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

*Address by Miss Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo,
Prime Minister of Portugal*

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Portuguese Republic. I have great pleasure in welcoming Her Excellency Ms. Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo and inviting her to come to the rostrum to address the General Assembly.

2. Miss PINTASILGO (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*):¹ Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election as President of this General Assembly. We are well aware of your remarkable career, your experience and your wisdom, because several times in the past few years my country has had the honour and the pleasure of working and co-operating with you. We are therefore particularly happy that we shall be able to count on your wise counsel and your great knowledge in the exercise of your new duties. Your election also expresses the respect and consideration of the international community for your country, with which Portugal is linked by relations of friendship and solidarity which I am happy to reaffirm today.

3. I should also like to express our gratitude and pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who, in discharging his functions, once again displayed his qualities as a diplomat and statesman.

4. I should like to mention now the memory of the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto, whose recent and unexpected demise has impoverished Africa and the family of nations who use Portuguese as their main language. By paying a sincere tribute to him, I associate myself with the Angolan people in their loss. I am convinced that that people

will continue the work of national consolidation which President Neto was carrying out with lucidity and determination.

5. In addressing this Assembly I am acutely aware that this session is taking place on the threshold of the 1980s and that this is a very significant fact.

6. Chronology may be viewed as a simple convention with dates and continuity, but there may also be a break in continuity. There may be landmarks which warn us of the new nature of things, of an irruption of unwritten history, of a future created by the action of men and of peoples.

7. These stimulate us to think of new borders and of new methods to free us from the accumulated sediment of the ages.

8. They are also an invitation to conceive of new, viable alternatives and courageously to choose those that serve all men and the human being in all his aspects.

9. They are a challenge to non-conformity and imagination, since we have exhausted the policies deriving from the projection of a past already undergone in which questions and bewilderments in the face of the unknown take shape.

10. With the 1980s, the future is all around us. The present, in which we are comfortably installed, is shaken. Questions are asked about past history and we are asked in our turn what we are going to do and what we are preparing for.

11. The meeting with the 1980s is thus a decisive meeting, affording the opportunity of building a future for the whole of mankind.

12. We must look at the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly in this context. It is true that the agenda deals with matters which have been discussed over many years. If we were not confronted with the grave situations with which the agenda deals, we could almost say that the General Assembly is somewhat complacent and is only concerned with ceremony and repetitive intentions and preoccupations year after year. But we know that this is not the case. On the one hand, the apparently dispassionate character of the items on the agenda reflects the modesty of our community in the face of the tragedy of our human condition and the enormous difficulties that face us in seeking to resolve them in a creative way. Behind every item on the agenda there are human realities—involving human beings, groups, and nations of the world—which go beyond the scope of the bureaucratic apparatus, which in all systems tends to neutralize that which is vibrant and alive. On the other hand, the General As-

¹ Miss Pintasilgo spoke in Portuguese. The French version of her statement was supplied by the delegation.

sembly is now able in a radically new way to tackle old questions and problems which have been left behind by time.

13. In the last few years facts and events have accumulated and the General Assembly has constantly analysed them in the shape of resolutions which have been adopted. The question that we inevitably ask today is the following. Is the impact of the Organization as a free association of sovereign States which is the ultimate international political forum really felt only in the exponential increase of declarations, resolutions, conventions and institutional machinery for their implementation?

14. We are deeply convinced that the cumulative efforts of the various past activities of the United Nations are translated today in a qualitative jump forward in the functioning of this system and, what is more important, in the awareness the world community has of its solidarity.

15. The General Assembly, we believe, is able to function as a point of distillation of what has been done and a groping but already perceptible manifestation of world solidarity. For this to appear with utmost clarity, it is essential that the General Assembly be the point of convergence for the aspirations of the masses of the people throughout the world, the total awareness of the solidarity uniting men and the peoples, and the decisions which should inspire the political leaders in their activities in the service of peoples and peace among nations.

16. As we are about to enter into the 1980s I have tried in a few words to explain what seem to me to have been the lessons of the 1970s as they relate to the United Nations system. I deliberately leave out of account the many items on the agenda which would alone warrant a statement in a plenary meeting. My delegation will not fail to deal with these matters in the appropriate committees.

17. I wish to pin-point, among others, the situation in Cyprus and in South-East Asia, the proposals to create nuclear-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, the first steps towards the establishment of a new international order in the field of information, the convening of a world disarmament conference, and all questions dealing with the status of women, especially preparations for a world conference in 1980 within the framework of the United Nations Decade for Women, as well as the preparation of a convention on the elimination of discrimination against women.

18. On this last point may I say that the obvious progress achieved in the world regarding the access of some women to key political positions should not make us lose sight of the fact that the vast majority of women are far from able to contribute, with full equality in rights and opportunities, to the creation of those new modes of life and society which the world so greatly needs.

19. At the end of this decade we must view our adherence to the United Nations Charter not as a rigid and immutable—and therefore abstract and unrealistic—affirmation of principles but rather as a code of conduct enriched, in its interpretation, by the elements of the experience acquired in the 1970s.

20. We consider that at each stage of the history of international relations, new types of rights and their corresponding duties as well as increasingly definite standards of behaviour take shape and give renewed vigour and a wider interpretation to the principles laid down in the Charter.

21. In the 1970s the profound changes that have occurred in the social and economic order existing among nations as well as the unexpected nature of many conflicts have shown that the code of conduct laid down in the Charter indissolubly links all nations, large or small, powerful or weak, leading some to reconsider the weakness of their strength and others to measure the strength of their weakness.

22. In this context the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], are clear examples of the broadening of the code of conduct outlined in the Charter.

23. The growing concern throughout the present system and the experience of the last few years, aimed at changing opposing positions into areas of common agreement conducive to negotiation through dialogue and mutual clarification, have gradually led to the replacement of the tyranny of the vote by the wise practice of consensus. What is involved is a gradual movement from legal theory to the practice of solidarity.

24. Through efforts at agreement the 1970s have, within the framework of the United Nations, left us with a clearer picture of what might be called political questions. Indeed, two fundamental components of this system are closely linked to the General Assembly, and both are concerned with political issues: the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

25. The Security Council is the constitutional forum for assessing relations of force among the nations of the world, and for constantly renewed efforts to find peaceful solutions to important conflicts. It is easy to verify that the major issues raised in the Security Council—to which my country has the honour of belonging—concern not only the essentially political dimension of events but also the great world-wide problems of social injustice and the subhuman living conditions of a large part of mankind.

26. At the same time, although the matters dealt with by the Economic and Social Council relate specifically to the economy, science, culture and information—in short, the social element, in its widest sense—they cannot be considered as non-political.

27. General Assembly resolution 32/197 unequivocally requests the specialized agencies of the United Nations system immediately to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly.

28. Economic, social and cultural problems have a political aspect which only the General Assembly has the competence to judge.

29. The foregoing statements are not the result of a

political interpretation of the United Nations system; or of an inadequate politicization of the entire system. Actually, the past decade has clearly confirmed that economic and political independence are very intimately and deeply linked.

30. From the time that the raw-materials-producing countries became dramatically aware that their economic independence was the sole guarantee of their political independence to the time of the affirmation of the economic independence of countries which industrialization had seemed to make politically invulnerable, a profound change has taken place.

31. The link between these two elements is so far-reaching that we can legitimately wonder about the basis of genuine independence today. Are we already at a stage of economic exchange which goes beyond the nation-State, perhaps reducing its political power? And if so, what safeguards can the nation-State find to ensure its own autonomy, freedom of choice and its options?

32. Confronted with increasingly difficult situations, we are inundated with unfamiliar criteria and with aspirations from other climes. The great challenge before us is to free ourselves from the tangle of increasingly complex and even contradictory relations that the very term "world market" implies and that link States to one another politically, while affirming the autonomy of each people.

33. What I have just stated is directly linked to another important legacy of the 1970s: it is the obvious political vacuum of science and technology when they do not serve development and do not contribute to good relations among people and to happiness.

34. The real potential of these changes lies in the relationship between man and his natural and cultural environment, on the one hand, and the time and place in which he lives out his history, on the other. It is at that level that one may object to the imposition of a single model and instead create modes of cultural expression—that is to say, ways of living and of being, with the necessary strength to serve as incentives for more adequate technologies—as well as more flexible economic systems, and affirm a sovereignty that is both more rigorous and more tolerant.

35. Such a development process is not, however, always compatible with the economic limitations often imposed from outside which sometimes even set the rate of inflation and unemployment, and even the rate of growth of a country's national wealth.

36. Constraints of this type bring about, over large areas of the world or in peoples' lives, the irreversible adoption over a shorter or longer period of well-defined patterns of scientific, technical or commercial activities, and can prevent these activities from serving a particular people or a culture. They are, therefore, counter-productive to development. That is why one can say today that science and technology are often the Trojan horse of disguised domination.

37. Science and technology can indeed serve as a vehicle for a certain way of thinking and a common language; but they can also give rise to a disintegration of the social fabric. For them to become the tools of true

development, it is necessary to make scientific and technical activities less alienating, because, through an unrealistic concept of "pure science", they often develop outside the social movements and trends of the world of which they are a part.

38. A strengthening of cultural values is today the necessary concomitant of any true national independence strategy not only to safeguard the legitimate sovereignty of every people but, above all, to defend a world community richer in its diversity and more able to contribute to the solution of problems through the contributions of all cultures and peoples.

39. It is at that level that within the United Nations system one must envisage the systematic activity of its specialized agencies, especially UNESCO—with which I am personally associated as a member of its Executive Board.

40. The development we are seeking for all peoples is an endogenous one. This does not mean development in closed conditions, in search of some mythical roots which might suddenly give rise to a new science and a new technology—not at all. There must be respect for the rate of growth of each region; there must be optimum production of raw materials and a better understanding of the relationship between man and nature, between the present and past and future history. A society must also be able, in dynamic fashion, to come to grips with its own historical evolution through its own culture, technology and materials. In other words, each historical development must take its own original path.

41. A clearer relationship has emerged at the end of this decade between the rights of individuals and of peoples: the rights of individuals are the foundation of the internal order of States; they relate to human freedom and to fundamental guarantees of human rights, to objective information and to the ability to enjoy cultural ties and participate in their creation. They relate, above all, to the opportunity given to every individual to forge his own destiny, to write his own history, express his thoughts and make his personal contribution to the world. This is the essence of a dynamic culture—in other words, the right to be different and to express that difference; the right to life as a fundamental right, and to the satisfaction of one's basic needs.

42. These rights are not always or everywhere satisfied. They are linked to the rights of peoples.

43. The inalienable right to sovereignty—as it has always been understood—is the right of a people to a territory, but also, and above all, to the natural resources and to the cultural legacy characterizing that people. It is the right of all peoples to devise a strategy for development and to define their political options and the dimensions thereof. It is the right of everyone not to be simply a subsidiary element which circumstances may link to more powerful forces but to be considered a full international partner.

44. Otherwise, the efforts of those who in any society work and struggle for a better future, which for them is a cherished dream, but who see themselves only as pawns in a game of chess—of which they do not know the rules and which can have no effect on them, can only be futile.

45. It is in this context that we see the complete illogicality of the arms race. In a world in disarray, disarmament raises questions of mere survival rather than questions of a moral order.

46. Let us be clear. There is no development strategy for the 1980s that could be compatible with the present policy of continuation of the arms race. In these circumstances, either the greater part of the financial, scientific and technical resources are "diverted" to the solution of problems of development or the balance of the new world order will be only mythical. Disarmament also cannot be viewed as a pious wish which by itself would prevent the unleashing of a world war.

47. In our days the arms race itself gives rise to war. Since the Second World War more than 125 wars have broken out in the world, directly affecting more than 60 countries and indirectly, more than 80. We must state that these localized wars have only perpetuated a system wherein recourse to violence has become a permanent element.

48. That is why Portugal, while scrupulously respecting its alliances, is in favour of and will always defend all efforts towards global and controlled disarmament.

49. Of course, we recognize the complexity and the difficulty of disarmament negotiations; nor do we forget the legitimate right of States to ensure their security. However, we proclaim again the moral imperative, which is at the same time pragmatic, that there must be created a spirit and a machinery which could replace the latent hostility which today is rampant in many parts of the world by a climate of confidence and mutual respect. Only thus shall we be able to place at the service of human progress the large portion of technical and financial resources now devoted to the arms industry.

50. In this context, my country is happy to welcome the negotiations held within the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] between the United States and the Soviet Union, the continuation and broadening of which could be an important step towards true international détente. In the same way, Portugal attaches particular importance to initiatives aimed at the establishment of regional security systems, such as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which have been encouraged by the United Nations.

51. The growing awareness of the increased complexity of the struggle for human rights—the rights of all peoples—compels us to say a few words at this time about our particular concern over the situation in the Middle East.

52. Linked by history and culture with the peoples of that area, my country has on many occasions stressed the need to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution which would guarantee to all the States of that area the right to live in peace within recognized and respected boundaries, which would lead to the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied since 1967, as well as to the dismantling of the settlements which Israel has created, and which would finally give concrete expression to the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, unjustly broken up by a Diaspora so often accompanied by bloodshed, persecution and despair.

53. Portugal, which presides over the Security Council Committee dealing with the Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories,² would like to stress here the growing concern and the determination with which the Palestinian people are fighting for the recognition of their inalienable right to create a homeland in which they can live freely so that an end may be put to their present condition, a condition that is intolerable to the conscience of the international community.

54. Among the various tasks of the United Nations to ensure the effective exercise of the fundamental rights of peoples, decolonization and the defence of the right of self-determination have occupied an increasingly important place and have revealed the potential of the United Nations for moral intervention. Yet some colonial situations continue to exist threatening international stability and challenging the conscience of nations.

55. Such is the situation in southern Africa, where in Namibia and Zimbabwe there are still illegal political systems which not only prevent the respective peoples from freely exercising the right to self-determination but also are the root-causes of attacks, which must be condemned, against neighbouring countries with which we are linked by close ties of solidarity.

56. The Portuguese Government hopes that the diplomatic efforts undertaken within the United Nations to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia will soon lead the Territory to independence, with complete respect for its unity and territorial integrity and the freely expressed will of all its political forces.

57. We have known, through our own painful experience in comparable circumstances, the dramatic negative cycle of political intransigence, and we entertain the hope that the present London Constitutional Conference will find a formula capable of restoring legality, equitably defending the various legitimate interests involved and restoring to the people of Zimbabwe the right freely to express their will without unjust domination on the part of internal minorities.

58. Another negative aspect of the existing situation in the area has been made evident in the system of *apartheid*, whose continued existence has again been proved to us by the establishment of a new bantustan which, significantly, has been recognized only by its creators.

59. Portugal, whose people have always rejected any form of racial discrimination, firmly reiterates its condemnation of this political and social practice which is an insult to the universal conscience and an obstacle to the progress of mankind.

60. Another people, that of East Timor, which is directly linked by historical ties to my country, continues to see its legitimate right to self-determination rejected. Despite several condemnations in the United Nations, despite resolutions adopted by this General Assembly and by the Security Council, the people of East Timor have not so far been able effectively to exercise this

² Security Council Commission Established under Resolution 446 (1979).

right, and Portugal, as the administering Power, has not been able alone to change the unjust situation created in that Territory. Therefore we direct an appeal to the international conscience so that conditions may be rapidly created allowing for a progressive normalization of the life of the peoples of East Timor.

61. Together with the recognition of the fundamental rights of peoples, in their various forms, there is an imperative that becomes clearer every day: that of creating and strengthening the right to express, equitably and legally, the actual independence of nations concerning the use and defence of their ecological factors and the physical resources of mankind.

62. The inclusion in a future convention on the law of the sea of principles such as "the common heritage of mankind" and of a system of exploitation of an important maritime zone on the basis of that principle, and the search for legal solutions aimed at a more equitable redistribution on a global or regional scale of natural biological or other resources are significant and important precedents for the future of standards which will have to govern international relations as well as a positive step forward towards the installation of a new world order. It was in that spirit that the Portuguese Government proposed that Lisbon become headquarters of one of the institutions provided for by the future convention, since my Government wishes to do all in its power to contribute by all means available to it to the establishment of a more just maritime order.

63. What we have said about the 1970s enables us to view with hope the next decade of the 1980s. As far as we are concerned, we believe that the great task for these coming years is the establishment of a new international order which would transcend the purely economic and political dimension and also encompass the social, cultural and information fields. This would not be simply a more or less technocratic reorganization of the system of trade and economic exchanges among nations. At that level, it would be an urgent matter to discover bold and imaginative approaches and to transform structures in such a way as to integrate the factors which have been left aside while the ideology of industrialism was dominant.

64. On two counts, such attitudes and transformations seem necessary.

65. First, we must discover new models for post-industrialized societies. Contrary to some ideas, which may seem generous in the short run but are rather Malthusian in long-range terms, we believe that the specific contribution of wealthy and highly industrialized countries is indispensable today to the evolution of humanity. Just as the steam engine led to a new understanding of the phenomena of energy and work, by the same token we should today, not necessarily discover something new, but conceive of a new model of social and cultural relations, and preserve the most important discoveries of the industrial era.

66. Such a model presupposes the abandonment of institutionalized selfishness, and a deliberate search for social and cultural objectives which might be on a different level from that of mere economic growth.

