

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**14th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 28 September 1979,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Address by Mr. Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front and President of the Republic of Uganda	269
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Wali (Afghanistan)	272
Speech by Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar)	276
Speech by Mr. Nze (Congo)	282
Speech by Mr. Myint Maung (Burma)	285
Speech by Mr. Bongo (Gabon)	287
Speech by Mr. Pérez Cadalso (Honduras)	291

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

Address by Mr. Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front and President of the Republic of Uganda

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front and President of the Republic of Uganda. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front and President of the Republic of Uganda, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. BINAISA: (Uganda); It gives me tremendous pleasure and pride to convey to you, Sir, in the name of the Uganda National Liberation Front and on behalf of the entire people of Uganda, our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I salute you as a distinguished son of Africa and a foremost champion of freedom and self-determination for all peoples of the world. I am confident that, under your able and dynamic leadership, this session of the General Assembly will yield significant results for the peoples of the world who are looking towards this Organization with great expectations.

3. I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, on having presided over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly with such impartiality, wisdom and distinction.

4. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedication and vision. Mr. Waldheim has done his utmost to find solutions to otherwise intractable problems and to instil a sense of direction and commitment in this Organization.

5. May I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola. The untimely death of that outstanding revolutionary is a great loss to us all. The people of Angola have lost an illustrious and dedicated leader, Africa has lost a valiant freedom fighter, and the world has lost a most able statesman. Although President Neto is not in our midst now, his indomitable spirit marches on and will continue to be a source of strength and inspiration to many of us.

6. Let me take this opportunity to welcome to the family of nations the newest Member of this Organization, Saint Lucia. We look forward to working together for the realization of a more just and peaceful world.

7. This is no ordinary occasion for the people of Uganda. This session of the General Assembly holds special significance for us. As representatives are aware, the people of Uganda have just emerged from a most harrowing nightmare. We have just broken free from the yoke of one of the most vicious dictatorships of modern times. For the first time in eight years we are able to raise our voice in the community of nations as a free people.

8. Under the Amin dictatorship our people suffered untold indignities, torture and death. At least half a million people were murdered in cold blood. However, the purpose of my address today is not to catalogue the atrocities of the Amin régime.

9. Let me, however, touch briefly on the attitude of the United Nations with regard to events in Uganda during that period. In our struggle against the Fascist dictatorship we were inspired by the commitment of the international community to human rights. That commitment is clearly set out in the Charter of this Organization. The Preamble of the Charter reaffirms the faith of the peoples of the world

“...in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...”

10. Among the purposes and principles of the United Nations set out in Article 1 of the Charter is the promotion and encouragement of

“...respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion...”

11. Again, in Article 55 of the Charter it is stated that the United Nations shall promote

“...universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

12. In the light of the clear commitment set out in those provisions of the Charter, our people naturally looked to the United Nations for solidarity and support in their struggle against the Fascist dictatorship. For eight years they cried out in the wilderness for help; unfortunately, their cries seemed to have fallen on deaf ears.

13. The United Nations looked on with embarrassed silence as the Uganda tragedy unfolded. Meanwhile, the Amin régime continued with impunity to commit genocide against our people. We would be less than honest if we did not say openly and clearly that the people of Uganda were deeply disappointed by the silence of this Organization at the time of their greatest need.

14. The Uganda situation is merely one example of a very serious global problem involving extensive violations of human rights. The increasing number of refugees and displaced persons is sufficient testimony to the gravity of the situation. Yet, somehow, it is thought to be in bad taste or contrary to diplomatic etiquette to raise matters of violations of human rights by Member States within the forums of the United Nations.

15. For how long will the United Nations remain silent while Governments represented within this Organization continue to perpetrate atrocities against their own people? Governments come and go, but the peoples of the world remain a permanent constituency of the United Nations. It was for the well-being of the peoples of the world that the United Nations was founded in the first instance. Indeed, it is for their welfare that the United Nations must continue to work. It would be unfortunate if this Organization were reduced to a club of governments afraid to speak out boldly for the rights of the citizens of the world.

16. I find it difficult to embrace the view that matters concerning human rights lie exclusively within the domain of the domestic jurisdiction of the States concerned. Such a view renders meaningless the human rights provisions of the Charter of this Organization. A careful study of the despotic régimes around the world would, moreover, show that many of these régimes are brought to power at the instigation of external forces. They are maintained in power by the military and financial assistance provided by their external sponsors in spite of internal opposition. Without external collaboration, it would be impossible for these régimes to sustain their stranglehold on the local people. If the process of internal oppression is linked to external collaboration, how can its undoing be purely a matter of domestic concern?

17. We are convinced that the United Nations must become a more effective force for the promotion and enforcement of human rights all over the world. It is for this reason that Uganda supports, among other measures, the proposal now under discussion for the creation of an office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

18. In this connexion, I must pay a particular tribute to the non-governmental organizations that continue against all odds to speak out for human rights. The people of Uganda are especially grateful to the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International and the All Africa Conference of Churches for their

support during the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship.

19. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the peoples of Nicaragua and Equatorial Guinea on successfully dislodging the dictatorships that had oppressed their peoples for so long. We hope that this is the beginning of a world-wide trend of vigilance against despotic régimes.

20. So far I have spoken about the despotism of governments against their own citizens. The Uganda National Liberation Front is also most concerned about those peoples of the world who continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination.

21. At the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka in August, Uganda welcomed and supported the proposal for an all-party conference on Zimbabwe [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. That conference is currently taking place in London. We are awaiting its results most anxiously. This is the last chance for the United Kingdom to discharge its responsibility for Zimbabwe. We therefore hope that the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference will produce an acceptable arrangement for the peoples of Zimbabwe that will lead to genuine and peaceful majority rule. Should the Conference fail to produce an acceptable arrangement for the peoples of Zimbabwe, then Uganda will have no alternative but to intensify its support for the Patriotic Front in its armed struggle against minority domination.

22. Uganda deplores the continued violation of the territorial integrity of Mozambique and Zambia by the puppet régime in Salisbury. We deplore the barbarous and cowardly massacres of innocent Zimbabwean women and children in the refugee camps.

23. The racist régime of South Africa continues to defy the will of the international community on the question of Namibia. It is tightening its grip on the Territory by refusing to withdraw its military and police personnel from Namibia, by attempting to annex Walvis Bay and by resisting any steps aimed at granting independence to the people of Namibia. Instead, South Africa is trying to impose an internal settlement calculated to entrench the Turnhalle Alliance and create a puppet régime in Namibia, which excludes the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia. Uganda pledges its total support for SWAPO and calls upon all peace-loving peoples of the world to ensure that Namibia's territorial integrity and independence is protected.

24. The question of South Africa and the racist policy of *apartheid* remains an issue of great concern to the people of Uganda. We urge the Western countries to withdraw their colossal investments in South Africa. We support the international calls for economic sanctions against the racist régime. We deplore the continued collaboration between South Africa, on the one hand, and Israel and several Western countries, on the other, especially in the area of nuclear research and weapons technology.

25. The Uganda National Liberation Front fully supports the struggle of the people of Western Sahara for self-determination and national independence under

the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO¹. Uganda has therefore extended recognition to the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as the sole and legitimate representative of the peoples of Western Sahara. We once again call upon Morocco to renounce any claims over Saharan territory and withdraw its troops of occupation. In this regard we should like to congratulate Mauritania for its courageous decision to withdraw its troops from Saharan territory and for recognizing the legitimate rights of the Saharan people. We are confident that it will not be long before the free voice of the Saharan people will be heard in this Assembly.

26. The Uganda National Liberation Front recognizes the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and national independence. We deplore any unholy alliance and machinations designed to frustrate the fulfilment of the legitimate rights of the people of East Timor.

27. The people of Uganda are very concerned over the situation in the Middle East. It is obvious that at the heart of the Middle East problem is the Palestinian question. Any serious proposal for peace must begin with recognition of this reality. We recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence in a homeland of their own. We recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

28. Another major area of concern for the Uganda National Liberation Front is the current international economic situation. The state of the world economy has today reached crisis proportions. This crisis stems in part from the deterioration in the terms of trade, the introduction of protectionist measures by the developed countries, runaway inflation and recession in the developed countries, monetary instability, the failure by most developed countries to meet the agreed target for official development assistance and, generally, the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries to implement the decisions of the international community regarding the establishment of the new international economic order.

29. The crisis has had its severest effects on the developing countries and particularly the least developed among them. The failure on the part of the international community to bridge the gap between North and South, and indeed the widening of that gap, is a matter which the international community must address itself and find urgent solutions to, because, in the final analysis, the ultimate guarantee for international peace and security is the economic well-being of all nations. In an interdependent world, lack of development or economic stagnation anywhere affects economic advancement everywhere.

30. The disappointing outcome of the fifth session of UNCTAD does not augur well for the ongoing North-South negotiations. In spite of the present stalemate in negotiations in various international forums, Uganda firmly believes that it is still possible for the developed and the developing countries to engage in meaningful dialogue based on the principles and objectives of the new international economic order, which were adopted

by consensus at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. In this regard it is necessary for the international community to adopt fundamental structural changes in international economic relations and in the international monetary and financial institutions in order to ensure effective participation by all countries, including the developing countries, on the basis of equality in the decision-making process.

31. Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is, in our view, an important means of achieving the rapid development of the developing countries, and we fully subscribe to the strengthening of collective self-reliance among developing countries.

32. What is required above all is political will on the part of all countries, particularly the developed countries, to resolve the pressing economic and social problems that confront the world. The developing countries have demonstrated their readiness and political will for genuine and action-oriented dialogue with the developed countries, and it is our sincere hope that this will be reciprocated.

33. Unless these inequalities are corrected, they will remain a potent source of international conflict and strife.

34. Finally, I wish to return briefly to the situation existing in Uganda today. It is important for the international community to appreciate the magnitude of the problems that the Government of the Uganda National Liberation Front is called upon to solve before our country can return to even a semblance of normal life.

35. For eight long years our country was subjected to a level of plunder and destruction unprecedented in the recent past.

36. The agricultural sector, which constitutes the backbone of our economy, was adversely affected. Uganda's leading agricultural crops, such as coffee, cotton and tea, to mention only a few, were completely neglected. The farmers were not encouraged to grow these crops, and the little that reached the market was smuggled out of the country by Amin's soldiers. Coffee exports fell from 175,000 tons in 1970 to 80,000 tons in 1978, due to increased smuggling by Amin's soldiers and coffee being left unattended. Cotton—once a major foreign-exchange earner—virtually collapsed as production fell from 450,000 bales in 1970 to 60,000 bales in 1977 and 1978. Tea and sugar production fell from 18,000 tons to 11,000 and from 144,000 tons to 12,000, respectively, during the same period.

37. It was not only agriculture which suffered from the economic chaos of the Amin era, but also industry. The manufacturing sector was equally affected, as funds earmarked for the importation of raw materials were diverted to purchase military hardware and consumer goods for the army. Production in the textile industry fell from 55,000 metres in 1970 to 3,300 metres in 1978; cement production fell from 191,000 tons to 73,000 tons in 1978; copper production fell from 17,000 tons to 2,000 tons in 1976, when production came to a complete halt.

38. Financial institutions were forced under coercion to extend credit facilities to Amin's henchmen without

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

any regard to their credit-worthiness. As a result such people defaulted and the financial institutions were forced to write off the loans as bad debts.

39. Instead of adopting rational fiscal policies, Amin's régime resorted to printing more money. We inherited an economy with a very high rate of inflation. Government borrowing from financial institutions increased from 35 per cent in December 1970, to 72 per cent in March 1979.

40. The tourist industry, which used to be the second biggest foreign-exchange earner, came to a complete halt. The transport and communications sector was disrupted to the extent that the ordinary farmer was unable to transport his produce to the buying centres. The few commodities that reached the villages were sold at such inflated prices that only a small section of the population could afford them.

41. The war of liberation also took its toll. There were the usual consequences of any war: the destruction of life, property, buildings and installations, and plant and machinery. Indeed two of our cities are literally in ruins and the rest are in various states of disrepair.

42. Apart from the physical destruction, Uganda has been facing security problems. As Amin's army disintegrated, the soldiers discarded their uniforms and arms, seized public and private vehicles and fled across our borders.

43. Like every society, Uganda has its share of criminal elements, and these flourished under Amin's dictatorship. These elements lost no time in seizing the discarded uniforms and arms, and some of them even looted armouries in and around the capital, Kampala, as Amin's henchmen fled in disarray. This has contributed enormously to lawlessness, especially in the Kampala area.

44. Amin's Government and everything associated with it was hated intensely by the local population. One consequence of this hatred was that, as the liberation forces entered Kampala, the civilian population went on a spree of looting shops, government and private houses, and offices. Within a few days all shops in Kampala were empty and in need of extensive repair.

45. The Government has been doing everything possible to contain the security situation in the country. We have been struggling to contain the wave of crime and political murders perpetrated by the remnants of Amin's hated secret police, which used to be known as the State Research Bureau, and his murder squads, called the Public Safety Unit, and by the remnants of his huge army, who have vanished, armed to the teeth, among the local population. They frequently surface in gangs to terrorize and murder the local people.

46. The Uganda National Liberation Front Government finds itself caught up in a vicious circle. The expectations of our people since liberation have naturally been very high; failure to meet at least the most basic of their needs, such as those for salt, soap, clothing and medicines, will create greater political problems; greater political problems will hamper our efforts to rebuild the economy; yet without a functioning economy we cannot meet the most basic needs of our people, and therein lies the vicious circle.

47. We need the help of the international community to break this vicious circle. Our appeal is not without precedent in recent history. When Europe lay prostrate at the end of the Second World War, the Marshall Plan was instituted to achieve for Europe what our country is desperately in need of today, namely, economic recovery. We do not ask for anything of the magnitude of the Marshall Plan. We are only asking for basic requirements to get us on our feet again.

48. Uganda is a rich and fertile land; our country is blessed with a glorious climate; we have a very talented people. However, we need financial, material and other forms of assistance from the international community in order to mobilize these resources into a force for national reconstruction and rehabilitation. We earnestly hope that the community of nations will help us to resurrect the promises of our land and rekindle the hopes of our people.

49. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Godfrey Lukongwa Binasisa, the Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front and the President of the Republic of Uganda, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

50. Mr. WALI (Afghanistan): It is a welcome tradition in each session of the General Assembly to begin policy statements by paying a tribute to the President of the General Assembly and other office-bearers on their election to the high posts of the Assembly sessions, as a fitting recognition of their experience and qualifications, which are an important factor in their election to such responsible posts. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan therefore takes pleasure in observing this tradition by extending its sincere and warm congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the high office of the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I deem it necessary to mention that you, Mr. President, not only represent your great country, the United Republic of Tanzania, but also the struggling continent of Africa whose people have decided with faith and conviction to eradicate from their continent the evils of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and the last vestiges of colonialism and alien domination. Your outstanding contribution to the decolonization efforts of the United Nations and your personal dedication to the cause of freedom and the liberation struggle gives us every assurance that the important deliberations of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be termed a successful endeavour in the ongoing struggle of this Organization for a peaceful and prosperous world.

51. May we also express our appreciation to your predecessor, the prominent Colombian statesman and diplomat, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for the successful conduct of the deliberations of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

52. When we assess the successes and failures of this Organization in matters of peace and security, the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt

Waldheim, dedicated to the realization of the aims and objectives of the Charter, deserve our admiration.

53. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan welcomes with joy the admission of Saint Lucia as a new Member of this Organization. This admission which reflects the success of the decolonization process in that former Territory takes us one step closer to the objective of the universality of this Organization.

54. Last year when we came to this Assembly at its thirty-third session, only six months had elapsed since the Afghan people had successfully carried out the Saur (April) Revolution under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the vanguard of the working class of the country. At that time, from this very rostrum², we declared to the world that the Afghan people, having struck down the towers of tyranny and despotism, had dedicated themselves to building a new society free from the exploitation of man by man despite enormous economic and social problems which we inherited from the previous despotic régime.

55. In such circumstances, the first step required for building such a prosperous society free of exploitation was the uprooting of feudalism in the country and thus the liberation of the toiling people of Afghanistan, namely, the workers, the peasants and other toilers, from the unjust feudalistic relationships prevailing in the country and from the domination of imperialism and reaction.

56. In order to achieve this lofty goal, the Revolutionary Government, among its other measures, successfully implemented, during the year and a half that elapsed since the victory of the April Revolution, three major decrees issued by the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

57. By the implementation of Decree No. 6 we have removed the burden of the system of unjust mortgages, usury and interest payments that was previously imposed on millions of our working peasants by the feudal lords and big landowners.

58. By Decree No. 7 we ensured the equality of the rights of Afghan men and women before the law and in all political, economic, social and other fields. Afghan women are no longer exchanged for money or material goods under the guise of bride-money, dowries or marriage expenditures.

59. As I stated earlier, one of the major tasks of the Revolutionary Government has been to eliminate the feudal and pre-feudal relationships from the socio-economic structure of the country. For this purpose the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan successfully implemented Decree No. 8 in a record period of six months with the all-round co-operation of the Afghan people, as a result of which more than 3 million *jeribs* of land previously owned by feudal lords and big landowners were distributed free of charge to thousands of landless farmers and petty landowners. The joy of an Afghan farmer and his dependants who have become the owners of land for the first time in their entire lives

can be imagined. Today the land in Afghanistan belongs to those who cultivate it.

60. Another major undertaking of our Government is the campaign for the total elimination of illiteracy, which is the legacy of past despotic régimes and which is estimated to afflict the disturbing figure of 90 per cent of our population. At present, more than 1 million people are registered in the illiteracy campaign courses throughout the country.

61. Another important accomplishment of the Revolutionary Government is the successful completion of the national population census, done for the first time in the country. That will offer reliable scientific data for the developmental projects undertaken by the Government within the framework of the new five-year economic development plan of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This plan is intended to remove the causes of the economic and social backwardness of the country and to provide decent conditions and higher standards of living for the Afghan people.

62. I have given a brief account of some of the important measures which our popular Government has taken so far in the interest of our working people. I considered it my pleasant duty to draw the attention of this Assembly to what we have done for our working people in order to change their lot for the better. However, imperialists, reactionary circles and left extremists in Afghanistan's vicinity are engaged in hatching conspiracies against our revolution. Using a handful of fugitive enemies of our people and of our revolution, and, with the co-operation of their agents inside Afghanistan, they make armed attacks on and intrude into Afghan territory, in the course of which they damage schools and hospitals and kill women, children and elderly people.

63. We have stated time and again that we want to live in peace with all peoples and nations, and particularly with our neighbours, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and provided they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

64. The April Revolution of the Afghan people, being a victorious workers' revolution, by its nature calls for peace and peaceful coexistence, because in peace it can achieve its aims and objectives in the interest of the working people of Afghanistan and for their ultimate emancipation from exploitation.

65. Unfortunately, this peaceful desire of our people and this genuine call of our revolution for peace and peaceful coexistence is not reciprocated by some of our neighbours. As I indicated earlier in my statement, the reactionary circles in Afghanistan's vicinity not only encourage the anti-revolutionary escapees who have lost their economic bases and interests in Afghanistan after the victory of the April Revolution to carry out subversive activities inside Afghanistan, but also provide them with comfortable shelter for the realization of their nefarious designs.

66. One thing is obvious: the April Revolution of the Afghan people is irreversible. The reactionary circles, the imperialists and other enemies of our people and of the revolution will eventually realize that they cannot succeed in their heinous designs. They cannot alter the determination of the Afghan people to build a society

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 18th meeting, paras. 1-49.

free from exploitation of man by man; they cannot reverse the process of history.

67. The foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is the reflection of its internal policy, is one of peace, peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all peace-loving countries and nations, and particularly with our neighbours.

68. Our relations of close friendship and mutual co-operation with the Soviet Union have developed positively during the last 62 years, and especially after the April Revolution, in the interest of our two peoples. These relations, which reflect the mutual desire of our two peoples constitute an excellent example of friendship, co-operation and good neighbourliness between States, and are based on sincere respect for the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and on the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

69. Our amicable relations with India, which have long and firm historical roots, are developing day by day, to the benefit of our two peoples.

70. As far as our relations with Pakistan are concerned, our Government and people have the sincere desire to maintain friendly relations with that country on the basis of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We hope the feelings of friendship of our working people towards the noble working people of Pakistan will be taken into account and reciprocated by the Government of Pakistan in its attitude towards the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the April Revolution. This in our view will positively contribute to paving the way for the normalization of relations and the promotion of mutual co-operation between our countries in the interest of peace in this region and in the world.

71. We further hope that our only remaining political problem with Pakistan will be solved by peaceful means and through sincere and amicable negotiations.

72. With regard to Iran also, we have the same desire for friendly relations and mutually beneficial co-operation on the basis of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This sincere desire emanates from the feelings of brotherhood and solidarity maintained by our working people towards the noble working people of Iran.

73. Concerning the rest of the countries, we not only are desirous of maintaining friendly relations and mutually beneficial co-operation with them, but also we would spare no sincere efforts to achieve that goal.

74. Needless to say, we are meeting at a crucial time as far as the international situation is concerned. Despite our common and continued efforts aimed at removing threats to international peace and security and at limiting the opportunities for resorting to the policy of force, the world still faces complex political and economic problems which are fraught with dangers to peace and security. However, some positive developments in the international situation offer us promising hope that the encouraging opportunities which are still at our disposal may be utilized in the interests of world peace. They may also provide concrete assurances to the international community that present and succeed-

ing generations will not fall victim once again to the scourge of another world war or nuclear holocaust. We are pleased to note that even greater victories are won as a result of the struggle of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

75. In the present international situation, domination and hegemonism have caused much concern among different countries. So we support the proposal made by the Foreign Minister of the USSR against the policy of hegemonism and domination, and the inclusion of an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" in the agenda of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [A/34/243]. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan hopes that due consideration will be given to this issue.

76. Mr. President, as you and other distinguished representatives attending this Assembly are aware, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held earlier this month in Havana, Cuba, successfully concluded its deliberations on the major political and economic problems with which mankind is confronted today. The positive results of the Havana summit meeting of the non-aligned countries will certainly contribute not only to the successes of this Assembly in indentifying the challenging problems which affect us all, but also to the formulation of more effective approaches and solutions to those problems.

77. The Sixth Conference of the non-aligned movement, reviewing the current international situation, expressed its satisfaction that efforts for the attainment of genuine peace, equal security for all, universal application of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, and equal co-operation were intensifying [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 22].

78. The Middle East still constitutes one of the most dangerous hotbeds of crisis in the world and poses a serious threat to international peace and security, which results primarily from the hostile, aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel, backed by imperialism, and from the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

79. The conclusion of partial agreements in the absence of the main party—namely, the Palestinian people, headed by the PLO—has further complicated the possibility of finding a just, lasting, and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem. The Sadat-Begin agreements have violated the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the non-aligned Conferences and have totally disregarded the rights and interests of the Palestinian and Arab people.

80. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved when all the Israeli occupationist forces are unconditionally withdrawn from the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and the usurped national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a national State of their own, are restored, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

81. The reported acquisition of nuclear weapons by Israel is a matter of serious concern at a time when Israel is continuing its illegal occupation of Arab and

Palestinian land and its flagrant violations of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The possession by Israel of nuclear weapons cannot but introduce a dangerous dimension to the already deteriorating situation in the Middle East. It furthermore raises the question of violations by certain nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of their obligations under that Treaty.

82. The crisis in Lebanon has not yet found a lasting solution. The continued Israeli aggression against Lebanon, particularly the escalation of air raids against the Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon, is further proof of the aggressive and anti-peace policy of Israel.

83. For the purpose of maintaining peace and security in the world, Member States are obligated under the Charter to settle disputes or situations which might endanger world peace by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. This obligation entails another basic obligation for Member States: to refrain in their relations with other States from the use or threat of force. It is therefore a matter of concern to all peace-loving countries and forces to note that the resort to the policy of using force is still being resorted to by certain countries.

84. The acts of provocation and intervention against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose people have already made enormous sacrifices during their heroic anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle, causes us concern. We hope the people of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea—who, like any other free people in the world, do not need to have lessons taught them from abroad—will be left alone to continue their national missions of reconstructing their damaged countries after those hard and arduous years of colonial and imperialist domination.

85. We oppose attempts to internationalize the question of Kampuchea after the Kampuchean people victoriously established a legal and popular régime in their country. The bringing to this forum, as a new agenda item, of questions relating to Kampuchea is nothing but an attempt to restore to power a clique in exile, which has been rejected by the Kampuchean people.

86. The concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace has yet to materialize. Certain Powers are increasing their military presence and are strengthening their military bases in the Indian Ocean, contrary to the United Nations Declaration on the matter [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], and against the will and aspirations of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. We demand the dismantling of imperialistic military bases in the Indian Ocean and an immediate halt to the deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in the Indian Ocean.

87. We reiterate our stand for the peaceful reunification of Korea without any foreign interference and for the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

88. The situation in southern Africa has further deteriorated as a result of the persistence of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and the joint imperialist-racist manoeuvres to prolong the domination of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The so-called internal settlements, or bogus

elections, are nothing but conspiracies against the aspirations of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Imperialists and racists must realize that they cannot impede forever the access to full independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe under the leadership of their legitimate and authentic liberation movements—namely, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, respectively.

89. In the name of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, I reiterate the solidarity of the Afghan people and Government with Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and your own country, Mr. President, the United Republic of Tanzania, as front-line States confronting the racist entities which have been planted on the African continent by the colonialists and imperialists against the will and aspirations of the African people.

90. The struggle of the people of Western Sahara for self-determination and independence under the leadership of their authentic liberation movement, the Frente POLISARIO, seems to be in the last stage of its total victory. The establishment of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic for the purpose of ending the domination of their country will, we hope, close another chapter of colonialism on the African continent. We further hope that the decisions and recommendations of the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in Monrovia in July [*see A/34/552*] will contribute to speeding up the process of decolonization in Western Sahara. We welcome the agreement reached between the Government of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO; we praise the courageous decision of Mauritania to give up all territorial claims to Western Sahara.

91. The Cyprus problem is another acute problem which causes our concern: a fellow non-aligned country is confronted with the challenge of the infringement of its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment as a result of foreign interference in its internal affairs. While supporting more constructive, serious and effective negotiations between the representatives of both Cypriot communities on an equal footing and without foreign intervention, we believe conditions of normality and peace could better be provided by the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and by ending the foreign military presence in Cyprus.

92. We hail the victories of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada against the dictatorships which brought considerable hardships to those peoples and damage to their countries.

93. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item relating to assistance for the reconstruction of Nicaragua [*item 124*]. We are confident that the international community will respond positively and generously to the needs of the people of Nicaragua, who suffered a lot as a result of the repressive Somoza military dictatorship and of the immeasurable hardship and bloodshed it imposed on that courageous people.

94. We demand the speedy application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the remaining colonial Territories in Latin America and elsewhere in the world.

95. Furthermore, we demand the termination of all imperialistic foreign military bases on the soil of other countries and consider them as an infringement of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries where these bases are located.

96. The concept of peace and security as a long-held desire and as a shared objective of peace-loving mankind, in our view, cannot be realized until general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, is achieved.

97. The continuation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and the excessive expenditures on armaments not only pose a serious danger of extinction for our civilization, but also reflect our very limited success in giving effect to the resolutions and decisions adopted on disarmament, particularly at the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament. In this connexion, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan welcomes and supports the formal proposal presented to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly by Czechoslovakia calling for inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" [A/34/141].

98. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan considers the conclusion of the Treaty on strategic nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States³ a positive step towards curbing the arms race and a success of the policy of peace. We hope the effective implementation of that Treaty will pave the way for the conclusion of new agreements on limiting strategic arms.

99. We maintain the view that the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States would offer a good opportunity and a suitable forum for assessing our achievements and our failures regarding the speedy implementation of the resolutions and decisions on disarmament.

100. We firmly support the broadening and deepening of the process of détente and hope that political détente will soon be supplemented by military détente and will encompass all regions of the world.

101. Afghanistan considers the United Nations as an indispensable instrument for maintaining international peace and security, despite violations of the Charter by certain Member countries and the non-observance of United Nations resolutions by those countries. We shall continue, *inter alia*, our efforts towards the further strengthening of the role of this Organization in responding effectively and quickly to situations which tend to threaten world peace and security.

