under an onslaught of enemy forces, towns fell, divisions succumbed and entire armies perished. But, in spite of heavy odds, the Polish people never surrendered—quite the contrary; our people, through its movement of national resistance, in its struggle on all fronts in the Second World War, made a major contribution to the victory of the anti-Nazi coalition. In this fight it suffered enormous losses: 6 million killed and massacred and more than 40 per cent of the national wealth destroyed or plundered. The memory of the victims and the tragic experiences of the Second World War, which took a toll of more than 50 million human lives throughout the world, still remains vivid.

155. Drawing as it does the right conclusions from these tragic experiences, in the 35 years of its existence the Polish People's Republic has consistently spared no effort to bring about a peaceful development of Europe and the world, enhancing understanding, mutual trust and friendship among nations, in keeping with the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations—that very Organization of which Poland was one of the founding Members. Its noble ideals have also been included in the Message of the Polish people to the peoples and parliaments of the world, adopted on 1 September of this year. They were referred to on the same day by the leader of the Polish people, Edward Gierek, who stated:

“Peace is the supreme and most sacred right of every man and of all nations. Peace is the right to life. That is the most important conclusion mankind should draw from the experiences of the last war, and from its entire history.”

156. Acting in that spirit, at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, Poland proposed a draft Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace¹¹, a document which earned widespread support. I wish to note with satisfaction that during the past nine months since the adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly [resolution 33/73], it has elicited a lively response from broad segments of the interna-

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 123, document A/31/242.

¹¹ See document A/C.1/33/2.

tional community, including the young people to whom it is particularly addressed. The ideas of the Declaration have been endorsed by numerous international organizations, including UNESCO, governmental and non-governmental organizations. I am taking this opportunity to thank most warmly all delegations which lent our initiative their valuable support. I am also glad to inform the Assembly that the Government of the Polish People's Republic is preparing a concrete programme for the implementation of the Declaration in Poland, to be presented to the United Nations in due course.

157. Inspired by those ideas, the people of Poland are solemnly observing the year of Dr. Janusz Korczak, which has been recognized by UNESCO as one of the anniversaries of great personalities and events, in commemoration of an eminent thinker, moralist, educator and writer, who has devoted and given his life to the cause of children and youth.

158. On Edward Gierek's initiative, a Janusz Korczak Memorial Institute will be built in Warsaw, to promote the ideals confirmed by the sacrifice of his life, the welfare of the child and the cause of peace. It is our earnest hope that both the Institute and the recently established International Korczak Society will be given recognition and support by the international community, commensurate with the humanistic values they represent.

159. During his memorable pilgrimage to Poland, at the site of the former Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, Pope John Paul II spoke of the atrocities and the senseless futility of war, which should be sternly condemned. He defended the right of man to live in peace and pointed out that the responsibility for wars does not only fall upon those who start them, but also on those who fail to do all they can to prevent them.

160. Just as the co-operative effort of the great Powers, which made their decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism, was indispensable for the victory of the anti-Nazi coalition in the Second World War, today, too, progress in détente and disarmament invariably calls for co-operation of the great Powers, bound by the Charter to ensure peace and international security. Equally indispensable is the need for active participation in such efforts and co-operation on the part of other States.

161. The very same principles and ideals which gave birth to the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace have determined the Polish People's Republic's active stance in favour of disarmament. We believe that curbing the arms race represents a task the implementation of which is of paramount importance to world peace. The danger of the arms race is that it engulfs more and more States, that it is turning into a technological race, that it involves more and more people and absorbs growing material resources and, consequently, that instead of strengthening international security, it undermines it.

162. Preventing a further qualitative and quantitative arms race is becoming an ever-pressing imperative of the day. Special responsibility in that regard rests upon the great Powers and other States with significant military and economic potential.

163. Guided by our sense of joint responsibility for

international peace Poland, as in the past, so also today, is trying to make a contribution to disarmament negotiations by advancing constructive initiatives of its own or in concert with its allies. An important platform of tangible disarmament measures has been offered in the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, held at Moscow on 23 November 1978.¹²

164. We are glad to note that numerous forums of disarmament negotiations are already functioning, that a considerable number of States are involved in them and that significant progress has been achieved on some of the issues. This justifies our hope that curbing the arms race is a realistic proposition and, once it has been achieved, it will serve as a point of departure for specific reductions of armed forces and armaments. What is badly needed is the goodwill, trust and co-operation of all the participants in the negotiations, combined with strict adherence to the principle of equal security of all States.

165. This latter principle, today more than ever before, is becoming one of the basic foundations, not of disarmament negotiations alone, but also of progress in relations among States. It should therefore be adequately reflected in those United Nations documents which outline our Organization's basic activities in consolidating peace and strengthening international security and disarmament.

166. Respect for the principle of equal security of States has made possible the signing by the USSR and the United States of a historic Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. We regard the signing as a political event of importance for world peace and the policy of détente, as an auspicious starting-point for the continuation of negotiations aimed at a further limitation, reduction and, eventually, elimination of nuclear weapons. The second round of SALT has been an encouraging example of how to seek realistic compromise solutions to other problems of disarmament and controversial political issues. Poland welcomed with appreciation both the Treaty in question and the meeting in Vienna between Leonid Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter, confident that the Treaty will soon enter into force, thereby enabling the third round of the SALT discussions to start and, we hope, providing favourable stimuli to other disarmament negotiations.

