



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Al-Thani (Qatar)	355
Speech by Mr. Mishra (India)	358
Speech by Mr. Niassé (Senegal)	363
Speech by Mr. Boupha (Lao People's Democratic Republic)	369

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to extend its warm congratulations to you on your election to preside over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that—thanks to your rich experience derived from long years of diplomatic activity in the United Nations and manifested particularly in your chairmanship 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—your election to this high post will help this session achieve the success hoped for by the international community.

2. It is also a pleasure for my delegation to express its full appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for the wisdom and dedication he demonstrated in directing the debates of the last session.

3. I should like to take this opportunity to commend the ceaseless, effective and faithful efforts being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the interests of world security and peace, and in order to achieve the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

4. We are pleased also to extend our warm congratulations to the Government and people of Saint Lucia on the admission of that State to membership in the United Nations.

5. It is extremely painful to note—without effort and at a glance—as we start this thirty-fourth session that its agenda constitutes, in large part if not in its entirety, a heavy inheritance which is being handed down from one session to another. But, however marked this phenomenon may be, it cannot gainsay the fact that an effort is being made—sometimes modest and sometimes outstanding—in the arena of international action and under the auspices of the United Nations. It proves, if it proves anything, the existence of a deep chasm between words and actions. Tangible evidence,

this history of deferring issues and questions from one session to the next, and the evidence of General Assembly resolutions have shown that the will of the peoples of the developing countries cannot express itself unless it is compatible with the will of one of the super-Powers. And even if this will of peoples, which is represented by the majority of the Members of the United Nations, could meet this prerequisite, the traditional rivalry between the two major Powers usually leads to attempts by them to embarrass one another, even if this is at the expense of the third-world peoples and countries. This situation has pushed the battlefields of the cold war to the arena of the developing and newly independent countries or those countries still under colonization. Unfortunately, this has resulted in the stalemate which usually faces international problems even when they are tractable. Because we do not want the United Nations to resign itself to the futility which some people are trying to impose on it, and because we are eager to bolster the United Nations Charter and to achieve its noble objectives, we will not allow despair to infiltrate our hearts but will continue to raise and discuss the chronic and old issues and questions with the same enthusiasm, diligence and vigilance with which we address the heated new questions, so that no deluded person, no arrogant aggressor, might think that issues affecting people and nations can be dropped with the passing of time.

6. We face today what may be the oldest and most complicated international problem in modern history: the Palestine question. This problem, unlike other problems menacing international peace and security, is, after more than 30 years, more urgent and a greater threat to international security, than ever. Moreover, also unlike other problems of concern to the world conscience, it is characterized by its tragic human dimension. History has witnessed many examples of one country committing an act of aggression against another in order to colonize it. It has also witnessed the more tragic example of the European colonialists attempting to settle in African countries as self-appointed masters over the indigenous people of those countries. But never until now has it witnessed a single incident in which a foreign colonialist emptied a whole country of its indigenous population in order to build its own detestable racist society on their land, as has been done by the world Zionist movement in Palestine. But over the past three decades, since the partition resolution of 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*], the world has seen how the Zionist enemy's greed has devoured the Palestinian lands piece by piece. And when it realized that that enemy's appetite was insatiable, it turned to Arab countries bordering on Palestine and launched its treacherous aggression of 5 June 1967 to occupy territory of Egypt, Syria and both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In this way a new dimension was added to the Palestine question, which has become known as the Middle East problem. From then on, the international community has unanimously agreed that the Palestinian

question is the core of the Middle East problem, because the usurpation of Palestine and of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people was the original crime committed by the Zionist aggressor, followed by a series of other crimes.

7. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his report on the work of the Organization, emphasized that the Middle East situation:

“ . . . is central to the political, economic and military stability of the world. As long as uncertainty, discord, frustration and violence prevail in the Middle East, the world will continue to live with a profoundly destabilizing element in its affairs and with a grave and continuing risk of future disaster.” [See A/34/1, sect. III.]

8. The determination of the people of Palestine under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], to decide their own future and to pursue their struggles, and the support given to the just struggle of the Palestinians by all peoples and countries that love peace and justice, have led to diplomatic and political victories. The Arab Summit Conferences and the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and conferences of the non-aligned movement reaffirmed that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This brought to an end all attempts made within and outside the region to impose partial solutions upon the Middle East region and to all that those attempts implied, namely the division of Arab ranks and the dealing of a blow to the Palestinian revolution. The conferences also emphasized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State.

9. The decision taken by the Israeli Cabinet on 16 September 1979, allowing Israelis to buy land and property in the West Bank area, including Arab Jerusalem, is the latest round in the Zionist challenge to world public opinion, to the resolutions of the United Nations and to the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949.

10. The State of Qatar, in fulfilment of what was unanimously agreed upon by the Arabs and in the resolutions of Arab Summit Conferences, particularly those of Algiers in 1974, Rabat in 1974 and Baghdad in 1978, and in accordance with the international community's stand, as reflected in the resolutions of the United Nations and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, reaffirms that any peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict should be based on the following main principles: first, the total withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied by force in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; secondly, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the exercise of their legitimate rights to self-determination, independence and sovereignty in Palestine, their homeland; thirdly, the right of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to participate as an independent and equal partner in all international conferences, activities and international forums concerned with the Palestinian question and the Middle East dispute, which means that no other party may have the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people; and fourthly, the invalidity of all agreements

pertaining to the Palestinian question unless the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is a principal partner to them, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 33/28 A. Hence, the implications of the Camp David agreements,¹ which are considered by the Government of Qatar as a violation of the Charter of the League of Arab States, international legitimacy and the resolutions of the United Nations in relation to the Palestine question and the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, should be declared null and void. Furthermore, these agreements ignored the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their independent State in Palestine, and also completely ignored the question of occupied Arab Jerusalem.

11. The State of Qatar condemns the continuing Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory. The State of Qatar condemns Israel's continuing violation of the sovereignty and integrity of this Arab country. As we have emphasized, the Israeli involvement in Lebanese internal affairs increases the potentialities of an explosion of the Middle East situation. World public opinion is not unaware of the fact that the victims of the recurrent atrocious Israeli hostilities in southern Lebanon are always unarmed civilians, including innocent old people, women and children.

12. While the thirty-third session of the General Assembly declared the year 1979 as the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia [resolution 33/182 C] in their just struggle under the leadership of their sole representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], Pretoria's racist régime stepped up its war of annihilation against the indigenous people of that country, who are striving for self-determination. While the United Nations seeks to achieve a just settlement according to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and 432 (1978), the Pretoria régime has attempted to thwart the transfer of power along the lines of Ian Smith's experience in Rhodesia by unilaterally declaring independence. This colonialist plot was recently manifested in the attempt by South Africa, which was denounced by the Security Council on 21 September last,² to give sham independence to the tribal homeland “Venda”, following “Transkei” and “Bophuthatswana”, which were not recognized by the international community.

13. Thus the Government of Qatar affirms its full support of the struggle of the African people who are still suffering under the yoke of colonial occupation and from racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as well as its support of the legitimate struggle of these people for the liberation of their countries, the attainment of their national rights and the restoration of their freedom, independence and sovereignty in their territory. It also emphasizes its solidarity with SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and requests the United Nations, especially the Security Council, to impose the strictest sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa, including implementation of the measures stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter.

¹ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2168th meeting.*

14. My delegation also affirms its full support of the struggle of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and declares that it upholds the United Nations resolutions concerning Zimbabwe, particularly General Assembly resolution 33/38, which condemns the continuing support extended to the minority régime of Salisbury by South Africa, some Western Governments and Israel.

15. We also support all the efforts and good offices of the Secretary-General aimed at achieving the unity of the Cypriot people and at safeguarding the territorial integrity of Cyprus and promoting its non-alignment.

16. The consolidation of the pillars of peace on earth is, undoubtedly, the noble goal which we all seek to achieve, both on the individual level within each State Member of the United Nations and on the level of collective action within this Organization. However, there are material realities and international political variables—such as the so-called nuclear balance of terror and the super-Power rivalry for the development, possession and stockpiling of both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction which sow death in successive generations—that make this goal one of the most important tasks of the United Nations. Despite all the attempts to achieve international détente, and the signing of the agreements reached following the first and second rounds of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] by the two super-Powers, mankind is still threatened by nuclear war because we have failed so far within the United Nations to solve the major international problems which involve a potential military confrontation between the two poles of nuclear terror. In addition, regional conflicts, which are often either vestiges of colonialism or covert concoctions of foreign elements, force the developing countries to waste their material resources on armaments instead of using them in the fields of economic and social development in order to raise the standard of living of their people. For all these reasons, my delegation supports the call for convening a world conference on disarmament and joins those who call for the adoption of all effective measures to protect the non-nuclear States from the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, especially nuclear blackmail, which is practised by both the Zionist entity and Pretoria's racist régime.

17. My delegation also stresses the importance of discussing the item "Israeli nuclear armament", as was proposed by Iraq [A/34/142] and supported by the Arab group of States, because of its possible implications for the security and peace of the Middle East.

18. The State of Qatar supports the proposal to declare the Middle East a nuclear-free zone and appeals to all parties concerned to implement such a declaration and to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It also emphasizes the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], and the ending of the escalation and expansion of super-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean in the context of their rivalry, with a view to its eventual elimination. It is regrettable that, as a result of the developments which threaten to extend the arms race to the Indian Ocean, and the rivalry of the super-Powers to establish their military presence, which increases tension in the area and endangers international peace and security, this Declaration has not been implemented.