102. The very slow progress in the ongoing efforts at restructuring present international economic relations is further compounded by the prevailing crisis in the world economic system, which has severe repercussions on the economy of the developing countries, particularly the land-locked and least developed among them, because of their greater vulnerability to external economic influences.

³ 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.

103. The developing countries which have inherited backwardness and poverty from the dark era of colonialism are determined to emerge from exploitation to economic emancipation and from dependence on imperialism to self-reliance. For this purpose they have sincerely and seriously continued their efforts for the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality. We hope that through positive dialogue and with a demonstration of political will on the part of the developed market-economy countries, this shared goal will soon become a reality.

104. I deem it necessary to draw once again the attention of this Assembly to the well-known special problems and particular needs of the developing land-locked, least developed and island countries. The measures taken so far in their favour have yet to be implemented. The United Nations Special Fund for Land-Locked Developing Countries, established by this Assembly to compensate for the additional transport, transit and transshipment costs of the land-locked countries has yet to become effectively operational. We hope generous financial contributions will be made to the Fund during the new pledging conference.

105. I should like to conclude my statement by reiterating our faith and conviction in the ability and constructive strength of peoples and nations, in the dignity and worth of human persons, and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

106. Despite many problems and challenges facing mankind, we have every reason to believe that we have the ability to build together a new and better world, where people and nations can live together in peace with one another without any concern or deprivation.

107. Let us make the ideal of building such a world of peace and prosperity a reality where there exists freedom and equality of rights for all without any discrimination and without any exploitation of man by man. Let us rededicate ourselves to the realization of this lofty objective with all our strength and potentialities and with some higher degree of determination and faith.

108. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): It is my unhappy duty to present on behalf of the Malagasy delegation our heartfelt condolences to our sister delegation of Angola on the passing of President Agostinho Neto. The loss the Angolan people have suffered is felt even more deeply by us since we consider ourselves, like the Angolans, committed to the struggle for a common cause—a struggle in which President Agostinho Neto was one of the prime movers and one of the most ardent combatants. The work which has been undertaken will continue. We owe this to his memory, to our peoples and to an independent and militant Africa.

109. The excellent and fraternal relations which prevail between the United Republic of Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar give me every reason to express to you, Sir, the joy and the pride which we feel in seeing you preside over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your qualities as a diplomat, combined so naturally in you with those of an honourable man have been known to us for some time, as has been the wealth of experience which you have acquired in defending the interests of Africa, the non-aligned movement and the international commu-

nity as a whole. All this guarantees the success of this session, for which we all earnestly hope. I hardly need to tell you that we are prepared to give you our complete co-operation, particularly in upholding the ideals which are common to us all.

110. To Mr. Indalecio Liévano, we should like to pay a particular tribute for the calmness, the equanimity, and the perfect objectivity with which he conducted the work of the thirty-third session and ensured its success.

111. We welcome Saint Lucia on its assumption of its international responsibilities and we wish to assure the delegation of that country of our desire to co-operate with it in order to achieve our objectives and to promote our interests as island States.

112. Finally, we must recognize what has been done in the intersessional period to prepare for this session by our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, using all his patience, initiative and imagination in order to defuse situations which were sometimes judged desperate, and to ensure, on our behalf, that there is effective participation in efforts to find a solution to a number of international problems.

113. It is customary, at every session, when assessing the role of our Organization, seen as an instrument capable of adapting itself to the most varied and unexpected changes, that we should endeavour to refer to the purposes and principles of the Charter, the incantatory nature of which sometimes overwhelms us, after having very laboriously sought in the events of the past year some justification for an optimism which is becoming less and less justified.

114. However necessary these periodic exercises may be, sometimes they may make us lose sight of the fact that international life cannot be conceived in any restrictive way, and that it would even be dangerous to attempt to isolate certain specific trends simply because they serve a specific policy or make it possible to mask the failures that have been accumulated in other areas.

115. We approached the 1970s with caution, and the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations gave us an opportunity to advocate the institution of a new international society more in keeping with the ideals which had been bequeathed to us by the authors of the Charter. We refrained from indulging in over-jubilation and, after many trials, we have now reached the end of a decade which has simply resulted for many of us in the aggravation of the general state of disenchantment despite the burgeoning of activities—that sometimes lead to nothing.

116. Far from playing down the success of international years which have been celebrated or the decades which we have inaugurated, we should nevertheless wish to ask whether it is not really despite the nobility of their objectives that these initiatives have simply concealed from world public opinion the impotence to which our Organization has been reduced.

117. Undoubtedly the challenges of the 1960s have accustomed us to gain confidence in ourselves, and the projections we made during that period promised that there would be prospects where the watchwords of

peace, justice, liberty and progress would not be reduced to mere delusions, and that our adherence to these principles would be subordinated to events which we could not have faced up to with more determination.

118. But what has in effect occurred? We are floundering in a peace which has been sundered by limited wars, by direct and indirect aggression, the threatened use of force, state terrorism, annexationist adventures of all kinds, the denial of the rights of peoples, and the violation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States.

119. The reduction in the number of military alliances has been accompanied by a concentration and redeployment of strategic objectives, by a recrudescence of interventionism, by the extension and consolidation of spheres of influence and by the upward spiralling of military expenditures, thus leaving the world in a state of dangerous and uncontrollable over-armament.

120. What is worse, we consider all these phenomena as necessary evils in order to lay to rest the spectre of nuclear war, and we acquiesce in the name of a certain concept of peace in the fact that in Africa, Asia and the Middle East there are continuing explosive situations which are maintained, if not inflamed, by the imperialist Powers and interests.

121. This illusory feeling of peace has brought about détente and decentralization which ought normally to have resulted in an attenuation of conflicts and rivalries. However, through precisely the opposite process, which has been caused by the pre-eminence of certain national interests, and despite the professions of international co-operation, the normal divisions, instead of becoming blurred, have deepened or at best have shifted.

122. In point of fact, in seeking a multipolar equilibrium, the world has become an unbalanced world which time and again has had its attention claimed by the convergence of new interests seeking recognition. A new matrix of international relations has thus emerged, but in a total confusion of values and a cynical and indistinct choice of means available.

123. The same situation can be observed in the economic field. There has been one conference after another but their results have been meagre. Progress and order have turned into disorder and disintegration, to such a point that the third world, which was simply aspiring to less dependence on external factors, is now facing an impossible choice: forcible reintegration into a system which has so frequently been denounced, or the search for a new order which for some has become a myth sustained by sentimental rhetoric.

124. The capitalist world, for its part, continues to maintain the crisis in order to ensure its orderly restructuring of capitalism, to strengthen the imperialist division of labour, to perpetuate its economic and financial hegemony, and to increase profits the world over.

125. Where, then, are true co-operation and necessary interdependence? Is the world so doomed to injustice that we must agree not to carry out timely readjustments and simply to content ourselves with what others may condescend to offer us or to promise us? Do

the proletarian nations have rights or do they have to make the power centres recognize that fact?

126. Those who warn us constantly against the dangers of confrontation should take up this challenge, because we can no longer accept a global situation characterized by the mediocrity of purported negotiations and dialogues, by the redistribution of political and economic power, while maintaining the structures of domination by the asymmetry of relations in no way conducive to the promotion of genuine international security which would cover all areas.

127. After these general remarks it is quite logical that we should continue this statement by taking up questions which are of particular interest to our continent without, as some do, claiming that they are of sole concern to us.

128. In southern Africa, despite the confusion which the gradualist policies of the western Powers have created, for us the situation has always been quite clear-cut. On the one hand we have the survival of a régime which is a genuine insult to human intelligence, a régime which is surrounded by dominions which it keeps hostage, where are professed the virtues of a so-called outmoded coexistence through which opportunist puppets get rich. On the other hand, we see a growing strength in the liberation movements which the imagination and ethnocentrism of the Western Powers tries to pit against one another, but which continue none the less to benefit from the unconditional support of militant Africa.

129. We have denounced the inconsistency and collusion of the Western Powers, but they do not seem to care, perhaps because one more denunciation does not make that much difference. Instead of Chapter VII—which has become inapplicable, because the Pretoria régime cannot be considered by some as an "enemy" within the meaning of the Charter—we are offered plans, programmes and conferences which have been manipulated in advance so as to safeguard interests which will ultimately be condemned.

130. The Namibian people, which the Westerners still treat with benevolent neglect, cannot decide their future without the capitalists and racists making their claims heard, thus making any solution subordinate to their desire for domination and exploitation. The United Nations itself, which has embarked upon the perilous path of negotiations, is bereft of authority, and everything seems to depend on a certain demilitarization, as if this were some kind of *kriegspiel* of the past that is being played out, while people ignore the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO.

131. Unreality has reached its zenith in Zimbabwe, because the power given to the renegades of Salisbury is unreal. Maintaining the fiction of multiracialism, which has been a failure for 20 years, if not longer, is unreal. The problem is not simply the fact that a constitution has been drawn up which takes no account of the existence of a new attitude and an environment that is no longer colonial. The Patriotic Front has its demands, and the sacrifices the Front African solidarity, and especially the front-line States have made over the last eight years will not allow it to cast doubt on the main objective, namely, genuine independence in

which a majority will not be held hostage by a minority even for a moment.

132. In a different political and geographical context, we have witnessed, almost impassively, the tragedy that has been visited upon the Saharan people, a pawn in the game of influence and interests played by Powers outside Africa. That people has been claimed as the possession of both sides and its territory has been constantly usurped. Self-determination has been flouted in the name of an ill-defined territorial integrity and an international law which is no longer valid, since the Madrid agreement⁴ has fallen by the wayside after its *de facto* denunciation by Mauritania and its violation pure and simple as a result of Morocco's annexation of the southern part of the Territory. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar condemns the illegal occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco, whose annexationist designs and expansionist plans are not likely to re-establish very quickly the climate of confidence and co-operation so vital to that part of Africa.

133. Turning from southern Africa to the Middle East, we recognize practically the same problems, the same facts, the same attitudes and the same whimsical desire to impose on a people solutions that are inspired by a determination to ensure global domination at all costs.

134. Like the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the Palestinian people demand recognition and respect for their identity and aspirations in a well-determined context. The United Nations has endorsed those just claims, but the fact that one or two States, with their allies whose ranks are becoming ever thinner, stubbornly refuse to recognize those realities is not something that should prevent us from breaking the vicious circle of isolation and ostracism which surrounds the PLO, or from reaffirming all those principles contained in the programme of action designed to implement the rights of the Palestinians and to give priority to the Palestinian question in any consideration of the over-all situation in the Middle East.

135. But, as a result of the Camp David agreements⁵ and the Israeli-Egyptian treaty,⁶ those rights have been reduced to the hypothetical enjoyment of an ill-defined autonomy. Even the colonialists at the beginning of the century did not go that far in their retrograde policy. How can we therefore fail to condemn the separate and partial treaty which was the outcome of the Camp David agreements and which deals so cavalierly with the Palestinians? How can we accept that the future of a region which is so vital for international peace and security should be left to the whim of one, two or three States which vie with each other in finding ingenious ways to control it politically, economically and militarily? How can we endorse the tripartite plot and the betrayal of which the Palestinian people have been the victim? And, finally, how can we still let people believe that a peace process has been initiated at a time when the end-result of that so-called peace has simply been the negation of the Palestinian nation and increased Israeli arrogance, aggression and extortion of Arab

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11880, annex III.

⁵ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

⁶ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

land, particularly in the southern part of Lebanon? There can be no simple solutions for settling the Palestinian and Middle East problems; but, at least, a little more equality and sense of responsibility before history should enter into whatever action is undertaken.

136. We could collectively have exercised that responsibility before history last week when we took up one aspect of the situation in South-East Asia. Excessive insistence on principles, which in the final analysis simply amounts to interference in the conduct of bilateral relations between sovereign States and in the choice that a people makes of its own political, economic and social system, has led us down a path when it will be even more difficult for the United Nations to give proper co-operation and assistance to the Khmer people and bring about a solution of the situation in Kampuchea. Everything seems to indicate that the previous outright condemnations have been followed up by gestures of political appeasement explained away as legal constraints. In our naiveté, we believed that this somewhat cynical game belonged to a different era.

137. We would hasten to emphasize that, as a matter of principle, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar recognizes not governments but States. Nevertheless, in our relations with any particular Government we must be mindful of three classic criteria, namely, control of the territory, the loyalty of the people and the exercise of political power. As a matter of principle also, it is our hope that the disputes which may arise between States in South-East Asia will be settled, above all, by negotiation and conciliation, if only in the name of the struggle which their peoples have constantly waged against colonialism and imperialism.

138. The final point that we should like to raise in this consideration of specific situations relates to the Korean peninsula. Despite the efforts made by the United Nations and despite the fact that for seven years now we have had before us a joint communiqué⁷ which could have served as a reasonable basis for a lasting settlement, two essential problems remain: the withdrawal of foreign troops from the peninsula and the independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean homeland.

139. Electoral promises were made three years ago regarding the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. That represented a very encouraging commitment; but, unfortunately, those promises have been belied by subsequent facts, to such a point that South Korea has become a vast American aero-naval base, which is supplied with the most sophisticated arms and even nuclear weapons.

140. Equally, reunification, which was the subject at that time of proposals that took into account the political realities prevailing in both parts of Korea, was downgraded when it was made subordinate to the intiation of tripartite "talks" that were then extended to the point where they altered the bilateral Armistice Agreement which was signed on behalf of the United Nations.⁸

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953, document S/3079, appendix A.*

141. We vigorously denounce that anachronistic desire to create a state of cold war in the Korean peninsula at a time when other people are preaching détente and normalization. We cannot agree that the Korean people should continue to be the victim of out-and-out interference and subject to an aggressive and permanent threat.

142. The situations which we have just described have been engendered, maintained and magnified in spite of our efforts, in the name of those realities which are a reflection of the diversity of our world, and also because of our inability to provide a global basis for peace, and to preserve and reinforce it. The machinery which is provided for this purpose by the Charter has never been completely or effectively utilized, and the alternative system, which is centred on the Security Council, has yielded only relative results, allowing conflicts and tensions to develop at the whim of our indecision and or commitments which are incompatible with collective responsibility.