167. At a time when nations are awaiting further progress in limiting armaments, on which they are pinning their hopes for more effective solutions to problems of economic and social development, it is particularly important that States refrain from taking any steps likely to increase military tensions and intensify the arms race, thus adversely affecting chances for disarmament agreements. This calls, first of all, for the prohibition of the development and the introduction of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, particularly neutron weapons.

168. In the context of disquieting reports that certain States intend to acquire nuclear weapons and are developing the technological facilities for their production, the strengthening of the régime of non-

¹² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

proliferation of nuclear weapons also takes on special significance. We believe that the time available before the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should be utilized further to strengthen the non-proliferation régime and, at the same time, to develop broad international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

169. The drafting of an international agreement on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, in accordance with the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union,¹³ would be of great importance for the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime itself and, in a more general context, the consolidating of world peace. Hence we firmly support the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world, a subject to which we have devoted and will continue to devote much attention.

170. It is only natural that Poland, situated as it is in a sensitive central part of Europe, should manifest special interest in measures of a regional character. Together with its allies Poland last May submitted a number of new specific proposals, including in particular, an initiative to convene, at a political level, a conference of all European States, the United States and Canada aimed at easing military confrontation in Europe.¹⁴ We note with satisfaction that these proposals have given rise to a broad positive response in a number of countries of Western Europe. A certain convergence of intent with other States—for instance, the well-known proposal on disarmament presented by France¹⁵—seems to be a favourable element in the realization of the idea of such a conference.

171. It is obvious—and nobody doubts this—that the process of political détente, if it is to be lasting and steadily growing and lead to increasing trust among States, must be complemented by progress in the sphere of military détente. An important role in that process should be played by broadly conceived confidence-building measures going beyond the traditional military notion of the term.

172. The basic confidence-building measure which goes beyond the military aspects of the term is the full implementation in letter and spirit of the binding international agreements—both bilateral and multilateral—that enrich international law. Indeed, that law should be adequately reflected in the respective domestic legislation of the signatory States, so as to give practical administrative effect to obligations under international agreements.

173. We are also of the view that the provisions contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should be included in the domestic legislation of States which have solemnly signed it in Helsinki. This unique “act of peace” constitutes an important European confidence-building platform which should have an increasing impact upon the limitation of armaments and accelerate the conclusion of disarmament agreements.

174. We continue to attach great importance to the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Together with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, we have submitted a number of compromise proposals, the adoption of which would help to break the deadlock in the negotiations. We hope that our Western partners will reciprocate by responding to them in an equally constructive spirit.

175. I should like to emphasize the special significance of the draft declaration on international co-operation for disarmament [A/34/141 Add.1, annex], which has been submitted by our neighbour and friend the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. We are convinced that the adoption of such a declaration would serve to stimulate disarmament efforts and accelerate progress at various levels of disarmament negotiations. We give it our full support.

176. The need for world peace, the concern to ensure coming generations a peaceful future, the necessity for more effective handling of global problems of economic and social development, including assistance to developing countries—all this speaks in favour of intensifying disarmament negotiations through the existing channels and opening up new forums for the creation of a political climate that would facilitate agreement. That is why Poland believes that conditions are ripe for holding a World Disarmament Conference and supports the convening of such a conference as soon as possible.

177. We are particularly happy that, in spite of various actions on the part of cold-war and reactionary forces, the process of détente has made further progress, particularly in Europe. Poland is making its own contribution to this positive development of the situation, and the recent visits and meetings at the highest level between Poland and Western European States, including France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, attest to that. We genuinely hope that the meeting to be held in Madrid will be fully in keeping with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and, in particular, its Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States, and will give fresh impetus to the policy of détente. A particularly important task is to avert the threat of a new round in the arms race implied by the plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to expand and modernize its nuclear and rocket weaponry. It is equally important to begin new efforts towards intensifying economic, scientific and cultural co-operation in Europe, particularly in the fields of energy, the protection of the environment and transportation.

178. While particularly concerned with ensuring the peaceful development of Europe, we also remain mindful of the significance of those positive developments for the whole world. It is well known that peace and détente are indivisible; hence these positive changes should include all regions of the world by assuming a lasting and irreversible character.

179. We are convinced that Europe at peace can make a constructive and worthy contribution to the strengthening of security and the development of international co-operation. The more we strengthen security in Europe and deepen confidence between East and

¹³ See document A/33/241.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13344.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, para. 62.

West, the more significant that contribution will be. The most urgent task of the moment must therefore be to strive to establish an effective security system in Europe based not upon the balance of fear and the existence of opposing blocs having developed military and political structures but on respect for political and territorial realities, mutual trust and respect in good faith for mutual interests and intentions. Such a vision of Europe focused on unity rather than division should, in our view and that of our allies, form the basis of the programme of action of the European States.

180. Turning to the problems of Asia, I should like from this rostrum to express our heartfelt sympathy with the Vietnamese people, who have in the long years of struggle for their national and social liberation made an outstanding contribution to the global process of decolonization and national affirmation.

181. We support the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which, resisting aggression and opposing constant external pressure, has undertaken the tremendous and arduous task of rebuilding the country destroyed by long and cruel wars. Like the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people have, by their heroism and suffering, earned our understanding, support and assistance.