19. Since the sixth special session of the General Assembly adopted its Declaration [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] in which the international community proclaimed its determination to work for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, the world has witnessed intensive activity aimed at the achievement of this urgent goal, to which the third-world countries, in particular, aspire within the framework of the so-called North-South dialogue and various other international conferences on international economic problems, the most recent of which was the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently in Havana.

20. It is regrettable that, because of the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries to respond to the just aspirations of the developing countries—especially the most affected and least developed among them—the negotiations being held between developed and developing countries concerning the infrastructure of the new international economic order have yet to yield any positive or concrete results. Therefore, the Government of Qatar expresses its disappointment and deep concern over the failure to achieve any substantial progress at the fifth session of UNCTAD, which was held in Manila last May—a failure which was due to the negative attitude of the developed countries, their unwillingness to discharge their responsibilities, and their lack of political will regarding the transfer of technology to the developing countries.

21. The State of Qatar appeals to the international community, especially the industrialized countries, to provide other sources of energy to replace oil after its depletion, and urges the major industrialized countries to economize on its use as a source of energy and to conserve it for purposes more beneficial to mankind and its future than burning it as a fuel. In this context, the State of Qatar urges the international community to regard the petrochemical industries objectively as a substitute for certain agricultural and livestock products which have begun to be in short supply as a result of the massive population increase in some parts of the world, and appeals to it to find the means to transfer technology in this and other fields and to strive to distribute these industries among various parts of the world in a way that will ensure the equity of the distribution of wealth among the people of the world, rather than its concentration in a certain country where it is controlled by abominable monopolies.

22. The State of Qatar again emphasizes the right of all nations to enjoy full and constant sovereignty over their natural resources and all their economic activities, and its rejection of any threats to use force or to intervene in the internal affairs of any country in any way. It also emphasizes respect for the territorial integrity and the political independence of all nations.

23. The tasks entrusted to the international community are great and significant ones. The peoples of the world are looking forward with great interest and concern to the practical results of our deliberations aimed at fulfilling the broad aspirations of our peoples. Therefore I hope that the resolutions and recommendations of this session will mark a new turning-point in the achievement of our goals.

24. Mr. MISHRA (India):³ Mr. President, it is indeed an honour and a privilege to greet you on your unanimous election, because you bring to this high office not only your outstanding skills and rich experience, but also something of the idealism and high sense of morality that characterizes your country's role in international affairs.

25. It is also no mere formality when I express our great appreciation for the leadership provided by Mr. Liévano of Colombia as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The zeal and ability he displayed in discharging his responsibilities has enhanced his reputation, as well as his country's prestige.

26. In the exemplary dedication to duty and the practical wisdom of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we have an assurance that the challenging tasks ahead will be met with faith and fortitude, vision and constructive statesmanship.

27. Our family of nations has grown as Saint Lucia, our youngest and newest Member, has joined us. We wish the people of Saint Lucia prosperity and assure them of our goodwill and co-operation in the responsibilities awaiting them.

28. India comes to this Assembly with the strength of a tradition which is more than 4,000 years old, dating from when our Vedic ancestors had the insight to declare; "the soil is my mother; I am the son of the earth". This was the germ of the concept of "one world", the unity of which was to be ensured by peace. This is why "peace, peace and peace" has been my country's constant invocation.

29. I stand here today conscious of this rich heritage and of its reflection in the continuing national consensus which prevails in the pursuit of international objectives. Independent India's policies and attitudes to international problems show a continuity and consistency of which we are proud.

30. Since the time, 31 years ago, when India's first Foreign Minister and Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, declared in this Assembly that "India adhered completely to the principles and purposes of the Charter",⁴ there has been in our expressions of support of the United Nations and its Charter every year a repetitive rhythm which should not be mistaken for ritual or formality. The United Nations unmistakably symbolizes the best balance between the right to independence and the compulsion to work together. It represents a warning that we can survive only in good-neighbourliness. If international problems have been aggravated at times during the 34-year career of this Organization, this is due to the fact that in our national perspectives we have overlooked the fact that we form one world and not 152 worlds of various sizes. Despite all the lessons of history, we are still bogged down in short-term problems and are still overlooking the fact that our long-term destinies are intertwined and must be safeguarded.

31. If we look back over the decade of the 1970s,

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

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, First part of third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 154th meeting, p. 378.

which are now drawing to a close, we find repeated confirmation of the fact that the world's political problems arise from the short-term perspectives of many of the powerful-nation States which virtually distort the long-term imperatives. If we still see recalcitrant imperialism, malevolent or defiant racism, persistent habits of intervention, manipulation, domination and even aggression, this is because there are forces trying to stem the tide of history. So many world-wide and regional problems are the result of the obdurate refusal to accept the logic of coexistence and co-operation.

32. This Assembly is meeting again after one more year and it can be seen that the world has been changing fast. The past year has not been more tranquil or less dangerous. The world continues to hang precariously between war and peace, development and stagnation, domination and justice. Many of the old myths have died, but not the belief in them. The time when the world order could be maintained through the strength of military establishments is over. While many still see military power as supreme, its political consequences often mean that it cannot be used. No doubt there is a fleeting intellectual realization that things have changed, but this has not kept pace with the formulation of foreign policy by important countries.

33. The days of an imperial role are gone; neither is there any scope for imperial management. Even the management of crises can no longer be left to a few great Powers, although they have an important responsibility. Countries may differ in power, wealth and beliefs, but the world community cannot be managed now without the voluntary participation and equitable involvement of the largest possible number of countries.

34. It is also clear that the leverage of the weaker countries is a factor to be reckoned with in the emerging international order. Military power may have remained concentrated in a few hands, but popular power, if one may use that term, has become more widely dispersed. Recent events have again shown that, given will power and determination, even a small Power can hold a big Power at bay. The strength of the non-aligned movement is really the collective leverage exerted by the weaker countries on the global scene. This collective leverage, reflected in the demand for a new international economic order, is in essence a call for the democratization of world power.

35. We are indeed in an era of increasing plurality. Just as the managerial revolution has replaced family management, the transformation of the world situation has brought about a diffusion of the power to shape and influence events. This requires a new awareness, a new approach and a new adjustment which would facilitate the evolution of a more just and equitable world order.

36. May I underline in this context the growing revolutionary significance of a factor that has been emerging over the last two decades in the United Nations. The fact that well over 90 Members of the United Nations have joined the non-aligned movement has effected a quiet revolution in the functioning of the international Organization. This constitutes a guarantee against the misuse of the United Nations or, for that matter, of any intergovernmental organization.

37. The fundamental problems of today arise from not

accepting the natural and the inevitable. We have seen resistance and delay in the process of decolonization and the fulfilment of the will of all peoples for freedom and national emancipation. Even today, this important historical process is not complete. The war in Viet Nam arose from attempts to frustrate the national aspirations of the Vietnamese. We failed to recognize, and perhaps we still often deny in action if not in affirmation, the fact that each nation has the right to choose its own pattern or political system for social and economic fulfilment. Today, we see the vindication of the notion implicit in the first principles of the United Nations Charter: that differing ideological and socio-economic systems have to coexist. As an Indian, I cannot but recall that the principles of coexistence were first enunciated in the middle of the 1950s and enshrined in the Declaration adopted by the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955.

38. Détente was enthusiastically acclaimed by some, much wished for by many. But in its realization we find that the effects of the cold-war years have been effaced neither in the functioning of this Organization nor in the various regions of the world. There is even a danger of détente's becoming a facade behind which the role of the Organization stands reduced in the priorities of the great Powers and, paradoxically, regional wars and conflicts also flourish.

39. Surely, if détente means the mere normalization of bilateral relations among the great Powers, then the vast majority of members of the international community will have little interest in it. Though normalization among great Powers is essential, an honest détente has to be global and universal and this indeed is our goal.

40. It would also be wrong to assume that the process of even this limited détente is irreversible. The stalemate in the ratification of the treaty resulting from the second round of SALT negotiations, the deepening crisis in West Asia, the hardening of attitudes in relation to southern Africa, the polarized postures in South-East Asia and the disturbing trend towards the formation of destabilizing political combinations are ominous portents.

41. Consequently, reinforcing the fabric of peace must remain the primary concern in our discussions. Progress on disarmament in all its various aspects has to be seen as the touchstone of our commitment to peace. Lasting world peace can stand only on the foundation of effective disarmament.

42. We must remind ourselves that the United Nations was established to save "succeeding generations from the scourge of war." For as long as nuclear stockpiles exist in the world, there is a definite threat of a nuclear holocaust. Nuclear war is possible through accident, miscalculation, misperception and impulsive or irrational behaviour under tension. The most urgent task facing humanity today is to delegitimize nuclear weapons, to dismantle the hierarchical international order that supports the present military system and to replace it by an alternative security system based on peaceful coexistence and the acceptance in practice of the equal sovereignty of all nations and of the right of each nation to choose its national and international policies.

43. The tenth special session of the United Nations

General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, laid down a programme of action for nuclear disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. That programme consisted of steps for freezing the present nuclear arms race and for initiating reductions leading to the eventual elimination of all existing stockpiles of such weapons. It is a matter of deep regret that, despite the consensus behind that programme, there has been no progress towards its implementation. We are particularly concerned to note that the draft of the comprehensive test-ban treaty is not yet ready and the negotiations continue at a glacial pace. We strongly urge that the draft of the treaty be finalized without further delay.

44. We welcome second SALT treaty. But it is only a beginning—though an important beginning, which must be formalized and implemented so that the world may move further towards real nuclear disarmament. At the same time we cannot but note with regret that that treaty does not incorporate any measure for the reduction of nuclear arsenals and that the growing and deadly sophistication of nuclear weaponry presents an ever greater danger to mankind.