143. Furthermore, the hindrances to the normal functioning of the Security Council, such as the abusive use of the veto or efforts to produce a consensus more formal than political, have undermined the authority and credibility of our Organization and given a chancy and even discriminatory character to the way in which the provisions of the Charter concerning the maintenance of peace are applied.

144. Therefore, we have to provide, and even devise, machinery which is more adequate, which will make it possible for us to impose respect for our principles, and which will lead States to make their conduct subject to the provisions of the Charter and to settle disputes in a peaceful way according to established procedures.

145. We must make the best possible use of the institutions available to us, adapting, reforming and transforming them, and we are among those countries which attach the highest importance to the work of the Committee entrusted with the revision of the Charter.⁹ However, this exercise would be pointless if it were not accompanied by a change in thinking, if we continued to equate peace with the mere absence of conflict, and if we did not adopt a more positive and active approach to it.

146. This is indeed our conviction. It is also the main message which emerged from the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, during which a number of measures were proposed or reiterated to strengthen international peace and security. Among these measures was that of making of the Indian Ocean a zone of genuine peace [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, paras. 142-151].

147. The creation of this zone of peace should normally be the result of compatible interests on the part of the countries in the region, those that fear for the security of their supply routes, and those that feel that that part of their territory which is adjacent to the Indian Ocean is threatened. No progress can be achieved, however, if some seek to arrogate to themselves the rights and privileges of international policemen. We cannot acquiesce in accepting this, and we shall not rest until all foreign military bases are dismantled and until

⁹ Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization.

all foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean is removed.

148. The way to the demilitarization and the de-nuclearization of the Indian Ocean—in other words to the full implementation of the principles and objectives of resolution 2832 (XXVI)—is long and arduous. But a new stage was indeed reached at the recent Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. A Final Document [A/34/45, para. 33] was drawn up which set forth the implications of the concept of such a zone of peace as well as the obligations of each category of States concerned.

149. The participation in that Meeting as observers of the permanent members of the Security Council and the main maritime users was significant, and it encouraged us to propose at the present session of the General Assembly that a conference on the Indian Ocean should be convened if possible before the holding of the next special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [see A/34/29, para. 21].

150. This still remains our attitude despite the vicissitudes which have marked the bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. It is still our position because it is based on the pre-eminent value of collective action and of equitable co-operation, which should be a feature of our common enterprises.

151. The machinery which was set up after the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, is designed in the same spirit and is aimed at promoting the role of our Organization as a centre for study, negotiation and action in an area in which in principle it holds the main responsibility. It is possible that it is not perfect, but at least it has the merit of responding to most of our desires and taking account of realities, such as the existence and continuance of bilateral negotiations between certain nuclear States.

152. In this connexion, we welcome the conclusion of the Treaty reached at the conclusion of the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], which, *inter alia*, will make possible the entry into more decisive stages of the reduction of strategic weapons and the taking of genuine disarmament measures. Indeed, such agreements should be seen as part and parcel of the objectives which we have laid down in our desire to achieve not only general and complete disarmament but also concerted and orderly disarmament.

153. We shall not rehearse the problems with which we have been dealing for 20 years, nor shall we go into the priorities which have been established in the over-all disarmament programme adopted by consensus. Now, as was emphasized by the Group of 21¹⁰ at the end of the session of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva,¹¹ we must go beyond the stage of general discussions and take up genuine negotiations. We share the concern of that group at the lack of real progress on the main items on the Committee's agenda, whether relating to nuclear disarmament, to the general prohibi-

tion of nuclear tests or to international arrangements guaranteeing the security of non-nuclear States.

154. On all these points States must demonstrate a genuine political will. They should also establish and reinforce a climate of trust among themselves; otherwise it will not be possible to have valid negotiations. Finally, they must all be convinced of the importance of disarmament in order to usher in a new international order which will make it possible for all peoples to pursue their economic and social development in full liberty and security.

155. In the economic field, it would be somewhat tiring for us to formulate and rehearse in detail the concerted positions of the Group of 77 and every session of UNCTAD, in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and then in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy. Everything is happening as if the art of the negotiator should be confined to drawing up documents without practical scope but likely to satisfy the sporadic objections of the developed market-economy countries.

156. The latter countries have shown no essential initiative and have made no critical analysis of the economic system; nor have they made any proposals, except those designed to bring about a rebalancing of the forces in the capitalist camp or to meet the threats they perceive to their supplies of raw materials and energy products. To illustrate what we have just advanced, all we have to do is to refer to the multilateral trade negotiations and to the problem of energy.

157. The Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT has given the group B countries one more opportunity to settle certain questions which have arisen from changes in their competitive positions, and the agreements which were initialled in Geneva [see A/34/418 and Corr.1] simply formalize the measure of agreement reached among them. It was not thought important that the subjects regarded as essential by the developing countries should not have been dealt with or should have been dealt with inadequately. The same is true of the maintenance of certain quota systems and the introduction into the safeguards code of a selective clause making it possible for certain countries to be treated in a discriminatory way.

158. On the energy problem, responsibility for which it is sought to lay at the door of a certain group of countries, it is not up to us to leap to the defence of these countries since they are exercising in a sovereign way their right to pursue a policy of sale, control and management in conformity with their interests. But we will continue to maintain that, despite the urgency which the developed countries attach to it, the subject of petroleum is inseparable from the over-all problem of commodities and raw materials. To attempt to establish any kind of hierarchy in this connexion which would favour the interests of the industrialized countries would be, to say the least, unfair.

159. Furthermore, the problems of supply and the need to stabilize petrol consumption are felt in different ways by countries according to their levels of development and the resources available to them. Their common concerns can therefore be focused only on the

¹⁰ Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

¹¹ See document CD/50, dated 9 August 1979, entitled "Statement by the Group of 21 on the conclusion of the annual session of the Committee on Disarmament in 1979".

price of this product, and it is not certain that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is solely responsible for this. Let us rather say that the increase in petroleum prices is being maintained and encouraged by those who allow the dollar to devalue so as to boost their own synthetic petroleum industry, thereby strengthening their supremacy in the fields of energy, industry and technology.

160. Furthermore, this is not a question of ascertaining whether the developing countries are the only principal losers. In any case, they are the losers and grow poorer still whenever they have to export more and more local products in order to obtain the same equipment and products from abroad. And they grow poorer more especially since they cannot bring about an increase in their productivity that is equal to or higher than the rate of exported inflation and hence able to compensate for its effects.

161. It is therefore not surprising that we question the powers held by those who, deliberately or inadvertently, are adapting themselves to the present chaos, are opposed to price indexing for primary commodities and are hindering the realization of the objectives set for the industrialization of the countries of the third world by multiplying protectionist measures and by strengthening their control, if not their monopoly, over technology.

162. Who is it in fact that is preaching to us gradualism and patience because the Western economies are going through one of the gravest crises in their history? Who is it that is deciding that public aid to development, which has already been cut by inflation, must be reduced or at best maintained at its present inadequate level and at the same time insisting that the national defence budgets of a group of countries be increased, not by 3 per cent, but by 5 per cent in real terms? Who is it that is praising the virtues of free enterprise but at the same time masking the reprehensible dealings of the transnational corporations, completely absorbed as they are in pocketing the super-profits being repatriated by the latter?

163. They are the same circles which, despite their skill in forecasting and their sophisticated instruments of analysis, have not hitherto demonstrated that they are capable of understanding the nature, scope and urgency of our needs or the development requirements of the countries of the third world, which require radical reforms not always subjected to the laws of the market alone.

164. The fifth session of UNCTAD, which was the first international conference that specifically studied the problem of structural changes by dealing with trade and monetary, financial and technological questions as a whole and in a correlated way, resulted in failure, for which we are far from being responsible. Consistent with the policy which we have adopted since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, we merely wanted to study thoroughly and further spell out the concept of interdependence and promote the positive evolution of the rules and principles governing international economic relations.

165. We hope that, in view of their importance, these problems will be at the centre of the global negotiations proposed by the Group of 77 which are to take place during the special session in 1980. We wish to recall in

this connexion that the resolution adopted by the non-aligned countries in Havana, which was introduced by our group in the Committee of the Whole, emphasizes that

“ . . . the establishment of the New International Economic Order . . . demands new concrete and global solutions and cannot be brought about by piecemeal reforms and improvisations intended to resolve the present economic difficulties” [see A/34/542, annex, sect. VI B, resolution No. 9].

166. It is in the light of that that we subscribe to the following three series of measures: first, a readjustment of world production, consumption and exchange structures, which implies a rethinking of the imperialist division of labour, the dismantling of industrial monopolies and the jettisoning of the concept of an integrated programme of commodities; secondly, the reform of the institutional framework as well as the rules and principles governing trade and technological, monetary and financial flows with a view to their democratization and an equitable sharing of rights and obligations; and, thirdly, the organizing of the third world, on the basis of this reform and this readjustment, so as to ensure its collective autonomy, which should not be a simple closed-circuit growth formula, promote co-operation among the countries of the third world, enhance their potential and increase their power of action and negotiation.

167. The establishment of the new international economic order will undoubtedly encounter resistance, entrenched arguments and negative reflexes. We all profess our attachment to international co-operation. We have all pledged ourselves to have recourse to international institutions in order to promote economic and social progress for all peoples. This tenuous and theoretic link, which nevertheless is based on good faith, can be further strengthened. It will not hold up for long if some come here not so much to negotiate as to listen to complaints, not so much to consider reforms that are required as to defend the *status quo*.

168. The rigorous analysis which we have made of certain negative aspects of international relations, at a time when we are called upon to negotiate conditions for our interdependence in all fields, should not be interpreted as a refusal on our part to shoulder our responsibilities in this Organization. The fact that we have chosen confrontation in the realm of ideas in no way means that we have given up the idea of having recourse to a universal and equitable dialogue and seeking solutions in keeping with the interests of our peoples.

169. Indeed, whichever way we turn, however we take up and deal with these problems and no matter how severe are our judgements, we cannot deny what is obvious: the need to bring our differences before this Organization in order the better to understand them and determine to what extent they can help us to adapt ourselves to the profound changes in the world. One approach is as good as another, and it would be pointless at this level to try in any way to circumscribe the scope of our debates in the name of realism and pragmatism or to ignore existing relationships of force.

170. Our concerns are not necessarily the same, our methods are manifestly different and our priorities are

far from coinciding. Nevertheless, it remains true that the present political and economic crisis has evoked in all of us the same feelings of uncertainty, frustration and disquiet, to such a point that we are condemned to find together, and above all within the framework of the United Nations, the ways and means to get out of the deadlock which has been brought about by years of lack of understanding, claims and selfish practices.

171. In our opinion, any solution should originate at the United Nations, from our principles and purposes, if we wish to overcome the ambiguities which have been engendered by partial approaches and give our thinking and our actions a generally acceptable content. At the same time, it is up to us to see to it that the commitments undertaken at this level are not designed to conceal from international public opinion a deliberate desire to repeat the errors of the past. We call for a new order, which in its turn requires that all States adhere to a new morality, and it is in this way that we can really take up the challenge of the 1980s.

172. Mr. NZE (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Among the events which have shaken the world and especially the African continent in recent days, there is one of which we would like to make special mention: the sudden passing away of President Agostinho Neto, one of Africa's most striking personalities. President Neto, who died on 10 September, was a great patriot and statesman who above all stood for the dignity and independence not only of Angola but also of Africa. The last respects of the People's Republic of the Congo were paid to him by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso when he went to Luanda at the head of a large delegation to bow before the mortal remains of a man who, for the Congolese people, was not only a friend at all times, but also a companion in arms at the most difficult moments of the liberation of Africa.

173. Two years after the death of President Marien Ngouabi, Central Africa, with the death of President Neto, is now deprived of two of its most authentic heroes. However the heritage bequeathed by both is such that both in the People's Republic of Angola and in the People's Republic of the Congo, all those who fight for the liberation of peoples will find additional inspiration to maintain their ardour in the struggle being waged daily against all enemies of African independence.

174. Mr. President, the United Republic of Tanzania, your beautiful country, for us Africans as for all peoples who cherish peace, freedom and justice, represents an example of pride, a symbol of virtue and a safe line of defence for freedom fighters. My country, the People's Republic of the Congo, is pleased to be counted among Tanzania's friends. Therefore I have the greatest pleasure, Mr President, in congratulating you on your brilliant election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You are indeed a devoted man, convinced both of the usefulness and of the action of our Organization, and whose experience and tact are a guarantee of the triumph of the ideals of peace, freedom, justice and co-operation among nations, which constitute the very framework of the Charter of our world Organization.

175. Ours is an ailing world, plagued by its technical development, by the ambition of some and the selfishness of others and, finally, by its lack of ability to solve the burning and urgent problems which face it. The cry

of anguish—the existential anguish of thousands and thousands of human beings, the cry for survival by millions of human beings whose dignity, human condition and very existence are threatened—is heard everywhere.

176. This year again we are going to examine the political, social and economic situation of the world, and for more than three months we are going to ponder its future. We have no right to evade this responsibility. It is an undertaking which takes on a new dimension; we are compelled to it by imperatives of time. At the end of this century, at the dawn of mankind's third millennium, everywhere time points to taking stock; but should we just take stock of the United Nations? It seems to us that this would be too tiresome and we would need more than one regular session to do it. However we need to take stock; this need should accompany every attitude and every act in our exchanges with one another.

177. An objective, honest and serious examination of conscience should enable us to put a certain number of questions leading to a better understanding of the out-moded practices which have characterized the United Nations since its creation and to a better awareness of the imperatives of the time. This awareness should not be translated and restricted to a mere recording of the facts; it should enable us to free ourselves from the hold of habits of thought, to be concerned about what is true and just—in one word, to raise ourselves to the point of shaping the world, instead of putting up with it, by following the contours marked out in the Charter of the United Nations.

178. The Charter's aims and principles are clear and remain relevant. But instead of concentrating on their reinforcement and effective application in deeds and in tangible ways, we see a sort of challenge; in fact no day goes by without us seeing them violated, here and there, or emptied of their content through prejudice and hatred. U Thant was right, 12 years ago when he said:

“When prejudice and hatred dominate the relations of nations or groups of nations, the whole world takes a step backward towards the dark ages . . . When force and military competitiveness displace co-operation, negotiation, law and diplomacy . . . the nightmare of a third world war comes steadily nearer the world of reality.”¹²

This vision of this world in which we have the sad privilege of dwelling is very pertinent; it is a world which remains more than ever in a situation of conflict.