182. The Polish people was particularly shocked by the immensity of the misery and crimes inflicted by the Pol Pot régime upon the people of Kampuchea. The tragedy of that nation brings to mind our own experience in the not-too-distant past: the mass extermination of our people by the Nazi invaders. We therefore view the overthrow of the genocidal Pol Pot régime and the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as political events of momentous consequence. We believe that the universal recognition of these facts is an indispensable premise for promoting the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

183. We regret that there is still no progress in the peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East conflict. The separatist agreement has failed to bring such a settlement any closer; rather, it has generated new tensions and difficulties. In our opinion, any steps taken in that regard must genuinely aim at a comprehensive solution to the problem, in accordance with the security requirements of all the parties concerned. They should above all take due account of the rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to form an independent State. That right, as well as the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, is gaining ever wider international support and recognition.

184. We likewise fully support the efforts of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to gain genuine independence and we share in their rejection of any attempts at artificial solutions which in reality are meant to extend the rule of neo-colonialism and racism. We condemn *apartheid* in South Africa and that country's policy which threatens the independence of African States. We support the activities of the Organization of African Unity designed to eliminate the vestiges of imperialist and colonial domination and to liquidate *apartheid* and all forms of racism.

185. We welcomed with satisfaction the news of the overthrow of the brutal dictatorship in Nicaragua. We

salute the people of Nicaragua and wish them success in the reconstruction and progressive development of their country.

186. Poland fully shares the concern at the international level over manifestations of the policy of domination and hegemonism. We therefore support the proposal submitted the day before yesterday [7th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Andrei Gromyko, to include on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations". The Polish delegation believes that a debate on this pressing issue and the adoption of an appropriate resolution will represent an important contribution to the struggle for the elimination of obstacles to the process of détente and the strengthening of peace on the basis of the equal sovereignty of all States.

187. Poland, as a socialist State, proud of its traditions of struggle, as we say, "for your freedom and for ours", has always stood and will continue to stand on the side of those States and peoples who must still fight for their freedom and independence, for their right to a sovereign national existence, for their economic independence, for a just place in the family of nations of the world with equal rights, for social justice, for human rights and for the true respect and promotion thereof. Faithful to these objectives and ideals, in the past 26 years Poland has frequently sent its political and military representatives to participate in missions of peace in various parts of the world. It is gratifying to see that an increasing number of States and political forces include these noble ideals in their programmes of action. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries recently held in Havana bears witness to that, *inter alia*. Poland welcomed the results of that Conference as a demonstration of the growing, constructive role of the movement of non-aligned States.

188. The question of restructuring economic relations is awakening the lively interest of all States of the world, without exception. The current general debate at this session, as well as those in numerous other international organizations, is a pertinent reflection of this interest.

189. The problem is important and indeed pressing, particularly because all countries of the world must confront, even though to varying degrees, multifaceted difficulties which hamper their economic growth.

190. It is, at the same time, an extremely complex problem, which calls for the abolition of the old, unjust principles of international economic relations which make it difficult for a number of States to effect indispensable changes in their economic structure. Hence, under the circumstances, the road towards restructuring economic relations and overcoming the present difficulties leads first and foremost through development of international economic co-operation in all fields on the basis of the principles of equality, sovereignty, non-discrimination and mutual advantage. In our opinion, efforts towards that end could be greatly assisted by the examination of long-term trends in economic development. This research could reconcile the interests of all regions of the world, developed and developing alike, in harmonious co-operation. The Polish delegation to the

current session of the General Assembly will submit an appropriate draft resolution on that question.¹⁶

191. Poland understands fully and views with sympathy the expectations of the developing countries in connexion with the new international economic order. We ourselves, for decades deprived of independence, inherited conditions of severe underdevelopment. Only quite recently, we, too, had to rebuild our country after the monstrous destruction brought about by the Second World War. We, too, attach great importance to the implementation of the progressive principles of the new international economic order and to the improvement in the over-all economic situation, which in the long term would serve the just interests of all States. Such an attitude should be reflected in the international development strategy for the 1980s, in the preparation of which Poland is actively participating.

192. Today, more than ever before, there is need for a good deal of imagination and political goodwill in the concerted effort of all States to normalize the world economic situation. Such an effort should include all States. In order to be effective, it must be based upon a realistic assessment of the contribution which each State, according to its industrial, scientific, technological or raw-material potential, can and should make for the benefit of all. It is only natural that the contribution of those who have for centuries amassed excessive profits from exploitation and discriminatory economic relations with other countries will have to be different from the contribution of those who not only have no such record but who in the past were themselves victims of foreign economic exploitation, or whose possessions were ravaged by wars, the biological and economic consequences of which have often endured to this day.

193. Such an approach might well strengthen the principle of justice in international economic relations.

194. As part of the world economic system, Poland can hardly remain immune to its defects, particularly its protectionism and other forms of discrimination, the inflationary rise of prices on the world markets of the essential raw materials, fuels and finished products that we need.

195. Consequently, we are actively seeking possible means of reducing the negative effects on the world market, in both our bilateral and our multilateral relations. We attach vital importance in that respect to our co-operation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Our approach in this field goes hand in hand with our participation in world-wide efforts on the basis of the principles which I have just mentioned.

196. In implementing the idea of partnership for development, Poland has recently adopted governmental programmes aimed at expanding co-operation with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In particular, we declare our readiness to pursue and to develop co-operation through the use of our experts in the developing countries, as well as through the training of students and specialists in Poland. We fully support the recommendations and objectives of General Assembly

resolution 33/135 on increasing the role of the specialized agencies in training qualified personnel for the developing countries, and we declare our readiness to co-operate in their implementation.