45. Much is being said, and rightly, about the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I think it would be pertinent to remember that it was India that brought this issue to the attention of the United Nations when, in 1964, it specifically asked for the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons".⁵ Our approach was based on the premise, born of bitter historical experience, that both horizontal and vertical proliferation were integral parts of the problem which needed to be dealt with as a whole. The General Assembly accepted this concept and resolution 2028 (XX) stated that:

"The treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers".

46. Unfortunately the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] concluded in 1968 deliberately sought to alter this concept. It addressed itself only to the aspect of horizontal proliferation, and if the Treaty has become an unworkable document, it is only because of this narrow and illogical approach. The protagonists have been trying to buttress their position by cartel-type arrangements and further discriminatory measures, such as the establishment of the so-called "London Club"⁶ of nuclear suppliers and the attempted imposition of full-scope safeguards, on the peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon States, something that the nuclear-weapon States are themselves not prepared to accept.

47. In a world where we now grapple with the task of evolving the methodology of a new international economic and political order based on justice and equity, it would be nothing short of anachronism for some Powers to play the role of barons and overlords in a system of nuclear feudalism. Such an attitude tends to make nonsense of national independence, equality of nations and the very concept of peaceful coexistence that is at the heart of the United Nations.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, Annex No. 2, agenda item 8, document A/5758.

⁶ See *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1977* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), appendix 1A.

48. It may be recalled that during the special session on disarmament held last year, India took two significant initiatives—one seeking the non-use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances,⁷ and the other calling for a suspension of nuclear-weapons testing pending a complete ban.⁸ We are gratified at the endorsement that the Assembly at its thirty-third session gave to those initiatives [resolution 33/71 F]. We would urge the nuclear-weapon States on whom the primary responsibility lies to take meaningful steps in this direction.

49. One further initiative I have in mind is the dissemination of public knowledge and through it the creation of enhanced awareness and popular will against the use of nuclear weapons. Efforts to build world public opinion would assist the Governments concerned to turn away from the path of nuclear competition in the direction of practical measures for avoiding nuclear war. The United Nations has achieved significant success in the past in helping to rouse the conscience of mankind on a number of humanitarian issues, through a variety of special observances. Would it not be appropriate that this vital question, on which depends the future and fate of man himself, should receive similar attention? It is only fitting that the second Disarmament Decade should begin next year with measures aimed at mobilizing world opinion for international co-operative action to consolidate world peace. The year 1980 could be the commencement year for laying the foundations for eliminating for ever the danger of nuclear war.

50. If I have spoken at length on nuclear disarmament, it is because of the overwhelming fact that nuclear weapons, with their mind-boggling destructive capacity and their increasing degree of "overkill", constitute the greatest danger to mankind.

51. The relationship between disarmament and development has been stressed by many earlier speakers, and I need not dwell upon it at any great length. The point has often been made that the total annual world military expenditure, now exceeding \$400 billion, is equivalent to half the combined gross domestic product of all the third-world countries. It exceeds the global government expenditure on education and is more than twice the expenditure on public health services. In a world seriously afflicted by an energy crisis, by inflation, unemployment, mass poverty and so forth, it is surely criminal that our dwindling resources should be expended in this extravagant fashion for military purposes. In this, the International Year of the Child, is it not revolting that one Trident submarine costs as much as would be needed for the schooling of 16 million children in developing countries? What is the legacy we shall be leaving for our children if we continue in the present insane manner in the name of safeguarding security?

52. Another problem that threatens civilized existence is the criminal combination of racist policies and colonial ambition that adds up to *apartheid*. A minority régime continues to violate openly and flagrantly the resolutions, decisions and sanctions of the United Nations and to subject the majority of the South African people to extreme forms of degradation, repression and torture. This situation is a reflection of the barrenness

of our ritualistic reiteration of opposition to *apartheid* without our being able to ensure effective and comprehensive action against it. We have to mobilize the entire world community, without exception, if the opposition to this outrage is to be credible and effective. We should like to reaffirm our continued support for the measures to implement mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. We also reiterate strongly our opposition to the economic and military collaboration—including nuclear collaboration—between certain Western countries and other States with South Africa.

53. In Namibia, the action of the General Assembly and the Security Council over the last decade and beyond constitutes a history of lost opportunities. This continuing inefficacy casts serious doubts on the prospects for success of the United Nations plan for Namibia.⁹ SWAPO, for its part, has displayed a consistent willingness to accept United Nations-supervised elections for the transition to majority rule and independence in Namibia. As long as South Africa continues its illegal presence inside Namibia, a just and peaceful change-over would be well nigh impossible. My delegation fully supports the adoption by the Security Council of concrete measures to compel South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

54. In Zimbabwe, the liberation struggle continues at great cost in human suffering and ominous portents of escalation. The Rhodesia Constitutional Conference currently considering the problem of the transfer of power to the majority oscillates between hope and despair. We had welcomed the Lusaka agreement [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] and had cautioned that its implementation should be a matter of time-bound urgency. We hope that a constitution acceptable to the Patriotic Front will be evolved in the Conference.

55. In West Asia, developments in relations between certain States should not obscure consideration of the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories in southern Lebanon.

56. India believes that nothing but a comprehensive solution of the problem will bring about peace in the area. Central to this settlement is the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right to establish an independent State in their own homeland; the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem; and, finally, the right of all States in the region, including Arab Palestine, to live within secure borders. Full and equal participation of the PLO in any peace negotiations is a *sine qua non* for a final settlement. The growing threat to international peace and security resulting from Israeli policies and partial solutions can no longer be ignored. The continued Israeli acts of aggression in Lebanon also bear testimony to the Israelis' belligerent intentions.

57. It is also painful to note that Cyprus continues to suffer foreign occupation of a sizeable part of its territory. We welcome the 10-point agreement reached in May 1979¹⁰ and we urge the parties concerned to recog-

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

⁷ See document A/S-10/AC.1/L.11.

⁸ See document A/S-10/AC.1/L.10.

nize each other's legitimate rights and interests and to display a spirit of mutual accommodation. Let us hope that the talks will lead to a just and peaceful resolution of the problems between the two communities, within the framework of the unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

58. The South Asian region, earlier plagued by war and dissension, is now freer from tensions. We have been able to respond to each other's interests and concerns in a spirit of accommodation. My country feels a sense of satisfaction at the resolution of some intractable problems. The improved environment provides scope for greater contacts and co-operation which will benefit the countries of the region. We rejoice that at last the entire subcontinent is now committed to the principles and policies of non-alignment and of peaceful coexistence. All this should augur well for peace and stability in the region. If, however, I advert to Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of India, it is because there was reference to it by the foreign affairs adviser to the President of Pakistan in his statement to this Assembly on 1 October [15th meeting]. We have repeatedly made it clear that United Nations resolutions have ceased to be relevant and the Simla Agreement¹¹ holds the field. So the issue has to be bilaterally settled in accordance with the Simla Agreement.

59. We are happy that in the region of South-East Asia, economic co-operation and efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality on the initiative of the Association of South-East Asian Nations have been making progress in spite of the many pressures operating in the area.

60. We had thought that the retreat of foreign troops from Viet Nam over four years ago would usher in a new era of peace and co-operation in Indo-China and in the whole region of South-East Asia. That expectation was, unfortunately, short-lived. Foreign intervention and foreign involvement in Indo-China continued in new forms distorting the entire situation in that strategic area. Distrust and suspicion are rife in the region, as is the apprehension that great Powers may become involved. In consequence, the countries of Indo-China have not been allowed to settle down in peace to the reconstruction and development of their economies.

61. The Sino-Viet Nam border remains tense, and there is no peace in Kampuchea as yet. We ardently hope that the tension between China and Viet Nam will not be allowed to escalate, and we believe that boundary questions and other problems between two great neighbouring Asian countries can and ought to be resolved through peaceful and friendly negotiations.

62.— The brave people of Kampuchea, with whom we in India have age-old cultural ties, have been subjected to untold misery and deprivation. The present situation demands statesmanship from all parties, so that peace, stability, mutual confidence and co-operation may be restored, and so that respect for the personality and independence of every State can be strictly observed.

63. There have been some indications that at least the humanitarian problems could be mitigated through goodwill and a constructive approach. We should like to congratulate the Secretary-General for the success of the United Nations-sponsored Geneva conference on the Indo-China refugees.¹² It is gratifying to note that since that conference the exodus of refugees has dropped to a trickle.

64. The spectre of famine, however, looms large over Kampuchea. We welcome the recent understanding for extending international emergency relief and assistance. India would be ready to make its modest contribution in this regard.

65. India is firmly committed to the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, as envisaged in the Declaration of the General Assembly [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. The increase, over the years, in great-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean and the further strengthening of military bases, such as Diego Garcia, are a matter of serious concern. On the most important issues pertaining to the implementation of the Declaration, the majority of the littoral and hinterland States were able to adopt a common position at the meeting held in New York in July this year [see A/34/45].

66. We invite the participation of all permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean.

67. It was a disappointment for us when the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States for the reduction of their military presence in the Indian Ocean were abruptly suspended in March 1978. We welcome the agreement reached at the Vienna summit to resume the dialogue and urge early and meaningful negotiations.

68. In the field of human rights, it is immensely important to realize that, in the ultimate analysis, individual human rights must rest on the foundation of collective human rights. National liberation creates the framework for the latter, and only after achieving it can one think of ensuring human rights for individuals. The stability of newly gained freedom is essential for ensuring socio-economic change and for the widening and deepening of the ambit of human rights. These need to be properly institutionalized, for only thus will there be a safeguard against their possible abuse, suppression or total eclipse.