67. We are deeply convinced that this is a vital con-

tribution that the rich countries can make to the world at the present stage of civilization. Some movements, even though they may seem marginal today, whether in the field of technology—in particular in that of energy—or in the field of human relations, and especially in the feminist movement, already point in that direction. We must lay stress on human and social discoveries, over and above those of science and technology.

68. The change of attitude which the new international economic order assumes on the part of poor countries is just as radical and as demanding. We shall have to look for a greater capacity to engage in dialogue, not without firmness in the defence of just positions. We must choose a sound pragmatism, which would not be limited at the outset by verbal radicalism behind which, very often, we conceal our impotence. We must, above all, rediscover the fact that a more just order does not depend solely upon toleration, understanding, and "concessions" which the rich make to the poor, and which every poor country wishes in its own way to obtain for itself. On the contrary, this order must be predicated upon the clarity of our intentions and upon the conquests and achievements we have made in our own lands.

69. We shall have lost any capacity for dialogue within the international community if, when speaking of a new and more just international order, we are at the same time building a more unjust internal order.

70. We can state here and now that the expression "world solidarity" which is used so often translates as the expression of a new sensitivity towards international co-operation, and implies a new type of relations between peoples and nations.

71. It is high time to put an end to the injustice involved in not making good use of the enormous creative capacities of so many peoples who, having lived for so long at a bare subsistence level, are still far from being able to take advantage of the legacy of intellectual, scientific and technological knowledge of mankind.

72. To move towards human development, peace, security, and economic justice, we cannot forget the difficult objective reality which, in its various guises, forms part of the concrete and divided world of today. Nor can we fail to note that the community of nations is still very far in spirit, in practice and even in intent from the goal of genuine goodwill. But while excessive idealism is out of place here, we think none the less that there is a wide field for a convergence of interests and profits which might, in a climate of flexibility and free exchange, make it possible to begin to translate into reality legitimate aspirations for a more just and better structured international life. And it is precisely this decisive task which the present era seems to impose upon the United Nations. Avoiding isolation and radicalism, it will have to set up a machinery for meeting and for discussion; it will have to perfect the systems and the principles which can give it structure and tangible force; it will have to concert political wills and make them more dynamic, which would make progress possible; and it will have to proceed to the critical examination of present or future models of development.

73. Thus the United Nations must take up the

challenge of this new era; otherwise it will play out its role on the sidelines and will find itself incapable of carrying out its historic task, which today demands of nations their utmost lucidity and wisdom.

74. Although it is difficult to find a consensus it is not impossible because—as we all know—the alternative is neither morally clear nor reassuring. This is why the awareness of the need for a new international order—political, economic, social and cultural—although it is only beginning, is gaining ground. Although its aim is still far away, almost Utopian, we must not abandon it or give it up. Other battles have been started by this Organization—like decolonization—which at the beginning seemed impossible or senseless, and hardly more than a wager for the future.

75. What is at stake is not just a change in our way of life, nor just a new pragmatism in the relations between peoples and countries, nor even a simple strategy for international survival. What is at stake is above all the imperative need for all of us together, with patience and brotherliness and in the light of our condition as human beings, to shape the moral image which is so lacking in relations between nations.

76. It is in that image that we shall then find the profile of the man of the new era, who will be able to justify the hope that human civilization will enter into a new era.

77. It is therefore impossible to speak in world terms without explicitly speaking of man in the singular. It is he who is the alpha and omega of all development, of any cultural act and of any political concept. The guarantee of the freedom of each man is no longer a limited problem, but a world one.

78. I come from a poor and small country which, since 25 April 1974, has indissolubly linked the freedom of each Portuguese citizen to active solidarity with all the peoples of the world.

79. The centuries when Portugal experienced this solidarity beyond the seas and the continents are lost in time. Today the ambiguities of history are left behind and my country lives its daily life in its own place and time, and it is there that it tries out and builds its part of the new world solidarity which is still being formed. It is therefore not surprising that one of its contemporary poets should thus express metaphorically the links which bind the Portuguese people to the rest of mankind. Allow me, in conclusion, to read the following poem as a testimony of our feelings:

“The sun illuminates my village
From several different angles.
A new angle brings a new idea,
Other degrees bring other reasons.
For the men of my village
Are numbered in hundreds of millions.
My village is the whole world.
The whole world belongs to me.
That is where I meet and mingle
With people from everywhere
For I belong to the whole world.”

80. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the Prime Minister of Portugal for the important statement she has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

81. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):³ Mr. President, please accept my congratulations on your election to your high office. We are especially pleased that you, being a representative of a country with which we have friendly ties, are in the chair at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I wish you and Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim success in your work of great responsibility.

82. We salute the new Member of the United Nations, Saint Lucia.

83. I should like to express to the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola our deep sympathy on the passing away of President Antonio Agostinho Neto, a great revolutionary and an outstanding African statesman.

84. At the current session, just as at preceding ones, the General Assembly of the United Nations is particularly concerned with the struggle for peace and security. Conditions for this have certainly become more favourable, yet much remains to be done in order to afford all peoples a peaceful development. Aggression, threats to use force, smouldering conflicts, continuing colonial oppression and an obviously stepped-up arms race are in contradiction with the will of mankind and the purposes of the United Nations.

85. Never should anyone forget that 40 years ago German fascism set the world ablaze, creating a holocaust that claimed the lives of 50 million people. The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over this barbarism, a victory in which the Soviet people had a decisive share, opened the road to a new beginning. The struggle for peace, in which the German Democratic Republic participates fully, is to protect man's basic right to life and, at the same time, to foster his right to live in a secure social environment. The Charter of the United Nations postulates peace as the supreme duty of States.

86. The International Year of the Child has, as a matter of fact, brought even closer to the minds of people our generation's responsibility for the peaceful future of mankind.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

87. The preservation of peace remains the principal task of the United Nations. In this respect, it can firmly count on the socialist States. The declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty issued in Moscow last November,⁴ as well as the meeting their Foreign Ministers held in Budapest on 14 and 15 May 1979, testify to their persevering efforts to achieve effective measures for the advancement of peaceful coexistence.

88. The United Nations increasingly draws strength

³ Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

from the movement of non-aligned States, which, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana, impressively underlined its constructive role in international affairs.

89. International security requires the unambiguous willingness of all States mutually to respect their fundamental rights and legitimate interests and to work collectively so that peace be guaranteed for good. This, in essence, is the categorical imperative of our time.

90. The resulting actions, which are interdependent, are clearly definable.

91. First, the arms race must be stopped and disarmament must be advanced by concrete steps in order for political détente to be backed up materially.

92. Secondly, the political and legal pillars of peaceful coexistence must be reinforced, trust among States must be strengthened and disputes between States must be solved in conformity with the United Nations Charter, that is, peacefully.

93. Thirdly, colonial and racist oppression must be eliminated and the right of peoples to self-determination must be ensured.

94. Fourthly, mutually beneficial international co-operation must be developed as comprehensively as possible and must include the establishment of economic relations on an equal footing. That decision cannot be the prerogative of a few; rather, the United Nations, this world-embracing Organization, is called upon to redouble its efforts in this regard.

95. Also, the world Organization should carefully see to it that no one can threaten or use military force to secure the supply of its energy and raw material needs.

96. As a socialist State, the German Democratic Republic, aware of the past and present, keeps an open mind on these tasks. The principles of international law are enshrined in its Constitution and determine its daily practical policy. When it was founded almost exactly 30 years ago, the country's first President, Wilhelm Pieck, pledged:

“We shall scrupulously fulfil all obligations of the Potsdam Agreement. In that way we want to regain the trust of the world and to rejoin the community of peace-loving, democratic peoples.”

97. On the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our State, I can say that the people of the German Democratic Republic have redeemed that pledge. Siding with all peace-loving States, we persistently pursue the course of international security and coexistence in peace. Just like all other peoples, we need peace not only to secure, but also to augment, what we have accomplished.

98. International security requires, first of all, arms limitation and disarmament. The tenth special session of the General Assembly elevated this conclusion to the rank of a maxim recognized by all States. We do not want to, and must not, tolerate tremendous creative potential and huge material resources being used to conceive and manufacture more and more cruel means of warfare. The arms race is no law of nature. It is in the

hands of man alone whether to manufacture weapons or produce goods for everyday needs.

99. The socialist States do everything in their power to achieve disarmament. They work hard and systematically for practical measures.

100. We have noted with satisfaction that the non-aligned States reaffirmed at Havana the intention of bringing their growing international weight to bear to this end [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, paras. 217-226]. And, as the World Peace Council's activities, for example, at the United Nations in New York in 1978 showed, civic forces too have an important word to say in defending the vital interests of peoples. In this way it will be possible to realize, step by step, the old humanist idea of eternal peace as an alternative to war and armament.

101. There are some who still ask the question whether stable peace and security can be achieved through disarmament or through armament. The answer should be obvious from the history of two world wars, for those two wars, as everyone knows, were preceded by armament programmes. And, as a matter of fact, nobody can really live a secure life today in the face of growing arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The notion in certain quarters that a political potential for blackmail can be obtained through escalated armament has always been proved wrong. Ethics and reason therefore call for the cessation of the arms race and more security through disarmament.

102. Naturally, the legitimate national security interests of the parties involved need to be taken into account at all stages of disarmament negotiations. However, such interests must not be misused as a pretext for opposing effective disarmament steps, and a declared readiness for arms limitation and disarmament must not be put in doubt by contradictory everyday practice. Thus, as is well known, a long-term armaments programme was adopted not far from here, precisely at the time when the United Nations was holding its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament.

103. Disarmament requires constant and persistent forward movement. A political will for resolute action is needed in order to follow up the demands contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2]. In the past, promising developments were quite frequently delayed or even interrupted for long periods. All the more significant, in our judgement, is the outcome of the Vienna meeting between Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Jimmy Carter, President of the United States. It has met with the whole-hearted approval of all people of goodwill and also produced a broad positive response in my country. The world-wide echo produced by the treaty resulting from the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]⁵ shows, like a mirror, that genuine steps towards arms limitation do improve the climate and trust among States. May that treaty therefore be ratified.

104. The new treaty to limit the most dangerous strategic offensive arms quantitatively and qualita-

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

tively is the most important milestone thus far on the road to curbing the arms race and is also a major step towards improving Soviet-American relations and the international political climate. With its ratification the fabric of bilateral and multilateral agreements on arms limitation and disarmament would be woven closer, the threat of a thermonuclear war diminished, and the path to progress in other negotiations paved. What we have achieved should determinedly be used to take concrete disarmament steps. These include the prohibition of radiological and neutron weapons, as well as other means of mass destruction; the early conclusion of a treaty on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests; and a strengthened non-proliferation régime for nuclear weapons. At long last, it should also be possible to make headway at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

105. For six years now the socialist States, including the German Democratic Republic as a direct party in the negotiations, have been waiting for a constructive approach on the part of all negotiating parties. Our proposals, which do not impinge anyone's security but on the contrary strengthen that of all and which are comprehensible to anyone willing to see, have been on the negotiating table for a long time.

106. The demand to end the nuclear arms race is becoming more and more urgent. We call upon all nuclear-weapon States to start, without delay, consultations and negotiations on the discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and on the reduction of the stockpiles of such weapons.

107. Following the aforementioned Vienna meeting between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, it is our expectation that the preparatory work for a world disarmament conference will also yield tangible results. The second SALT Treaty has furnished proof that most complex problems can be solved if realism and goodwill prevail.

108. The German Democratic Republic fully supports the initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which proposes the adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament [see A/34/141]. Such a declaration appears to be all the more pressing since the forces which capitalize on arms production and seek to conduct the power policy of an era now irrevocably gone by continue to offer obstinate resistance. Plans to deploy new nuclear weapons systems in Western Europe are cases in point. Using the myth of a threat from the East, they attempt to generate fear and to justify their arms build-ups which they misleadingly label a pent-up need.

109. The people of the German Democratic Republic know from experience that, from the East, from the Soviet Union, come peace as well as the concept and the reality of peaceful coexistence. It is in the socialist countries that the great initiatives to strengthen international security and disarmament have originated in the past, and are still originating today. This is only logical, for socialism is the strongest buttress of peace.

110. Disarmament is the direct and safest way to stable international security. It must be accompanied by treaties and agreements. This is what the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization were guided by when they presented their peace programme.

Their proposals are aimed at excluding the use of force from international relations, at ensuring the sovereignty of States in every respect and at barring any interference in their internal affairs. Thanks to the efforts of the Warsaw Treaty States, relations among States in Europe have continued to improve in spite of a number of obstacles. This should be an encouragement to seek more; a standstill would be a step backward. This is why the socialist States propose that the renunciation of the use of force should be shored up with a treaty committing its parties not to be the first to use either atomic or conventional weapons.

111. As a result, the international legal principle prohibiting the use of force, as laid down in Article 2, paragraph 4 of the United Nations Charter, would be strengthened and related to the principal dangers of our time. When it comes to an issue so vital to mankind, nothing should be left undone and every possibility should be used to exclude force from international affairs. Furthermore, it is necessary to strengthen trust among nations through precisely-worded agreements. For that purpose, the socialist States proposed a specific conference to be attended by the States signatories to the Helsinki Final Act.⁶ The socialist States seek to ensure that the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held in Madrid in 1980, will be held in a constructive manner. The meeting must help to advance détente.

112. The European region, where the Second World War was unleashed, where after 1945 cold war poisoned the international climate and where the biggest military capabilities are concentrated today, has a special need for arms limitation and disarmament and for stable, good-neighbourly relations among all States. For 30 years, there have been two sovereign German States with social systems which are diametrically opposed. The existence of these two States and the recognition of the inviolability of the border between them have become both an important and an indispensable element of the political balance in Europe. This element is one of the foundations of durable security and peace in our continent. Anybody who, under any pretext whatsoever, engages in altering these results of post-war history or substitutes illusions for realities is, wittingly or unwittingly, of no good service to European security and world peace as this is encouragement to the forces of revanchism. It is certainly appropriate to recall this once more in view of the fact that Fascist Germany's attack on the borders of its eastern neighbour, Poland, on 1 September 1939, precipitated the most devastating war in human history.

113. The German Democratic Republic, for its part, will not be found wanting in its readiness to develop with Western neighbouring States, including the Federal Republic of Germany, mutually advantageous relations in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act. This constitutes a policy which is not only realistic, but also downright responsible, and which takes into account the interest of European peoples in lasting détente and relies on the well-known set of European treaties, whose beneficial effects on reducing tension are recognized by people the world over. And for that matter, I should like to add the following. Security and co-operation in Europe also presuppose a stable and peaceful situation in and around West Berlin. The

⁶ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

gauge with which to measure the will to détente is a strict respect for the status of West Berlin as defined, binding on all, in the four-Power Agreement.⁷ Any intention to alter or circumvent the balance of interests achieved is bound to lead to tension.

114. The German Democratic Republic is aware that stability and confidence-building are not only a regional but also a global concern. For that reason, high priority ought to be accorded to the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force. If such a treaty could be put into effect, the threat of aggression and military conflict would be diminished. A general prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would also be conceivable within its framework. The right to self-defence in the event of aggression, as guaranteed under the United Nations Charter, would remain unaffected, since the treaty would obviously have to promote and create a situation in which it would no longer be necessary to resort to this right. The conclusion of an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons against nuclear-weapon-free States and the prohibition of the stationing of such weapons in territories where there are no such weapons at present would no doubt be steps in that direction.

115. The public advocacy, by certain mass media, of war, hatred among peoples and the arms race run counter to the strengthening of international security. Last year's UNESCO declaration on that subject⁸ seeks to prevent this. It would be useful if the United Nations Secretariat were to furnish information as to what publicity is given all over the world to arms limitation efforts.

116. The same measure of attention must be paid to increasing Fascist and neo-Fascist activity, a fact which Mr. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, pointed out during his talks in April of this year with Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

117. Those who seek to terrorize public opinion, engage in slander campaigns and preach hatred among peoples and races can easily be identified as the most extreme enemies of peace, international understanding and human rights. They must be opposed with resolve before peoples have to suffer the consequences. Tolerance or even leniency would be dangerous. The birth of the United Nations and its mandate are inseparably connected with the victory over Fascist barbarity. Abhorrence of evils done must include vigilance and determination to nip all new attempts in the bud. The activities of neo-Fascist forces require an adequately vigorous response by the United Nations.

118. We who are committed to preventing the outbreak of a third world war welcome the proposal put forward by the USSR to condemn from this rostrum hegemonic policies in all their manifestations [see A/34/243]. We view this as a suitable means of strengthening

the principles of the United Nations Charter and of urging their implementation. Unqualified respect for the sovereign equality of all States and the protection of their independence are essential for this Organization to be able to fulfil its great tasks. We support the Soviet proposal because we are conscious of the commitment to peace, which our workers' and farmers' State solemnly declared after Hitler fascism, the epitome of hegemonism at its worst, was crushed.

119. Unresolved international conflicts and gross violations of the Charter of the United Nations impair international security. Moreover, there are certain circles which are arrogant enough to claim for themselves a "right to undertake punitive action". Aggression was launched against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is a close friend of the German Democratic Republic. Only determined defence and world-wide international solidarity with those attacked stopped that wanton act.