197. We are constantly promoting and expanding our economic relations with developing countries. We are linked with a number of them by active trade exchanges and industrial co-operation that bring mutual advantages. Different and new forms are now emerging that include joint enterprises, multiform scientific and technological co-operation and the expansion of activities in the field of personnel training at different levels for their national economies. Lack of qualified personnel is at present one of the principal difficulties being encountered by many developing countries, and it is one that must be overcome.

198. We fully understand that, in addition to mobilization of their own forces, which are the determining factor of development, most developing countries are in need of outside assistance. This is especially true of States with the lowest national income. Within its own capabilities and in keeping with its system of economic co-operation with foreign countries, Poland is making specific efforts in this direction, paying particular attention to scientific and technological co-operation. We therefore view favourably the objectives set forth by the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development held in Vienna. In order to seek new and effective technological solutions, conserve energy, engage in a more rational utilization of existing coal resources and find new, alternative sources of energy we need an unobstructed flow of scientific information and the pooling of the creative efforts of all States.

199. We reject pessimistic or catastrophic visions of the future of the world. The harmonious economic development of the world is a feasible goal, and this implies increased expansion of international economic co-operation. In that respect, Europe offers opportunities for intensifying economic co-operation through a broader utilization of that important instrument—the ECE.

200. The experience of many countries, and of developing countries in particular, demonstrates that appropriate economic growth is dependent on social factors. For this reason, in the opinion of the Polish delegation and in conformity with our draft resolution, more attention should be given to the social aspect of this problem in the preparations under way for the third development decade. Included in this are essential matters affecting man's living conditions and dignity, such as a just division of national income, guaranteed access for all to education and medical care, the granting of equal rights to women and expanded child care.

201. The observance of the International Year of the Child, which has been marked in Poland by the inauguration of the Child Health Centre in Warsaw, a symbolic memorial erected in memory of the children who died during the Second World War, should in our opinion contribute to accelerating work on the drafting of an international convention on the rights of the child, as Poland has proposed.

202. We attach great weight to providing the best

¹⁶ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.2/34/L.16.

possible conditions of life and development for that basic unit of society, the family. Our concern has been embodied in a special governmental organ, the Council for Family Affairs, which has been established and is functioning under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

203. From what I have said here and from what we have heard in other statements given from this rostrum, a rather simple conclusion flows: we are living in a world that is full of difficult problems, but one that is at the same time full of hope and prospects. As we do each year, we have come here not only to draw up a balance-sheet of those difficult problems, but primarily in order to attempt to solve them through the joint efforts of all of us—to solve them in a just and constructive manner, mindful of a better future for all mankind.

204. I took the liberty of beginning my statement with a reference to the fateful outbreak of the Second World War 40 years ago. In conclusion, let me say that since that event, the world has become a better and a more secure place in which to live. Let us do all we can further to promote and broaden this positive trend, in the name of peace, progress and prosperity for all nations. It is in this spirit that the delegation of the Polish People's Republic also intends to work at this current session of the General Assembly.

205. Mr. HAN Nianlong (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Allow me, first of all, to extend my congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I sincerely wish that, under your presidency, the current session may achieve positive results.

206. Allow me also to express, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, our warm welcome to the delegation of Saint Lucia on its admission to membership in the United Nations, believing that it will play its part in international affairs and in the work of the United Nations.

207. The current session is the last session of the General Assembly in the 1970s. We are about to enter the 1980s. Looking back on the past and forward into the future, we feel encouraged and are also aware of our grave responsibility.

208. The past 10 years were no ordinary years. The growth and further strengthening of the third world marked a significant change in the international situation over the period. An additional number of oppressed nations won national independence after waging protracted struggles. The people of the newly emerging States firmly oppose foreign aggression and interference and defend their national independence and state sovereignty. They not only want complete political independence, but are determined to lift themselves from economic dependency and backwardness. They have worked hard to develop the national economy and build up their countries and have achieved marked successes in this regard. Acting in concert and strengthening their co-operation, they are striving tirelessly for the establishment of a new international economic order. They have waged an extensive struggle for world peace against the ever more intensified arms race between the big Powers and against the imperialist and hegemonist policies of war

and aggression and have made important contributions. Strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle, the third-world countries have played an ever greater role in international affairs. They have become a decisive force on the world political scene, and the outlook of the United Nations has undergone a tremendous change. It will be impossible for one or two big Powers to manipulate the destiny of the world as they wish.

209. Along with the awakening of the people of the third-world countries and the growth of their forces, Western Europe, Japan and other developed countries, faced with the hegemonist threat of aggression and expansion, have heightened their vigilance and strengthened their unity and defence capabilities to safeguard their state sovereignty and security. They, too, are exerting a positive influence in maintaining world peace and security and promoting a favourable development of the international situation.

210. But we must not lose sight of the disquieting aspect of the developing situation. In the past decade, the ever fiercer rivalry between the two super-Powers has caused continued turbulence in the international situation. Particularly overbearing is the late-coming super-Power, whose inclination to aggression and adventure is visibly growing. Waving the slogans "disarmament" and "détente", it is engaged in frenzied arms expansion unprecedented in scale and speed. It is seeking to achieve an overwhelming superiority in nuclear as well as conventional arms and in every sphere, land, sea and air. Relying on its fast growing military strength, it is pushing a global "offensive strategy". More and more frequently it is using proxies and organizing mercenaries to launch unscrupulous armed invasions and military coups in other countries. With a view to encircling Europe, controlling strategic routes, seizing strategic resources and speeding up its expansion and strategic deployment for global hegemony, it has increasingly directed the spearheads of its aggression to Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf area and South-East Asia. Facts prove that the late-coming super-Power is the main source of threat to world peace and security and is the most dangerous source of a new world war. In the face of this harsh reality, more and more people are talking about "the more turbulent 1980s" and the possibility of a new world war. Such talk is not groundless.