69. The present world economic order continues to follow the rule that to him who hath even more shall be given. The two United Nations Development Decades, one of the 1960s and the other of the 1970s, and a series of protracted negotiations, have proved sterile exercises, belying the hopes that had been raised that inequity between nations need not be an inexorable law and that, for reasons as much economic as ethical, the rich should assist the poor.

70. We are now on the threshold of the third United Nations Development Decade, covering the 1980s, and

¹¹ Agreement on Bilateral Relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, signed at Simla on 2 July 1972.

¹² Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

of the special session of the United Nations which will be held next year. Despite the bleakness of past experience, we must not miss this opportunity to impart a momentum to the negotiations for establishing a new economic order. Among the vital requirements of such an order, is an international trading system that would be more responsive to the needs of developing countries. Multilateral trade negotiations portend nothing more than disappointment for the developing countries. Protectionism by advanced countries grows unabated and has assumed new forms. The fifth session of UNCTAD concluded in Manila without coming to grips with the issues that relate to the structure of the present economic order. The special session must therefore address itself squarely to the task of dealing with basic structural issues if it is to have any meaning. The current imbalance; the dependence and external vulnerability of the developing countries; the urgent need to make a perceptible dent in the worst aspects of mass poverty—these are a few of the issues that the developed countries need to look at from a fresh perspective. Without giving up existing commitments, they will have to conceive new forms of resource transfers, which can ensure that responsibility is shared and which are capable of leading us to greater common prosperity. Even though the main thrust towards development should come from the developing countries themselves, the developed world in its own enlightened self-interest must realize that its prosperity is best ensured if the world at large can meet its basic minimum requirements, thus forming a large and growing market for developed countries.

71. The disparity in the dissemination of scientific knowledge and technological know-how in the world is one of the basic causes for the widening gap between the developed and developing nations. The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, recently concluded at Vienna, was successful in focusing attention on this question and in evolving an agreed plan of action at the international level.¹³ We hope that the new Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development will be able to promote agreement on adequate and sustained measures for the transfer of technology to the developing countries.

72. The developing countries expect to, and indeed must, participate fully in the world decision-making processes. Having abandoned, with the earlier decades, the framework that was formulated for appraising performance and ensuring joint responsibility of both the North and the South, we have yet to agree on a draft of the preamble of a new international development strategy. We run the risk of going to the special session marking the commencement of the third development decade without an agreed strategy, jeopardizing the outcome of the Decade itself.

73. Similar mechanisms to promote international accountability are required in specific areas of multilateral economic functioning particularly within UNCTAD and UNIDO. One of the principal tasks at the forthcoming Third General Conference of UNIDO to be held in New Delhi in 1980 will be to equip the agency with an effective mechanism to examine and monitor the implications of the Lima target of 25 per cent of the world's

manufacturing output as the share of developing countries.

74. Finally, the developing countries must not forget the imperatives of collective self-reliance as a major component of the new international development strategy. In fact, it could well provide the special session in 1980 its principal theme. When meshed together, the unutilized complementarities and the surplus resources of developing countries give the developing countries enhanced bargaining power with the developed world.

75. India has, at the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in Havana, taken a number of initiatives in fostering collective self-reliance. We have, with Bangladesh, proposed the establishment of a food security system for developing countries. Though a developing country which has had to feed an immense population, we in India today are in a position to make a modest contribution to any agreed international system of food security that may be evolved. It is time that the world, and especially the advanced nations, realized that food security is even more important than military security in maintaining peace and stability in the world.

76. Similarly, the Havana Conference approved the proposal to study the possibility of establishing a project development facility. We hope that the facility would become operational by the end of 1980. India, with extensive experience in technology relevant to developing countries, is willing to collaborate with others in setting up facilities for research and training in priority areas, geared specially to their needs. We would be glad to share our experience and welcome their participation.

77. The policy guidelines on reinforcing mutual solidarity recently adopted in Havana are a welcome expression of the political will of the non-aligned and other developing countries to co-operate among themselves to meet their minimum needs and emergency requirements. The guidelines, which are not confined to oil, have wide implications of a long-term nature, since they cover all primary commodities and raw materials. It is our sincere hope that these policy guidelines will be expeditiously translated into concrete commitments.

78. Another problem which has bedevilled the evolution of a just and equitable world economic order has been the energy problem. Half of India's total import bill, for instance, is now accounted for by oil imports and the latest round of price increases has further raised the burden by a crushing \$1.4 billion per year. Even more critical has been the problem of securing minimum requirements of petroleum from the world market, where we have to compete with the affluent nations.

79. I need hardly emphasize the enormous significance of energy in the context of developing economies, characterized as they are by limited substitution possibilities for priority uses such as transport, by the high capital intensity of alternative energy resources and by the problems inherent in reducing a level of consumption which is already at the bare and essential minimum. Clearly these countries are particularly vulnerable to the world oil situation. Is it not unconscionable that out of the total world consumption

¹³ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna (20-31 August 1979)* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21), chap. VII.

of 60 million barrels a day the United States, Europe, Japan and Canada should together consume 45 million? Or that in the year 2000 the *per capita* daily consumption of oil will be 62 barrels in North America, 32 for each European, 10 for those living in the oil-producing countries and only some 4 barrels for the rest.

80. All the developing countries should have a right, indeed a special right, to secure a fair share in the world consumption of energy and other raw materials.

81. In the ultimate analysis, the question involves the principle of equity. The core of the present resource crisis is the attempt by developed countries to pre-empt the bulk of the world's natural resources in order to maintain their current pattern of consumption and continue their existing life-styles. The disaster that profligate consumption is leading to calls for a change in life-styles in developed countries. Such a change is also necessitated by the imbalance between material and spiritual growth that has prompted many in the West to turn to the philosophy of the Orient in their quest for inner peace and harmony. Echoing the present predicament of the mature industrial or post-industrial societies, T. S. Eliot spoke of ". . . the torment of desire unsatisfied and the greater torment of desire satisfied".

82. The political, economic and social order in our world has to be refashioned not only with reference to ourselves but for the sake of the future of our children. Appropriately, the observance of the International Women's Year and the International Year of the Child has coincided with the efforts at promoting a new international economic order. With the mother and the child at the core of our thoughts we obviously cannot concentrate on a political order based on power and exploitation and a development process which is myopic and inequitable. In fact, if the process is to begin with the child in the mother's womb, as it ought to, we have to work for the creation of a total environment which would ensure equality at birth to every child and provide for his development throughout the formative period. The symbolic significance of observing a particular year as dedicated to a particular cause can only find real meaning if the problem is considered in a larger perspective. Standing on the threshold of the 1980s, we shall have to begin the desired development process now.

83. Is it not a pity that we assemble here year after year to do little more than patch up our petty quarrels and pay lip service to some lofty ideas and principles? It is time we ceased to concern ourselves merely with the past and the present and began to look to the future with the spirit of collective creativity which must be the hallmark of the United Nations system. The United Nations has to be not merely the engineer of truce but rather the architect of a new era—an era that could see the rise of the new man of the twenty-first century. To do this, we need to help the United Nations to extend the frontiers of its perception. The time to do so is now.

84. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf of my Government, the people of the Republic of Senegal and His Excellency Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, to express to you our most heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of your brilliant election to the presidency of this thirty-fourth session of the General

Assembly of the United Nations. The outstanding personal qualities you have already shown as Chairman 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, your thorough knowledge of the work and procedures of the United Nations and the very effective and positive way in which you have joined the constructive and progressive forces of a new world order free of injustice and discrimination—all this confirms our conviction that this session of the General Assembly will, under your wise and clear guidance, discharge its heavy responsibilities at this difficult time for mankind, which is today buffeted by crises of all kinds.

85. We should also like to convey our congratulations to our colleague Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, who so competently guided the work of the last session of the General Assembly. He deserves our warmest praise, and my delegation and I congratulate him on the way in which he directed the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

86. We should be remiss in fulfilling our duties if we did not also express our thanks and gratitude to the person who for a number of years has so perfectly embodied the ideals of our international Organization, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his very lucid and comprehensive report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1] in which he has so well described the present state of international relations and through which he has demonstrated his true qualities as an intelligent diplomat in his sincere and constant efforts to promote the establishment of genuine international peace and security, which is indispensable for the well-being of mankind.

87. On behalf of my country, Senegal, I should like to extend our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Saint Lucia, whose country has just been admitted as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of our Organization.

88. Every session of our Assembly gives us an opportunity to look back at the year gone by, to review the problems which are at the forefront of our concerns and at the same time to suggest the most appropriate ways and means of achieving a just and lasting solution to those problems.

89. The latest sessions of the General Assembly have been characterized by the emergence of rather deep differences, which have sometimes made of our yearly debates a kind of confrontation, the genuine significance of which has not always been clearly perceived by all.

90. This is true as regards the evolution of the situation in Africa, and especially southern Africa, where the time for decisions finally seems to have arrived. Such a spectacular change is certainly not due only to the fact that international public opinion has suddenly awoken to events in this region of our continent, although it had been kept well informed of them. It is first and foremost the result of the work of the Africans themselves, who, with the help of their friends, have throughout the years learned better to defend their rights in order to reconquer their freedom in dignity and equality.

91. The fact is that the peoples of Africa are becoming aware of their affinities, and constantly drawing close together. While Africans have in the past been divided by seemingly insurmountable barriers, they are today becoming more and more aware of their indivisibility, in spite of forces of tension, conflict and the social advantages or disadvantages that tend to distract them year after year from the basic concerns of their peoples. Africans are indeed becoming more and more aware—and this is a positive factor—that their main source of peace and security resides in mutual understanding of their respective problems and in steadfast and constant collective efforts to overcome inertia.

