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

AGENDA ITEM 56

- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:**
- (a) Report of the Conference on its fifth session;
  - (b) Report of the Trade and Development Board;
  - (c) Action programme in favour of developing island countries: report of the Secretary-General;
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REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(PART I) (A/34/538)

1. Miss GARCIA-DONOSO (Ecuador), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my honour to present part I of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 56 [A/34/538]. Paragraph 7 of that report contains a draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee for adoption by the General Assembly. That draft has no financial implications and was adopted by the Committee with-

out a vote. Consequently we recommend that the General Assembly proceed to do the same.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.*

2. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee is to be found in paragraph 7 of its report [A/34/538]. It is entitled "Amendment to General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX), as amended by resolutions 2904 (XXVII) and 31/2 A and B". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/3).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

3. Mr. BOUTROS (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the Lebanese delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly for this session. We are confident that your great personal qualifications, wisdom and vast experience in international affairs, as well as the unanimous trust you inspire among Member States, will ensure the effectiveness and success of this session.

4. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the ambassador of Colombia, for the important role he played during his presidency of our last session.

5. May I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the superb efforts which the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has been ceaselessly making to strengthen the role of the world Organization and to enable it to fulfil its noble ideals. Yearning for the blessings of peace more than any other country, Lebanon feels particularly appreciative of and grateful for the courageous initiatives and zealous activity which the Secretary-General has taken in order to bring about a just peace.

6. My delegation joins in welcoming Saint Lucia on its admission as a Member of the United Nations and looks forward to its contribution to the work of the Organization.

7. For the fifth consecutive year, the delegation of Lebanon comes to this Assembly burdened by the weight of a nation's tragedy in all the complexity of its manifold aspects and causes. I should have liked to devote a major part of my statement to a discussion of the political, economic, social and cultural problems

and attendant troubles which rack our world with conflict today. I should also have liked to discuss the various items on our agenda and offer our modest contribution to the common efforts and measures to find appropriate solutions to the problems we face. My country's well-known and consistent positions on these questions are based on its strong commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter and on our constant dedication to the promotion of friendship, cooperation and solidarity among States, on the basis of mutual respect and understanding.

8. However, the magnitude of the ordeal which has befallen my country compels me to concentrate on the tragedy prevailing in and around Lebanon, in order to reveal its dimensions to the conscience of the world, represented by your Assembly, to denounce everything that has so severely victimized my country and to inform you of the aspirations of the people and Government of Lebanon and of what they expect from the international community.

9. Lebanon, in whose name I have the honour of addressing you, has safeguarded the essential elements of its existence in spite of the ravages of war which have rent it apart. Maintaining its faith in the efficacy of the principles of collective solidarity, it appeals to international organizations and seeks their assistance in overcoming its problems.

10. A country which enjoys so much natural and human wealth and which has been chosen for Divine revelations, Lebanon has become a model of harmony and human fulfilment. Yet today, the forces of rejection carried to their extreme have combined together with the expansionist designs, selfish desires and will for domination harboured by some States to destroy its moral values and material resources.

11. Whatever impressions one might have acquired about the Lebanese, the fact is that they have firmly resisted and have been and will continue to face up to this challenge to their survival. In the course of the successive stages of their tragedy, with its multiplicity of facets and protagonists, and after each cycle of violence, which has caused thousands of innocent victims and wreaked total destruction, the Lebanese have emerged with remarkable resilience and vitality to heal their wounds and to reconstruct their country. Their strong attachment to the values and fundamental principles which constitute the pillars of the Lebanese way of life has prevented the collapse and disappearance of their homeland. They have even made progress in some areas. The dynamism of hope and confidence in the future have helped them to transcend the consequences of their recent past and has strengthened their natural faith in a common vision that national reconciliation, unity and security will be restored. Thus the desire of the Lebanese to make progress along the path of understanding and unity has become more solid.

12. Nevertheless, despite the support and the praiseworthy initiatives undertaken by some brotherly and friendly States, this objective is beset by obstacles which are of concern to us because they are alien to our aspirations and our will and which give rise to forebodings, and even the certainty, on our part that we the Lebanese both as individuals and as a group of communities have fallen victim to something external to us which is far and away beyond our possibilities and our means of action.

13. In no way are we seeking to repudiate our responsibility or to deny the existence of factors of discord on our own soil. There is no shortage of political, economic and social problems in our country, as indeed in every other. But the grave dangers which their country has had to face in recent years has engendered in some individuals and groups of our compatriots a new state of mind which is not always averse to violence or excess.

14. Of course we bear the responsibility because it is our country and our cause. The Lebanese people and their leaders are in duty bound to take the appropriate initiatives and make the necessary sacrifices to extricate themselves from this ordeal, rehabilitate the country and restore security and prosperity everywhere and for everyone.

15. However, the problems which we have been facing for five years have certain causes and ramifications which we must point out here frankly and clearly since they extend far beyond the borders of Lebanon and its possibilities and energies and require the international community to come to grips with its real responsibilities.