211. Now, this very super-Power which is pushing its policy of hegemonism everywhere has the effrontery to propose at this rostrum an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations". Obviously, this is the habitual clumsy tactics of a thief crying, "Stop thief!" and of gaining fame by demagogic means. Its aim is to pursue hegemonism even more unscrupulously under the guise of opposing hegemonism. However, the term "hegemonism" has its precise meaning that brooks no wilful interpretation. In the world today, who is practising hegemonism and who is against it is an objective fact known to everyone. No subtle rhetoric can alter it.

212. We are optimists with regard to the future of mankind. The 1980s pose a new challenge, but also promise new hopes. We believe that ultimately the people are masters of their own destiny. Historical experience tells us that, while it is necessary to face up to reality, it is more important to change the reality. The harsh facts tell us that hegemonism means aggression

and war. Peace is not secured by waiting or begging; it can only be secured through struggle and defended by action. Opposing hegemonism and defending world peace are two sides of the same coin. We believe that the just cause of world peace will continue to be victorious so long as all the peace-loving countries and peoples unite and, through hard struggle and solid work, persevere in opposing hegemonism and frustrating its strategic moves. The future of mankind and the world is bright.

213. The broadly-based non-aligned movement is an important force in the contemporary international arena. At the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which concluded not long ago, the divisive and disruptive schemes were frustrated, and the basic principles of the non-aligned movement and the unity of the movement upheld thanks to the joint efforts of the great majority of the member countries and after acute and complex struggles. This is a significant achievement scored by the non-aligned movement along a road beset with difficulties. In recent years, the super-Power that claims to be the "natural ally" of the non-aligned movement has used and collaborated with its agents in an attempt to bring the movement into the orbit of its own global strategy. But their line of action is most unpopular, and their clumsy performance only serves to reveal their true colours more clearly to the non-aligned countries.

214. China has always highly appreciated the independent, sovereign and non-bloc principles of the non-aligned movement and supported its just position of opposing imperialism, colonialism and foreign domination and hegemonism of all forms. The Chinese Government and people sincerely hope that the non-aligned countries will unite and co-operate and eliminate outside interference so that their movement will play a greater role in the struggle of all nations to safeguard sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and develop national economies and cultures, and in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order and for world peace.

215. Indo-China is now one of the centres of world tension that attracts the close attention of the international community and causes it grave anxiety.

216. As is well known, the crux of the Indo-Chinese situation lies in the brutal aggression imposed on Kampuchea. Towards the end of last year, Viet Nam brazenly mounted an armed invasion against Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign State, occupied large tracts of its territory and set up a puppet régime there, plunging Kampuchea into unheard-of calamities. This naked aggression by Viet Nam is not only an act against the Vietnamese people's desire for recuperation, rehabilitation and peaceful construction after the war but also a gross violation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and a direct threat to the peace and security of the South-East Asian countries. It tramples underfoot the United Nations Charter and fundamental principles of international law. Earlier this year the United Nations Security Council held urgent meetings to discuss this grave situation.¹⁷ At the meetings, the overwhelming majority of the member States strongly condemned Viet

Nam's act of aggression and demanded an immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. It was only because of the veto arbitrarily used by one permanent member that the Security Council failed to adopt resolutions and take effective action. Now the best part of the year has passed, but instead of stopping its aggression against Kampuchea, Viet Nam is sending more troops there and stepping up its deployment in preparation for a new massive dry-season offensive to wipe out the patriotic Kampuchean armed forces at one blow and then threaten the whole of South-East Asia. The disaster that today befalls the people of Kampuchea may befall those of other countries tomorrow. How can such practice of power politics be allowed to go unchecked in this contemporary age? We are pleased to note that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, summing up experience and readjusting its policies, is uniting extensive patriotic forces under the banner of the patriotic and democratic front of great national union and fighting heroically to drive all the Vietnamese aggressors from Kampuchean territory. Historical experience has repeatedly proved and will continue to prove that no foreign aggression and oppression can vanquish a whole nation and that the just cause of a nation against alien domination is invincible.

217. It should be pointed out here that the so-called Heng Samrin régime is nothing but a puppet propped up by the Vietnamese aggressors at bayonet point. Playing the jackal to the tiger, that régime has helped the Vietnamese aggressors to suppress the Kampuchean people in cold blood. Naturally, such a puppet régime is spurned by the Kampuchean people, opposed by the Governments and peoples of the South-East Asian countries and condemned by world opinion. On the other hand, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which has been holding high the banner of national independence and persistently fighting a national war of self-defence, is the sole legal representative of the Kampuchean people. Democratic Kampuchea is a State Member of the United Nations. To support and safeguard the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea fully accords with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is the solemn and bounden duty of each of us Member States to uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The recent decision taken by the General Assembly on accepting the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea [4th meeting] is a manifestation of the just position of the international community against foreign armed aggression and another indication that the aggression committed against Democratic Kampuchea by Viet Nam with the backing of its behind-the-scenes boss is most unpopular.