92. Nevertheless, our present hope is seriously threatened by pressing problems affecting both the awareness of this human quest for peace and social justice and its continuity. These problems, as they appear to us in the situation in southern Africa, have today reached crisis dimensions. Indeed, persistent colonialism, the effective domination by a racist minority and an odious policy of *apartheid* seem to be determined to oppose the inevitable emancipation of all of Africa. This unjust and cruel effort must not, however, prevail over the firm determination and desire of the African peoples to free themselves of the chains of oppression and injustice.

93. My country, Senegal, has always provided unfailing and constructive support to all oppressed peoples struggling for their freedom and inalienable rights. We hereby solemnly reaffirm this support, and we should like at the same time to renew our commitment unreservedly to support the legitimate efforts of all peoples throughout the world struggling to achieve self-determination and independence, to regain peace and to safeguard justice.

94. Thus, my country, Senegal, had with regard to Namibia in the past stressed and rightly valued the constructive efforts made individually or collectively by certain African or Western States to find a solution on the basis of the resolutions and decision of the United Nations. Unfortunately, we must once more acknowledge that these efforts have not yet been successful because of the obvious stubbornness of South Africa to maintain its colonial domination over the Territory of Namibia. But our efforts will eventually be crowned with victory.

95. It will be recalled that on 20 May last, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa announced his Government's decision to transform the so-called Constituent Assembly of Windhoek into a National Assembly and at the same time to confer executive powers upon some of its members.

96. By that decision, the Government of South Africa was putting an end to all hopes for the implementation of the plan adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). That defiance of the entire international community as well as of the United Nations itself shows the extent to which the South African Government has disregarded the international Organization, our Organization. It is time for our Assembly to assume its responsibilities and to put an end to the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia.

97. Senegal believes that the United Nations Council for Namibia and its powers must be strengthened. The

United Nations Council for Namibia remains the legal authority for Namibia until the Territory becomes truly independent. In this connexion it must be given the full support of all the Members of our Organization, as well as their consistent understanding.

98. Senegal also believes that our brothers from SWAPO, the sole and authentic liberation movement of the Namibian people, must be given the material, moral, diplomatic and, if need be, military assistance to enable them to achieve the aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine independence within a united Namibia.

99. In this respect, I should like to pay a resounding tribute from this rostrum, and on behalf of our President, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, to the SWAPO freedom fighters who, despite arrests and arbitrary detention, crimes, and other acts of violence perpetrated by the illegal administration of South Africa against African populations, continue, under the guidance of our brother and friend Sam Nujoma, to fight courageously and firmly for the triumph of the aspirations of all the Namibian people, of whom they alone are the authentic representatives.

100. One source of comfort is the fact that today it is undeniable that an equitable and lasting solution to the question of Namibia is inconceivable without the full and direct participation of SWAPO, which undeniably has demonstrated its political maturity throughout the action which has led to the settlement plan adopted by the Security Council. In this spirit, Senegal opposes the recognition of any puppet régime which South Africa might one day wish to impose on the Namibians. We continue to believe that only concerted international action, both powerful and organized, can compel South Africa to accept the implementation of the Western settlement plan,¹⁴ whose fate has become more and more uncertain.

101. In the face of this situation, my country once more appeals to the international community for support and assistance so that effective sanctions may be applied against South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of our Charter as a means of pressure to induce the South African Government to comply with Security Council resolutions 385(1976) and 435(1978). Senegal wishes to take this opportunity to invite the Security Council to take all necessary measures to implement its settlement plan.

102. As regards the problem of Zimbabwe and in keeping with the position adopted by most of the States Members of the United Nations, Senegal feels that there can be no genuine independence without the establishment of a majority Government. We feel that any settlement concerning the future of that Territory must be prepared with the full participation of the Patriotic Front, the only genuine liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe, under the enlightened guidance of our brothers Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe.

103. It is now time to recall solemnly that an inaccurate press release had indicated that my country had

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

recognized the Muzorewa régime a few months ago. This was never the case and never will be the case. I should like, on behalf of my Government, and most categorically, to disclaim such a piece of information.

104. During the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the delegation of Senegal, it will be recalled, actively participated in the preparation and adoption of resolutions 33/38 A and B. It is true that new developments have occurred since then, but it is just as true that at the point where improvements were expected, further flaws, lacks of understanding and inaccuracies occurred which have further complicated the Namibian situation.

105. But it is difficult to consider that, on the basis of these elections, it is impossible to see a favourable evolution towards a conference of all the parties concerned, thanks to the relevant work of certain African States—such as Nigeria—which stressed at Lusaka the importance of working towards an effective solution to that problem. And it was precisely in Lusaka, at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, that the idea of a conference that would include the participation of all parties concerned was put forward. That Conference is now taking place in London.

106. The news which we have heard from London in this respect seems highly encouraging to us. It seems that, as regards the representation of the white minority, after two weeks of difficult negotiations an agreement has been reached among the parties, so that the black majority will finally hold the reins of power in Namibia.

107. We fervently hope that on the other points remaining to be discussed, everything will be done by the Government of the United Kingdom to reach a comprehensive and honest agreement in order to spare the people of Zimbabwe the atrocities of war, which they have been experiencing for some time and whose effects and hardships are being sorely felt in all the neighbouring countries.

108. My delegation feels that the United Kingdom, which has an important role to play in this situation, should not in any way consider the lifting of sanctions taken against Rhodesia until the negotiations under way lead to a solution which is satisfactory both to all the parties concerned and to the international community as a whole. We feel that an authentic peace, a lasting peace, in southern Africa requires constant progress on all the fronts involving the oppression and exploitation of peoples which now characterize that part of our continent. It is clear that the use of armed force to achieve liberation has not been the chosen method of Africa. In fact, that method has been imposed upon us because there has never been and there will never be any possible compromise on the sacred objective of total liberation and the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, the domination of the racist minority, and *apartheid*.

109. As regards Western Sahara, during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, my country voted in favour of resolution 33/31 B, which invited "the Organization of African Unity to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara".

110. It nevertheless turned out that during its Assembly of Heads of State and Government which was held at Monrovia in July, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] adopted, by a vote to which I do not wish to refer directly, a resolution promoting a general cease-fire and the organization on the territory of the Western Sahara of a referendum offering the populations concerned a choice between the maintenance of the *status quo* and independence [see A/34/552, annex, II, AHG/Dec.114 (XVI)].

111. Since then, many events which were foreseeable in July have taken place in that area. The problem of the Sahara has become a conflict between two neighbouring Arab States, regardless of whether such a conflict was desired. This is the substantive issue, and it cannot be resolved until direct dialogue is promoted between the Heads of State of those two countries. That is why the President of the Republic of Senegal, His Excellency, Léopold Sédar Senghor, had relevantly proposed, during the last session of the OAU Assembly, a meeting of the heads of State of the parties concerned under the auspices of the special committee of the five African heads of State in order to find a just and lasting solution to this conflict which has lasted too long. But we are convinced that the wisdom and devotion of our neighbours to the sovereignty and independence of Africa will certainly prevail in this issue and will lead to a just and lasting solution of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

112. With regard to the question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte, the delegation of Senegal is pleased at the efforts made by the French and Comorian Governments to resolve this important problem through dialogue. Contacts have taken place, and they are very encouraging for the result of the current negotiations, especially as the two parties concerned have decided, by common agreement and as a sign of goodwill, to exchange diplomatic representatives at the ambassadorial level.

113. As is known, African problems are not the only problems of concern to my country. Indeed, Senegal is particularly concerned by the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine. The tension prevailing in that part of the world is, need we recall, a serious threat to international peace and security. The climate of violence as well as the attitude of Israel towards the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are serious obstacles to peace in the region. As is known, the Government of the Republic of Senegal is and has always been in favour, both as a matter of principle and in its actions, of any dialogue between the parties to a conflict. And if, as has been mentioned here, the agreements reached between certain parties to the conflict did not cover a wide enough range of the aspects of the Middle East conflict, thus making it possible to hope for a settlement ensuring comprehensive, lasting and just peace involving all aspects of the problem, it is none the less true that these agreements do have some positive features which we cannot neglect, even though they may be inadequate to lead to a global solution. Permit me at this time to commend the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as well as its chairman, our compatriot Mr. Médoune Fall, for the work accomplished to the benefit of the fraternal people of Palestine despite all the difficulties which must be overcome daily by that Committee in the fulfilment of its mandate.

114. My country unreservedly condemns the occupation by Israel of Palestinian and other Arab territories, including the holy city of Jerusalem, whose Arab and Islamic nature must be preserved. My country intends to step up its efforts with the Palestinian and Arab peoples as well as with all justice-loving and peace-loving peoples to achieve that goal. Moreover, my country forcefully reaffirms that no just and lasting peace is possible in the Middle East until an acceptable and complete solution can be found to the problem of Palestine, a solution based on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including, of course, its right of return and the right to independence and national sovereignty of Palestine under the guidance of its sole authentic representative, the PLO.

115. In mentioning the problem and the conflict in the Middle East, my country cannot gloss over the dispute existing between Israel and my country, which, incidentally, maintain no diplomatic relations, as a result of the arrest of Regimental Sergeant-Major Papa Coly Sarr of Senegal, a member of UNIFIL.