179. Indeed, however praiseworthy some of the efforts which our Organization and other international bodies have made may have been, they have changed nothing—at least very little—in this situation. Mankind remains dramatically split into two parts: the rich and the poor, the affluent and the wretched, the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed. A minority, consisting of highly developed countries, due to its dominating position, determines alone the distribution of world resources through its own hierarchy. The resulting division of labour means that while they become increasingly richer, other countries languish in poverty. This, alas, is the basis of the world economic situation which we put up with today.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 1A*, sect. XII, para. 151.

180. International relations are still dominated by force, in accordance with the age-old law of the "state of nature". The need to dominate or to expand still haunts nations; it is always a matter of dominating or neutralizing the adversary. To the spirit of conquest in the traditional sense of the term—i.e., the use of armed force—other far more subtle forms have been added: for example, to ensure the supply of raw materials through most skilful trade policies and very well-placed investments; to control the means of production, distribution channels, movements of capital and exchange of goods; to support subversive movements aimed at undermining certain economic policies and destabilizing certain awkward régimes and so on.

181. We should no longer allow ourselves to be lulled by those who benefit from the imbalances and inequalities that increase the incidence of conflicts everywhere, create appetites for power and set up petty chiefs and tyrants in complete scorn for the will of peoples and human rights which, nevertheless, are proclaimed elsewhere. The game is well known; the manoeuvre is skilful: whether it is a matter of destabilizing régimes, encouraging plots or creating spheres of rivalry and hotbeds of war, the more or less avowed purpose is to promote an atmosphere of crisis, a climate of general insecurity, so as to divert free peoples from their essential concerns, by forcing them to be preoccupied with trivia.

182. In these conditions, we feel ill at ease in speaking of peace and security in the world. Our consciousness of these very noble principles is in conflict with everyday reality. The reality is in fact confrontation, war, aggression, generalized violence and military expeditions. These conflicts find their origin in a lack of respect on the part of some among us for commitments entered into freely and in full awareness and in the non-application of principles which we have unanimously accepted and adopted. There are numerous examples; furthermore, they constitute the essential items on our agenda.

183. Decolonization and the self-determination of peoples are among the key principles of our Organization. More than ever they should be made effective in South-East Asia, in Latin America, in the Middle East, in northern and southern Africa, wherever people are dominated, wherever they seek only to free from themselves the yoke of subjection, exploitation and shame and to recover their dignity. This is natural; this is in accordance with the most cherished aspirations of peoples; and yet we observe here and there reticence, opposition, vetoes. These are Machiavellian manifestations of a challenge to freedom, the negation of the development of peoples. Every year our conscience leads us to adopt resolutions on self-determination for the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, southern Africa, Western Sahara and Palestine and for other peoples still under colonial domination in Latin America and South-East Asia. Shortly thereafter doubt is cast on them or they are never referred to again. What happens is that we do not all feel that we are really concerned by the acts to which we refer, and some among us continually allow themselves to be manipulated by the strongest to the point of no longer being convinced of the urgency of the problem of the security of peoples and of the seriousness of the threats weighing upon certain countries of the third world and, more specifically, upon Africa.

184. Africa is indeed the most vulnerable and the most

exposed area. This continent, disoriented and in ferment, daily lives the tragedy of the flouting of the most elementary concepts of justice, freedom and sovereignty: Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Western Sahara, and certain parts of central Africa are the most striking proofs. In those regions entire peoples are daily deprived of their most elementary rights, to the point of becoming dehumanized, transformed with full impunity into vulgar herds of savage beasts.

185. This defiance, this negation of liberty, is felt even in the independent countries themselves. The aggression perpetrated by minority régimes against the front-line States is a manifest example. Every year it brings with it a train of troubles. From this rostrum we denounce a practice which is contrary to the most elementary international law and borders on gangsterism: it is that of Powers outside Africa which intervene directly in the internal affairs of other States to bring to power puppets which are in their pay.

186. It is obvious that such a policy has no other purpose but to preserve colonial interests and privileges.

187. On *apartheid* and the genocide of peoples everything has been said, and very well said, at this rostrum. But it can never too often be repeated. It is imperative that the Namibian people, under the enlightened guidance of SWAPO, must accede to independence. And they will succeed inevitably; that is our firm conviction, the conviction of fighting and free Africa and of all those throughout the world who support their just struggle.

188. Our consistent position in the affairs of Zimbabwe and Namibia has in no way been altered by the changes in events which have recently taken place.

189. Consistency also characterizes our position on Western Sahara and the Middle East. What has been called the "peace process" in the spirit of the Camp David agreements can be described as the exaltation of the position of strength of Israel to the detriment of the Palestinian people. For our part, we believe that there cannot be a guaranteed peace in the region without the participation of the PLO in any process designed to deal with the fate of the Palestinian people. In this respect, the idea of an international conference, as put forward by the Secretary-General in his report [see A/34/1, sect. III], seems to us to constitute at this time the most positive approach to the problem.

190. The very simple idea which governs our thinking is that freedom cannot be bartered. Thus, the Saharan people can no longer be barred from the right to freedom, to self-determination, to existence itself.

191. We are pleased by the efforts made by the OAU and, above all, by the wise decision taken at Monrovia, recognizing the self-determination of the Saharan people [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. This is to the honour of Africa; it is an important step in the search for a definite and lasting peace in that part of the continent. We are also pleased with the victory in Nicaragua of the Sandinist forces over the dictator Somoza. This is a ray of hope and a source of encouragement for the peoples of Latin America which are still subjugated and exploited.

192. The world in obedience to its conscience should

rise above the level of preparations for war. Throughout the world, peace requires correct solutions to the burning problems of decolonization and similar evils.

193. We are thinking here of the painful tragedy of divided countries: Korea naturally provides an example. It is time that the international conscience should be freed from this burden by an effective promotion of the peaceful reunification of Korea. This is still a matter of justice.

194. We must, of course, inevitably think of disarmament. Certain countries regard the arms race as an indispensable corollary to their industrial prosperity. Despite limited efforts such as those shown by the conclusion of the second SALT Treaty, general and complete disarmament, as advocated by the tenth special session, is still Utopian. Regrettably, we are bound to note that the arms race, the invention of increasingly sophisticated weapons and the perfection of atomic weapons have in some societies become daily practices, to the point where the threat of a thermonuclear conflagration remains suspended over our heads like the sword of Damocles.

Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

195. What vast resources the entire international community would be able to dispose of if the concerns of war could be recycled into activities of peace!

196. Such an approach implies and demands the establishment of a new international economic order. A few weeks ago at Havana, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries once again proved that close to two thirds of the States Members of the United Nations were concerned with a fundamental change in the structures and mechanisms of the present system of injustice and frustration.

197. The decisions of the non-aligned movement, which is the common denominator of countries with varied systems and degrees of development, constitute in our opinion the minimum basis for all proposals designed to bring about a better economic organization of the present system in accordance with the purposes and principles defined at the sixth and seventh special sessions, and contained in, *inter alia*, the Charter of Economic Duties and Rights of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

198. For a long time, Africa has been aware of its state of under-development. We are asking ourselves more and more questions; we are concerned about our future.

199. A symposium organized by the OAU and ECA at Monrovia at the beginning of this year¹³ drew up a diagnosis which brings to light the fact that 20 years after the era of nominal political independence, the real situation in Africa today remains painfully disquieting. We have excessive underemployment and unemployment; the lowest *per capita* revenues in the world; the highest infant mortality rate, the shortest life-expectancy, illiteracy, malnutrition, famine, economic

dependence, chronic indebtedness and so forth; in brief, the African continent remains the continent of under-development, destitution and abandonment. That is the painful reality.

200. This situation of imbalance and great dependence is, first of all, the result of the will of the African States to integrate themselves into the international economic system, and into the dominant development structures linked thereto. It is also, unfortunately, the result of mimicry by the young economies which leads them to adopt inadequate development models, because they are centred on the needs of the African masses, and are not designed for endogenous development. The African economy remains, indeed, dependent on the industrialized world, its technology and its proficiency. Development theories are directed towards the export markets and the import of techniques, equipment, services and modern consumer products. The situation is still essentially what it was during the colonial era.

201. This is also the consequence of counter-performances of world development strategies adopted so far. The African continent has never been able to succeed in attaining the development objectives provided for in the first two United Nations Development Decades. The recent session of UNCTAD was more or less a repetition of the previous ones: once again it enshrined the selfishness and stubbornness of the rich world, and confirmed the refusal of the industrialized countries to seek a really new equitable and just world economic order. The other development strategies drawn up within a regional framework met no better fate. Thus, the co-operation begun within the framework of the Lomé Convention¹⁴ between the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and the European Economic Community only brought about limited solutions to the redoubtable problem of under-development.

202. Everything leads us to believe that the different economic, political and social instruments used in the various cases have only so far made it possible to strengthen and perpetuate the ties of dependence; in any event, they have brought to naught efforts designed to formulate new models of autonomous development.

203. Nevertheless these are necessary if we want ideas of justice, development and co-operation to continue to have meaning within our Organization. This means we must surpass ourselves; it means also that there must exist a political will to break the resistance to change of those who benefit from present imbalances and inequalities; to break with certain concepts and certain habits of the past and abolish the barriers to mental and social change. Only in these circumstances will we be able to devise measures to transform internal structures and improve the production factors on which an autonomous and self-sustaining development depend.

204. Then, future development strategies, either within the framework of the third United Nations decade or in the more general context of negotiations for the new international economic order, or the Tokyo round, or the law of the sea, and so forth, could be

¹³ Colloquium on the Prospects for Development and Economic Growth in Africa especially to the Year 2000.

¹⁴ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

envisaged with some chance of success, as could all resolutions, declarations or programmes of action which we might be led to adopt. It is a problem of survival, not only for Africa but for all mankind; the human species cannot be saved or preserved from the dangers of war unless it directs all strategies towards a self-reliant and autonomous development which would ensure the well-being and improve the quality of human life, and equity and justice among nations.

205. These are the essential matters on which we should all mobilize now.

206. When we look around us at all these eminent personalities who have come from the four corners of the earth and are gathered here to speak the language of peace, justice, freedom and equality, it makes us rather optimistic and reinforces our faith in the future of man, and therefore the world. It strengthens our faith in this Organization and its principles, which remain fully valid because they are fundamental and universal.

207. In concluding, I should like to reaffirm here the devotion of the people of the Congo, united in their party, the Congolese Workers' Party, and of its chief, the President, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, to the tenets of the United Nations. These tenets should be able to guide our steps in this world, which is unceasingly destroying us and destroying itself from day to day. For our part, we are so keenly aware of the danger of a world explosion that it seems to us imperative to reconsider our role in what we conceive, what we produce, and in what we exchange.

208. Mr. MYINT MAUNG (Burma): May I begin by conveying to Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania the warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that his wide knowledge and experience of world affairs will stand us in good stead in guiding our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

209. We wish to pay a tribute also to our former President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for his distinguished services in conducting the affairs of the last session of our Assembly.

210. To the delegation of Saint Lucia, we extend our friendly greetings on the occasion of its admission to the family of the United Nations.

211. We meet at this session this year amid developments which, since our last session, have affected significantly the pattern of international relations. The course of events that have taken place has brought about a fundamental realignment of forces in world affairs. We are faced with a situation where the interplay of political, economic and social problems has greatly exacerbated international relations. This calls for the highest degree of collective responsibility on the part of all of us in this family of nations to contribute to the solving of the major problems which confront us and trouble the world today.

212. The world will recall that the United Nations was founded on a commitment and a hope: commitment to the maintenance of peace between nations, and hope that the essential community of interests and aspira-

tions, even between States differing in their political, economic and social systems, would strengthen that commitment through mutual co-operation and mutual endeavor.

213. The present session of the General Assembly is a most timely occasion to appraise the gravity of the world situation. It offers us a favourable opportunity to seek solutions to the major international problems, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter, so as to achieve the peace and well-being of mankind by meaningful universal consensus. The nations of the world will therefore welcome the fresh vigour with which the United Nations measures up to the task before it as the co-ordinator of man's efforts for his betterment, and not for his destruction.

214. Interference in the internal affairs of other States is one of the main causes of present international tension and its escalation into armed conflicts in many regions of the world. No State has the right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the internal affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed or other interference, or threats, open or concealed, against the personality of a State or against its political, economic and cultural system is inadmissible.

215. Every nation has the inalienable right freely to choose its political, economic, social and cultural system without interference of any kind by another State. These principles have been adequately elucidated in the Charter and other relevant declarations of the United Nations with a view to promoting friendly relations and co-operation among States. Accordingly, any violations of these norms of international relations can only be of disservice to the community of nations.

216. May I take this opportunity to report on how and why Burma has ended its participation in the non-aligned movement, and explain our thinking on the subject. I led the Burmese delegation to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held at Havana and placed the views of Burma very clearly before it. May I be permitted to reiterate the gist of them here?

217. Burma went to Havana with hopes that the principles which had inspired the founding of the movement could be preserved and given new life. What happened at the Conference only disappointed and disillusioned us, and we saw that something decisive needed to be done if those principles were to be saved.

218. Burma therefore decided to submit to the Conference an urgent motion: to appoint a drafting committee charged with the task of defining the inviolable principles of the movement, the qualifications for and rules of membership, the functions and powers of the principal organs of the movement, and the procedures. After the draft was done, Burma suggested, it could be discussed and adopted, and the movement could start again, purified and renewed.

219. The Burmese delegation submitted the motion to the Conference, explaining that otherwise the movement would continue to exist only in name and be ever vulnerable to exploitation. We also reported to the Conference that, if it reached no decision on the motion but let things drift, we would withdraw and Burma's parti-

icipation in the non-aligned movement would end. That was a decision made after serious thought.

220. The Burmese delegation left Havana on the day it had originally planned to leave, before the Conference was extended. The Conference, in any case, failed to take heed of our motion, and concluded without even a mention of it. Burma's decision to end its participation in the non-aligned movement therefore became operative from the end of the Conference. And Burma stands by that decision.

221. It may well be asked if Burma intends to organize a movement and has the ideas and invitations ready. That would be a pertinent question, but the straight and simple answer is No. As I have already stated, we submitted our motion to the non-aligned Conference at Havana with the sincere intention of preserving the true original principles of the movement, and not with any other motive or plan. If, however, like minds should move one day towards a community of nations sharing similar views and values, and willing to dedicate themselves to clear principles of non-alignment, Burma might feel persuaded to take its place as a member of that community.