120. The unending attempts to take advantage of the refugee problem in South-East Asia also cause us concern. This problem was created as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression in order to destabilize the situation in the region. It is obvious that someone has pulled the wires, namely the same forces who want to halt peaceful construction in Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other States. We express solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China, who are defending resolutely their right to self-determination and peace in their region. The seat of Kampuchea here in this Organization belongs to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

121. It has been proved over and over again that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations form the appropriate basis upon which to solve problems between States. If that basis is rejected, no lasting solution is possible. Thus, as everyone can see, the separate agreement in the Middle East has only aggravated the situation. The conflict area is being turned into a huge arsenal of most modern weaponry. New aggressive acts against Arab States are threatening. Lebanon's sovereignty is being trampled upon. Israel's withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967 and the guarantee of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to form a State of their own, remain fundamental prerequisites for peace and security of all States in the Middle East. The decisions adopted by the world Organization do not permit of its involvement in separative manoeuvres which, as even their advocates have come to realize, have led into a blind alley, because by such manoeuvres the rights of the Palestinian people are ignored. Our particular solidarity is with the just struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

122. Also in regard to Cyprus, it is necessary to implement the United Nations decisions, in consistency with its Charter, so as to enable the Cypriot people to live in peace.

123. The German Democratic Republic supports the people of Afghanistan in their efforts to build up a new life for themselves, free from colonial exploitation and foreign interference.

124. With the same measure of sympathy and solidarity, we have been following the revolutionary events in

⁷ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

⁸ Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. For the text, see United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Records of the General Conference, Twentieth Session, vol. 1, Resolutions*, pp. 100-105.

Nicaragua, whose representative impressed this forum with his statement [13th meeting].

125. The situation in southern Africa is a permanent threat to peace and security, and not only in that region. To eliminate that source of conflict, the unimpeded implementation of the right to self-determination of the peoples in southern Africa, and the complete liberation of that continent from racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will be needed.

126. No lasting solution of this problem can be achieved until the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia attain genuine independence and power is transferred to their legitimate representatives, the Patriotic Front and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], respectively.

127. The German Democratic Republic persistently denounces all attempts to set up illegal régimes in those countries, and it calls urgently for the enforcement of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Rhodesia and for effective sanctions against South Africa to be adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic emphatically condemns the continuing acts of aggression committed by the racist régimes against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other nations.

128. As Mr. Honecker stressed during his tour of some African States earlier this year, the peoples of Africa in their difficult struggle can rely firmly upon the German Democratic Republic and the other States of the socialist community.

129. The resolution of global issues affecting mankind requires a greater degree of co-operation under the United Nations system so that hunger and epidemics may be eradicated, problems of energy supply and environmental protection solved and new areas of activity opened up to mankind. This is closely related to the efforts to strengthen international security. Is it not essentially the same problem that we are addressing ourselves to in restructuring international economic relations on a democratic basis? The perpetuation of the neo-colonialist division of labour in the interests of international corporations is a source of conflict. It is not least because of these fundamental considerations that—as was reaffirmed at the fifth session of UNCTAD—the German Democratic Republic backs the developing countries' insistence on the removal of old imperialist dependencies. In this context, it is the inalienable right of all States and peoples to exercise control over their natural resources.

130. The Charter of the United Nations, Mr. President, commits the Organization to enhancing its role for the maintenance and deepening of international security. The Security Council bears special responsibility. The composition and operation of this principal organ are up to date and make co-operation possible, indeed necessary, among the permanent members of the Security Council, which are also nuclear-weapon States.

131. At a time of sharpening confrontation about the future course of international events, many people have pinned their hopes on the United Nations. This Organization should and can bring its weight to bear for the benefit of good relations among States. The German

Democratic Republic, for its part, will make its contribution to that end.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to express the gratitude of my country for the significant gesture made by President Salim in inviting Panama, as Vice-President, to preside over the General Assembly at the afternoon meeting today. The gesture is all the more courteous since it coincides with the entry into force of the new Panama Canal Treaty and the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal,⁹ based on recognition of the sovereignty of Panama over its entire national territory. This puts an end to the foreign enclave known as the Canal Zone and marks the beginning of an era of friendly understanding and frank co-operation between Panama and the United States.

133. By right, from today on, the flag of Panama flies proudly on Ancón Hill, the sanctuary of the nationalist struggle of several generations, and there is justified rejoicing among all Latin American peoples.

134. This is a most happy coincidence and is in harmony with the noblest feelings of the people of Panama, which we wish to share with all States Members of this world assembly and with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom the cause of the restoration of the territorial integrity of my country and respect for its sovereign owes so much.

135. Mr. CUBILLOS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I congratulate you, Sir, on the happy circumstance you have just referred to of your presiding over the meeting this afternoon. My country joins in congratulating the people of Panama and warmly greets you personally.

136. May I also, through you, extend to the President of this Assembly the most cordial congratulations of the delegation of Chile on his election to preside over this Assembly. In his election we see a just recognition of his personal merits and qualities, which we have had the opportunity to appreciate throughout his effective guidance of the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which my country is a member. We see this, too, as a well-deserved honour to his country and as a tribute to the striking individuality with which the nations of Africa join the international community and, with vigour and vitality, renew the strength and the validity of the principles which govern us.

137. May I associate in this tribute that distinguished Latin American, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for his skilful guidance of the debates of the past General Assembly session.

138. I should also like to extend our greetings and gratitude to the Secretary-General for his endeavours.

139. I am very pleased to welcome a nation in the

⁹ Signed in Washington on 7 September 1977.

Caribbean, our sister in America, Saint Lucia, which has joined our Organization.

140. A political writer, who taught in the universities of Germany and the United States, has stated that the intellectual source and, in some cases, even the literal source, of the Charter of the United Nations may be found in a brief paper by Kant,¹⁰ the great German philosopher of modern Europe. The title of that paper by Kant epitomizes one of the major ideals which our Organization professes: it is "everlasting peace". Summarizing a spiritual tradition of many centuries of culture and civilization, that philosopher's text, written in the eighteenth century rather as a moral manifesto, has in our century become the inspiration for the political and legal Charter in support of whose ideals the nations of the world have gathered.

141. On the threshold of the new century which we are about to enter, it seems fitting to bring to mind the intellectual and moral sources which were at the origin of our Organization because the principles contained in such sources are those which should indicate its destiny. Throughout its history, the United Nations has been able to gain concrete experience of the real validity of the ideals enshrined as purposes and principles in its fundamental Charter.

142. Those principles, which are the basis of our Organization whose validity has been confirmed by experience itself and which doubtless are unanimously felt by ourselves and firmly supported by my Government, are the following: the sovereign equality of all States; the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States; respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of every State; the prohibition and condemnation of the threat or the use of force; the peaceful settlement of all disputes and compliance in good faith with obligations entered into; and to crown all this, so that we may approach the everlasting peace of Kant, the political will to make a reality of international co-operation.

143. A realistic analysis of our Organization leads us to observe, alongside the values I have mentioned, which are the true heritage of our Organization, the presence of corrosive factors, of dissolvent principles, which lessen our Organization's effectiveness, break its moral thrust, impair its legitimate force and sometimes radically distort the meaning of its mission.

144. It is not our intention to criticize, nor do we believe that this is the appropriate time to do so. However, just as we emphasize the principles of profound moral and legal content which are the heritage of the Organization and are incorporated in its practice, we also wish to point to some of the negative factors.

145. We believe that the first threat to the role of the United Nations which lessens the natural authority it should have over nations is the use of this forum for purely ideological purposes, for the play of power blocs and at times to give vent to the political pressures prevailing within countries. When these things occur the authority of our Organization is morally lessened because it appears to public opinion to depart from its true purpose in order to serve groups or blocs which the

Organization is called upon to moderate, keep in balance and regulate.

146. It then becomes clear to international public opinion that selfish interests have been allowed to prevail over the common good of mankind and that the venerable image of the principles that govern peace has assumed the transitory and distorted mask of ideology and politics.

147. Another definite and grave threat to our institution is the arms race. It is difficult for nations to discuss matters in this forum with trust and truth so long as there is the possibility that in a frenzied arms race their essential possessions will be jeopardized. Thus, instead of lessening international tensions by the use of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, by respect for treaties and by compliance with the rules of international law, it appears that the world would rather follow the irrational and tragic course of war, the deadly destiny of the arms race. This is even more serious for the economically weak nations since the sinister accumulation of arms also undermines peace because it absorbs financial resources which otherwise would be used for the development and welfare of the people. Let me illustrate this by saying that the cost of a medium-tonnage warship would be enough to allow the WHO to eradicate the scourge of smallpox from the world.

148. A third factor which threatens the effectiveness of the United Nations is the international economic crisis, which has reached such a point that it may even jeopardize the principles of the legal equality of States, international co-operation, and in some cases the self-determination of people.

149. International indexes and the serious concern registered by the majority of the Heads of State, Heads of Government or Ministers who have spoken at this rostrum before me, prove beyond any doubt that the world economy is in a precarious position.

150. The impact of this crisis is, however, felt more keenly in the economies of the developing countries, which are weaker and therefore more vulnerable to external conditions. In this context special attention should be given to the energy problem as a result of which the developing countries are experiencing great difficulties in shouldering the heavy burden of the constant increase in fuel prices which exacerbates their balance-of-payments problems and increases their external indebtedness, with the social cost that all this implies.

151. All the foregoing is not the result of cyclical changes but rather of what we believe to be a structural maladjustment in the present international economic order. This order is unsatisfactory from every point of view, both for the industrialized countries of the North and for the mass of the developing countries concentrated in the South. In fact, although the industrialized countries presumably benefit from the present structure, they are now stricken with high inflation rates, economic stagnation, recession and unemployment, that bring a host of evil social consequences—all problems that had been considered characteristic of, and even endemic in, the developing countries alone. Therefore, it is obvious that a change in the present economic structure would benefit both sides. At the same time it is evident that such an undertaking can be

¹⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay*, trans. by M. Campbell Smith (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1903).

achieved only by means of vigorous international co-operation.

152. On the other hand, it is fundamentally in contradiction with the principles of international co-operation for the industrialized countries to follow a policy whereby, in seeking to solve their own internal economic problems, they persist in erecting protectionist barriers, thus abandoning free trade, the very system on which those countries built their own prosperity. The developing countries, most of them with small domestic markets, see their growth expectations limited because of the restrictions imposed by the actual opportunities for marketing their raw materials and products. So long as this point is not fully realized by the industrialized nations, the ideals of the United Nations will be threatened by this lack of co-operation as well.

153. In these circumstances Chile is inclined to face the problems of the world economy, not by way of confrontation but rather through co-operation and by a continuing dialogue, because the restructuring of the world economy is a formidable task in which the efforts of all should be combined. For this same reason we unreservedly subscribe to the proposal by the Group of 77 which seeks to establish global negotiations on the outstanding problems relating to raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

154. Furthermore, my country attaches special importance to the concept of co-operation among developing countries within the framework of national and collective self-reliance. Within the limits of our capacity we have already contributed assistance and credits to other countries. For Chile this form of co-operation has its own dynamics, which is independent and does not replace traditional North-South co-operation.

155. The application of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the provisions that give them effect should extend beyond the strategies of antagonistic groups and power blocs. It should not be subject to the ups and downs of political opportunism and should be free from the constant threat of the arms race and the economic crisis, for which the industrialized nations bear so much responsibility.

156. The principles of the Charter should be applied consistently, without fear or favour, both by the Organization and by all Member States. Tolerance of the violation of those principles and impunity for those guilty of such violation in the end undermine the very foundations of international order and thus deprive the community of States of its ethical and legal basis. Therefore, we must not ask "for whom the bell tolls" when a country is the victim of the violation of its essential rights. The bell will toll for each of the Members of the Organization and indeed for the Organization itself.

157. My country is aware of the need to join ranks with all nations of the world, on the basis of co-operation and mutual respect. We have been making constructive efforts with a clear awareness of the solidarity of our interests and our common purposes.

158. With the countries of Latin America we maintain and are working to strengthen ties which go back to our

common emancipation and which have as their background an ancient and universal common culture. We are seeking to increase our exchanges with these sister nations, to co-operate in the quest for peace and harmony on the continent, and to strengthen the inter-American system. We are supported in this by the conviction that the nations of the continent must, with a vision of the future, overcome past differences and join their efforts in order to face the historic challenge of our times. It is by surmounting the past and not by repeating it that the countries of Latin America will be able to make their great rendezvous with destiny.

159. Our links with the countries of Europe are deeply rooted in our history and culture, and we therefore wish to cultivate them. Having just returned from a visit to several European countries, may I greet my dear colleagues attending this Assembly who, a few days ago, so kindly welcomed our desire to carry out that task.

160. My country has also continued to develop existing links with the countries of Africa, adding to the relations we have had with many nations of that continent those which we recently established with the Ivory Coast, Gabon and Swaziland. We have a real understanding of the problems besetting the States of Africa—some of which we have lived through ourselves—and we believe they must be solved by the Africans themselves, without any external interference. We therefore reject any armed intervention in their continent and proclaim the inalienable right of its peoples to be the architects of their own destinies. Hence we cannot remain silent over the situation of conflict in southern Africa. We note with interest some of the initiatives that are under way—basically concerning Rhodesia and Namibia—and we reiterate our support for decolonization and the self-determination of peoples, as well as our rejection of all forms of discrimination.

161. We have many ties with the peoples of the Middle East, some of whose sons and daughters have become Chilean citizens, contributing their centuries-old values and culture to our own. We view with alarm the situation in that part of the world, but are pleased with some of the results achieved, thanks to great effort and tenacity, in an attempt to bring peace to that region. We believe that those initiatives must be extended to all aspects of this delicate question. To fail to do that would be to turn our backs on reality and perpetuate a hotbed of tension which endangers world peace. Nor is the tragedy of Lebanon alien to us, and we view with growing alarm the tearing asunder of a country with so much potential. We support the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations in that country.

162. Because of its great maritime tradition and its extensive coastline, Chile has opened channels of trade across the Pacific with countries of Asia and Oceania. This past year, we have had the pleasure of establishing diplomatic relations with Singapore and Malaysia, thus adding to those we already enjoyed with several countries on those continents. In this connexion, I would stress my visit to the People's Republic of China last year and the recent visit to Chile of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan.

163. Chile is convinced of the need to enrich its cultural heritage with the legacy of the wisdom of old cultures and civilizations that have flourished in this

part of the world and whose international positions are increasingly akin to our own.

164. We have stated some of the principles which constitute the fundamental structure of the United Nations Charter. Our country has maintained an attitude of constant respect for them. It is this spirit which prompts the Government of Chile to express reverent satisfaction that His Holiness Pope John Paul II has agreed to mediate the dispute which has arisen between Chile and Argentina in the southern part of our continent. Great tension has prevailed between our two sister countries; but linked as we have been since our independence by instruments for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, that grave threat to peace has been dispelled by the participation of the Holy Father and his special representative, His Eminence Cardinal Antonio Samore, whose efforts led to the conclusion, in Montevideo at the beginning of this year, of two solemn agreements.¹¹ The first provided for His Holiness to mediate the dispute over the southern part of our continent; in the other agreement, both Governments, at the request of the Special Representative of the Pope, have, in each other's presence and before His Holiness, committed themselves not to resort to force in their mutual relations, to return to a normal military state of affairs, and to refrain from adopting measures in any sector which might threaten harmony between the two countries. In this atmosphere of relaxation of tensions, our venerated mediator will be able to discharge his noble task of guiding the parties to the negotiations and assist them in the search for a solution.

165. On 27 September last, His Holiness Pope John Paul II addressed the representatives of the two States in the process of mediation and, through them, their peoples and Governments. The ideas embodied in the statement of His Holiness constitute a most valuable contribution to the mediation process.

166. Precisely because my country has an honourable tradition of settling its disputes by peaceful and legal means, we view with satisfaction the inclusion in our agenda of an item on the settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States [item 122], proposed by the Government of Romania [see A/34/143]. We shall therefore make every endeavour to see that positive results are achieved in this field. The establishment of effective, mandatory systems for the settlement of disputes would contribute to the elimination of violence and the establishment of the rule of law in international relations.

167. I am pleased to highlight, as an important result of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the adoption of the principle of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, which originated in the Santiago Declaration of 1952 on the maritime zone.¹² My country played a major role in the drafting of that instrument, and has firmly upheld the doctrine it proclaims.

168. Accordingly, Chile has continued to participate

with special interest in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, particularly in the drafting of a code of conduct for the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. The tapping of that area's resources, which constitute the common heritage of mankind, must be carried out in accordance with rational and fair criteria, and for benefit of all countries, particularly the less developed. In no case must those ocean areas and the resources they contain be subject to individual claims of sovereignty or to rivalry among States. Opening the frontiers of the oceans to man's use requires imagination and great effort in order to plan a legal régime which, while encouraging private initiative, will integrate it within the activities of joint bodies.

169. On this occasion I cannot fail to express our concern—a concern shared by many countries—over the North American announcement that the United States will ignore the maritime jurisdiction of other States beyond the three-mile limit. This attitude is detrimental to the rights of coastal States and impedes the negotiations now under way within the Conference itself. Noteworthy in this connexion is the categorical pronouncement of the member countries of the South Pacific Commission—Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and Peru—issued on 18 August last.¹³

170. In recent years my country has undergone hard experiences, which a world in confusion and convulsion inflicts on a people wishing to live an open and peaceful life. Ours has been an old and well-balanced democracy, giving opportunities to all forms of political and social structures which the free will of man has forged in our times. However, the nihilist virulence, which cruelly strikes at elementary structures of our civilized life in every region of the world, has seriously damaged our society and threatens the stability of our cultural and historical institutions in a legal and social structure carefully designed to befit our dignity as a nation.