116. As everyone knows, my country Senegal feels no hatred towards Jews in general or towards Israelis in particular, for history has demonstrated that each of the "three suffering peoples", the blacks, the Arabs and the Jews, has brought to the world an irreplaceable message. Need we recall that during the British Mandate two peoples were struggling for independence: the Jewish people on the one hand and the Palestinian Arab people, composed of both Moslems and Christians, on the other? Our view, held by Senegalese statesmen since as early as 1948, was that each struggling people had a right to establish a free State in Palestine. The Jewish people have achieved self-determination with the foundation of the State of Israel. The United Nations must also enable the Palestinian Arab people to achieve self-determination by founding an independent State on Palestinian lands now occupied by Israel. And that is, moreover, the idea that was met by the partition decided upon by the United Nations in 1948, which led to the creation of the State of Israel. But we will go even further: there can be no definitive peace between Jews and Arabs until all occupied territories are freed and until the just cause of the struggling Palestinian people is finally satisfied. Israel must consider itself as one Semitic State among other Semitic States.

117. In February 1979, during a supply mission, Regimental Sergeant-Major Papa Coly Sarr was arrested by the Israeli authorities, who then accused him of having supplied explosives to the Palestinians. They tried him and condemned him to 10 years imprisonment. It is an elementary principle of law that one cannot be both judge and party to a case, as the Israeli Government has been. The Secretary-General of the United Nations had the great vision to understand, quite rightly, that it was an international tribunal designated by the United Nations that should have tried Regimental Sergeant-Major Sarr. It is this that we have unceasingly requested, and we feel that it is our right. We do not intend—and let me make this very clear—to enter into any contact with the Israeli Government, or even less to negotiate with it, in order to obtain the application of international law in the case of Regimental Sergeant-Major Sarr. This is for reasons of principle and dignity. We place our confidence in the international community and particularly in the United Nations. We are in no way prejudging the decision of the future international court, but simply say that judging from the dossier of the accused, it does

not seem that he could have acted—and indeed he could not have acted—from reasons of venality.

118. The United Nations knows that it is in duty bound to require that the Israeli Government refer the case of Regimental Sergeant-Major Sarr to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We know the qualities and the probity of Mr. Waldheim and are thus able to reaffirm here our solemn conviction that law will triumph over force and reason over injustice.

119. I would like to reaffirm the constant support of my country, Senegal, and its President, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, for the just struggle of the fraternal people of Palestine and the PLO, their sole authentic representative, and for our brother and our friend President Yasser Arafat, whose untiring struggle for justice, freedom and dignity for our Palestinian brothers requires a particular tribute.

120. I cannot neglect to reiterate our active solidarity with our Arab brothers, so that, together, we will spare no effort for the total liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel in June 1967, for the restoration to Jerusalem of its Islamic and Arab character without any hindrance, as stated in resolutions adopted by the Al-Quds committee of the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at its last meeting at Fez, Morocco in May [see A/34/389 and Corr.1] and to ensure that the three great religions may co-operate in the region as they have done since ancient times.

121. With regard to Lebanon, the object of repeated, senseless attacks by Israel, I should like to state that my country, which has always maintained excellent relations with Lebanon, forcefully condemns these acts of aggression, which violate the integrity, independence and sovereignty of that nation.

122. Senegal, which is a member of UNIFIL, cannot accept these acts which undermine the credibility of the United Nations and which place in danger the existence of a Member State.

123. On the question of Cyprus, my delegation is in favour of the resumption, in a positive and constructive way, of intercommunal negotiations conducted freely and on the basis of equality and of the detailed and specific proposals put forward by the parties concerned, in order to achieve, as soon as possible, a mutually acceptable agreement based on the legitimate rights of the two Cypriot communities, Greek and the Turkish.

124. These hotbeds of tension, which are serious threats to international peace and security, are unfortunately not the only problems which endanger the very survival of all of mankind. A phenomenon threatens us which could have as its consequences the irremediable destruction of mankind itself: the arms race. This unbridled race, as certain of my colleagues have already said here, takes the form of the accumulation of frightful means capable of wiping out in an instant the sum total of man's efforts and progress since the dawn of time, together with the permanent risk of nuclear holocaust, the senseless waste of non-renewable natural resources, the absence of genuine progress in disarmament negotiations and the more and more frequent use of force in international relations should give rise to a heightened awareness throughout the world of

this threat of self-destruction which faces all of mankind today.

125. Hence, the Government and people of Senegal attach great importance to this problem, and for this reason the President of my country, His Excellency Léopold Sédar Senghor, spoke personally in the general debate during the tenth special session of the General Assembly,¹⁵ which was devoted to disarmament, and stressed the dangers of this ruinous arms race to the social and economic progress of all nations and in particular to that of the developing countries. That is why His Excellency President Léopold Sédar Senghor proposed from this rostrum the imposition of a 5 per cent tax on the military budgets of States and the transfer of resources thus released to aid for the developing countries.

126. Contrary to expectations, that special session did not fulfil all the hopes of international public opinion, although we must acknowledge that in certain sectors considerable progress was recorded. We hope that the next special session to be devoted to disarmament will yield practical, more tangible results.

127. My country's keen interest in this question of disarmament was once more demonstrated by the convening in Dakar on 9-10 February 1979, at the request of the international community, of an international seminar on "The Interrelationship Between Disarmament Problems and Development", organized under the aegis of the World Council for Peace. In his opening statement on that occasion, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, said:

"In the developed countries which have the most sizable military budgets, it is undeniable that the arms race has taken place to the detriment of progress in sensitive social sectors and has contributed to the aggravation of certain harmful phenomena—such as inflation; trade imbalances and international payments deficits."

Mr. Diouf continued:

"But in our view as third-world countries, with the threat to international peace and security and, more seriously still, to the fate of humanity, the major consequence of the arms race is that it creates a serious obstacle to the establishment of a new international economic order. Once again it is the squandering of vast resources as a result of competition in weaponry that considerably reduces the efforts that should be made to help the developing countries overcome their serious economic and social difficulties."

128. We should also like to express our deep concern over the apparent possession of nuclear weapons by South Africa and Israel. Those two countries, which have been flagrantly violating the Charter of the United Nations, as well as principles and resolutions of our Organization, would be seriously endangering international security if by their possession of nuclear weapons they were to resort to inadmissible blackmail.

129. I wish to reiterate at this session the proposals made by my delegation at the special session on disarmament and at the last session of the Disarmament Commission. They are: first, the establishment of a universal surveillance and verification system in connexion with the disarmament agreements; secondly, the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa; thirdly, the close co-ordination of activities aimed at promoting disarmament and development, especially through the reduction of military budgets and the transfer of funds thus released to the development of the least developed countries; and, fourthly, the large-scale dissemination of information and the promotion of disarmament studies so that world public opinion can be better and more accurately informed about the catastrophic dangers which the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction pose to mankind.

130. We are pleased at the progress already achieved by our Organization in this field and hope that further progress will be recorded during this session.

131. In a world of a few rich and many poor, peace cannot easily prosper. Similarly, in a world where the gap between rich and poor countries continues ceaselessly to widen, a policy of solidarity must be developed as the best guarantee of genuine independence and freedom.

132. My country has always upheld the principle that just international economic relations can be achieved only if the right of each country to the sovereign exploitation of its natural resources is protected. It is no coincidence that major international conferences held since the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on raw materials and development have had as their major concern the recovery and use, by all countries, of their natural resources, whether land-based or maritime.

133. The particularly positive role played in this field by the developing countries should be stressed here. Indeed, inspired by an ardent desire to promote the success of the needed revolution in economic relations among nations and peoples, and motivated by the sincere desire to accord full priority to development problems and to the stability of the world economy, they have undertaken to strengthen and co-ordinate their actions in order to create genuine horizontal co-operation in all fields, particularly that of raw materials, thus creating a united negotiating position, in order to achieve the establishment of a new international economic and cultural order through agreement rather than confrontation.

134. That is why the Government of the Republic of Senegal attaches particular importance to the establishment of viable regional and subregional communities, such as the Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin, the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River, the West African Economic Community and the Economic Community of West African States. But for the effective functioning of such regional co-operation, developing countries must be supported and encouraged in their efforts by the developed countries, as well as by the international organizations, whose precise mission this is.

135. In this respect, we can only rejoice over the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting.

thirty-third session with regard to the Sudano-Sahelian region and the measures to be taken for its benefit, especially concerning the important problem of desertification and the expansion of the United Nations Sahelian Office within the framework of the achievement of a rehabilitation programme for that area.

136. The more or less alarming outlook for the world economic situation is creating a mood of anxiety. In this climate of uncertainty the developing countries emerge once more the big losers, subjected as they are to the disastrous effects of this crisis, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the measures taken by the wealthy countries to protect their own economies, which are suffering the effects of recession, inflation and unemployment. Overburdened with debts, the developing countries find their development efforts greatly obstructed by a crisis which is imposed upon them. Therefore, it becomes more and more essential for economic co-operation between developing and developed countries to be considered a basic, priority element, a privileged instrument, for the establishment of a new international economic and cultural order.

137. Yet, on the eve of the proclamation of the third United Nations development decade, we join you, Mr. President, in venturing to hope that the work of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy will yield results to everyone's satisfaction. To that end, the international community will have to plan its strategy in order to promote the comprehensive development of the developing countries, as they are the ones which suffer the most from imbalances and short-comings in the current international economic system.

138. Unfortunately, the legitimate hopes of the developing countries are dwindling, particularly because the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the problems that cropped up during the Second United Nations Development Decade have revealed that there is still a long way to go before the establishment of a new international economic order. The inertia of the developed countries during earlier economic negotiations give us no cause for optimism.