16. Yes, Lebanon is the victim of international politics and it is important for us here to review, even if only briefly, those factors that are threatening the very existence of a people and a nation which certainly does not deserve their perpetuation.

17. Lebanon is not only a victim of the violation of the Charter of the United Nations and this Organization's inability to find a just solution to a problem it has helped to create, but it is also as a member of the international community a victim of the exploitation of its unique structure and its democratic régime.

18. Indeed, Lebanon is the victim of the Israeli usurpation of the Arab land of Palestine, the expulsion of the Palestinian people and the tense crisis that has constantly held the region in its grip following that aggression.

19. Lebanon is the victim of vicissitudes in the international balance of forces in the Middle East which have touched off the crisis prevailing in the region and this crisis has, in turn, constantly exacerbated the international play of forces, unleashing active international currents which have disrupted the country and placed the cohesiveness and unity of our people in jeopardy.

20. Lebanon is a victim of attempts at partial solutions of the Middle East crisis, which we cannot endorse, especially since the principles on which they are based fail completely to take account of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and in particular their right to self-determination in their own country.

21. Lebanon is the victim of contradictions in the Arab world of which it is a part. These contradictions have exploded on our territory in different ways, without counting irregular activities that sometimes use the Palestinian cause as a pretext for pressing dubious goals having nothing to do with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

22. Lebanon is the victim of the burden imposed upon it by the ever increasing presence on its soil of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The ideologies adopted by

some of them as a result of their plight inevitably come into conflict with the philosophy of the State and its vision of the future and with the beliefs of a number of national groups. The varied and dangerous excesses which this situation breeds cannot fail to affect adversely the unity of the country and the authority of the State.

23. Lebanon is the victim of interference by various States and groups in its internal affairs; this is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law and is a serious derogation from sound principles and objectives.

24. Lebanon is the victim of the Israeli aggression, particularly in the south, and its strategy of preventive attack for political and military objectives, a strategy which we firmly repudiate as prejudicial to the Lebanese State.

25. Lebanon is the victim of its unique structure as a point of convergence of many religious and spiritual communities which live together in complete freedom under a régime which ensures that each may play an active role in the national life. The events as perpetrated by their instigators have tended to make this particular feature of our country, which is in itself a source of national and human richness, a factor making for conflict and discord.

26. Lebanon has since its accession to independence been the victim of its selection of a liberal democratic system based on the recognition of fundamental human rights, respect for the sanctity of the human person and a total openness to all civilizations and peoples. Several foreign parties have abused the advantages of this system to infiltrate the city and, by taking advantage of this freedom, to try to destroy the Lebanese State by undermining its very foundations.

27. Before our destiny became the plaything of foreigners, we were able in a spirit of co-operation, dialogue and compromise to solve all our problems within the framework of our democratic institutions. That is why in the light of what I have said I can state that there is no reason to hold Lebanon responsible for everything it is undergoing and suffering today, unless we consider a spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness, allegiance to feelings of brotherhood, generosity in human relations, faith in right and justice, compassion for the oppressed and a desire to preserve the unity and sovereignty of the country as weaknesses for which we can be politically blamed to such a point that Lebanon has become the victim of them and is rapidly becoming the main one. Friendly and brotherly States as well as the world Organization apparently forget this fact or pretend to forget it. Let us beware of creating in the Middle East a cause in the development and complications of the Lebanese tragedy that will eclipse and overshadow the Palestinian cause in all its gravity and dimensions.

28. The best illustration of the current phase of the continuing Lebanese tragedy is the violence and destruction that is occurring in the south. That cherished part of our country has for months been the scene of the devastating war that is being waged there. Its innocent civilians, if they are not killed by the hundreds, are scattered by in their tens of thousands and deprived of their means of earning a livelihood. They have become

refugees in their own country, thus swelling the sad ranks of those Lebanese who have been driven by war out of their towns and villages into a life beset by all imaginable misfortune and perils.

29. The grave situation prevailing in the south of Lebanon, which has been caused by Israel's failure to withdraw completely, by the fact that the United Nations Force has been prevented from carrying out the mission assigned to it by the Security Council, and by continuous Israeli aggression, is of concern to our Organization for more than one reason.

30. A year ago, Lebanon was in a state of great turmoil. The decisive role played in that turmoil was played not only by internal elements but also by the serious repercussions of the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations. Hardly had we emerged from that period when we were confronted with constantly and increasingly deep-seated and serious problems concerning the country's security and its future as well as the role to be played by the United Nations in the region, to say nothing of the role of the great Powers. These grave problems bring the Security Council face to face with its responsibilities and pose a challenge to the international community.

31. As everyone knows, there is no more serious threat to international peace than the situation in the Middle East. And there is no more immediate or direct threat to peace in the Middle East than the situation in southern Lebanon, where UNIFIL has been operating under Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

32. We can hardly fail to stress the vital role played by these forces and to express our appreciation and gratitude to all the Force's officers and men. We should like once again to express our profound thanks and gratitude to the Security Council, to the States contributing forces to UNIFIL, to the members of the United Nations Secretariat and especially to the Secretary-General himself.