171. It was necessary and unavoidable that a new government be established with heroic determination to assume the responsibility for guiding the country through that grave crisis. After some years of enormous sacrifice and misunderstanding, this Government may say with serene pride that it has succeeded in overcoming economic bankruptcy, given a new and orderly life to the social systems, guaranteed the security of the citizens, initiated a labour plan, adapted educational and cultural programmes to the requirements of our times and drafted a new constitution, among other things—all of which are enabling Chile to face the future with optimism. In these circumstances we wish to welcome a broad exchange of ideas, experience, goods and wealth with all nations on the basis of mutual respect, and before this Assembly we reiterate our desire to participate actively in its tasks and to honour and support the lofty mission entrusted to it in accordance with the principles of the fundamental Charter.

172. Mr. NOGUÉS (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly will have the singular privilege tomorrow of receiving His Holiness John Paul II and hearing his solemn statement in this forum dedicated to achieving peace and to maintaining and strengthening it among all

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, documents S/13015 and S/13016.

¹² Declaration on the Maritime Zone. See *Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1956*, vol. I (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.V.3, vol 1), 362nd meeting, para. 35.

¹³ See document A/CONF.62/85.

peoples of the earth, whatever the political, ethnic or religious characteristics of the nations which constitute the Organization.

173. Therefore, on the eve of such a solemn and exceptional event, the delegation of Paraguay associates itself with the expectations and hopes aroused among us all by the presence of the Supreme Pontiff. On behalf of the people and Government of my country, we offer to the Pope the respectful tribute of Paraguay, which remains faithful to the traditions of Christianity and its doctrines as an expression of a way of life which is in accordance with the innermost requirements of our national entity.

174. It is true that the panorama offered by today's world is not encouraging, for it is engaged as never before in confrontations of every kind and on different scales both within and outside national boundaries. In spite of that, our inescapable mission is to preserve peace, going beyond its purely intangible moral values to the dialogue that is necessary to ensure at least a minimum of civilized coexistence. We wish for a peace built on the dignity of man, and we therefore categorically reject any system which constitutes a barrier to freedom.

175. Thus, Paraguay does not admit the Communist philosophy of life, nor does it allow it to be preached within our territory. We are combating the Marxist doctrine, exercising the right of our own national self-preservation, and we repudiate its atheistic and materialistic concept of human life.

176. In this respect, my country maintains a single and unswerving line of conduct. After many decades of political anarchy, of destruction of the public and private economy and of the downgrading of our civil and democratic values, Paraguay, under the serene and patriotic guidance of President Alfredo Stroessner, and with the support of the powerful political force of the Colorado Party, has succeeded in channelling the march of the nation of Paraguay along the paths of stability and prosperity.

177. We practise a form of government which is in accordance with the temperament, the vocation and the very nature of the people of Paraguay and we believe that every political community has not only the right but the duty to provide itself with the institutions suited to its particular characteristics.

178. In accordance with this line of thinking, we view with concern the attitude of certain Governments which practise interference in internal affairs which are exclusively within the competence and responsibility of other States. The affirmation, management and solution of its own national problems are matters exclusively within the sovereignty of the nation itself. However, it so happens that, invoking the principle of the defence of human rights, some would from abroad dictate to other Governments rules of conduct in specific cases, even going so far as to invade the area of order and internal security. Some even make so bold as to pass judgements and express opinions regarding measures or solutions which should be adopted only by those who are vested with the authority of the will of the people, by those who have acquired the necessary experience to confront local situations and by those who have taken on the unavoidable responsibility of pre-

serving the principles and the substantive assets of each nation.

179. Paraguay does not accept, nor will it accept, such interference, which at the level of bilateral relations is at variance with the mutual respect which members of the great international family owe one another.

180. The pluralistic political régime of Paraguay is a living and permanent reality. Both in the national Parliament, consisting of the Chamber of Senators and the Chamber of Deputies, and in the municipal councils of all the main municipalities of the country, the opposition is represented by political parties.

181. We are absolutely true to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and we strictly respect the self-determination of peoples. This attitude is not new, nor is it due to circumstances of the moment. It derives from our distant past, and has its unshakeable roots in the very history of Paraguay, which in the last century fought heroically in an exhausting five-year war to maintain intact the principle of what was then called the "policy of balance", and which in modern terminology is exactly what we now call the self-determination of peoples.

182. The Government of Paraguay does not judge, either publicly or through diplomatic channels, the internal policies of other States. Nor does it by either of those means allow itself to give its views on matters or events which are related to the sovereignty of or political leadership displayed by other Governments.

183. Nor do we acknowledge didactic leadership according to which other Governments, or those who arrogate their representation to themselves, dictate rules to us for exercising public authority. It must be known that for us the only sovereign in this matter is the people of Paraguay. By the only valid means, namely the ballot box, and by an overwhelming majority, that people has placed its destiny in the hands of those who now legitimately represent them. I am proud to say that Paraguay can boast of its people, who are dignified and noble, and who from the very first hours of their existence have given exceptional proof of their qualities as well as of their courage in defending the values for which the fearless struggle goes on in what we call "Western civilization".

184. Since it is impossible, because of the time available, to dwell on other items which also offer much food for thought, and which are on the agenda of this session, I should like to report on the situation of my country with regard to a subject which is of general interest and concern.

185. There is no doubt that shadows will loom over the future of the world because of a growing difficulty in obtaining two essentials for the well-being and progress of mankind: energy and food. With almost absolute certainty, this difficulty will bring about a substantial change in the economy of many countries by reversing relations which today seem to be logical and even unchangeable. I am pleased to point out, in view of this prospect, which in one way or another will affect the vast majority of the community of nations, that my country, Paraguay, will certainly be an exception.

186. At this time, Paraguay lacks known sources of

hydrocarbons or mineral carbon, but, on the other hand, we have an abundant source of water power with special characteristics, such as its considerable magnitude, and the fact that the ownership of this source is shared by two of our neighbours, Argentina and Brazil. This singular circumstance, far from having placed us at a disadvantage, has, on the contrary, become a factor in our favour, since the difference in the volume of the economies of my country and those of the neighbours I have mentioned, will for some time be converted into profits from the export of energy, until Paraguay, which is in a process of accelerated development, can, in turn, make capital investments to use its share of the potential energy.

187. I believe it would be of interest to this Assembly to know of the guiding ideas which inspired the building of the hydroelectric stations which my country has undertaken with the Federative Republic of Brazil, and with the Republic of Argentina on the River Paraná, on a mixed or binational enterprise basis, with full parity in their co-ownership. With Brazil, we are building the hydroelectric station at Itaipú, which will produce 70 billion kilowatt-hours, thus placing it at the head of the largest enterprises in the world in this field. And, likewise with Argentina, we are already in the initial phase of complete execution of another hydroelectric station, Yacyretá. That station will produce 18 billion kilowatt-hours per year, which, likewise, places it in the forefront among the major world utilities. Furthermore, an understanding between my country, Argentina and Brazil, which has just been concluded, will make it possible on that selfsame Paraná river to build another hydroelectric station with a yearly production of the same order as the one at Yacyretá to which I have referred.

188. The political and economic philosophy underlying these undertakings is based on the assumption that the energy produced will be distributed equally between the two partners—Paraguay and Brazil, or Paraguay and Argentina as the case may be. In exchange for the difference between our energy consumption and half the total energy produced—to which initially each of the partners is entitled—my country will receive an adequate compensation until we ourselves find it necessary to review this difference.

189. I wish to emphasize, as a tribute to the spirit of understanding and perfect equality which prevails over the technical and diplomatic negotiations between my country and Argentina and Brazil, that the Paraguayan firms participating in the realization of these monumental construction tasks have demonstrated a high degree of efficiency which made it possible for countries at different economic levels to associate for enterprises of mutual benefit in conditions of reasonable equity. There has also been a sense of balance which fully reflects the atmosphere of peace and friendship which prevails in the region in which we live: the vast area of the basin of the River Plate, one of the prime areas of the world because of its social and political configuration as an inexhaustible source of economic possibilities.

190. I would like to stress that, in addition to the vast volume of energy from renewable resources, such as hydroelectric energy, which does not have the problems connected with mineral or atomic production and its technology, and which very shortly will be available to Paraguay, we have the privileged condition of a

fertile territory, which in my country can produce food over almost its entire area.

191. In turn, the possibility of using electric power to produce fertilizers will raise the capacity of Paraguay to produce food-stuffs to a high level, thus transforming my country into a major centre of world interest in view of the acute and anxious problem of world food.

192. Aware of its historic responsibility and its commitment to the present generation, the Government of President Stroessner is devoting all its efforts to place my country in the privileged situation it occupied in its early history and which it earned through the dignity of its people and because of its brilliant history.

193. We have suffered much misfortune, due mainly to international wars and attacks against our sovereignty and independence. The hard lesson of the past has strengthened us in our resolve to be steadfast in the face of any attempt at foreign interference, under whatever emblem by whatever method, from whatever origin or whatever arguments may be made use of to try to justify it.

194. My country is open to all men of goodwill who wish to see with their own eyes and with an open mind the atmosphere of peace, democracy and freedom in which we are developing our republican institutions, which are the basis of our confidence in a brilliant future which we wish to share with the sister nations of America and with the other nations which, with us, profess their faith in better days for mankind.

195. I wish to end this statement by reiterating the pleasure with which Paraguay, its people and Government, note today, 1 October, the celebration of an auspicious event: the coming into force of the Panama Canal Treaty. I congratulate you, Mr. President, your noble country of Panama and its Government, for defending the rights of your country so tenaciously and with such dignity.

196. This is an obvious and happy sign of a better understanding among the Americas, the one in the north and the one in the south, called upon to agree on the level of absolute unqualified respect and without blameworthy ignorance.

197. Paraguay would not wish America to succumb to a suicidal confusion of concepts, but would rather that, with God's help, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth".

198. Mr. PEACOCK (Australia): It gives me particular pleasure to address the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, meeting as it is under the presidency of Ambassador Salim. The Australian Government and successive Australian representatives to the United Nations have known his capacity, his energy and the vitality of his ideas, assets which we are confident he will be able to employ in the coming year for the benefit of the Organization as a whole. Australia's membership in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in particular, has provided us with the privilege of co-operating closely with him in the im-

portant work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Through this work Australia and the United Republic of Tanzania continue to demonstrate a mutual concern to extend basic human rights to all peoples. My delegation offers him its full co-operation in discharging his many responsibilities as President of the General Assembly.

199. It is always a pleasure to welcome new Members to this Organization and, on behalf of the Australian Government, I was happy to become a sponsor of the admission of Saint Lucia, a fellow Commonwealth country.

200. The end of a decade is an occasion for reflection and for the drawing up of balance-sheets. In many respects the 1970s marked a turning-point in international affairs. It was a decade in which many of the assumptions of the past were found to be inadequate. The international agenda has been drastically altered and new issues have come to the fore.

201. Energy problems emerged as one of our most serious concerns. Demands for the establishment of a more efficient and more equitable international economic order have been among the more compelling pressures for change. International concern to limit the catastrophic potential of the arms race has continued unabated. Particular emphasis has been given to human rights and the issues of social justice.

202. These issues will also dominate the agenda of the 1980s. However, whereas in the 1970s we began to grasp and to adjust to the changing realities involved, in the 1980s we will face the daunting task of finding solutions.

203. As we move into the 1980s it would be reckless to ignore the difficulties which now cloud prospects for global economic growth. It would be reckless and inhumane to overlook the fact that some 800 million people in the developing world still live in absolute poverty.

204. The challenge we now face is that after some 25 years of unprecedented growth—a process in which many developing countries shared—the economies of most countries are now faltering. Steady rates of growth have been broken and governments are hard-pressed to restore them to the previous levels. Growth in trade, which had been running at 8 per cent in the 1950s and the 1960s has fallen by half. Inflation, unemployment and protectionist measures have emerged as major problems for the developed market-economy countries. This has had serious consequences for the developing countries. Australia has shared these problems, understands their impact on developing countries and is committed to their resolution.

205. The international community must face these problems squarely. We must not shrink from the responsibilities we all share. Next year's special session of the General Assembly will provide a major opportunity to come to grips with the constraints on growth to which I have referred, and that opportunity must be grasped.

206. We expect the special session to undertake a thoroughgoing assessment of the lessons of the 1970s

and to initiate a bold and imaginative response to the challenges of the 1980s. That response must entail a renewed interest in a more efficient and more equitable international economic order.

207. The international development strategy for the third development decade will be a particularly important matter for the special session. We owe it to our own people to ensure that the special session produces a practical and action-oriented strategy. Ways of giving impetus to the real factors of growth must be found. The strategy must identify national efforts and commitments and clearly establish objectives in relation to economic and social development. Above all, it must present realistic ways in which all countries can work for the achievement of these objectives.

208. Australia, for its part, has been taking stock of how these relationships, and in particular the North-South dialogue, can be made more productive. This has been the basic concern behind our practical approaches at the fifth session of UNCTAD and our initiative at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries meeting in Lusaka to have a study made of constraints on growth [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 42]. The stalemate in the present dialogue must be broken.

209. Australia has considered carefully the proposals put forward to launch global negotiations in the United Nations, open to all Members, in certain important areas which are central to the North-South dialogue. We are prepared to accept in principle the proposals for global negotiations. This is on the understanding that the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 will be able to draw up a programme for negotiations setting out, in an acceptable form, the priorities and the modalities for the negotiations and their relationship with ongoing negotiations on these issues in other forums. We would want to be sure that the projected global interrelated negotiations should be carefully approached so as to ensure, as far as possible, practical progress on the complex issues involved. Such progress will inevitably come by stages and not necessarily in an interlocked, interwoven fashion. We must seek to move forward wherever we can, and some areas will of course be more susceptible to forward movement than others. We are naturally concerned, in particular, that the opening of any global negotiations on a wide range of interrelated issues should not hold up ongoing negotiation on them in other more specialized forums—for example, in UNCTAD on the Common Fund and on international commodity agreements.

210. In addressing the constraints on growth, my Government has put special emphasis on the current high levels of inflation, with its damaging effects on development, on employment, on exchange rates and on trade flows. Unless controlled, inflation brings in its wake economic disruption and social disintegration. Its worst effects weigh most heavily on the poorest members of our communities.

211. The failure of many developed countries to control domestic inflation has unquestionably had a severely adverse impact on developing countries, which look to the developed world as the market for 70 per cent of their exports and as the major source of capital and development assistance. Sound anti-inflationary

policies—a necessity if we are to achieve sustained economic growth—must be adopted by all countries.

212. There is, I believe, a fundamental link between inflation, protectionism and the relative lack of progress in structural adjustment in many of our economies. Higher inflation rates have led to defensive protectionist policies. Such policies bring with them distortions through misallocation and inefficient use of labour and capital. They frequently involve wage and export subsidies and supports, instead of positive adjustment measures. They lead to efforts in both the manufacturing and agricultural sectors to maintain inefficient and unproductive operations and obsolescent industries.

213. The task of dismantling protectionist measures is quite formidable; adjustment cannot be instantaneous. But we should not be deflected by narrow sectional interests. We must recognize that adjustment measures also open up new opportunities.

214. In Australia's view the developing countries must be given greater access to world markets for their exports. Only last week my Government announced a new series of initiatives aimed at improving the developing countries' share of Australian trade. These measures include the further expansion of the Australian system of tariff preferences.

215. A significant number of developing countries—several of them in Australia's region—have now emerged as important exporters of manufactures and services. The increasing diversification of those countries' economies and their movements away from import-substitution strategies have laid a basis for large-scale expansion of output and increasing trade specialization. While this development presents a major competitive challenge to the industries of many developed countries, there are also substantial opportunities mixed in with it. We should all be seeking to associate ourselves with their growth and together aim to share the benefits of the expanding trade flows that they are generating.

216. An open world trading system needs the dynamic of increased trade flows based on comparative advantage—flows which have been most noticeably stimulated in recent years by the newly industrializing countries. If the international trading system is to realize its full potential and bring benefits to the international community as a whole, we must prevent the erection of further obstacles to trade. At the same time, we must make progress in dismantling existing protectionist barriers.

217. Australia will continue to press these items in the relevant international forums. We see these issues as essential elements in the establishment of a better and more just international economic order. For this reason Australia will be asking the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board to consider a draft resolution—similar to the one that we introduced at the fifth session of UNCTAD—on the related issues of inflation, protectionism and structural adjustment.

218. Energy issues are now also recognized as crucial to economic growth. Significantly increased prices of certain energy resources and doubts about their supply have hindered economic development and have set

back efforts for economic recovery. This is a matter of particular concern to all energy-deficient countries, particularly the non-oil-producing developing countries.

219. Recent events have re-emphasized the urgent need to implement policies aimed both at conserving oil and at adapting economies to the necessity for using alternative energy resources. This transition is bound to be protracted and, in many countries, quite painful. But the need to embark upon it is imperative.

220. I am convinced that we will fail in the task that confronts us if energy producers and consumers adopt confrontational attitudes. Interdependence is a basic and intractable feature of the global energy scene. Indeed, if the so-called energy crisis taught us anything at all it is that we must establish a realistic basis upon which a consensus can be built.