222. May I reassure the members of the General Assembly that Burma will continue to practise the independent and active foreign policy which has been a constant article of faith with it, to cultivate its existing friendly relations with all countries, and to remain pledged to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the universal principles of peace and mutual respect.

223. The establishment of peace in the Middle East region is essential for all the peoples of that area, the security of the Mediterranean basin and the maintenance of world peace.

224. Burma is of the view that any solution to the Middle East problem, to be viable, should be comprehensive in nature. The basic prerequisite for the establishment of a just and lasting peace is the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own State. Another requirement is the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories occupied in 1967, as any acquisition of territory by war is inadmissible. It is also clear that the state of belligerency should be effectively terminated in the area. Further, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries should be respected. These principles also apply equally to Israel.

225. The Palestinian question is the key to the solution of the entire Middle East problem, and without the settlement of this issue there can be no just and lasting peace in the area. Therefore, it is imperative that in any negotiations for a comprehensive settlement, the Palestinians should be represented with all other parties.

226. For the achievement of progress in negotiations and an ultimate settlement, there must be a sense of political will and reciprocal accommodation. Intransigence on the part of parties concerned will not be helpful in any way in the quest for a lasting settlement.

227. The struggles against colonialism, imperialism

and racism continue to mount in Africa. Burma has consistently supported all struggles against colonialism, imperialism and racism, and I wish to affirm once again that Burma continues to support with fullest sympathy the struggles being waged today by the African peoples. Should this deteriorating situation persist there exists a real peril that Africa will emerge as a zone of tension endangering international peace and security. It is therefore evident that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations must be implemented in good faith to improve the situation. If the existing resolutions are found to be inadequate in resolving outstanding issues, it might perhaps be necessary to seek more appropriate formula for adoption.

228. Burma has consistently supported the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations. We stand strongly for the solution of all outstanding problems by peaceful means rather than by resort to the threat or use of armed force.

229. The situation in Indo-China is a source of deep concern to Burma. In principle, if the overthrow of an existing Government of a country by forces opposed to it, with the armed intervention of an outside Power, were to be condoned, the elementary rules and accepted norms of international relationships would be greatly impaired.

230. In common with other Member States, Burma views disarmament as a matter of universal concern and therefore does not, in principle, favour the rigid bilateralization of negotiations on any disarmament issue. However, given the complexity and the unique nature of the problem of strategic weapons, Burma shares the view that direct negotiations between the two principal nuclear-weapon Powers could be more effective.

231. Accordingly, at the General Assembly, we welcomed the opening of bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States in 1969 on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. Subsequently, we were gratified at the successful conclusion of the first round of SALT in 1972.

232. We welcome the recent second SALT Treaty as another significant step towards complete nuclear disarmament. We are particularly glad to know that the agreement would also place qualitative restrictions on the strategic arsenals of the two parties. However, we cannot help feeling that the agreed numerical ceilings are still far too high. Therefore, we hope earnestly that further negotiations will be undertaken without delay directed towards achieving a phased, balanced and significant reduction in the quantity and quality of strategic arms with a view to the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons from the arsenals of States.

233. To reinforce the viability of the SALT agreements, the conclusion of an underground test-ban treaty has clearly assumed greater urgency. Such a measure can help arrest the further qualitative development of nuclear weapons. Besides, it would complement the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty¹⁵ and lead to the final achievement of a comprehensive test-ban.

¹⁵ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

234. The Second United Nations Development Decade is coming to a close but the expectations it had roused have been largely unfulfilled. There is still a wide gap between the rich minority of developed countries and the vast majority of developing countries. Gaps in income between the rich and the poor, and between the urban and the rural populations, still continue to exist. In fact, these gaps have become wider.

235. We believe that the entire international community, both developed and developing, shares the view that these gaps should be narrowed as soon as possible. To this end we should all work together to achieve a more equitable sharing of the growth of world output, which in fact is the primary aim of the new international economic order. Experience has shown that this task involves long, tedious, protracted and often exasperating negotiations between the developed and the developing countries. Furthermore, the current international economic situation does not provide us with cause for being optimistic about achieving significant results from these negotiations in the near future.

236. To be more fruitful and constructive, we wish to suggest that our immediate objective should be to achieve a just relationship in the world market, namely an improvement in the terms of trade between the prices of main exports of the developing countries and those of their imports. Our endeavour should also include promotion of processing of raw materials and expansion and diversification of exports, particularly to developed countries, and the improvement of the share of developing countries in transport, marketing and distribution of primary commodities. In seeking the goals of the new international economic order it will be necessary for all countries, developed and developing, to work together in greater economic co-operation, and on the basis of collective responsibility.

237. On the basis of what has been said, the Burmese delegation hopes that the thirty-fourth session will bend its energies towards meeting the many challenges before the international community.

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

238. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, Gabon and its President, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, whom I have the signal honour to represent at this session, are moved by your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are moved first of all because as Africans we are gratified that once again it is to our continent that the formidable but exalting honour has fallen of presiding over this international forum. We are moved also because Africa, which today more than in the past has become the scene of rivalries and great Powers hegemonisms, could not make a better contribution to the search for solutions that are liable to reduce the poverty and suffering in the world and to bring about a greater measure of security and happiness for its inhabitants. Finally, and above all, we are moved because of the close links of fruitful friendship, multifaceted co-operation and active solidarity which unite our two peoples and our two brother countries, both bilaterally and within the framework of international organizations. And that is why your election, Sir, constitutes for Gabon, my country, more than just a

symbol. It is indeed testimony to the well-deserved tribute which, through you, Sir, the community of nations has paid to your great country, to its illustrious head of State, and also to the whole of Africa. My delegation is convinced that your distinguished qualities as a skilled and far-sighted diplomat and the long and rich experience which you have accumulated in the United Nations are a guarantee of the success of our work.

239. I also wish to convey my congratulations to the other officers of the Assembly, who, I have no doubt, will actively assist you in the success of this session.

240. I should like to take this opportunity to include in these congratulations Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the President of the thirty-third session, whose tact and perfect knowledge of the great problems of the day made it possible for the work of that session to succeed and make appreciable progress in the search for solutions to our constant concerns.

241. To Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of our Organization, I should like to repeat the great appreciation of my delegation for the tireless efforts which he has constantly put forth towards the same end.

242. My delegation believes that, in spite of differences and reluctance, our work will be carried out in an atmosphere where the keynote is hope, a hope which will do away with the partisan selfishness which has generated so much conflict and conflagration. The world we live in needs this hope because it has too often fallen victim to those constantly resurging scourges which afflict humanity and which it must rid itself of through the indispensable solidarity of the international community.

243. These scourges include, in the first place, hunger, which affects three quarters of humanity and kills off millions of human beings. I should like to stress here the preponderant role of our Organization in the effort to do away with hunger throughout the world, and at the same time to congratulate the Secretary-General and the Director-General of FAO on their unremitting efforts to achieve this objective. Indeed, we can never repeat too often the fact that man does not live by ideology alone, still less by cannons which rob him of his life, but by bread and water above all.

244. Let us hope that the powerful of the world will do even more to contribute to the elimination of this scourge. In fact, nothing more remains to be said on this subject. And the last time that it was debated was in the course of the World Food Conference,¹⁶ which showed that all that was needed was good will on the part of everyone for those who primarily suffer from hunger—that is children, to whom this year has been dedicated—to find themselves not only recognized at last but also given the right to existence so that the world can live tomorrow because, as the head of State of Gabon loves to say, "the surest hope of the world is its children".

245. So hunger is the first scourge, and after hunger comes poverty, which is the lot of three quarters of mankind, condemned to be ever poorer while the rest of the world awards itself the bulk of the wealth that exists to become ever more prosperous.

¹⁶ Held at Rome from 5 to 16 November 1974.

246. When the group of developing countries clamours for the establishment of this new and more just international economic order that would nowadays embrace such diverse fields as information and culture—the purview of the World Administrative Radio Conference, which has just begun work in Geneva—this is a warning signal which the industrialized countries would do well to heed, instead of turning a deaf ear as they did in Manila at the time of the fifth session of UNCTAD, which yielded the most disappointing results because of the reluctance of those countries to do more for the cause of the developing countries.

247. It is true that at the end of two years of hard bargaining there is good hope that agreement can be reached on the broad lines of the statutes of the Common Fund for the stabilization of primary commodities.

248. It is true that an agreement was also arrived at in Vienna at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, on the adoption of an over-all Programme of Action¹⁷ aimed at strengthening the scientific and technical capabilities of the developing countries, the creation of a high-level horizontal structure—that is, the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development—and the establishment of machinery for financing which could increase and guarantee the volume of funds necessary for the attainment of defined objectives.

249. It is true that it may be somewhat comforting and encouraging to note that at the second half of the eighth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was concluded here a month ago, quite appreciable progress was made on certain points which were purported to be delicate, such as scientific research, pollution of the seas and the delimitation of the continental shelf.

250. Naturally, within the same context, I cannot remain silent about the results of the renegotiation of the Convention of Lomé—where my country had the privilege of being Co-Chairman at a crucial moment of its history—a convention which clearly should be taken as a model in the field of co-operation, which we hope will be ever more fruitful, more diversified and more dynamic, between the industrialized and the developing countries. My country is gratified by the fact that the signing of this convention will take place once again in Lomé.

251. These are so many grounds for satisfaction, and we are entitled to take pride in them in spite of serious short-comings.

252. My delegation feels that the political will to pursue dialogue exists in all quarters. We can therefore only support Mr. Waldheim's appeal—issued at the 28th meeting of the work of the *ad hoc* committee on the North-South dialogue¹⁸—for the resumption of this dialogue because “present stagnation is unacceptable at a

time when dangers of all kinds threaten the world economy”.

253. Indeed, the constant imbalances which perturb the world economy—inflation and monetary disorders, just to mention two—underlie the particularly difficult and alarming situation affecting the economies of the third world in general and of the African continent in particular, aggravated by the problems of indebtedness and insufficient price supports for primary commodities and the deterioration of the terms of trade, a situation for which appropriate solutions should be found.

254. Among those solutions must be an increase by the rich countries in their official assistance to the developing countries, particularly since the figure of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product recommended in 1970 by the United Nations [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] has been attained so far only by Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands.

255. Among those solutions also is the alleviation, management and total or partial remission of the debts contracted by the developing countries in accordance with an agreement of March 1968 by UNCTAD¹⁹ but subscribed to by only about 10 industrialized countries. My delegation wishes to pay warm tribute here to all of these countries in the hope that their example will be followed.

256. With regard to Africa, ever since the seminar in Monrovia which met at the felicitous initiative of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Edem Kodjo, after having realized that, at the international level, trade and other exchanges were much more current among the industrialized countries than between them and the developing countries—in other words, there is a greater current of North-North trade than North-South—Africa decided, by the solemn Declaration of its Heads of State and Government meeting in July last again in Monrovia [*see A/34/552, pp. 78-80*], to promote in Africa a new course to be based on self-sufficiency.

257. I take pleasure in stressing that my country did not wait until the alarm bell had sounded in Monrovia before awakening to that fact; because, after what became an historic statement on 11 March 1976, the Head of State of Gabon, after having said No to unbridled capitalism and No to bureaucratic socialism, advocated “the new Gabonese policy of development, that of democratic and concerted progressivism”, which consists of the awareness and the will of the Gabonese people to achieve better control of the economic machinery and better control and direction of their expansion, in the higher interest of the nation and for the benefit of all its citizens.

258. So we have poverty and hunger, but we also have that greatest of all scourges, war, not forgetting conflict situations in a world which is in full transformation. War still remains one of the constant concerns of man, because his very survival depends on peace and security.

¹⁷ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.1.21 and corrigendum), chap. VII.

¹⁸ Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174.

¹⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. 1 and Corr. 1 and 3 Add. 1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14), annex I.A, decision 29 (II).

259. On the basis of this analysis, it occurs to us to ask a fundamental question, When will all those who call for human rights and have arrogated to themselves the right to proclaim peace or war take the decision to devote even a tiny part of the billions they spend each year on the manufacture of ever-more sophisticated and deadly weapons to elimination of the scourges of hunger and poverty that afflict the world? It is deplorable indeed to note that the genius of man has never been better developed or more highly sophisticated than in that field of the invention, perfection and refinement of lethal devices.

260. This is a cry of alarm, but also a cry of hope; the hope which we place in the future of mankind, a hope for which we take pleasure in noting that an echo, however feeble, has been found among the two super-Powers, which are primarily responsible for the grave concerns which afflict the world and which lead small and medium-sized countries like ours to believe that power is found in the muzzle of a gun and thus to seek it as an end in itself even more important than the well-being of starving peoples. But with this gun, as the Head of the Gabonese State likes to put it, "we can do everything except lie on it with peace of mind". And, within this context, we can only greet with optimism the creation of the International Fund for Agricultural Development—for which my country proposes to provide a site for its headquarters—the Fund has as one of its objectives "to improve the nutritional level of the poorest populations"²⁰ of all the developing countries.

261. There is hardly any need to remind representatives that the essence of a man's life depends, above all, on satisfying his vital needs rather than an unbridled race for a balance of terror in which the two super-Powers have not ceased to recognize their responsibilities. An illustration has just been given to us by the conclusion of the agreements reached as a result of the second round of SALT, after six years of intensive bilateral negotiations. We must encourage them in that course of direct negotiation, as they were in a letter addressed to their then leaders by the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries who met in Belgrade in 1961 for the First Conference of the Movement,²¹ with as their final objective the destruction of all nuclear arsenals.

262. Those are, in the view of my delegation, the major guidelines which should underlie our debate, because they flow from this profound conviction of the political philosophy of the Republic of Gabon, whose official seal shows a mother nursing her child.

263. The Gabonese State has enhanced the role of women by creating a department concerned with everything that affects their advancement, promoting action for mass education in the rural areas and preserving our traditional values. Action is jointly undertaken by the departments of women's advancement, social affairs and popular education, as well as the Women's Union of the Gabonese Democratic Party, under the leadership of Mrs. Joséphine Bongo, the wife of the Head of State.