139. None the less, it does remain undeniable that increased assistance to the developing countries would lead to an upsurge in the world economy and have positive effects on the economies of the developed countries, especially in the area of employment.

140. In this respect the proposal made by the Group of 77 during the last session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, for a series of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, with the participation of all States, should be accepted as quickly as possible during this session. A positive reaction to this proposal would make it possible for the international community as a whole to demonstrate its solid commitment, its sincere will and above all its new mentality regarding major negotiations, with a view to achieving dynamic and realistic compromises in building the new international economic order. It is in this spirit that my delegation would like to express its agreement with the proposal by the Mexican Head of State [11th meeting] to discuss energy problems within a global framework, excluding no one, under the auspices of the United Nations and with a positive approach.

141. It is true that for some years the world has been achieving some tangible progress towards this new order of international co-operation, based on economic equity and social justice. However, it is also true that the world has been unable to respond to appeals for fundamental freedom and human dignity.

142. Therefore the United Nations should deal with the problem of human rights with full awareness of its responsibilities to men, women and children throughout the world. My country's position on this point has been constant. Senegal is a law-abiding country which oppresses no minority and its Government makes respect for human rights one of its major concerns.

143. Thus my delegation, during this session, will express support for any measure which may reinforce respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms everywhere in the world; both in South Africa, where *apartheid* prevails, and in the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel. However, my delegation will avoid making a distinction between types of human rights violations according to situation and place in order to look with greater favour on some of them. If the protection of human rights cannot be used as an excuse to disregard the sovereignty of States and to interfere in their internal affairs, the sovereignty of States should not serve to conceal human rights violations either.

144. In this same spirit Senegal has always opposed the idea that economic, social and cultural rights should take priority over civil and political ones. Indeed, human rights are indivisible and interdependent and priority should not be given to one particular category of rights. The main problem is not one of priority, but one of establishing a flexible connexion between these two types of rights, taking into account the levels of economic and social development of the societies concerned.

145. The international community has the important responsibility of establishing the conditions needed for the full achievement of economic, social and cultural rights as essential means of guaranteeing the effective enjoyment of civil and political rights and of fundamental freedoms by all individuals.

146. In order to help our Organization fulfil its duty, my delegation will back the idea of creating a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as soon as possible. Without being a panacea, this post should be the framework for dynamic action for ensuring increased United Nations effectiveness in this field. Indeed it is time for our Organization urgently to adopt more effective concrete measures in order to fulfil its obligations in the human rights field.

147. Perhaps if this post had already been in existence those countries which, on various pretexts, have pushed waves of refugees—the number and misery of which continue to move world public opinion—back across their borders or out to sea, would have shown more moderation and responsibility. Whether in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe or elsewhere, these refugees suffer the most inhuman treatment. In this matter our Organization should think up lasting solutions to relieve their misery.

148. Therefore the mission of the United Nations should increasingly consist of modeling and guiding this

new order—economic, social and cultural—to which we all aspire, because the prompt achievement of that order will determine the very conditions for maintaining international peace and security and achieving our Organization's permanent aims.

149. We are convinced that it is essentially through the United Nations, which continues to spare no effort to achieve its mission, that the real international community of States can be created; this is indispensable to the fulfilment of the real aspirations of those peoples who love peace and justice, so that universal civilization may triumph throughout the world.

150. Mr. BOUPHA (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, to express to you my heartfelt congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that thanks to your eminent qualities as a diplomat and your great experience of the United Nations, you will honourably discharge the responsibility entrusted to you. Rest assured that in this task you can count on the full collaboration of my delegation. I would also like, through you, to extend my sincere congratulations to all the Vice-Presidents.

151. I should also like to congratulate and thank Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the outgoing President, for the wisdom and effectiveness with which he guided the proceedings of the thirty-third session.

152. I should like to express my great appreciation to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his persevering and tireless efforts for peace and international co-operation. I wish him the very best of health and every success in discharging his noble mission.

153. Finally I should like to heartily congratulate the people of Saint Lucia, whose country has just been admitted as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations, thus occupying its rightful place in the family of nations.

154. Since the last session of our Assembly, several events have taken place in various parts of the world. Some of them have fortunately created conditions conducive to the consolidation of détente and international co-operation, while others, on the contrary, are extremely disquieting, not only for the reasons I have just mentioned, but also to peace and security in the world.

155. For all the non-aligned countries, which make up two thirds of this Assembly, as for the entire international community, the most significant event of 1979 was indisputably the sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, which was recently held in Havana, the magnificent capital of the Republic of Cuba. That Conference was a great victory, not only for the Government and the welcoming and hospitable people of Cuba, who so carefully and impeccably prepared it, but also for all peoples who cherish peace, independence and justice in the world. At the same time it was a crushing defeat for imperialism and the reactionary forces which expended immense effort to sap the unity of the non-aligned movement in order to wreck it. To judge by the result of the Sixth Conference, on which we do not wish

to linger, it is absolutely impossible to doubt the effectiveness of the movement and its staunch resolve to assume its responsibilities in the conduct of international relations.

156. As a fully fledged member of that community of non-aligned countries, the Lao People's Democratic Republic heartily welcomes the success of the Sixth Conference and intends to play its full part within that movement, as we do in other international bodies, so as to make an active contribution to the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid* and racism, and for peace, national independence, détente and the development of international co-operation.

157. Other events have contributed to the strengthening of international peace and security, and these are the resounding victories achieved by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their heroic struggle against the anti-democratic and anti-national régimes which are the instruments of imperialism and international reactionaries.

158. However encouraging that situation may be, we must never lower our guard. On the contrary, we must persevere and step up our struggle, because experience has proved that the more the imperialists and international reactionaries suffer defeats, the more cruel and perfidious they become, both in their policies and their actions.

159. We warmly welcome, first, the brilliant victory achieved by the people of fraternal Kampuchea, which finally, on 7 January 1979, overthrew the barbarous, genocidal and repressive régime of its tyrants. On this subject we should recall that, after having finally vanquished the United States imperialists and their Lon Nol henchmen, on 17 April 1975 the heroic people of Kampuchea, instead of being able to enjoy their hard-won peace and independence, because of the treachery of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and who obey only the reactionaries of Peking [*Beijing*], met with a most tragic fate. Indeed, practising an abject policy of genocide, the Pol Pot régime massacred more than 3 million Kampuchean and transformed Kampuchea into a vast unspeakable "neo-Nazi slaughter-house".

160. Furthermore, in addition to the ghastly crimes they perpetrated against their own people the bloody régime of Pol Pot, on the one hand, created a permanent situation of tension in the border regions between Kampuchea and my country and, on the other hand, entered into conflict with Viet Nam, beginning with murderous border incidents which became an open war against Viet Nam and which ended in the resounding victory of Viet Nam over the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary forces. That victory prompted the spontaneous uprising of the Kampuchean people which resulted, on 7 January 1979, in the overthrow of the régime of the tyrants and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

161. Thus, the Kampuchean people, under the guidance of the People's Revolutionary Council and the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, became the true master of its country and its destiny. Independence, sovereignty and freedom are once more firmly in the hands of the people of Kampuchea, who are practising a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment, thus consolidating peace

and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and throughout the world. Thus, the present situation in Kampuchea is irreversible.

162. It is a regrettable fact, however, that, after that great victory, the international reactionaries, in collusion with the imperialists, have persisted in trying to resuscitate the genocidal régime of Pol Pot which has been consigned to the past, by helping it still to claim a seat within our Organization. These actions constitute a cynical interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people.

163. As far as we are concerned, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in accordance with its position which has been repeatedly voiced, recognizes the People's Republic of Kampuchea as an independent and sovereign State which cannot and should never be subjected to threat or aggression by anyone. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which is the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people, must take possession of its seat in the United Nations and in all other international bodies. No question relating to Kampuchea can be resolved without the participation of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

164. To respect the memory of the 3 million innocent Kampuchean who were massacred and to render justice to the further 4 million who survived and who have suffered so much at the hands of a genocidal régime unprecedented in the history of humanity, we request the expulsion from the United Nations of the representative of the murderous gang which in fact controls not one inch of the territory of the country and which no longer represents anyone, so that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea may take its rightful seat.

165. The Lao people salute the victory of the Iranian people, who overthrew and abolished a feudal, bloody, absolutist régime, thus becoming the true master of their country.

166. We hail the brilliant victory of the people of Nicaragua, wrested by force of arms from the Fascist Somoza dictatorship. That victory will give great momentum to the struggle of peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean against imperialism and in order to consolidate their national independence.

167. In the Middle East, the situation continues to be explosive. The Palestinian Arab people have suffered and continue to suffer from the exploitation and aggression of the Israeli Zionists and of the imperialists. The quest for peace through the Camp David agreements and the so-called Egypt-Israel peace treaty¹⁶ only make the problem more serious and serve imperialism's designs for domination in the Middle East. Those agreements are not in the interests of the Palestinian Arab people, nor in the interests of the other Arab peoples, nor indeed those of the Egyptian people themselves.

168. A lasting and equitable settlement of the problem must involve the total withdrawal of the Israeli forces of

occupation from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the unequivocal recognition of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, as well as their right to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

169. The Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine under the guidance of the PLO, their only legitimate and authentic representative. It supports the just position of the people of Syria and other Arab countries that are victims of Zionist aggression, to the effect that they will not associate themselves with the separate deal. We favour the independence, sovereignty and unity of Lebanon which is opposed to the attempts to dismember its territory by Israel, and condemn the Zionist aggression against Lebanon.

170. Furthermore, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is in favour of the independence, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We are in favour of a peaceful settlement between the two Cypriot communities.