221. No country can ignore the world-wide consequences of what is happening. There is now, as ministers of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development have recently warned, a real danger that, without responsible policies by oil consumers and producers alike, the energy situation will seriously damage the world economy.

222. Australia is prepared to bring a constructive and realistic attitude to the issues involved. We see ourselves as having particular responsibilities. Australia is well placed as regards indigenous energy resources, and we are a net energy exporter. We have abundant coal and natural gas reserves, and our vast uranium deposits are now being mined. While developing these resources, we have also increased support for energy research and development and have promoted energy conservation and inter-fuel substitution. We have been active in furthering international cooperation in a variety of bilateral, regional and international arrangements.

223. Australia has given particular attention to the needs of the developing countries of our region. We are working actively in ESCAP and in the Commonwealth Regional Consultative Group on Energy. We are also co-operating closely with other countries of the region on a bilateral basis. Emphasis has been placed on the possibility of establishing energy systems suited to the particular needs of these countries. This entails developing available conventional resources and appropriate alternative technologies.

224. My earlier reference to uranium was in the context of its use as a valued energy resource. But Australia is deeply conscious that there are alternative and awesome uses to which it can be put. With substantial resources of uranium, Australia undoubtedly has a special responsibility to ensure that it is used for the betterment of mankind and not for its annihilation.

225. The continuing imperatives of maintaining peace and security must remain uppermost among the challenges facing the world community in the next decade. The creation of conditions which will strengthen international security and give the world the confidence that it can live in peace is vitally important.

226. The continuing process of strategic arms limitation between the United States and the Soviet Union is

absolutely fundamental to the maintenance of the global balance and the prevention of nuclear war. The signing of the second SALT treaty was the most important step forward in arms control during the last year. We still look forward to its early ratification and implementation. We expect it to provide a basis for further quantitative and qualitative controls on the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers in a future agreement to be reached at the third round of SALT.

227. Australia also attaches great importance to the earliest possible conclusion of negotiations among the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom on the terms of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. The submission of the text of a treaty to the Committee on Disarmament before the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1980 would advance consideration of the issues and make a significant contribution to the success of that Conference, and we urge the three negotiating Powers to work towards this end.

228. A test-ban treaty will inhibit the further development of existing nuclear arsenals. It will be an additional pillar of the international non-proliferation régime by providing a new avenue through which countries can renounce nuclear weapons. It will also give further reassurance that nuclear programmes in non-nuclear-weapon States were directed exclusively to peaceful purposes.

229. The second Review Conference will provide a timely opportunity to lend weight to the objectives of the Treaty, to review its operation and to take account of the concerns of new parties. Australia, as a firm adherent to the principles of non-proliferation, will continue to play an active role in the preparations for the Conference.

230. Australia is encouraged by the fact that the Treaty continues to display its relevance and its value by attracting new States parties. The accession of Indonesia and Bangladesh was a welcome development. Increasing membership contributes to the benefits which the Treaty provides for regional and international security and, of course, for stable international trade and co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

231. The global non-proliferation scene and international nuclear co-operation could, however, be seriously damaged by the emergence of a situation in the Indian subcontinent, which shattered the fragile constraints against proliferation in that region. Australia regards this with very great concern. The risks of proliferation in southern Africa and the Middle East are also most disturbing. We hope that countries which have not acceded to the non-proliferation Treaty will reassure the international community by affirming their acceptance either of full-scope safeguards on their nuclear industries or of some other binding and verifiable commitment.

232. Non-proliferation objectives have also been enhanced by the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation, which concludes early next year. There has been significant agreement on a range of problems previously the subject of controversy. Useful ideas have emerged which could lead to important new institutional barriers

to proliferation, including, for example, schemes for international plutonium storage and international spent-fuel management. We also believe that the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation study, which examined supply assurances, has put forward some useful ideas on possible common approaches to non-proliferation conditions to apply in nuclear trade.

233. The Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, during its first year of operation, has devoted considerable effort to elaborating possible new arms control instruments. Australia, as a member of the body since the beginning of this year, has welcomed the opportunities that membership has conferred to bring new perspectives to the work of the Committee. We look forward to helping the Committee produce concrete results as it pursues its work. In particular, we hope that 1980 will see agreement obtained on measures of nuclear arms control and on radiological and chemical weapons.

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

234. We further hope that, once work has been completed in the Committee on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, the nuclear-weapon Powers will give serious consideration to proposals for a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons. This would be a major step to ending the nuclear-arms race and reinforcing non-proliferation, and would represent further real progress in the search for conditions in which mankind can be freed from the threat of devastation and destruction.

235. In considering the conditions for maintaining international peace and security, we must pay particular attention to the areas of conflict and tension. Through its peace-keeping machinery the United Nations has played an important role in containing otherwise dangerously volatile situations. Peace-keeping machinery not only protects future generations from the horrors of war, it protects people now from the threat of conflict caused by rivalries and fears from the past.

236. Australia has maintained a firm tradition of support for the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. We see our contributions to peace-keeping, in Cyprus, the Middle East and Kashmir, as direct contributions to the cause of peace. Our offer to contribute to the proposed United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia has been made with quite the same conviction. But peace-keeping forces do not of themselves generate lasting peace. Parties to conflicts must be persuaded to negotiate, as they are now doing in London in relation to Zimbabwe, as certain of them are doing in the Middle East, and as they must continue to do in Cyprus.

237. I now want to consider some of these issues in more detail. We are all familiar with the long history of the Middle East conflict and with the disappointments which have characterized it. Australia has supported the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.¹⁴ We see it as a first step towards a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. We understand the fears and concerns of others and appreciate that a solution of that region's problems depends on factors not

¹⁴ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed in Washington on 26 March 1979.

yet settled or dealt with in the current negotiations. In this context, Australia regrets the current policies of the Israeli Government in relation to the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories.

238. It is essential to devise a peace which satisfies all interested parties—and which puts an end to terrorism. We therefore base our policies on the need for negotiations starting from the principles of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be accepted. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to a homeland alongside Israel, and their corresponding responsibility to live peacefully with all their neighbours also must be recognized.

239. In this spirit the Australian Government continues to offer its support to any efforts to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties concerned. We hope that all will turn away from statements, actions and policies which are prejudicial to the search for a comprehensive peace.

240. In thinking about the Middle East we should not ignore the sufferings of the people in the ravaged and divided land of Lebanon. The Australian community has been enriched by the arrival of large numbers of immigrants and refugees from Lebanon and other parts of the region and we share their heartfelt concern that no effort should be spared to bring peace to the region.

241. The plight of the people of Cyprus is also a matter of the greatest concern to the Australian community. We whole-heartedly support the continuing role of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General in particular in efforts to bring peace to all the people of Cyprus. Australia welcomed the resumption of intercommunal talks in June 1979, following the agreement between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas, ¹⁵ itself based on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines, ¹⁶ but we greatly regret that those talks have not progressed. We hope that debate on the Cyprus issue at this General Assembly will provide the impetus for further progress.

242. Australia is deeply concerned at the continuing tragic loss of life as a result of the conflict in Zimbabwe. There have been too many wasted years and wasted opportunities. The agreement reached at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka in August [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] provides a new opportunity which must not be lost. Australia fully supports that agreement which we hope will carry the parties to settlement.

243. The presence of the principal parties to the dispute at the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference recently convened by the United Kingdom Government is encouraging. We urge the parties to carry their negotiations to fulfilment and to bring an end to the present tragic situation which has brought the whole of southern Africa to the brink of ruin and war.

244. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Australia has actively sought a peaceful and

lasting solution to the question of Namibia. The Australian Government gives its full support to the consultations being carried on between the representatives of the five Western countries and the South African Government and strongly hopes that those consultations will resolve the current impasse. It is crucial for stability in southern Africa that agreement be reached on the Secretary-General's proposals. ¹⁷

245. There remains, of course, the problem of the policies of the South African Government. Australia will continue to work for the end of the deplorable policy of *apartheid*. The point is approaching when patience will run out within South Africa itself and when increasing resort to violence will be seen by many as their only option. Let us hope that that point will not be reached. Let us hope that reason and responsibility will prevail.

246. Australia is deeply concerned by the problem of refugees throughout the world—in Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia. We give full support to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in his efforts to alleviate the distress and to promote the resettlement of the dispossessed peoples. My own country has a proud and continuing tradition in settling refugees from many continents and countries.

247. In South-East Asia, the plight of the "boat people" from Viet Nam and the land refugees from Kampuchea has assumed tragic proportions. Innocent men, women and children have been displaced and rendered homeless on a massive scale. They have been forced to flee from war, famine, disease and the abhorrent pressure of political coercion. A major humanitarian crisis exists. This has precipitated serious political and economic problems and tensions in the region. The exodus has been of such proportions as to jeopardize regional stability.

248. The financial, political and social burdens involved have fallen particularly heavily on the countries of first asylum, that is the States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. The international community must recognize the very real limits on the ability of those countries to cope with a crisis of such massive proportions. Important new steps towards meeting that crisis were taken at the meeting convened by the Secretary-General in Geneva in July. ¹⁸ We in Australia have from the beginning taken in a substantial number of refugees and we are also providing substantial financial assistance.

249. At the same time, Australia believes it is vitally important to recognize that the underlying causes of the refugee exodus have yet to be tackled. We have noted that since the Geneva meeting there has been a diminution in the numbers of those leaving Viet Nam. We look to the Government of Viet Nam to abide by the undertakings it gave at Geneva and to make sustained and serious efforts to resolve this problem in all its aspects.

250. The tragedy of widespread starvation and disease in war-ravaged Kampuchea also demands our immediate attention. Whatever one's political persuasion,

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1977*, document S/12323, paras. 4 and 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

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

whatever one's views on the causes of the present havoc in Kampuchea, one cannot ignore the desperate plight of several million of the Kampuchean people. It is vital that massive international relief should reach the Khmer people immediately. They must be saved. It is essential that the practical problems of organizing necessary relief measures be overcome quickly. In the name of humanity, it is imperative that all parties fully co-operate in this emergency. The international relief agencies and voluntary organizations must be allowed to carry forward this task as a matter of the utmost urgency.

251. Australia for its part is prepared to do all within its power to assist in international relief efforts. We have already agreed to provide, through the World Food Programme, 3,500 metric tons of rice for humanitarian relief in Kampuchea. We are also completing arrangements for a special charter flight to carry emergency food and medical supplies to the people of Kampuchea. Australia fully supports the appeal to the international community made by the Secretary-General on 27 September for funds and supplies for Kampuchea.

252. Against this background, my Government is also deeply concerned by the intensified hostilities in Kampuchea. An increase in the scale of the fighting can only add to the already intolerable suffering of the people of Kampuchea, swell the flow of refugees and complicate still further the difficulties of organizing relief operations. Wider conflict within Kampuchea also carries risks of escalation and so endangers the security of the South-East Asian region as a whole. We must do immediately whatever we can to alleviate the misery and want of millions of human beings. But we must also recognize that there can be no lasting solution to the problems of Kampuchea until peace is restored, all external forces withdrawn and conditions created in which the Kampuchean people can decide their own future for themselves, free from outside interference of any kind.

253. A recurring theme of many of the conflicts to which I have referred is the disregard for basic human values and rights. It is therefore particularly appropriate that at this time His Holiness Pope John Paul II—a great humanitarian, a great defender of freedom, of faith and of the human spirit—should be attending this session of the General Assembly. His presence tomorrow will remind us all of the commitments we have all made in supporting the Charter of the United Nations—commitments to the achievement of real improvements in the condition of individual men, women and children.

254. The United Nations has embarked upon a number of action-oriented programmes. The International Year of the Child, the United Nations Decade for Women, the two United Nations Development Decades, the Disarmament Decade and the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, have all aimed to improve the lot of individual men and women.

255. Much has been done to bring comfort and hope to the dispossessed and the deprived peoples of the world. Major instruments in the field of human rights have entered into force and new instruments are now being framed. The validity of the claims of the nations and

people suffering economic and social hardship have been increasingly recognized. Energetic attempts have also been made to confront the problems of terrorism and refugees. But, having said that, I recognize that major problems of human rights and social needs remain.

256. Nothing is more pernicious in this regard than racism and racial prejudice. At the recent Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka, Australia joined with every other Commonwealth country in issuing the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex]—a document which addressed itself to the problem of racism in all its forms, in every country. Racism is one among the many human problems that must be tackled in the 1980s. People will not accept nor should they be expected to accept fear, want and the systematic violation of their rights. The United Nations must organize itself to deal effectively with the pressing problems confronting so many in everyday life.

257. We agree with the Secretary-General on the need to generate renewed public support in all countries for the United Nations and its work to fulfil its objectives on behalf of all mankind.

258. Australia is moving into the 1980s with a strong desire to promote solutions to the many challenges which we face. We do so on the basis of a considered assessment of Australia's place in the new circumstances of today. I have, as recently as 18 September, submitted in the Australian Parliament a report on Australia's relations with the third world. So far as I know, no other developed country has undertaken so detailed an analysis of the question of its relations with the third world, yet it is a question which affects the prospects of peace, prosperity and progress for all mankind.

259. Australia accepts the fact that it has serious responsibilities. We are not prepared to stand idly by at a time when drift and even stalemate hamper progress in key areas of international relations. This drift must be arrested and the stalemate, broken.

260. We have no illusions that the next decade will be any easier than the last. The international community must approach the 1980s with renewed vigour and with a determination to develop practical and realistic solutions to the issues which we face. Above all we should avoid situations in which preconceived or outdated attitudes and ideological rigidities preclude progress. With goodwill, no problem is intractable.

261. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election is a tribute to the high status which you enjoy in international circles as a diplomat with wide experience, and a recognition of your country's role in international affairs, especially in Africa.

262. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for the manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

263. I should also like to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has worked hard to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, and for his concern with the problems of the developing countries.

264. Kuwait has consistently advocated respect for the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which should make the world Organization a real microcosm of international society. In that respect, I should like to congratulate Saint Lucia on its admission to the United Nations. We are confident that it is now ready to discharge the responsibilities of statehood and to participate actively in the work of international organizations.

265. International developments during the past year have not been encouraging and in many cases have given rise to pessimism. Rivalry increased among the big Powers to expand their spheres of influence and to tighten their grip over other regions subordinate to them. Flagrant interference in the affairs of other States intensified. This period was also characterized by dependence on force to solve differences among States, and the threat to use the means of armed invasion to bring pressure on legitimate Governments to compel them to pursue policies inimical to their interests.

266. In today's world, there is a great need to end the vestiges of colonial and foreign domination and to consolidate the freedom and independence of the newly independent countries. The disparity between the developed and developing countries, which is widening, is leading to an increase of social, economic and political tensions. Non-aligned and developing countries are faced with the prime tasks of economic growth and raising the standards of living of their people and, as a concomitant to those, of making scientific and technological progress.

267. During the past month most of us attended the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Cuba. Although we are living in a rapidly changing world, the need for non-alignment is more urgent today than it was before. An essential purpose of the policy of non-alignment is the reduction of tension and the creation of accord and international harmony among nations.

268. The policy of non-alignment is intended to serve the needs of a developing country by keeping it free from military entanglements and enabling it to devote its energy and resources primarily to the development of the standard of living of its own people. It is a cause of regret that such a policy should incur the active hostility of some big Powers. Many a non-aligned country has been subjected to political pressure by powerful countries wishing to establish their hegemony over other nations. Non-aligned countries have received less external economic assistance than those countries which are members of military blocs.

269. Though the path of non-alignment has not been an easy one it has stood up to the test of the past two decades. The non-aligned countries have not adopted a passive or neutral attitude in the face of glaring injustice and violations of the Charter of the United Nations. In spite of some short-comings and setbacks, non-alignment still retains its validity and character. On the

whole I feel confident that the non-aligned countries will continue in the future, as they have in the past, to play a vital role in the promotion of peace and international harmony.

270. Kuwait's membership in the Security Council will expire in a few months. I should like, therefore, in this context, to make a few remarks on the work of the Council during the past two years, which were crowded with international problems. Some of those problems constituted a challenge to the Council. It would have been possible to solve many of them had the Council showed determination and firmness. I am sorry to say that that was not the case. The failure of the Council to discharge its responsibilities was not due to reluctance on its part, but rather because the interests of the big Powers prevailed and the veto was used to assure their ascendancy over its work.

271. To cite some examples, the Council failed to deal with the problems in South-East Asia and was unable to adopt a resolution recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to decide their own future and to establish an independent State of their own. The Council also failed to resolve the Lebanese problem and that of the Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories. The short-comings or ineptitude of the Council emboldened many countries such as South Africa and Israel and encouraged them to persist in their aggressive policies. We call upon the big Powers to let their international responsibilities prevail over their immediate interests in southern Africa and the Middle East where vital issues of international peace and security are at stake.

272. The paramount factor in Africa is the sense of nationalism and the determination of all African peoples that the whole of the African continent shall be free from the evils of white racism. Within Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, and within the nations immediately bordering them, the commitment to the struggle against minority or colonial rule overrides all other matters.

273. The evils of colonialism are well known. The evils of racism are even greater. In South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia the entire state machinery is directed to organizing and upholding the domination of a small minority over the indigenous population. No wonder that the minority régimes have defied the authority of the United Nations and used legislation and sham elections to deny elementary political, economic and social rights to the black majority.