218. While carrying on aggression and expansion abroad, Viet Nam has practised a policy of genocide at home and created the world-shocking tragedy of Indo-Chinese refugees. Over the past year or more, as a result of the massive persecution and expulsion by the Vietnamese authorities, nearly a million innocent people were forced to leave their homes and drift from place to place. Countless refugees were drowned in the sea or perished in the wilderness. Their tragic plight and serious case were something rarely seen since the Second World War. Such actions on the part of Viet Nam not only violate the basic humanitarian principle but have created tremendous economic burdens and grave social problems for the South-East Asian region and affected the tranquillity and stability of the countries

¹⁷ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2108th to 2112th, 2114th to 2118th and 2129th meetings.

there. At the international meeting on the question of Indo-Chinese refugees last July,¹⁸ Viet Nam, under the pressure of world opinion, orally undertook to control the exodus of refugees, but in fact continues to persecute and export them. We hold that the key to a solution of the Indo-Chinese refugee problem lies in a complete change by Viet Nam of its reactionary policy of cruel persecution and export of refugees. If the problem is not tackled at its source, this human tragedy will continue.

219. There is a deep-rooted cause for the deterioration of the Indo-Chinese situation to its present state. It is the result of the aggressive and expansionist policies pursued by the big and small hegemonists. As is well known, under President Ho Chi Minh's leadership, the Vietnamese people fought heroically over long years to win national liberation and defend national independence and so won praise and admiration from the people of all countries. But after the passing of President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese authorities betrayed his political line step by step and feverishly pushed a policy of expansion. With Soviet backing, they committed armed invasion and military occupation of weaker neighbours in an attempt to realize their dream of regional hegemony by establishing an "Indo-Chinese Federation" totally under their thumb. Exploiting the Vietnamese authorities' ambition for expansion, the Soviet Union has used Viet Nam and Indo-China as its "strategic base" in South-East Asia and, through the instrumentality of Viet Nam, has sought to control the region and then establish an "Asian collective security system" so as to link up its strategic deployment in the Pacific with that in the Indian Ocean. People have come to realize more and more clearly that Vietnamese invasion and domination of its neighbours are by no means a local issue but an important component of Soviet attempts to establish an "Asian collective security system" in furtherance of its strategy of seeking world hegemony.

220. It is also well known that in the course of the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence and liberation, the Chinese Government and people, sharing their weal and their woe, firmly stood on their side and gave them all-out support. The two peoples forged a deep revolutionary friendship in their long-term common struggles. But now China is regarded by the Vietnamese authorities as an enemy simply because it does not approve of their present policies of aggression and expansion. They carried out frenzied hostile anti-China activities and even committed incessant armed provocations and made intrusions into China's border areas, so that the Chinese side was compelled to make a counter-attack in self-defence. This just action of ours punctured the aggressive arrogance of the expansionists; it was also in the interest of safeguarding the peace and security of South-East Asia and the whole world.

221. The three Indo-Chinese States are China's neighbours. The Chinese Government and people have consistently supported the people of these countries in their just struggle to win or safeguard national independence and build up their countries. The Chinese Government and people cannot but feel grave concern over the deterioration of the Indo-Chinese situation. We

hold that the United Nations has an unshirkable responsibility to take effective measures, first to make Viet Nam withdraw forthwith all its troops from Kampuchea, stop its aggression and military occupation in Kampuchea and then to solve the other related questions. At the suggestion of the five countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the United Nations General Assembly is going to consider the Kampuchean situation at the current session. We firmly support the just demand of the Association and all other justice-upholding countries for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean territory, for this is the key to a solution of the Indo-Chinese question. The Indo-Chinese question must be solved by the Indo-Chinese peoples themselves on the basis of respect for their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and free from all foreign interference.

222. The peaceful reunification of Korea has an important bearing on peace in east Asia and the Pacific region. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Korean people's sacred cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their country and are firmly opposed to acts aiming at creating "two Koreas" and perpetuating the division of Korea. The resolution on promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] should be implemented in earnest. The United States should withdraw all its troops and armaments from, and stop its military aid to, South Korea. The "United Nations Command" must be disbanded. These steps will help to maintain peace on the Korean peninsula and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. In our view, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on holding Korea-United States talks and replacing the armistice by a peace agreement is reasonable and should meet with a positive response. As for the discussion of the reunification of Korea through a North-South dialogue, it is purely the Korean people's own business which brooks no foreign interference. We support the three principles and the five-point programme President Kim Il Sung put forward for solving the Korean question, and we support dialogue between the North and South and hope that this dialogue will yield positive results.

223. The people of the world are now watching the Middle East situation with anxiety. The developments in the Middle East since the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly show that the crux of the Middle East question still lies in the struggle between the super-Powers for oil resources and strategic areas and the expansionist policy of Israel. One super-Power sticks to its position of partiality to Israel. The other has used all opportunities to carry out infiltration and expansion, split Arab unity and undermine the stability and peace of the Middle East. The Israeli authorities remain adamant in obstructing and opposing an over-all settlement of the Middle East question. They have kept making armed attacks on southern Lebanon and have subjected the Palestinian and other Arab peoples to new war threats and provocations. There is a long way to go towards an over-all and just settlement of the Middle East question.

224. Of late, more and more countries and world opinion have come to agree that, in order to have stability

¹⁸ Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

and peace in the Middle East, it is essential to respect the Arab national interests and the Palestinian people's national rights. Such is the truth and the general trend. It should be pointed out that this growing tendency is the result of the just struggle which the Palestinian and other Arab peoples have persistently carried out over long years. The ultimate realization of the national aspirations and objectives of the Arab people mainly depends on the solid unity and sustained struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. However, the United Nations should also play its due role in promoting a settlement of the Middle East question.