264. We have many mothers and sisters, all of whom are pleased to recognize the importance of their role in

²⁰ See document IFAD/1, article 7.

²¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 9, document A/4522.

the development of our young nation, because in Gabon there is no discrimination between men and women in appointments to posts of responsibility. The only criterion is competence.

265. With reference to the child, the child is the most precious possession, the builder of tomorrow's world, the artisan of the future, the link between yesterday and tomorrow, the soul ready to blossom—but which is stifled by man's selfishness, asphyxiated by the gunpowder of cannons. In so far as concerns the Gabonese Republic, for a long time now the importance of this "promise of man", as GUSDORF puts it, has been perceived and apprehended. Indeed, the Head of State of Gabon likes to repeat, as he did at the opening of the International Year of the Child:

"For me, youth is sacred. And this youth is, above all, young children. And those children must be born into a society of peace and progress. Their balanced development depends on it."

266. In this field, the Government of Renovation, for which public health and social security constitute priority sectors, is devoting the larger part of its efforts to maternal and children's health, to social security with its birth bonuses and family allowances. These measures and provisions are in Africa in the vanguard of the steps advocated by the WHO relating to primary health care with a view to preserving the health of all by the year 2000.

267. The efforts made on behalf of the child are also marked by a school attendance rate of 100 per cent at the primary level and somewhere near 70 to 80 per cent at the secondary and higher levels, as well as free education for all without any discrimination.

268. If I have mentioned the place occupied by the child in Gabonese society, it is not only because our session is taking place in the International Year of the Child; it is, above all, because one of the evils that afflicts mankind that we have just denounced, namely war, affects the child most since it spoils and destroys his innocence and for ever dulls his sensibilities.

269. Indeed, as President Bongo said quite recently:

"In this turbulent world rent by troubles, too many children are born and grow up in fear and anguish of unbridled warfare between nations and fratricidal revolutions, without any protection other than the wretched shelter of refugee camps and orphanages."

270. And the Head of the State of Gabon declared himself ready to welcome children, primarily from distant regions where we hope and trust that peace will finally triumph, so that those lands will finally be able to experience the harmonious development to which they are entitled after so many years of sacrifices that would be in vain if they were not to lead to the social peace which we whole-heartedly aspire to, above and beyond grudges and rancours.

271. If we consider the international political situation sector by sector, I am sure that members will agree with our appreciation of the present state of the world.

272. In Africa we thought that a peaceful and interna-

tionally acceptable solution to the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia was imminent.

273. We cannot deny that the African countries and the liberation movements primarily concerned have demonstrated a great deal of moderation in their just claims of full and entire sovereignty over the land of their ancestors.

274. We accepted the mediation of those very people who are the allies of the minority and racist régimes in Rhodesia and in South Africa, allies who are all the more clearly identifiable because they maintain relations of many kinds with the country that is primarily responsible for the terrible evil which is rampant in the region—that is, South Africa. But what have we obtained in exchange?

275. In Zimbabwe, since the rebellion by Mr. Ian Smith, the African countries in particular, and the countries of the third world in general, have constantly called on the United Kingdom, the administering Power for the Territory, to live up fully to its responsibilities as such and to lead the country to independence.

276. The idea that the reality of power should be concentrated in the hands of 3 per cent of the population of the Territory cannot be entertained. The members of this minority who for different reasons have found refuge in that country, and who have freely chosen to make a home there, should constantly bear in mind this truth, if they themselves after independence wish to be granted the right to make a positive contribution to the building of a new Zimbabwe, which will need their wisdom and experience.

277. That is why the Government of Gabon welcomed the position taken by the United Kingdom on the future of Zimbabwe in the course of the recent Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka, Zambia, because it was in keeping with its position of prevailing upon all the sons of Zimbabwe to sit down at the same table to find a peaceful solution to their problem that would be internationally acceptable.

278. This is why the Government of Gabon wishes to express the hope that the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference now being held at Lancaster House will see a resolution of this problem.

279. The Namibian problem resembles the Rhodesian problem inasmuch as its origin lies in the system of *apartheid*, because of which the word "equality" has become meaningless. It also resembles the Rhodesian problem inasmuch as progress is being made towards an internal solution which takes no account of SWAPO, which nevertheless is recognized by the OAU and the United Nations as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Neither does the solution take any account of international opinion, or of the plan of the Secretary-General of the United Nations,²² while the South Africans have led the world to believe that it has accepted that plan based on the proposals of the five Western Powers.²³ In acting in this way, South Africa

thinks that it can benefit from the tacit agreement of the Western Powers because of their considerable investments in that region.

280. Consequently, it is up to these Powers to remove any possible misunderstanding about their true desire to bring about a solution in keeping with the inalienable right of the Namibian people to freedom, independence, the territorial integrity of their country, including the port of Walvis Bay, and also national sovereignty, by prevailing upon their ally to reverse its decision before it is too late.

281. From this very rostrum on 14 October 1977, at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon, said:

“. . . the masses deprived of the fundamental rights of man are living like pariahs in the land of their ancestors

“On our fellow human beings, treated as subhumans, an iniquitous power is imposed by the so-called separate development of the famous ‘national homelands’ or bantustans, which are a parody of a homeland and government.”²⁴

That remains a tragic reality, especially since a new bantustan, the Venda, has just been created. Just as it condemned the Transkei in 1976 and Bophuthatswana in 1977, the Government of Gabon energetically condemns this most recent parody, which is designed to perpetuate the outrageous policy of white supremacy in this part of the continent.

282. We should also recall this other saying of President Bongo:

“Sooner or later excess destroys itself.

“The excessive humiliation to which so-called separate development exposes our brothers is driving them to revolt, just as it is making it our duty to help them. There should be no doubt on this score, particularly among the Western Powers.”²⁵

283. We were particularly anxious to cite these quotations because we find that the countries most frequently accused of violating human rights are the countries of the third world, particularly African countries. We are waiting impatiently for the champions of human rights also to apply the necessary sanctions against the racist power of South Africa, and for colossal sums of money to be devoted to catching and punishing those who exercise this iniquitous power. So far, as far as I know, it has not been possible to get the Security Council to adopt any kind of resolution calling for binding economic sanctions against this other scourge of humanity which has been elevated to a veritable system, namely *apartheid*.

284. I also wish to point out that certain major countries have not hesitated to suspend economic assistance to third-world countries accused of violating human rights. Justice, as we can see, is often selective, even in the West.

²² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

²³ *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

²⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 34th meeting, paras. 43-44.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, paras. 56-57.

285. On the subject of the Middle East, one cannot refrain from drawing a parallel between southern Africa and that part of the world because of the persistent refusal of Israel to grant the Palestinian people their fundamental rights: the right to liberty and to sovereignty over internationally recognized territory, under the leadership of its vanguard organization. I refer to the PLO, whose existence cannot be ignored by Israel, all the less since the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, has spoken from this very rostrum.²⁶

286. We reaffirm the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland, just like all the other peoples of the region.

287. We also reaffirm that, while there exists a momentum towards peace in the region, Israel must return the occupied Arab territories and refrain from creating settlements there.

288. In this context, Jerusalem, the Holy Place of three revealed religions, must become an international city.

289. This is why Gabon, which looks to dialogue as the pre-eminent instrument for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, has always supported the tireless efforts of President El-Sadat, in this framework, as well as the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, because it is liable to bring about a certain momentum for a global settlement of the problem of the Middle East, a settlement which would take account of the recognition of legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

290. Our agenda, the consideration of which is to take some three months, accordingly embraces other items which are just as important and which it would have been worth while to deal with here.

291. But for lack of time, I shall confine myself, before concluding my statement, to mentioning the tragedy of a nation rent in two—Cyprus—not without, however, reaffirming the profound conviction of the Gabonese Government that we shall see the thorny problem of the Korean peninsula resolved by means of a peaceful and independent reunification.

292. With regard to Cyprus, then, here is a country which for six years now has suffered from division because of the presence on its territory of foreign troops. We reaffirm that the solution to this tragedy must inevitably, here as elsewhere, be brought about by means of dialogue, of direct intercommunal talks which must safeguard independence of the territory, its integrity and its non-aligned character.

293. I have deliberately made hope the keynote of my statement—hope for a better future for mankind, in spite of the vicissitudes to which it is subject, such as the discord we have just mentioned—in the light of the efforts of our Organization to bring about concord, a symbol which my country has chosen for its national anthem. We place this hope in the United Nations, for it remains the appropriate framework for the solution of the numerous problems confronting the world today which will certainly determine the kind of world we shall have tomorrow.

294. Because this hope alone is capable of permitting us to transcend our ideological differences, it spurs us on to reflexion, to the wisdom which mankind so sorely needs and which should accordingly preside throughout our debates, so that when they come to an end our delegations will leave New York with the legitimate satisfaction of having taken a step forward in the search for progress and peace in the world.

295. In conclusion, I should like to welcome Saint Lucia to the United Nations. The admission of Saint Lucia is for my delegation a matter of satisfaction because it enables our Organization to take one more step on its long march towards universality.

296. Mr. PÉREZ CADALSO (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am very pleased to convey to you, on behalf of the Government and the people of Honduras, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are all fully aware of your dedication to promoting the lofty aims of our Organization, particularly with reference to decolonization and the ongoing and necessary struggle against the odious policy of *apartheid*. World opinion is also very much aware of the great efforts that the United Republic of Tanzania, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, has exerted in various forums in favour of the African continent and world peace, so that, in electing you President of this great Assembly, we have also paid a tribute to the nation which you so worthily represent.

297. We also express warm greetings to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the tact and excellence with which he is carrying out his important functions. The United Nations is the best machinery available to the international community for maintaining peace and promoting co-operation among nations, and our country would like to see, instead of the bitter censure directed against it, a renewal of confidence in its bodies and an attempt to improve its effectiveness by means of a serious commitment by Member States to carry out its recommendations and programmes.

298. We also hail with great joy and optimism for the future the accession of Saint Lucia to freedom as well as its admission to the United Nations.

299. With regard to disarmament, the results of the tenth special session have as yet not materialized, but it must be recognized that the States members of the Committee on Disarmament have with renewed purpose undertaken the consideration of various important problems relating to the comprehensive programme and the action that is needed so that as of 1980 we may have achieved an effective disarmament decade.

300. Today more than ever the arms race is obviously absurd and morally unjustifiable. Weapons do not only cause destruction, suffering and death; the very fact of manufacturing or acquiring them by way of enormous investments of money, together with the idea of the production of weapons as a necessary component of the economies of the highly industrialized countries, presupposes erroneous concepts which cannot be accepted. At this time, it is not possible to imagine that, while millions of human beings are dying from hunger,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2282nd meeting, paras. 3-83.

cold, poverty, disease and so many other gifts of the horsemen of the apocalypse, the highly developed Powers are devoting astronomical sums to the production of cannon, missiles and nuclear devices capable of causing the rapid and complete extermination of mankind. In this connexion the most authoritative statistics indicate that the largest centres of military power in the world have arsenals sufficient to destroy each other 15 times over. What do you think of that? And the gravest aspect of this tragedy is that, even though these weapons are instruments of death, their effect is not final; they will leave in their wake, after the ruins and smouldering embers, lingering hatreds and vengeance, so that for centuries thereafter the Biblical story of Cain and Abel will be relived.

301. The supreme value in international life must therefore be justice, and more specifically social justice, the essential basis for peace, since the serious disturbances in the contemporary world are without doubt caused by the unjust distribution of benefits and opportunities. On the other hand, if we set aside the use or threat of use of force as a means to do battle in today's world, the only means left is dialogue, in other words, communication between people setting aside questions of race, beliefs or frontiers, in order to overcome the enormous gaps separating men. Hence, our conviction that all disputes can be resolved by means of peaceful procedures established by international law, so long as the sun shines equally on all.

302. We hope that the second SALT Treaty will be ratified by the United States and the Soviet Union because, although it represents a partial measure, it is a step in the right direction, which we must support for the sake of détente so that the peoples desirous of living in peace and free from pressure and fear will have their security enhanced.

Mr. Matane (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

303. In the past year peace agreements between Israel and Egypt have been concluded in a way which our country applauds, convinced as we are that such complicated and difficult problems can be resolved when goodwill and the desire for co-operation are brought to bear. It is to be hoped that these first steps will cement future good relations between the Arab and Israeli peoples, thus bringing permanent harmony to the Middle East.

304. We are also following with hope the development of the programme for autonomy of the Palestinian people, confident that, with the future in mind and with justice, effective participation will be given to its representatives in the preparation and implementation of that programme.

305. While Lebanon is still a prey to violence and overt foreign interference, which only worsens the crisis, Honduras wishes to appeal yet again for an end to this fratricidal struggle among the Lebanese people and to the artificial and harmful internationalization of the conflict.

306. Honduras continues to support the efforts, both of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Namibia, to obtain the necessary co-operation

of South Africa to implement Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

307. The international community, through the United Nations, is directly responsible for the fate of this valiant people and it must leave no stone unturned in its efforts to ensure its prompt independence without any territorial subordination. The five Western Powers must carry out the commitment they entered into to hold free elections in Namibia under effective United Nations supervision and with the active participation of SWAPO.

308. With regard to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, the latest plans and events are encouraging regarding a solution to a highly explosive situation and the attempt to put an end to the iniquitous racial discrimination suffered by its people through the establishment of an effective system of democracy; a system which would achieve a balance among the rights of the majorities and the minorities; a path that would enable a country torn by ethnic, social and religious divisions to overcome its difficulties and harmoniously join the community of nations.

309. The talks in Lusaka between the front-line States and the United Kingdom, the recommendations of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries [*see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15*] and the results of the Constitutional Conference now being held in London should therefore be firmly supported.

310. With regard to South Africa, international pressure in the form of economic sanctions against other régimes should convince that country of the futility and danger of its policy of supporting positions of the most extreme domination; equally this pressure should make it understand that the *apartheid* policy can only give rise to insurrection in South Africa and spark off a conflict of incalculable proportions throughout southern Africa.

311. Ten years ago my country became involved in a military conflict with the neighbouring Republic of El Salvador. This created an abnormal situation, which unfortunately remains unresolved. Honduras is a peace-loving country and its foreign policy is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Charter of the Organization of American States [OAS], which categorically prohibit the use of force, stating that force can only be employed as a means of self-defence, as was our case in 1969.