274. The situation in southern Africa poses a threat to international peace and security. South Africa rejected Security Council resolution 435 (1978), dated 29 September 1978, thus flouting the will of the international community, although SWAPO had accepted it.

275. The policy of South Africa is to transform southern Africa into a geographical enclave subordinate to it so as to exploit its natural resources, use it as a buffer zone, separating it from independent African States, and use its people as cheap labour to be exploited in its development plans.

276. In Zimbabwe, sham illegal elections were held in which the majority did not take part; they were used as an African mask to disguise the white minority. We pay a tribute to the struggle of the Patriotic Front and

reaffirm our support for that struggle. Kuwait also commends the sacrifices of the front-line States, which sustain great losses, are exposed to aggression and willingly accept this because of their faith in self-determination and the indivisibility of the cause of freedom everywhere.

277. Some Western countries, which sympathize with the minority régimes, have advocated negotiations as a means of resolving the conflict by peaceful means. We do not object to negotiations if they do not compromise majority rule or independence and are used as a means of organizing an orderly transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority. South Africa and Rhodesia must be isolated economically, politically and socially until they abide by United Nations resolutions and accept the will of the international community.

278. The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean held their first meeting last July [see A/34/45]. Our main object should be to formulate a draft treaty to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Our desire is to see the littoral and hinterland States become parties to the treaty, and to convince the major maritime users of the Ocean of the necessity of respecting the provisions of the treaty by ratifying a separate protocol. Hence, the goodwill and co-operation of the maritime users of the Indian Ocean will be crucial.

279. The rivalry among the military Powers in the Indian Ocean has not yet abated. A new ominous manifestation of this rivalry has been the attempt to prevent the States concerned from freely disposing of their wealth and natural resources. The need for raw materials is becoming so great that it leads some big Powers to impose constraints on the freedom of the developing countries to dispose of their natural resources on remunerative terms and use the proceeds to accelerate the economic and social development of their peoples. Kuwait firmly believes in the inalienable rights of all the littoral and hinterland States to dispose freely of their natural wealth and resources without any threat or pressure designed to shackle their freedom or disrupt their self-sustained growth.

280. We welcome the formulation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and voice our hope that the negotiations within the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva will promote this end, which the world yearns for and dearly cherishes. However, we must note, in light of the existing political realities, that the major military Powers may have accepted the principle of arms control, but are far from accepting the goal of general and complete disarmament advocated by small countries. Their present efforts are aimed, at best, at stabilizing and preserving the war system with its destructive capability, at a lesser financial cost to alleviate their economic burden. We believe that this limited objective cannot achieve either peace or security in the long run. Only comprehensive disarmament can end the threat of nuclear annihilation and permit the devotion of the time, money and resources now dissipated by the war system to improving the quality of life on our planet.

281. The situation in Cyprus is a cause of world concern. We have repeatedly affirmed that the policy of Kuwait is to support the unity of Cyprus and its territorial integrity and non-alignment. We also support the 10-point agreement which was reached among the Turkish

and Greek communities¹⁹ and in an effort to find a solution to the problem under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

282. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been rightly described as the most important conference of this century. It has also been the longest in duration and the most complex in terms of the diverse issues involved. For almost a decade nations have been afforded ample opportunity to define their national interests. Resolving the conflict in the interests of States requires statesmanship and an extraordinary degree of international co-operation. The stalemate in the Conference is largely caused by the conduct of coastal States which make exclusive claims to resources in vast marine areas near their coasts contrary to the traditional freedoms of the seas, together with the eagerness of technologically advanced States to assume exclusive control over ocean minerals in the area beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

283. It seems that the industrially advanced States are determined to gain access to new sources of raw materials and enable their corporations to enter into competition with land-based suppliers of the same minerals. The Conference has recently succeeded in organizing its future sessions in a manner that promises the solution of the intractable issues. It is our fervent hope that the Conference will recognize that there must be elementary equity in a future convention, if it is to survive.

284. Grave developments have taken place in the Middle East which have greatly aggravated tension and jeopardized international peace and security. These included the bilateral peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, which ignored the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Treaty has been rejected by all the Arab countries, as well as by the people of Palestine. The decisions of the Ninth Arab Summit Conference, held at Baghdad in 1978²⁰ reflected this rejection. It has also received condemnation by the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Fez, Morocco [see A/34/389], in addition to the open condemnation expressed by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, which called on the non-aligned countries not to recognize the Camp David agreements or the peace Treaty concluded on 26 March 1979 [see A/34/542, annex I, para. 108].

285. The people of Palestine will not abandon their sacred right to self-determination, political independence and sovereignty. It is certain that, without the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Palestine and their right to sovereignty and return, there will never be peace in the Middle East.

286. Scores of countries have already obtained independence, and some Territories will obtain it soon. Only the people of Palestine among the peoples of the world have been suffering from displacement, from foreign occupation and from the undignified life of the refugee camps. No one can be silent over this tragedy which has occurred when the United Nations Charter

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

²⁰ See document A/33/400.

has been promulgated and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights has been adopted. The Middle East will remain as explosive as ever unless Israel withdraws its forces from all the occupied Arab territories and unless the people of Palestine exercise their right to self-determination.

287. In this context, I should like to emphasize that Jewish settlements being built almost every day on occupied Palestinian and Syrian lands are part and parcel of the concept of colonization and expansion pursued by Israel since its creation, despite Israel's repeated condemnation by the international community—the latest example of which was reflected in Security Council resolution 452 (1979) of 20 July 1979.

288. The conduct of Israel in the occupied Arab territories is a reflection of Zionist colonization through the acquisition of land, the building of settlements, the expulsion of Arab nationals, the restriction of means of livelihood through the seizure of water resources, the building of colonies and, finally, the sanctioning of the purchase of land from Arab nationals. All these instances are ample evidence that Israel is determined to annex Arab territories on the basis of flimsy pretexts which contravene the United Nations Charter, international law and human rights.

Mr. Al-Haddad (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

289. It is the duty of the United Nations to support the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and its struggle to achieve the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and to reject partial solutions aimed at liquidating the Palestine question.

290. It is also the duty of the Security Council to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel in view of its persistence in violating the principles of the Charter and flouting the resolutions of the world Organization, and its continued attacks on the Arab countries and the people of Palestine.

291. Israel is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Palestinian people, as is evident from the daily aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon. This policy, intensified after the Camp David agreements, was designed to wreak havoc on southern Lebanon and to destroy the spirit of resistance of the Palestinian people. It also constitutes a war of destruction and genocide against the sister people of Lebanon, and creates a rift between the people of Lebanon and the Palestinian people. We pay a tribute to the steadfastness of the people of Lebanon and the endurance of the Palestinian people in face of daily attacks in which Israel uses the most sophisticated weapons it receives from the United States. It is therefore our duty to support the efforts of the people of Lebanon to protect their sovereignty. The people of Palestine, who are the victims of this campaign of horror and genocide, are entitled to our political and material support.

292. The North-South dialogue has been progressing at a very slow pace at a time when changes to cope with world economic problems are most urgent. The disparities in income and standard of living separating the developed and the developing countries are constantly widening. The present economic disorder and the

break-down of the Western-dominated post-war monetary and trade system is almost complete. This chaos that we are witnessing leaves its adverse imprints in the most pronounced manner on the developing countries and their peoples. The damage that has been done to the ancient economic order is beyond repair, and any attempts to patch it up will prolong the suffering of the people of the developing countries. Interdependence in all walks of life is a reality and the premeditated resistance to the acceptance of this fact is adding fuel to the fire and barring the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice for all.

293. The balance-of-payments disequilibriums of the developing countries have their roots in the structural problems, recession, and high rate of inflation in the developed countries. The increased protectionist measures taken in the developed countries in recent years against the products of the developing countries are hampering the industrial growth of those countries and affecting adversely their balance of payments. Inflation in many of the industrial countries has reached two digits and is being exported to developing countries. The industrial goods imported by the developing countries increase in price automatically, reflecting the inflation rates prevailing in the exporting countries, while the prices of many primary products have moved upward very slowly or remained stagnant. The developing countries are in urgent need of economic assistance and of ending the stalemate so as to find solutions to their economic problems.

294. The Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries in Havana, which mapped a strategy to strengthen mutual co-operation among the developing countries and start international negotiations within the framework of the United Nations on all the social problems, is a major step. The developed countries should show sufficient flexibility and co-operation to bring that initiative to a successful conclusion. As that step signifies a way out of the stalemate, we should like it to be the focus of negotiations between the developing and the developed countries in the future. However, if the initiative were to go unheeded, the interests of many developing countries would suffer because of the burden of the scarcity of resources. It is in the interest of all of us to alleviate this burden and come to the assistance of the developing countries before their collapse. If we talk about interdependence, about the new economic order, then we have to be serious in our efforts to translate words into action.

295. Kuwait is doing its utmost, either separately or in collaboration with other developing oil-exporting countries, to help the developing countries and is striving to expand co-operation and investment in these countries. The other developing countries should create a better investment climate within the framework of their national policies. These investments must receive satisfactory guarantees and preferential treatment in order to foster self-reliance among the developing countries.

296. The challenge before us is to remove the impediments to an orderly utilization of world resources for the benefit of present as well as future generations. This can be done only within the context of the new international economic order. The new order is designed to herald a new era in the international system in which the sovereignty of the developing countries has finally

come to mean more than political independence. The new order, for the first time in many centuries, gives the developing countries a better chance to increase their share in the world's wealth. The ultimate aim is to enable the common man in these nations to emerge from his misery, to enjoy basic human rights and ultimately to move into the mainstream of human civilization. As the new order is designed to guarantee more equitable relations in the international system, it is bound to contribute to peace, security and justice for all mankind. To try to check this significant trend would be simply to try to reverse the course of history.

297. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): Mr. President, I have the honour to convey, through you Sir, to all the representatives the good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, for the success of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly in its efforts to promote international peace and stability and the economic well-being of all peoples.

298. On behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Bhutan, I wish to express our heartfelt congratulations to Ambassador Salim on his unanimous election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. This is not only a well deserved tribute to him but also a fitting tribute to the United Republic of Tanzania and the continent of Africa.

299. I should like to express my delegation's deep appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, for the excellent manner in which he guided us during the thirty-third session.

300. At this thirty-fourth session we are happy to welcome Saint Lucia, the newest Member from the Caribbean and the region of Latin America. The admission of Saint Lucia adds to the growing universality of our Organization. We believe it is the validity of the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations which has seen our membership increase year after year and which has put an end to the era of colonialism. Among the many visible successes of the United Nations, the efforts of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples will form an important chapter.

301. We wish to put on record our appreciation to Mr. Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for his active and faithful stewardship of our Organization and the useful initiatives that he has taken towards making the United Nations more effective. We support the Secretary-General's suggestions for improving the work of the United Nations [A/34/320], and we agree with him that a perfectly logical and functional institutional system is probably not within our reach and that we must make the existing one function better.

302. The Kingdom of Bhutan adheres to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and those of the non-aligned movement. We are fully committed to eradicating colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, *apartheid*, power politics and all manifestations of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony. We believe that the quintessence of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement is to safeguard each country's right to independence and self-determination, so as to enable each country and

people to determine freely its own destiny without outside interference, pressures or threats of any kind. We seek the opportunity as free people to build a world order based upon justice, sovereign equality, peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation.

303. In this spirit Bhutan contributes to promoting peaceful conditions in every region and subregion of this world. In our own area, the countries of South Asia, especially India, have taken encouraging initiatives to establish understanding and co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and sovereign equality. This has enabled the countries of our subregion to resolve some of the major issues which stood in the way of forging closer relations in a climate of trust and confidence.

304. The international community is engaged once again by the serious threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. The developments in the area challenge the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. They have also resulted in tragic human sufferings. We in Bhutan, a Buddhist country, look at the humanitarian problems with sorrow and compassion. We commend the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to alleviate the immediate sufferings of the hapless people.

305. Recently in Havana, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the King of Bhutan, while addressing the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, said:

"We are concerned with the increasing tensions and conflicts in South-East Asia which jeopardize peace and stability in the region. It is our firm belief and conviction that intervention in the internal affairs of States cannot be justified under any circumstances whatsoever, as it goes counter to the sovereign inalienable right of every State to determine its own social, economic and political system, and to manage its own affairs.

"Furthermore, as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States lies at the very heart of non-alignment, any such interference would be all the more reprehensible if committed by a member of our movement. We hope that the aspirations of the countries of the region for peace and stability will be realized on the basis of non-alignment principles of respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force and non-aggression."

306. The present political and economic situation in the world makes it apparent that no efforts towards relaxation of tension can succeed through the pursuit of a policy of balance of power and spheres of influence. Such a policy only created the competitive arms race between the power blocs and increased the present threat to international peace and security. There is indeed a pressing need to work towards finding ways and means for establishing lasting security for all States without exception. In view of this, we welcome the signing of the second SALT Treaty between the United States and the USSR. We hope it will lead to a third SALT agreement and will also encourage further measures towards real disarmament.

307. Developments in the area of the Middle East continue to pose a serious threat to international peace

and security. A comprehensive and durable solution for peace continues to elude the parties concerned. The resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council remain unimplemented. Lebanon continues to suffer frequent violation of its territorial integrity. We have supported all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the problems of the Middle East in the hope that they will be taken into account in any serious negotiations.

308. While we respect the right of every State to enter into agreements in exercise of inalienable sovereign rights, we believe that the rights and aspirations of other peoples or States must not be jeopardized in the process. In our opinion, the problem of Palestine remains at the very heart of the situation in the Middle East. If there is to be a comprehensive and lasting solution of the problem, all parties concerned must be involved in the negotiations. We fully support the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish an independent State. At the same time, we respect the right of every State in the area to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

309. The United Nations Charter reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person", but the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria contemptuously continues to flout all United Nations resolutions promoting this concept. The United Nations must make consistent and concerted efforts to eradicate the obnoxious practices of *apartheid*. The programmes outlined in resolution 33/183 adopted by the General Assembly must be implemented by all, including the multinational corporations.

310. In Namibia, the rights of the people to self-determination are still being denied, despite the efforts of all concerned. Under the circumstances, we must halt further bantustanization in the area and respect the resolutions of the General Assembly by recognizing SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

311. While the situation in Zimbabwe is no better, we hope that the current peaceful negotiations will bring acceptable majority rule and peace to the people of Zimbabwe in the near future.

312. I share with many delegations the view that the world economy continues to suffer serious crises. These crises are symptomatic of underlying structural imbalances inherent in our global economic relations.

313. Economic developments since the Second World War have been characterized by rapid progress in the economies of the developed nations. Deprived of capital and technical know-how and also burdened with the colonial legacies of the past, the developing countries have barely managed to move away from the serious problems of under-development. The result has been widening polarization between the rich developed and the poor developing countries. These fundamental imbalances cannot be removed unless there is a profound restructuring of the global economic system. It seems even more true today that there can be no real or lasting peace unless an over-all development of all countries creates the conditions for the well-being of all peoples.

314. The negotiations between the North and South

brought us limited results. We now realize that efforts towards establishing a new international economic order are moving at a slower pace than expected. The unwillingness, particularly of the rich nations, to face the problems together, is quite apparent from the results of the fifth session of UNCTAD held in Manila and in the recent meetings of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and that of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy.

315. At present, the world economy in both developed and developing countries is characterized by rising inflation, accelerating unemployment and a marked reduction in economic growth. We believe that economic progress everywhere requires more resources and more equitable distribution of those resources at the national and international levels. We are all aware that the widening disparities between the rich and poor nations cannot be reduced and that justice, equality and the genuine independence of all countries cannot be secured, unless there is a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations. If suitable measures are not taken immediately, the economies of the developing countries will continue to be weakened at an even more rapid rate than in the past.

316. This already complicated situation is further aggravated by the present energy-related problems. The dark shadow over the economies of the non-oil-producing developing countries, is a precursor of an even darker future.

317. The situation is at its worst in the least developed and land-locked developing countries as they are faced with paying increasing transportation costs as well as inflation transferred to their imports. The problem is even more critical as inflation and unstable exchange rates have already eroded the value of their multilateral and bilateral assistance. There is, however, a glimmer of hope presented by the decision taken at the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila to launch a comprehensive and substantially expanded immediate action programme in favour of the least developed countries.²¹ The international community will have to find ways and means of implementing the action programme so as to help those geographically disadvantaged and most seriously affected developing countries.

318. The Kingdom of Bhutan is a land-locked country. In our efforts to achieve economic development, trade and transit facilities are vital for the well-being of our people and for the success of our development programmes. Fortunately, so far, we have received much understanding and assistance in this regard from our neighbour, India. The importance of transit facilities for us, however, cannot be overemphasized. We hope this unique problem of all land-locked countries will be viewed with sympathy by the entire international community.

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

319. In Bhutan, as elsewhere during this International Year of the Child, the welfare of young people is up-

²¹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one A, resolution 122 (V).

permost in our minds. Our hope for the future lies in our commitment to improving the lot of our children. Under the leadership of His Majesty the King, a national commission in Bhutan has drawn up a plan of action. By implementing this high-priority programme we hope to ensure that the younger generation will be able to realize its potential for a full and enriched life.