225. Here, we would like to reiterate that the Chinese Government and people will unswervingly support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples. We strongly condemn the expansion and rivalry of the super-Powers in the Middle East and are firmly opposed to the sinister super-Power attempt to sow discord among the Arab countries and Israel's peremptory attitude of obstructing an over-all settlement of the Middle East question. Occupied Arab territories must be recovered and the Palestinian people's national rights, including their right to their homeland and to establish their own State, must be realized. We sincerely hope that all parties of the Arab world will show mutual understanding, rebuild their unity and work together to speed up their victory.

226. The people of the African countries are increasingly demanding a speedy end to the racist rule and *apartheid* in southern Africa. In the past year, with the support of the people of Africa and the world at large, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania have made new progress in their struggle for liberation and have dealt increasingly heavy blows to the racist forces of South Africa and Rhodesia. In their last-ditch struggle, these racist forces are intensifying their Fascist military repression at home while launching armed attacks against neighbouring countries. They have kept playing political tricks in an attempt to maintain their racist rule in disguised forms and preserve their vested interests.

Mr. Shahi (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

227. In recent years, various proposals and suggestions for a negotiated settlement of the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia have been put forward internationally. Many African States have made great efforts towards this end, and their efforts have won sympathy and support from the international community. But so far these negotiations have not made substantive progress because of the intransigence of the racist forces. Facts fully show that the racist régime of South Africa and the racist forces of Rhodesia are the fundamental obstacles to a settlement of the questions of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which is long overdue. All countries which uphold justice should exert effective pressure on the racists and give energetic support to the liberation struggle of the people in southern Africa. An early end to the racist rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia and the attainment of independence based on a genuine majority rule will help to stabilize the situation in southern Africa, exclude external meddling and interference and push forward the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the just struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and

Azania. The current international situation is very favourable to the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Although there may be difficulties and twists and turns on their way to progress, the people in southern Africa, persisting in unity and struggle, guarding against external interference and sabotage, and supported by African and all other countries and peoples which uphold justice, will certainly foil the heinous acts of the racist forces of South Africa and Rhodesia and win complete liberation for the whole African continent.

228. We are pleased to note that, since the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was held on disarmament last year, the role of the United Nations and of the small and medium-sized countries have been strengthened in the struggle for genuine disarmament. This year, in the United Nations framework, there were held the first session of the Disarmament Commission, the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean and a series of other meetings, at which relevant resolutions were adopted. The convening of these meetings reflected the strong dissatisfaction of the peace-loving countries with the super-Powers' arms expansion and war preparations. It also shows that the control of the disarmament machinery by a few countries is being broken up. This undoubtedly is of positive significance. Chinese delegations took an active part in these meetings and put forward documents, including the Chinese proposal on the elements of a comprehensive disarmament programme.¹⁹ We have always held that all countries, whether big or small, strong or weak, and whether with or without nuclear weapons, are entitled to take part in the consideration and settlement of disarmament issues on a completely equal footing. It is no longer permissible for anybody to use the United Nations as a platform to sing the praises of certain bilateral negotiations or make the disarmament machinery a ploy at his disposal.

229. Nuclear disarmament is a matter of great concern to everyone. We have always held that the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons are the fundamental way to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war. Pending this, all the nuclear countries should undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones. As for the way to apply concrete measures of nuclear disarmament, an important principle must be followed, as was rightly pointed out by the representatives of many countries: namely, the two super-Powers with the largest nuclear arsenals should be the first to reduce their nuclear armament.

230. When substantial progress has been made in this regard, the other nuclear countries shall join them in reducing nuclear armaments according to reasonable ratios until finally nuclear arms are totally destroyed. We consider this principle to be fair and reasonable. However, those who cling to their nuclear superiority and are bent on seeking nuclear overlordship are obstinately opposed to this principle. They are fervently advocating the idea of all nuclear countries "simultaneously" reducing their armaments by the same quantity and quality. This is obviously a demagogic trick. Now that the super-Powers enjoy a tremendous nuclear superiority and are in a position to fight a nuclear war at

¹⁹ See document A/CN.10/5.

any time with the huge number of nuclear weapons at their disposal, would any nuclear disarmament plan make our world safer if it does not change this state of affairs? It is obvious that only a genuine nuclear disarmament will contribute to international security, and a genuine nuclear disarmament must begin with the substantial reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers. The second SALT Treaty signed by the Soviet Union and the United States neither calls for a significant numerical reduction of the strategic arms nor provides for a substantive qualitative limitation. No wonder that people have pointedly commented that the treaty has nothing in common with genuine disarmament. We hope that the Soviet Union and the United States will take practical measures to carry out genuine nuclear disarmament, as called for by many other countries.

231. The reduction of conventional arms is another matter calling for attention. In view of the growing danger of a massive conventional war, we hold that conventional disarmament and nuclear disarmament should be given equal importance, and that the two should be carried out in conjunction.

232. This is the last year of the United Nations Disarmament Decade. Regrettably the objective of the Disarmament Decade, on which many countries placed their hopes, has not been attained; on the contrary, this past decade has been one of massive arms expansion by the super-Powers. What is the reason? As rightly put by the representatives of some countries, the crucial reason is that the super-Powers have no sincere desire for disarmament. This shows that we still face arduous and complicated tasks in the field of disarmament.

233. So far as China is concerned, we are always for genuine disarmament. We firmly support all reasonable proposals conducive to genuine disarmament and are prepared to make unremitting efforts for its realization.