312. Thus after various attempts at negotiation, in December 1977 we began a process of mediation, led by the eminent statesman, Mr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, under whose wise leadership the parties have completed the written stage of the procedure. There now remains the oral stage, in which, once the general treaty has been signed, all existing differences between both nations will be globally resolved.

313. Honduras, by tradition and by conviction, has always placed its trust in the procedures established by international law as the only civilized means of resolving disputes between States. Therefore it has taken part and will continue to take part most sincerely and constructively in mediation, and that is why it welcomes the recent statement by the highest authorities in El

Salvador to the effect that that country is more than willing to discuss the matter of frontiers and thus reach a final solution of the dispute. If it should prove impossible to resolve some of the points or aspects in dispute within the mediation process, then these will be put before the International Court of Justice for a ruling, as we have unshakable trust and faith in the effectiveness, wisdom and soundness of that Court.

314. For almost a year the Central American isthmus has been rent by civil war in the sister Republic of Nicaragua. From the outset, the Government of Honduras declared its absolute neutrality in the conflict and scrupulously applied, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the OAS, the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the free self-determination of peoples.

315. However, I should make it clear here that my country's attitude dates from much earlier, since in 1907, when there were no international organizations or bodies, Honduras, in an inter-Central American document known in the annals of international law as the Washington Pacts,²⁷ declared its perpetual neutrality in any conflict which might arise between two or more countries in the Central American isthmus.

316. I regard it as unnecessary to say that neutrality is not the same thing as indifference. No one could be indifferent to the death of more than 40,000 men, women and children, or to the fate of three times as many disabled, impoverished victims of war. Neither could one be indifferent to the systematic and indiscriminate devastation of towns and villages with the consequent destruction of factories, shops and all sources of production.

317. Honduras furthermore in its own territory shared the tragedy of the helpless, when it received more than 50,000 Nicaraguans who were fleeing from war. In refugee camps administered by the Honduran Red Cross, by improvising shelter and even receiving people into our own homes, we have given constant and unfaltering aid, because our Government and people are convinced of the imperative need to help a brother people unjustly subjected to the most terrible tests. While seriously limited in its activities by obstacles of an economic order, our Government called for and obtained international aid, and here I wish to state our thanks for the altruistic and effective action taken by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Red Cross, the OAS and by various friendly Governments, without whose valuable co-operation it would not have been possible for us to have assumed such a burden.

318. I can add that, with the setting up of a new régime in Nicaragua, the great majority of refugees have returned home, although afterwards, because of this same war, several thousand more came and these have been treated in exactly the same way as those who preceded them. At present we have about 13,000 refugees and our Government will continue to help those who are genuine refugees in giving them the protection they deserve as human beings.

319. However, I must state with some concern that, according to our information, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has decided to put an end to the aid operation, despite the fact that there is an agreement between that organization and our Government concerning activities to render refugees self-reliant which will be in force until 31 December this year. In view of this situation, we request the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to continue its valuable and resolute support in order to relieve the most pressing needs of these poor Nicaraguans.

320. Nicaragua, for its part, as a nation, is confronting an historic challenge of institutional consolidation and economic reconstruction which our country also wishes to support as far as it can. Our Government has never claimed or had pretensions to set itself up as a judge of political events in or the affairs of other countries, and it wishes to maintain friendly relations with the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua within the framework of sincere co-operation and mutual respect of Central American States, whose people constitute one family or, to put it better, one nation in the full sense of the word.

321. Consequently, we firmly support the recommendations of the member countries of ECLA, those of the Action Committee of the Latin American Economic System, those of the Inter-American Development Bank and those of the Central American Bank for Economic Integration concerning international assistance for Nicaragua.

322. Of course, the United Nations system will also have to co-ordinate and increase its contribution to the task of reconstruction which has to be carried out, and Honduras appeals to Member States from this podium to take part generously in the programmes being studied or carried out by UNDP, the World Bank and other agencies to assist Nicaragua.

323. The Government of Honduras is continuing to give impetus to the internal efforts necessary for balanced economic and social development in the country, and for the material and cultural well-being of its inhabitants. To this end, further stages in the programme of basic infrastructure have been completed with the opening of a highway to the rich regions of the Valle de Olancho and the opening of a new port on the Pacific in the Gulf of Fonseca.

324. Efforts have also gone on constantly to increase agricultural production, in terms both of basic food cereals and of agricultural products for export, in an attempt to achieve stable earnings which in turn could fund expansion of the national economy.

325. Co-operation with international bodies, particularly those of the United Nations system, and with friendly Governments has been intensified since the Government of Honduras attempted effectively to integrate financial aid and foreign technical assistance in the 1979 to 1983 national development plan.

326. However, a few years short of that date, the world is in full debate on the economic chaos created by the energy crisis. The high price of oil has disrupted the economy of countries, and those which do not produce

²⁷ See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1906-1907*, vol. C (London, HM Stationery Office, 1911), pp. 834-860.

it are obliged to divert enormous sums of money to obtain it, creating for developing countries lacking in hydrocarbons a really critical situation, since the imperative of development does not allow of delays, vacillations or retrogressions. We therefore hope that the arguments which Mexico put forward yesterday [*11th meeting*] through the person of its illustrious President will help to dissipate as far as possible the heavy clouds at present darkening the horizon of those countries which do not possess these vital elements.

327. At the same time, the developing peoples must continue to confront the situation of tariff and non-tariff barriers put up by the highly industrialized countries which place additional limitations on our efforts, and if we look at this sincerely I am sure that the difficulties can be overcome by frank, open, thorough dialogue which would lead to genuine international economic co-operation.

328. In this context, Honduras firmly supports the declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 on various important aspects of the economic negotiations going on at the international level at this time [*see A/34/34, part III, annex I*].

329. The major tragedy of refugees in South-East Asia calls for a wide-ranging, generous programme based on understanding, which would permit the resettlement of thousands of deserving families, who need not only a temporary refuge but also some certainty of a proper future, and the best efforts should be made to see that the causes of such a deeply distressing and enormous exodus are removed.

330. As for the problems of children throughout the world, through a national committee presided over by the First Lady of the nation, Carlota de Paz García, with the active participation of governmental agencies, private bodies and welfare bodies, Honduras has for its part carried out the aims of the International Year of the Child.

331. In this attempt to afford every advantage to our men of the future, in 1979 wide dissemination has been given in Honduras to the rights of the child and the need to provide adequately in our society for its basic requirements in terms of nutrition, literacy, a healthy family environment and a gradual and effective incorporation in the life of the nation.

332. Honduras, which is a party to the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights adopted in San José in 1969²⁸ at an historic Conference in which I had the honour to take part as head of my country's delegation, welcomed this month the setting up of its main body, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

333. My Government continues, moreover, to observe the free exercise of civil, political and economic rights of the inhabitants and, within the institutional framework, the Government of the Armed Forces fully guarantees at present an electoral process which has deeply democratic roots, and this will culmi-

nate in a general election in April 1980 for the members of a national constituent assembly.

334. The pre-election stage is going ahead with the most rigorous observance of the law and in full freedom. Any Honduran can publicly say or state in writing, without fear of reprisals, whatever he so desires. In Honduras, although my country is very small, very modest, very humble, there is not a single political prisoner or political exile. I invite anybody here in the Assembly to visit us and see the proof of what I am saying. There are no guerrilla groups, no terrorist groups. There are no acts of violence and no kidnappings of the kind that are the fashion in other parts of the world. All our inhabitants have full freedom of movement without any restrictions whatever in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity. The rights of association and of peaceable assembly are fully guaranteed. The judiciary is absolutely independent in making its decisions.

335. Of course, because we are a small and poor developing country, it is natural that we are somewhat overwhelmed by the major challenges of development. We have to be more energetic in combating our problems of housing, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy in rural areas, the excessively rapid growth of our towns and cities, and many other imbalances caused by inflation and economic disorders, evils which are endemic throughout the world.

336. And we can say with satisfaction that we are holding our own in dealing with these scourges. The most important areas in our national budget come under the headings of communications, education and public health. There is a land reform in progress and proceeding according to plan which is based on a law that is the most progressive in Central America. Trade union and co-operative movements are in the forefront in the region, both in organization and in achievement. We are devoting our best material and human resources to this struggle, and we are sure that we will meet the challenges of domestic peace, and peaceful coexistence at the regional level, and that we will achieve a proper democracy based on bread, a roof over one's head and dignity.

337. In the context of the United Nations, my Government hopes to put the finishing touches to the process of ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI)*], and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*ibid.*], in the hope that we can deposit our instruments of ratification before the end of this year.

338. In conclusion, I should like to state that Honduras has continued to give close attention to the tasks of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We hope that not only will institutions be consolidated—which, like the 12-mile limit of the territorial sea and the 200-mile exclusive economic zone are part of international customary law—but also that machinery will be set up which, in a truly international régime, will ensure the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed as the common heritage of mankind.

339. Honduras, most conscious of the high honour and responsibility involved, has this year chaired the

²⁸ See *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica," Treaty Series No. 36* (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

Group of 77 developing countries. And, in again thanking the member countries of the Group for their cooperation and assistance, Honduras repeats that it is willing to continue to serve most devotedly the interests of those same countries.

340. Honduras needs resources from the sea in order to supplement the nutritional requirements of its population, and to ensure the proper growth of a healthy and diversified economy. It further needs, like the other developing countries and the international community as a whole, the full observance of the rights embodied in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV). It requires also that the negotiations of the ninth and last session of the Conference in 1980 conclude with the setting up of the international machinery essential to the exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor.

341. Undoubtedly, the sea is the fourth dimension of the world economy, particularly at a time such as this, when the tidal wave of human reproduction before the year 2000 threatens to wipe off the map millions of people from lack of food and vitamins.

342. Honduras therefore considers that any national legislation or treaty of limited participation designed to allow large consortia to exploit the sea-bed would run counter to international law already in force, and would disrupt the process of negotiations already undertaken. Any action or operation carried out under instruments of that kind would in our view be completely lacking in validity and the international community would have to take action against them by calling for a proper sense of responsibility, and thus defending bravely and strongly the common heritage of mankind.

343. The PRESIDENT: One representative has requested that he be allowed to exercise his right of reply. May I recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly. I call on the representative of Democratic Kampuchea.

344. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): This morning [13th meeting], the representative of Hanoi once again used the podium of this Organization to spread calumnies and lies, and to rewrite history according to his own lights in an effort to mislead world public opinion and to conceal Hanoi's genocidal crimes against Democratic Kampuchea and its people. My delegation will, of course, have an opportunity to enlighten the General Assembly as to the real situation in Kampuchea.

345. But here I would like to draw the Assembly's attention to a number of points.

346. First of all, contrary to the mendacious assertions of the Hanoi representative concerning the so-called age-old existence of solidarity between Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, history has shown that during the past century, and at the beginning of this century, Viet Nam has seized 65,000 square kilometres of Kampuchean territory. These now form South Viet

Nam, where 4 million of our fellow countrymen still live.

347. Now, in the framework of what Viet Nam calls "the special solidarity and special relations of friendship between Viet Nam and Kampuchea," Viet Nam want nothing less than to swallow up all of Kampuchea in an Indo-Chinese federation under Vietnamese control. This is the true nature of Viet Nam's annexationist and expansionist policy towards its neighbours.

348. Secondly, today everyone knows that the Vietnamese army has committed aggression against and is occupying Kampuchean territory. If the situation in Kampuchea is as irreversible as is claimed by the representative of Hanoi, if the puppet régime in Phnom Penh does in fact represent the people of Kampuchea and effectively controls the whole territory of Kampuchea, we might wonder what the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers are doing in Kampuchea, and why Viet Nam is feverishly preparing to launch a new offensive against the people of Kampuchea in the next dry season. Why does Viet Nam refuse to heed the call of the peoples who cherish peace and justice in the world and withdraw its invasion forces from Kampuchea?

349. Thirdly, to try to justify the armed intervention in Kampuchea and the shameless violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter by the Hanoi authorities, the representative of Viet Nam has not hesitated to slander the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which, in its view, is guilty of the massacre of its people. On this score, my Government has denied these allegations most categorically on various occasions. History will be the judge.

350. In actual fact, the slanders of the Hanoi clique are only aimed at concealing its own crimes against the Kampuchean people, thousands of whom were killed by the Vietnamese fifth column between 1975 and 1978 and 500,000 of whom were massacred by Vietnamese troops which invaded the country. These slanders are aimed at diverting world public opinion from the tragedy of more than a million "boat people"—hundreds of thousands of whom have perished at sea—from the tragedy of the whole Vietnamese people, who refuse to go to get themselves killed in Kampuchea for the Hanoi clique and who are suffering famine, indescribable hardship, and living conditions even worse and more wretched than four years ago all because of the unbridled policy of aggression and expansion pursued by that clique.

351. Fourthly, the Hanoi authorities, who have committed aggression against Kampuchea and trampled underfoot the Charter of the United Nations, have also not hesitated to make a farce of the truth to suit their needs. I should like to quote from an article published on 25 September last in the *Washington Post* under the byline of Elizabeth Becker, entitled "Hanoi Miscalculating Political Cost of Ousting Pol Pot":

"There is one shrine to a martyr of the Pol Pot era that visiting foreigners to the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh are taken routinely to see. In room No. 5 of the former Hotel Royale, three beds have been set up and a great stain of blood and hair smeared across the floor, according to numerous travellers.

“ ‘Here,’ the visitors are told, ‘is where the British professor, Malcolm Caldwell, was murdered by the Pol Pot assassination squad.’ Documents have been ‘discovered’ proving this.

“It is a complete fabrication. I know because I was there when Caldwell was shot to death last December by unidentified terrorists in a guest house about one mile from the hotel in a far less protected area of the Cambodian capital. Not once on his trip did Caldwell step inside the old Hotel Royale.

“Yet newspapers around the world, including a major American weekly, and many Communist Governments have accepted and repeated the Viet-

namese version as fact. In their need to convince the rest of the world that their January invasion of Cambodia was justified, the Vietnamese have rewritten history, casting themselves as disinterested liberators. They so seriously miscalculated the political, military and human cost of the occupation that they appear to have no choice but to blame everything wrong with Cambodia then and now on the four-year rule of Pol Pot.”²⁹

That requires no comment.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

²⁹ Quoted in English by the speaker.