320. Our objective is to strive for self-reliance while assuming responsibility for the well-being of our people. In dealing with national and international issues we base our relationships with all countries on self-respect and respect for others, however diverse their views. We believe in peaceful coexistence and in furthering beneficial co-operation based on the principles of sovereign equality, respect for territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. We set aside destructive competition in favour of productive co-operation. Finally, we oppose injustice in favour of creating a new, more just and equitable world order, so that the peoples of the world can live together in peace and prosperity.

321. Mr. CHAKULYA (Zambia): I wish at the outset to pay a tribute to the late President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola, whose untimely death has robbed Africa and the world of an eminent statesman and a gallant freedom fighter. The late Dr. Neto and the MPLA²² Workers' Party, which he led, had worked very closely with our party, the United National Independence Party, during the long struggle for the independence of Angola. The close co-operation between the two parties and Governments of Angola and Zambia continues to this day. The late Angolan leader was a selfless and tireless revolutionary who fought side by side with the rank and file of MPLA fighters. His approach should be an inspiration to us all. Indeed Dr. Neto was a man of principle who practised what he believed in. The party, Government and people of Zambia, who were represented at the funeral by His Excellency President Kaunda, join our brothers and sisters in mourning the loss of that truly great man.

322. On behalf of the Zambian delegation, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your most deserved election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Africa is proud of you. You are a distinguished son of that continent. You have established your place in international forums through diplomatic skill, humility, political candour and acumen. I need not refer here to the well-known brotherly relations between your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and my own country, Zambia, and indeed to our efforts together with the other front-line States in the struggle for the liberation of our oppressed brothers and sisters in southern Africa.

323. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, Indalecio Liévano, who presided over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly with dedication and competence.

324. The Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has continued to carry out his functions with characteristic determination and diplomatic skill. My delegation wishes him well in his efforts aimed at bringing about understanding and peace among the nations of the world.

325. Let me take this opportunity to welcome Saint Lucia, a fellow Commonwealth country, on its admission to membership in the United Nations. With the admission of its one hundred and fifty-second Member, the United Nations has moved closer to the realization of the goal of universality.

326. Your presidency, Sir, has come on the threshold of a new era—the dawning of the 1980s. During the decade ending this year, the United Nations has continued to grapple with the manifold issues for which it was founded. Some of these were inherited by the United Nations at its inception, while others have been brought before it in recent years.

327. Undoubtedly there has been significant progress in some areas, but a number of issues are being carried over into the agenda of the next decade. The challenge for the United Nations in that next decade is to bring success to the manifold issues which have been perennial issues on our agenda.

328. In addressing the age-old problems there is a need for innovation and institutional adaptation, be it in the political, economic, social, cultural or humanitarian spheres. In the absence of the necessary will to act, only pessimism will prevail. Let us all resolve to make the next decade an era of greater co-operation and understanding in the search for solutions to problems afflicting mankind.

329. This session of the General Assembly takes place barely three weeks after the historic Sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Havana. We can all be justly inspired by the proven determination of the non-aligned countries to continue making a positive and decisive contribution to the search for a new world order, based on principles of equity and justice. The declarations adopted by the non-aligned Conference [A/34/542, *annexes I and II*] accurately reflect the contemporary global situation. Zambia is proud to belong to the non-aligned movement, which we are convinced will remain a dynamic and indispensable force in international relations. The rapid increase in the membership of the movement is a reflection of a universal recognition of the validity of its principles and objectives.

330. Mr President, in your opening statement [*1st meeting*] you gave a clear message about the present economic situation facing the world. The world economic situation is still characterized by the prevalence of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy for most of the developing countries on the one hand, and a sense of uncertainty in the developed world on the other. Furthermore, there is a trend towards increasing inequality which continues to characterize existing international economic relations. My delegation shares fully the sense of disappointment with the continuing deterioration of the international economic situation. A new chapter must be opened in transforming the unfinished major issues on the agenda of the new international economic order into reality.

331. The international community is at the crossroads in the fields of development and international economic relations. It is evident that in spite of previous efforts, virtually every item on the agenda of economic relations is a problem area. These items include terms of trade, prices of primary or basic com-

²² Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

modities, the flow of resources and debt-servicing, transactions in technology, the industrialization of developing countries, food and energy, a code of conduct for transnational corporations and the issue of collective self-reliance. In addition, high inflation, unemployment and high energy costs continue to menace our economies, thereby retarding development.

332. The North-South dialogue, which began some five years ago, is hardly achieving any discernible results. So far, several major world conferences have been held with the sole objective of working out a more appropriate mechanism on which new international relations will be based. Regrettably, progress in this regard has been disappointing.

333. We in Zambia realize that in order to achieve the goal of economic development we require collective effort. All nations have to contribute meaningfully if this common effort is to be achieved. The goal of eliminating poverty and other economic injustices is a moral issue which concerns all nations regardless of the history of the root-cause of the evils in question.

334. Certain States such as the industrialized nations enjoy a dominant position in international trade, finance and industrial production. These countries have the obligation to be more forthcoming in negotiations on specific issues related to the new economic order.

335. What I have stated should be the basis for negotiations, whether they are in the Committee of the Whole, UNCTAD, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development or in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy. While some progress has been registered on such items as the Common Fund and the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency, it is regrettable that there is a stalemate on several issues in the North-South negotiations.

336. For our part we accord high priority to those programmes and projects designed to achieve self-reliant development and to forge mutual co-operation with other developing countries in various fields of common interest, including the critical areas of trade, transport and communications.

337. I wish to point out that our efforts to realize our economic potential are being hampered, *inter alia*, by adverse external forces. These include the war situation and conflict in southern Africa, our geographical position as a land-locked country and the decline in the relative prices of basic commodities in addition to the precarious world economic situation. The Secretary-General's report on assistance to Zambia [A/34/556], to be considered at this session, is a catalogue of our formidable challenges.

338. The question of human rights is a matter to which we in Zambia have always attached great importance. We have not hesitated to make our voice heard wherever and whenever there has been evidence of violations of human rights. This is in accord with our national philosophy of humanism, which stands for respect for the worth of man and the sanctity of human life. In this regard, we are gratified at the growing universal concern for human rights.

339. Zambia continues to be seriously concerned at

the situation in the Middle East. The situation in that volatile region is as serious as it is explosive. It has been established beyond any doubt that the obnoxious policy of settlements in occupied Arab territories is synonymous with colonization, imperialist aggrandizement and expansionism. Israel has no right whatsoever to occupy Arab lands on the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights.

340. As we have always stated, the core of the Middle East conflict is the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. That Palestinians are entitled both to a State of their own and to the full realization of self-determination and independence is an indisputable fact. It is indeed ironic that Jews, who were victims of the holocaust in Europe during the Second World War, should today be unleashing a holocaust against Palestinians. In addition, Israel is in league with the racist minority régimes of southern Africa and has emerged as one of the sources of military equipment for them, which they use in their oppression of the black majority and in committing acts of aggression against front-line States, including my own country, Zambia.

341. In the interest of peace in the Middle East, Israel should withdraw forthwith from all the Arab lands which it has occupied by force since 1967. The seizure of foreign lands by force is not admissible in international law. Israel must co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of this Assembly and the Security Council which provide a realistic framework for bringing about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel should also, as a matter of urgency, dismantle all the Jewish settlements which it has established on Arab lands.

342. Furthermore, the situation in the Middle East cannot be resolved if the people of Palestine, through the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative, are excluded from any peace process. To do so would be to engage in self-deception.

343. In May of this year all peace-loving countries were gratified by a trend towards positive developments in Cyprus. There was hope when we learned that the intercommunal talks, which were presided over by the United Nations Secretary-General, had resulted in a plan to deal with the problem. However, the lack of progress in resolving the outstanding issues has been a retrogressive step. In a situation of incessant conflict, lack of progress leads to deterioration. In the case of Cyprus, the deterioration of the already tense situation could have grave consequences for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island.

344. Zambia urges the parties to the dispute to redouble their efforts to resolve the problem of Cyprus. The independence of Cyprus and its non-alignment should not be compromised. Moreover, the problem of Cyprus has implications which go far beyond the borders of that island. I wish to appeal for strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

345. My Government is equally concerned at the developments in South-East Asia. The people of that region have been victims of wars of aggression for far too long. We have stated our wish that after decades of war the nations and peoples of South-East Asia should live

in peace. As a result of fighting in the area, the toll of human lives and the extent of suffering have been astounding and they continue unabated. The international community has a duty to attend to the plight of human beings who have been displaced as a result of conflicts in that region and elsewhere.

346. We express the hope that the countries of the region will dedicate their efforts to finding a just and durable solution to the problem. We also appeal to all States to refrain from exacerbating the conflict and uphold the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, in the interest of peace and security in the region.

347. With regard to Korea, I wish to reiterate my Government's strong support for the efforts towards the peaceful reunification of that peninsula. It is Zambia's view that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from South Korea, because their presence is not conducive to a search for a just and lasting settlement.

348. My Government has continued to follow closely developments in connexion with Western Sahara. We have done our best to encourage the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to find a just settlement. We warmly congratulate the Government of Mauritania for the wise decision it has taken to renounce all claims to Western Sahara and to withdraw its military forces from the Territory. We maintain the view that the people of Western Sahara have the right to genuine self-determination and independence.

349. In recent years the international community has directed its efforts at combating racism and other forms of prejudice which are inimical to the lives of the oppressed people and to the promotion of harmonious relations among them. It is for this reason that all forms of institutionalized racism and oppression that are epitomized in the South African policy of *apartheid* have been called a crime against humanity.

350. All the principles of civilized conduct that are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the norms of international law are being violated daily in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. The majority in those countries are being denied their basic rights. The root-cause of the problem is the continuing existence of racist white minority régimes.

351. The ancestors of the present-day racist minority rulers settled in southern Africa by force of arms and deceit. They have ruled over the majority of African people through terrorism and violence. They continue to maintain their reign of terror in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia by force. While holding the African people in bondage, the racists and their fellow conspirators and supporters are pillaging and exploiting the abundant natural and human resources of the countries under their occupation.

352. As a result the indigenous people are wallowing in abject poverty and degradation. Africans are used by southern African racist régimes as a source of cheap labour. The racist minority régimes are also concocting so-called internal settlements in the hope of using Africans as a front in the service of the white racists. This shows the stubborn determination of the racist régimes to perpetuate themselves in power at the expense of the black majority. This is repugnant and untenable. It is

for that reason that the oppressed people are fighting to overthrow the system of oppression and to regain their dignity and inalienable rights.

353. The racist rulers, in addition to oppressing Africans inside the countries which they occupy, are also seeking to make southern Africa safe for racist oppression and exploitation by committing wanton and murderous acts of aggression against the front-line States of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia.

354. In these heinous attacks, the Rhodesian and South African forces have murdered innocent nationals of our countries. They have also killed thousands of refugees who have fled from tyranny and whom we allow to live in our countries on humanitarian grounds. Children, women and old men and the sick in refugee centres have been the victims of those sadistic and callous racist soldiers. It is even more tragic that these refugees are still being pursued under the pretext of self-defence or pre-emptive attacks on the part of the racists.

355. By attacking the front-line States, the racist régimes are in fact violating our sovereignty and territorial integrity. Their attacks have been premeditated acts of unprovoked aggression. We are aware that their aim is to trigger an international war which would engulf the entire region.

356. We have stated all along—and let me repeat this here—that *apartheid*-ruled South Africa is at the core of the problems of decolonizing Namibia and Rhodesia. There is no doubt that the maintenance of the *apartheid* system is a challenge both to the United Nations and to civilized mankind. Until the South African ruling clique agrees to live in the present rather than in the past, the oppressed people there will continue to fight for their inalienable rights. But South Africa continues to remain both intransigent and aggressive. The Pretoria régime is arming itself at an unprecedented pace in history.

357. Regrettably, some States Members of our Organization continue to provide the Pretoria régime with arms and ammunition and to collaborate with it in the nuclear field. My delegation strongly condemns such collaboration, which is not only immoral but also contrary to numerous United Nations resolutions. We call upon all States to desist forthwith from any form of collaboration with the Pretoria régime since such collaboration is inimical to the welfare of the oppressed people and indeed encourages South Africa in its aggressive policies against sovereign, independent African States.

358. Within South Africa itself, the Pretoria régime is widening and hatching even more obnoxious schemes for consolidating *apartheid*. In defiance of the international community, South Africa only last month granted bogus independence to the Venda bantustan. This follows the pattern of so-called Bophuthatswana and Transkei. The independence of bantustans exists only as a figment of the imagination of the Afrikaner rulers in Pretoria. To all sane people, these bantustans remain an integral part of South African territory because South Africa is one and indivisible. As if the repression of the African were not repugnant enough, the Pretoria racists have also intensified their scheme of uprooting Africans from the lands which are designated as "white areas". There is a new war of eviction in

South Africa. Internally, South Africa is also perfecting itself as a police state in which there is no rule of law.

359. With the dawn of the 1980s, the international community must devise new strategies as to how to end *apartheid*. All concerted efforts must be made to end all forms of collaboration with the *apartheid* régime in the interest of peace. I wish to reaffirm Zambia's support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movement. I urge this Assembly and the international community as a whole to demonstrate its abhorrence of the system of *apartheid* in South Africa through concrete forms of support for the liberation struggle. In this regard, it is urgent that we give effect to the numerous United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*. The situation in South Africa calls for concrete action rather than words.

360. As we know, the Pretoria régime not only maintains a policy of *apartheid* in South Africa itself, but is also responsible for the crisis which emanates from its occupation and militarization of Namibia in utter defiance of the United Nations.

361. The question of resolving the independence of Namibia is urgent. In the last two and a half years, there have been intensive and extensive negotiations and consultations which were aimed at bringing about a settlement in Namibia through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control. The efforts in this regard emanated from Security Council resolution 385 (1976), which resulted in a concrete proposal for the settlement of the Namibian question.²³ Both the proposal and the report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on its implementation²⁴ were endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). Namibia would today be on the threshold of independence if the proposal based on the report of the Secretary-General had been implemented. Had it not been for the intransigence of South Africa, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group would today be at work in Namibia.

362. The state of paralysis that now exists on the issue is due to the refusal by the South African régime to accept the report of the Secretary-General and to co-operate in its implementation. Once again, South Africa is intransigent and is seeking to defy the United Nations on Namibia as it has done for decades. Indeed, South Africa has acted deceitfully.

363. What is equally disturbing is that South Africa is intent on confronting the international community with a situation of fait accompli by imposing its puppets of the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance on Namibia. In this regard, South Africa has set up an illegal National Assembly.

364. In its frantic attempts to impose a so-called internal settlement in Namibia, South Africa has intensified its brutal repression against members of SWAPO, who are harassed, detained, imprisoned and tortured on a continuing basis. Scores of SWAPO leaders have been jailed in an attempt to destroy it because of its steadfast

opposition to the machinations of South Africa and the Pretoria régime.

365. The significance of the diplomatic initiative of the last two and a half years is that it involved five major Western countries which have traditionally collaborated with South Africa. Those of us who repeatedly called upon the West to desist from their policies of collaboration with and support for South Africa welcomed this initiative as a positive and hopeful development. We fully co-operated with the five Western countries and the Secretary-General to ensure the success of the initiative. SWAPO, which is universally recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, was exemplary in its conduct during the lengthy period of the negotiations. SWAPO pursued the negotiations and made significant compromises in spite of repeated provocations by South Africa, such as the Kassinga massacre in Angola and several unilateral actions by the Pretoria régime, notably the appointment of the so-called Administrator-General, the registration of voters and the holding of sham elections in December of last year.

366. In our view, the phase of negotiations is over. What remains is the implementation of the report of the Secretary-General. Those who have initiated the plan for the independence of Namibia have, above all, the responsibility to ensure its implementation. They have the duty to ensure South Africa's compliance. They have the responsibility to deliver South Africa. They have always advocated negotiations to resolve the problems of southern Africa. Now let them prove the efficacy of negotiations. They must make their approach work.

367. We have never been against negotiations. The racist minority régimes of southern Africa have always frustrated negotiations. The challenge to the West now is either to get South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of their proposal or to join with the other members of the international community in ostracizing the Pretoria régime and compelling it to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

368. Let me also take this opportunity to stress the need for the international community to increase its material support for SWAPO, which is the only liberation movement in Namibia. The intransigence of the Pretoria régime surely leaves the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, with no option but to intensify their armed struggle for national liberation. South Africa must not be allowed to destroy the people of Namibia and SWAPO. The vicious system of illegal South African occupation of Namibia must be eradicated. I wish, on this occasion, to reaffirm Zambia's full support for General Assembly resolution 33/206, which was adopted at the resumed thirty-third session in May of this year. If freedom cannot come to Namibia by peaceful means, it must come through the armed struggle of its people, supported by the international community in concrete and generous material terms.

369. The fundamental problem of how to decolonize and transform Rhodesia into Zimbabwe is still with us. As each hour passes the deteriorating situation in Rhodesia brings more concern. The casualty rate in the war of independence is increasing by the hour. This is in addition to the scores of hundreds of Zimbabweans who

²³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

have been murdered by Rhodesian forces in refugee centres in the neighbouring front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and my own country, Zambia. Surely, if human life is still sacrosanct, if human suffering is to be mitigated and ameliorated, then the hour is at hand for resolving the Rhodesian problem.