234. The steady deterioration of the international economic situation is one of the important factors making for international turbulence. Some developed countries, especially the super-Powers, have used various means to shift the consequences of their economic crises and difficulties on to the developing countries so that the latter face worsening trading terms, mounting foreign debts and great difficulties in their economic development. The energy problem is an increasing concern of most countries. Many developing countries have pointed out that the root-cause of all evils of the present international economy lies in the existing inequitable and irrational international economic order. Therefore, they strongly demand a fundamental restructuring of the international economic system. This demand is entirely just, being in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world.

235. Five years ago, thanks to the efforts of the developing countries, the sixth special session of the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], which constitutes a basic document guiding economic negotiations and dialogues. Five years have passed, but how much progress has been made in these negotiations and dialogues? Very limited progress. They are mostly at an impasse. The reasons are clear to all. The most important reason is that the two super-

Powers have set up obstacles of all kinds. The obstacles have multiplied especially since the beginning of this year. At the fifth session of UNCTAD and other international economic forums, many reasonable proposals made by the developing countries on changing the outdated international economic relations have thus been stalled. This unreasonable state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. The developing countries have come to realize more and more that, in order to achieve progress in the negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order, they must strengthen their unity, uphold principles, persevere in struggle and energetically promote mutual economic assistance and co-operation. The Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations,²⁰ adopted at the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 held last February, and the economic documents adopted at the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see A/34/542, annex*] provide clear guidelines for promoting the economic co-operation among the developing countries and strengthening their negotiating positions with the developed countries, and they give expression to the common will and desire of the third-world countries. Thanks to the efforts of the developing countries, the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development registered some preliminary results. We believe that the united struggle of the third-world countries will secure continuous progress for the just cause of establishment of a new international economic order.

236. In order to bring about effective solutions to international economic problems, the recognition of the developing countries' full rights and true equality in decision-making in international economic affairs is essential. The correct way to settle pressing economic problems is for the developed countries and the developing countries to sit together for all-round consultation, break the present impasse, explore and adopt effective measures to narrow down the gap between the rich and poor countries and establish a new international economic relationship that is equitable, rational and based on equality and mutual benefit.

237. Having realized the importance of a constructive dialogue with the third-world countries, a number of developed countries have in their bilateral or multilateral relations adopted positive measures, such as increasing their economic and scientific technical aid and supporting the establishment of an Integrated Programme for Commodities and its Common Fund. These measures are welcome. It is in the interest of the developed countries themselves to strengthen their co-operation with third-world countries on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty and genuine equality. Moreover, this will help advance the common cause of world peace and stability. We hope that more developed countries will understand the situation and favourably respond to the demands of the developing countries.

238. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that the special session of the General Assembly scheduled to be held in 1980 at the suggestion of developing countries will make an important contribution in helping the economic development of the developing countries, establishing a new international economic

²⁰ See document TD/236.

order and formulating a new international strategy for development. The Chinese Government will work together with the other developing countries to that end.

239. This year witnesses the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. These days the Chinese people are warmly celebrating this festival of historic significance.

240. The birth of New China terminated once and for all the age of imperialist enslavement and oppression of the Chinese people and ushered in a new era in the history of China. By making arduous efforts in the 30 years since then, the Chinese people have achieved great successes in all fields of national construction and laid a good foundation for future development. Our cause has enjoyed the sympathy and support of many friendly countries and the people of the world. On behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China, I would like to take this opportunity to express to them our heartfelt thanks.

241. China today is vastly different from what it used to be in the old days. However, China is still a developing country, and our industry, agriculture, science and technology are not yet developed. With a view to bringing about a complete change to this state of affairs, we are determined to turn China into a modern socialist country by the end of the century in accordance with the behests of Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. As from this year, the focus of our work throughout China has been shifted to socialist modernization. The task before us is beyond doubt an arduous one. But we are confident that, relying on the joint efforts of the entire people, we will be able to fulfil our historical mission successfully.

242. In international affairs, China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, which is China's fundamental policy in its relations with other countries. The Chinese people are engaged in gigantic socialist construction. China is a country with a large population and a vast territory. To turn China into an advanced, modern and powerful socialist country calls for the hard struggle of several generations. We are thus required to

secure a lasting peaceful international environment. China has in the past 30 years made unremitting efforts to oppose the imperialist and hegemonist policies of aggression and war and to win or safeguard world peace. In the present turbulent world situation, in which the danger of war continues to grow, China will, as always, work together with all other peace-loving countries and peoples of the world to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace.

243. The just struggle of the people of all countries support each other and advance the cause of progress of mankind as a whole. The Chinese Government and people adhere to the principle of internationalism, support all the oppressed nations and peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for liberation and social progress. We have done so in the past and will continue to do so in the future. We will always stand together with the people of all countries. A modernized China will certainly contribute to the preservation of world peace, to the furtherance of friendship and co-operation among all peoples and to the advancement of the cause of human progress.

244. The People's Republic of China first sent its delegation to take part in the activities of the United Nations in the early 1970s. In the past eight years the Chinese delegation has worked together with the delegations of other Members to enable the United Nations to play its due role in maintaining world peace, supporting various countries in their endeavour to win or safeguard national independence, State sovereignty and territorial integrity, establishing a new international economic order and promoting international co-operation. With the advent of the 1980s, the Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that the United Nations will give full expression to the common will of the people of all countries, faithfully apply the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and play a more effective and active role in international affairs. China is prepared to work to this end together with the other countries which love peace and uphold justice.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.