171. We support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to consolidate their independence against the subversive and perfidious manoeuvres of the expansionists and the imperialists.

172. Our unreserved support likewise goes to the peoples of Democratic Yemen and of Ethiopia in their efforts to develop their societies, free from any domination or imperialist interference.

173. We staunchly support the struggle of the Korean people to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and we condemn the presence of foreign troops in South Korea.

174. In the African continent, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, which are already too anachronistic for the end of the twentieth century, still continue in their misdeeds, their domination and savage exploitation of peoples and of the abundant natural riches of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Thus the minority and illegal racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia have resorted to all sorts of lies and tricks, such as the rigged election farce and the establishment of puppet régimes.

175. The Lao people will staunchly side with the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples and with the peoples of the front-line countries, who are the victims of the barbaric aggression of the minority racist régimes of southern Africa. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as an independent and sovereign country. We support the struggle of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO¹⁷ for independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

176. In Latin America, the fraternal Cuban people continue to be subjected to an arbitrary blockade. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, like all countries that cherish justice throughout the world, condemns that blockade and demands the immediate handing over of the naval base of Guantánamo to Cuba.

¹⁶Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

¹⁷Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

177. The Lao people wish to see the fruitful implementation of the treaties regarding Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

178. We give our greatest sympathy and our unconditional support to the struggle of the Chilean people to restore their democratic rights. We support the struggle of all the peoples of Latin America against the imperialist monopolies to ensure full sovereignty over their natural resources.

179. Over the last 12 months, the world has noted with indignation the multifarious alliances formed by the imperialists and international reactionaries for purposes of infiltration in all regions of the world in order to provoke dissension and to sow discord among peoples. To carry out their policy of domination and expansionism, the imperialists and reactionaries do not hesitate to provoke conflicts and engage in armed aggression.

180. Thus, in South-East Asia the international reactionaries, flouting the elementary norms of international law and the traditional conduct of nations, have become embroiled in a wide-scale armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which they have accused of having assisted the heroic people of Kampuchea, threatened with extermination, in overthrowing their tyrants. Since then protests such as "Hands off Viet Nam" have been made on the international scene and recently, during the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, thanks were expressed to Viet Nam and support was offered for its firm resolve to safeguard and to build up its beloved homeland and for its active participation in the work of national independence and peace among the peoples of the world. But, notwithstanding the universal condemnation of the aforementioned aggression, the international reactionaries have continued to display an arrogant attitude stating that they would teach Viet Nam a "second lesson" if they deemed it necessary. Such acts of aggression could be committed against anyone as long as the Peking leaders arrogate to themselves the right to teach sovereign States lessons.

181. Today Viet Nam is the victim; tomorrow it may be the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea or, indeed, other countries. In view of this grave situation now prevailing in South-East Asia, we appeal to the international community to demonstrate vigilance in order to prevent another war, which might have incalculable consequences.

182. As things stand as regards my country, the champions of reactionary power in Peking, through their manoeuvres and hostile acts, oppose the revolutionary work of the Lao people. They have massed several divisions of troops along our borders; they have sent spies and pirates to Laos, provoked constant disturbances, sown subversion, brought about division among the ethnic minorities of Laos and gathered together all the exiled Lao reactionary exiles into a trumped-up "Lao Socialist Party".

183. Worse yet, in order to conceal their dark and evil designs, they have, under the fallacious pretext of "taking in refugees", on the one hand, goaded young people from Laos to flee their homeland and to become refugees, and, on the other hand, attracted to south China several thousands of former soldiers and people who

are hated by progressive Lao society and who had sought refuge in Thailand.

184. At the same time, they have deployed enormous efforts to sap the friendship and solidarity existing between Laos and Viet Nam and between Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea in the hope of weakening those three countries and of making preparations for the eventual overthrow of the new régime in our country.

185. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is an independent, sovereign country, a member of the non-aligned movement and a Member of the United Nations. We have a domestic and foreign policy that is independent and we are masters of our own fate and will allow no country to interfere in our internal affairs.

186. After the total liberation of the country, the multinational Lao people more than any other strives to live in peace, friendship and co-operation with other nations, especially with our neighbours, in order that we may concentrate all our efforts and national potential on rebuilding the country, which saw heavy destruction during the war, on improving our living conditions and on contributing to peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a small country with a population of 3 million and a backward economy. Therefore it is not in a position to threaten a country of about a billion people such as China. The Lao people and the Chinese people have long enjoyed good relations of friendship. The Chinese authorities alone are responsible for the deterioration in the relations between our two countries. Their derogatory remarks and fallacious propaganda will never succeed in turning the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic away from our independent policy or to break the great militant solidarity and friendship between the Lao people, the Vietnamese people and the Kampuchean people. We demand that the Peking leaders put an end to their threat to Laos and respect our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

187. The abiding foreign policy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is one of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. That policy is in line with the geopolitical situation in Laos and our future and long-term interests and is a response to the profound aspirations of the peoples of Laos and of South-East Asia.

188. We heartily welcome our relations of militant solidarity, friendship and fraternal co-operation with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which are becoming ever stronger and more developed each day.

189. We are continually developing our good relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. We are delighted at the fruitful good-neighbourly relations that we enjoy with the Kingdom of Thailand, and we strive to make the common border between our two countries one of peace and friendship. We want to do our utmost to develop friendly relations and many-sided co-operation with the countries of South-East Asia in order to work to make that region a zone of peace, independence, neutrality, stability and prosperity.

190. The focal-points of tension still to be found in

various regions of the world as a result of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and expansionism are a serious obstacle to the development of détente and disarmament, towards which countries which cherish peace, independence and justice are striving.

191. In the field of disarmament, we consider that the results of the work of the tenth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is an appropriate basis for concrete action. It is up to us more than ever before to envisage necessary provisions so that those results can be translated as quickly as possible into action.

192. Peace, and the security of peoples, can never be ensured by stockpiling weapons. Every effort to curb the arms race, in conventional as well as in nuclear terms, and to reduce the existing stockpiles, deserves strong encouragement. It is in this spirit that my delegation is delighted by the recent signature of the treaty resulting from the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks¹⁸ in Vienna by President Brezhnev and President Carter. We support the policies and efforts of the Soviet Union, as well as the other socialist countries, for peace, international détente, and disarmament. We consider that the treaty will open the way to several others on a more far-reaching scale, thus increasing the momentum of the process of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

193. In this context, we await with interest the conclusion in the near future of other international treaties, particularly that concerning the non-use of force in international relations, since we are convinced that that type of treaty will help to promote a climate of trust which is useful for disarmament.

194. For these same reasons, we appreciate, and, indeed, support the initiative taken by the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic in requesting the inclusion of an additional item called: "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/34/141], and we welcome the decisions taken at the last session of the General Assembly regarding the item on the preparation and education of societies for life in peace [resolution 33/73] as well as on international "Disarmament Week" [resolution 33/71 D], proposed respectively by the Polish People's Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic.

195. We likewise consider that the convening of a world disarmament conference, the need for which has been recognized by everyone, will enable us to achieve measures which will speed up our march towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament.

196. We reaffirm our support for the proposal to make the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone of peace, free of any foreign military base; we support the demands of the coastal peoples and Governments for the dismantling of the military and nuclear base on Diego Garcia.

197. We share and support the idea that the dissolution of blocs, pacts and military alliances will help

strengthen, develop and render irreversible the process of international détente.

198. Accordingly, we consider that the inclusion on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an item called: "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations", proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/34/243], is most timely, and we fully support it.

199. We favour the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace wherever this is possible, with the consent of all States concerned.

200. As regards détente and reducing tension between nations, we welcome the fact that negotiations between the Soviet Union and China for normalizing their relations have been resumed. We appreciate and support the just position and serious attitude of the Soviet Union in trying to achieve concrete results, and thus extend the sphere of détente to all regions of the world.

201. The gap between the developed countries and the developing countries becomes ever wider. This situation, which cannot last much longer without endangering international peace and security, is a result, as we all know too well, of the persistence of the unjust basis on which international economic relations rest. These relations, characterized by dependence, exploitation and inequality, have shown themselves for a long time now of being incapable of stimulating the development of under-developed countries and contributing to the elimination of their economic and social ills, which were engendered by centuries of colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist exploitation.

202. In order to remedy that serious situation, the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which met in 1974, examined the problem of international economic development in all its aspects, and adopted by consensus a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] that would be more just and more equitable. Five years have elapsed since the adoption of those texts, and the economic situation of the developing countries, far from improving, has continually grown worse. However, despite this highly disturbing fact, negotiations have proceeded within the United Nations and in various specialized bodies to implement measures which have been advocated to establish the new international economic order; but the results have been meagre because of the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed market-economy countries, which are hanging on to their vested privileges. The recent failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila last May, is a perfect demonstration of that point.

203. It is imperative, in the interests of balanced and harmonious development of all countries, both developed and developing, as well as in the interests of safeguarding international peace and security, that the developed market-economy countries put an end to their dilatory practices and adopt a policy of real effective co-operation with the developing countries. This could make it possible for the new international economic order to emerge.

204. Before concluding, I should like to reaffirm the commitment of my country to the purposes and princi-

¹⁸ 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.

ples of the United Nations, which have always guided our conduct in our relations with other countries. We are convinced that scrupulous respect for these principles by all Member States will help to contribute to the advent of a better world—a world where détente, disarmament, co-operation and peaceful coexistence will reign. The work of this session will bring us closer to

that goal. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will spare no effort to make an active contribution to that goal, and we hope for the brilliant success of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.