370. Rhodesia is Zimbabwe to be. Detractors of the cause of Zimbabwe have had the audacity to give a nickname or surname to Zimbabwe. But this is not the issue. What is at stake is how to bring legal independence under genuine majority rule to Zimbabwe. Present-day Rhodesia remains a British colony ruled by settlers who happen to be die-hard racists.

371. Developments in Rhodesia since the last session of this Assembly have only worsened the situation. This was so because no meaningful attempts were made to resolve the root-cause of the problem of decolonizing Rhodesia. Debates shifted in the international forums, which focused mainly on irrelevant experiments, such as the so-called elections of April, which culminated in thrusting forward a black man as a front for the Salisbury racists. The fundamental structure of racist oppression was left intact.

372. In spite of the political gimmicks of the Muzorewa-Smith régime, no Government in the world has accorded them any recognition. To be sure, Muzorewa and Smith did pander to the conservative lobbies of this world. But reason and wisdom still prevailed.

373. Concerted efforts were also made to have sanctions against Rhodesia lifted unilaterally by some Western countries. This trick has also not paid off. Here again, we hope that reason will prevail to ensure that sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Rhodesia will be maintained until genuine independence is achieved.

374. Mr. President, as the Assembly may be aware, the Rhodesian régime has persisted in committing acts of aggression against the front-line States. The Rhodesians have launched repeated, premeditated attacks and raids against us which have resulted in heavy casualties. Their crude tactics have been acts of outright provocation against us. They are in themselves acts of desperation by the white racists who know that they cannot and will not win the war, in spite of the overt and covert support they enjoy from imperialist forces as evidenced by the involvement in the Rhodesian army of thousands of mercenaries and, indeed, the continued acquisition by the rebel forces of large quantities of sophisticated military equipment.

375. The people of Zimbabwe have remained undaunted on their determination to overthrow the oppressive régime in their country. Thousands upon thousands of them have swelled the ranks of the liberation movement, the Patriotic Front. They are dealing heavy blows on the demoralized Rhodesian military forces on a daily basis. The impact of the war of liberation has sent thousands of whites fleeing from Rhodesia.

376. Mr. President, the Commonwealth Heads of Government recognized the gravity of the Rhodesian situation at their recent meeting in Lusaka. Confronted with the realities of the situation, they felt motivated to

do their utmost urgently to seek a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, the basis of which can only be the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe through genuine black majority rule and independence. Those who had advocated the lifting of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and the recognition of the puppet régime realized that they were treading on dangerous ground. It dawned on them that such a course of action would not contribute at all to the solution of the Rhodesian problem. On the contrary, it would aggravate the situation, with serious consequences for international peace and security.

377. The United Kingdom, the colonial Power in Southern Rhodesia, accepted at the Lusaka Conference the need to exercise its constitutional responsibility. In accordance with the Commonwealth agreement on Zimbabwe, a Constitutional Conference involving all sides in the Rhodesian conflict, including the Patriotic Front, is now in progress in London under the chairmanship of the British Foreign Secretary. It is the hope of all the Commonwealth Governments that the Conference will succeed. If it succeeds, Southern Rhodesia will be ushered into a new era which could see it emerge into a genuinely independent State of Zimbabwe, acceptable to the international community.

378. The London Constitutional Conference could not have been possible without the effective armed struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. That Conference is unquestionably the direct product of the sacrifices of the Patriotic Front forces on the battlefield. It is the armed struggle that has generated and created the necessary conditions for the Conference to take place. What is now happening proves that armed struggle and negotiations are not mutually exclusive. If the Conference should fail, the war of liberation in Zimbabwe will be intensified by the Patriotic Front. I urge the international community not to relax its support for the Patriotic Front.

379. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate Zambia's commitment to the noble goals for which this Organization was established. We believe that the United Nations offers a unique framework for addressing the multiple challenges of our time, as well as creating opportunities for the future.

380. Let us move forward into the next decade with confidence. Let us proceed into a world that is safe and prosperous for all. Our generation should not fail future generations.

381. Mr. DORCELY (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Haiti is happy and proud, Sir, to welcome your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your brilliant intelligence, your political sense and your long experience within the United Nations have brought you well-deserved election to this high office in which no doubt you will continue to do honour not only to the Republic of Tanzania but to Africa and the African Diaspora.

382. I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who, in conducting the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, showed himself to be a diplomat full of tact and devoted to the cause of humanity.

383. The Republic of Haiti welcomes Saint Lucia to the United Nations family. The people and Government of Haiti welcome the addition of that new State and hope that it will make its contribution to the ideals of solidarity and fraternity which are the substance of the Charter of this Organization.

384. The delegation of the Republic of Haiti would like to transmit to the valiant people of Panama and to their leaders the congratulations of my Government and people on the establishment of the sovereignty of the State of Panama over the Canal Zone. The date 1 October 1979 marks a turning-point towards realism in relations between the United States and the other countries of the Latin American continent.

385. The Government of the Republic of Haiti would like, first, to reaffirm its attachment to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter and to renew its determination to collaborate to find a solution to problems which require intelligence, understanding and the devotion of men who are responsible for the future of humanity.

386. My delegation is delighted to participate in the work of this thirty-fourth session since, whatever the outcome of our debates, it is comforting to see that the qualified and legitimate representatives of the peoples of the whole world, notwithstanding the differences in their situations and their opinions, have recourse to this forum to air their opinions and, in a spirit of conciliation, to submit blueprints for solutions to problems which threaten international peace and security.

387. I should like to take this opportunity heartily to congratulate our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his eminent colleagues, as well as all those who, in various capacities, have contributed to maintaining the vitality of the Organization and of the specialized agencies and to preparing the work of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

388. Before the International Year of the Child draws to a close, the delegation of the Republic of Haiti wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly to the lot of children in the third world, 60 per cent of whom suffer from hunger, two out of three of whom die from it, while a fair number of the survivors remain stunted throughout their lives.

389. Moreover, statistics show that more than 25,000 children in developing countries become blind because of deficiencies in vitamin A; that 5 million die of diphtheria, tetanus, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis and other diseases, because of the dearth of vaccines; that 350 million do not receive any schooling.

390. If we add to this already gloomy picture, the number of children who fall victims of *apartheid* and of the adoption business, it can be seen that the situation of needy children in the third-world countries is quite simply tragic.

391. Of course UNICEF has made laudable efforts for disseminating information on family planning techniques, nutrition, pre-natal care, vaccination and disease prevention, hygiene and the improvement of the environment. But the task of governmental leaders with regard to children remains to be accomplished. Preparing for the future means caring for and educating the

children of today, who will become the men and women of tomorrow.

392. There is no need to stress the importance of child care; it suffices to recall that adult behaviour is the direct consequence of the biological, psychological and social phenomena which mark the first stages in one's life. Will the General Assembly at this thirty-fourth session have the wisdom to recommend the strengthening of the work of UNICEF and of the private organizations which devote themselves to needy children out of a noble concern to preserve the future for them?

393. The Republic of Haiti is concerned about the grave crisis which seriously affects the world economy. Inflation and unemployment rates throughout the world threaten the stability of institutions which, from 1955 to 1970, ensured an unhopèd-for expansion of the Western economy.

394. But have we really taken the trouble to research the deep-seated causes of this crisis, for which total responsibility is attributed to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries? Have we thought about the way of life and production in the Western countries, based on an unimpeded exploitation of the riches of the third world, without taking into account that the third world would one day claim sovereignty and effective control over its natural resources? Have we forgotten the obstinate retention of the international financial system, established by the Bretton Woods agreements,²⁵ when timely changes should have been introduced to adapt them to the development of the world economy?

395. One of the most important tasks of our time is to overcome this economic crisis by making people more aware of human solidarity and the interdependence of nations in a framework of international social justice which would be established by the new international economic order.

396. The Republic of Haiti was founded on human dignity and freedom and, since the black slave revolution, has always been in the vanguard of those that defend the basic rights of the human person. Its very existence is the expression of those rights the various component aspects of which have been stressed in turn, according to the stages of our national development.

397. Today the Republic of Haiti gives priority to economic and social rights, as defined by His Excellency Jean-Claude Duvalier, the President-for-Life of the Republic:

“What constitute rights, basic and legitimate privileges for the Haitian are the rights to food and clothing, to housing, education—in a word, the right to live decently”.

398. Because of the present constraints in international economic relations, President Jean-Claude Duvalier has undertaken a vast programme of reforms dealing with taxation, administration, the organization of rural communities, education and health, with a view to improving the standard of living of the rural and urban masses.

²⁵ Adopted at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from 1 to 22 July 1944. For the texts, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2, p. 39.

399. Immediately following the Second World War, international relations were reduced to a duel between West and East. Humanity's awareness was restricted to simplistic and unsubtle Manicheanism. The spark struck in April 1955 at the African-Asian Conference in Bandung was not powerful enough to illuminate the way of newly independent people who were quickly taken over by one or the other camp.

Mr. Al-Haddad (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

400. Torn apart and weak, dependent technologically and economically, the States of the third world allowed themselves to become the pawns of history in a conflict which reflected the hegemonistic will of Powers which believed that they represented the universal conscience. Gradually, the spirit of Bandung was reborn and was finally reaffirmed with the establishment of the Group of 77, the forerunner of the North-South dialogue, which replaced ideological confrontation.

401. The new axis on which international relations were based, enshrined by the political constellation of the industrialized countries and the economically backward countries, represents an historic victory of the peoples of the third world who discovered an identity of interests and of problems. However, in certain recent international meetings the old scenario reappeared. It is important that peoples who lived through colonial domination should recall the "divide-and-rule" tactics and the localized wars in which people acted as intermediaries.

402. Certainly the diversity of situations can cause breaches in third-world solidarity, as was observed in the discussions on energy problems. The reference to this common good, which is an abiding theme in history, should enable us to distinguish the essential from the inessential and to transcend such past incidents. Even if the deficit of the poor countries caused by rises in oil prices reaches \$40 billion at the end of 1979 and even if petrodollars are not invested in the developing countries, the nations of the third world should see to it that their financial interests should not take precedence over their solidarity. Furthermore, the oil-exporting countries, by adopting a selective pricing policy according to the consignees of the oil, would close the breach which the champions of neo-colonialism want to use to sow confusion and cause disunity in the ranks of the third world.

403. Accordingly, the Government of the Republic of Haiti makes an urgent appeal to all Governments of the third world to strengthen their solidarity in favour of a common ideology, which should be the original expression of the aspirations of our peoples, striving for effective control over their natural resources and for the right to choose in freedom and sovereignty their political, economic and social institutions. If it were otherwise, the third world would never stop being an arena for confrontation—without a value of its own, without its creative force—destined to suffer passively the contradictory influences which have Balkanized it culturally, politically and economically.

404. If the diversity of people is an undeniable fact flowing from historical development and from the civilization peculiar to each national community, the unity of

men is none the less a certainty because of their aspirations to freedom, peace, justice and well-being.

405. For liberated minds there are values on which all civilizations can agree. If we wish to cut off history from its tragic elements, we must find points on which to pin new hope; we must draw the distinction between what we are entitled to hope for and what we have reason to believe is attainable.

406. Accordingly, the Republic of Haiti is prepared to make its contribution to the establishment of a better world, as was stated by His Excellency Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, President-for-Life of our Republic, in a message to the nation on 2 January 1979. The message was as follows:

"The basic goal of my Government is to seek original ways to reconcile the fundamental demands of the third world and the legitimate interests of the industrialized nations to confer a cultural and human touch on international co-operation."

407. These are the comments of the delegation of the Republic of Haiti which we wish to submit for the consideration of the Assembly at this thirty-fourth session. We hope that the work of this session will be crowned with success.

408. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): We have just heard the last speaker scheduled for this afternoon. The representative of Afghanistan has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I must remind him that the General Assembly decided at its 4th plenary meeting that rights of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. It was also decided that a right of reply should be exercised by a representative from his seat. I hope that that decision will be strictly adhered to so that we can proceed with our work in an orderly manner.

409. Mr. GHAFORZAI (Afghanistan): I have asked to speak mainly to say a few words about the reference made by the head of the Pakistan delegation this morning [*15th meeting*]. May I say that the reference was somewhat unexpected in the light of the warm and friendly statement made about Pakistan by the leader of our delegation in his policy statement before this Assembly.

410. Here, once again, I quote what the leader of our delegation stated:

"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". [*14th meeting, para. 67.*]

He further stated:

"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 Govern-

ment 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." [*Ibid.*, para. 70.]

The leader of our delegation added:

"We further hope that our only remaining political problem with Pakistan will be solved by peaceful means and through sincere and amicable negotiations." [*Ibid.*, para. 71.]

411. This is our basic attitude—an attitude which is considered the corner-stone of our foreign policy towards Pakistan and its noble working people, with whom our own working people are linked by firmest bonds of a common faith, culture, geography, and history. We both drink water from the same river, sing the same songs and live along the same majestic valleys and mountains.

412. I regret the necessity to keep the Assembly in session at this late hour but I am obliged to offer a few clarifications on the question of the so-called Afghan refugees in Pakistan, which was touched upon by the leader of the Pakistan delegation in his statement.

413. It should be remembered that, because of the geographical and climatic nature of our country, the nomadic and tribal people of Afghanistan have for centuries pursued, as a matter of historic right, the habit of seasonal movement between the Oxus and the Indus in caravans of hundreds of thousands towards the countries of the subcontinent of India. They not only use the pastures of the subcontinent for their livestock but also engage in trade and business not only in Pakistan but in India and Bangladesh as well.

414. May I state that this seasonal movement on the basis of historic right takes place not only in Asia but in other continents as well and should not be confused with the United Nations concept of refugees. Moreover, there might also be some escapee elements who left Afghanistan because they committed crimes against our working people or because they lost their privileged position as feudal landlords as a result of Decree No. 8 after the great Saur Revolution. I must add that the Saur (April) Revolution in Afghanistan was a victorious worker revolution in favour of the toiling people and against the minority exploiters and the feudal class.

415. Under the historic Decree No. 8 by the Revolutionary Council, which is indeed a unique enactment in our part of the world, with the full co-operation of the Afghan people, more than 3 million *jeribs* of land previously owned by feudal lords, big landowners and government officials of the past régime, who were in many cases absentee landlords, were distributed free of charge to thousands of landless farmers and petty landowners in a record period of six months.

416. It is because of that Decree that those who lost their lands and those who exploited the toiling workers of Afghanistan left the country—not as refugees, but as escaped criminals in fear of prosecution for playing into

the hands of the enemies of the Revolution and reactionary circles. It was mostly those landlords, exploiters and criminals who crossed the border. Even for those people our Government has issued a declaration of amnesty, and they will be welcome to return to their homes and to their country, with the full promise of safety and immunity, provided they do not engage in anti-revolutionary activities. May I state also that a large number of those elements have already returned to Afghanistan.

417. I have made this brief statement for the sake of the record and in clarification of the question of the so-called refugees. Once more I declare that, if Pakistan wishes our well-known political problem with Pakistan to be discussed—anywhere, at any time and at any level—we will be glad to meet its representatives in order to find a peaceful solution through sincere and amicable negotiations.

418. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

419. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Let me take this opportunity to reiterate what the leader of the Pakistan delegation stated this morning with regard to our sincere desire to establish, promote and strengthen friendly and good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan. The same policy has been declared on several previous occasions at the highest level by the leaders in Pakistan, the latest occasion being when the President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, articulated this policy of friendship towards, and peaceful coexistence with, our neighbouring brother country of Afghanistan at the recently-held Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries at Havana.

420. I fully reciprocate the sentiments which have been expressed by the representative of Afghanistan, and declare that we on our part desire nothing but friendly and good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, which enjoin respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, equality, mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and respect for the recognized international frontiers of every Member State.

421. The representative of Afghanistan has referred to the question of refugees, brought up by the leader of my delegation in his address this morning. As the General Assembly is well aware, there are over 190,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan. We have given these refugees asylum on humanitarian grounds. We regard it as our humanitarian duty to give them shelter, food and protection. The migration of the nomadic people in winter-time from the high altitudes—from the mountains—to the pastures in Pakistan, referred to by the representative of Afghanistan, is a totally different matter. The current influx of refugees into Pakistan—which, I repeat, amounted to nearly 190,000 people—does not fall into that category of nomads who traditionally come down from the mountains into the warm plains of Pakistan and into, perhaps, some other neighbouring countries. That is a totally different matter.

422. But, as I say, we have given the refugees shelter for purely humanitarian reasons, and, as the leader of my delegation stated this morning, the Arusha Confer-

ence on Refugees²⁶ has reaffirmed the principle that the granting of such asylum to refugees is a peaceful and humanitarian act which should not be regarded as unfriendly by any State. This has imposed severe burdens on our very limited resources, but we shall continue to bear this burden because we cannot shirk or avoid it. However, our sincere hope is that conditions will soon be created in Afghanistan which will encourage this large number of citizens of Afghanistan who are now taking refuge in Pakistan to return to their homes and hearths so that the two countries can resume their

²⁶ Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa, held in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania from 7 to 17 May 1979.

friendly dialogue in order to strengthen their good-neighbourly relations.

423. As for the political difference to which the representative of Afghanistan referred, we have stated many times that as far as Pakistan is concerned we feel that we have no political difference with Afghanistan; but if Afghanistan feels that it has a difference with us, we are, as the leader of my delegation stated this morning, ready to open a dialogue on this subject, and we hope that our readiness to do so will be reciprocated and responded to favourably by our brothers in Afghanistan.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.