33. To best bring out the vital importance of the UNIFIL presence in southern Lebanon and its decisive role there, I shall merely quote the very lucid words of the Secretary-General himself in his report on the work of the Organization:

"I am firmly convinced that UNIFIL has performed, and is performing, an absolutely essential task of conflict control in one of the most sensitive and explosive parts of the world. This seems to me to be an overriding argument for maintaining it in spite of all difficulties and disagreements. While I shall persist in my efforts to achieve the objectives set for UNIFIL by the Security Council, I think it is important that the current value of the operation, in all its difficulty, should be more fully recognized. The easiest way to prove the value of the task UNIFIL is now performing would be to withdraw the Force. In present circumstances this would undoubtedly be a highly irresponsible and almost certainly disastrous experiment, and I do not believe that anyone properly informed of the situation would seriously advocate it." [See A/34/1, sect. IV.]

34. However, the extraordinary difficulties encountered by UNIFIL in carrying out its mandate call

for a review of the situation and the adoption of measures commensurate with the responsibility assumed by the Security Council in conformity with the exigencies of peace in the region and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

35. There can be no doubt that the task of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon differs from the mandates given to such forces in other regions of the world. In view of the circumstances in which the Force must operate and the purpose for which it was created, the Security Council saw fit to give it a role which was not limited merely to supervising the disengagement of the belligerents and maintaining an observation mission. In Lebanon the Force is required to play a much more active role than that of mere mediator. The proof is that UNIFIL was ordered to ensure the withdrawal of military forces and to assist in the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty throughout the region, and was assigned a theatre of operations in the true meaning of the term. Furthermore, when the Security Council adopted resolution 425 (1978) it was fully aware of the situation prevailing in southern Lebanon. Accordingly, the idea arose to empower UNIFIL to defend itself and to overcome by force anything that might constitute an obstacle to the accomplishment of its mission.

36. UNIFIL is an embodiment of the unanimous international will and carries with it the prestige of the United Nations. We must therefore spare no effort to equip it to carry out its obligations in a manner compatible with the objectives for which it was created so as to avoid compromising the credibility of the Security Council, and thus diminishing its effectiveness and its ability to deal with threats to the peace both now and in the future. Any failure of UNIFIL would, we believe, become a totally unacceptable precedent for the international community.

37. I should like, in this connexion, to emphasize that Lebanon has fully co-operated with UNIFIL since its inception. Lebanon is making progress in the direction of revamping its armed forces; thus, despite all obstacles, it was able, in co-ordination with UNIFIL, to dispatch a Lebanese army battalion to the south on 18 April 1979; moreover, it already operates most of the administrative services in the theatre of operations. The Lebanese Government is prepared progressively to take over its share of the responsibilities in the south of the country.

38. The main factor enlarging the dimensions of the danger and instability in the south is the policy officially proclaimed by Israel to the effect that it arrogates to itself the right to make preventive military strikes anywhere in Lebanon on the pretext of checkmating the Palestinian resistance.

39. As a preliminary to its intentions and policy with regard to southern Lebanon, Israel opposed the deployment of the Arab Peace-keeping Force, which performed so well in other regions of Lebanon, south of the line which became known as the "red line".

40. Now Israel is constantly launching murderous military operations by land, sea and air against Lebanese towns and villages. I shall confine myself to mentioning the operations initiated on 23 January, 11 April, 30 May, 10 and 23 July, and 4 and 22 August of this year, all of which caused many casualties and have

each been the subject of a complaint which we have brought before the Security Council.<sup>1</sup>

41. It is absolutely out of the question to tolerate such a policy, even if Israel claims that these strikes are reprisals for prior operations undertaken by the Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories.

42. I honestly wonder what would become of the principles of the Charter if Israel's point of view was accepted. What would remain of the standards of international public law which prohibit aggression and tyranny? What would be left of the Security Council resolutions relating to southern Lebanon, which were included between resolution 425 (1978) and resolution 450 (1979)? What would become of all the hopes which the peoples have placed in our Organization as the corner-stone of a new, healthy and just international order whose mission is to prevent international relations from being governed by the law of the jungle? Israel's claims that infiltrations sometimes take place across UNIFIL lines is devoid of foundation but, even assuming it were true for the sake of argument, what has that got to do with Lebanon?

43. UNIFIL comes under the orders of the Security Council, not Lebanon. Lebanon proclaims from this rostrum that it is determined to regain its sovereignty and authority in the south up to its international frontiers not only in relation to Israel but also to all other forces present in the theatre of operations. Lebanon has frequently made this claim and has expressed this view in its correspondence with the Secretary-General and in its notes to the Security Council.

44. The continuance of military operations in southern Lebanon is likely to create a climate of instability which might have negative repercussions on any attempt to control the situation in the region and bring about a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis.

45. In this connexion suffice it for me to quote what was said by the President of our Assembly, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, in his address:

"The tragic situation in Lebanon continues to cause serious concern to the international community. The senseless bombing of civilian targets, causing considerable loss of life and destruction, further threaten the peace and security of the region. The world community must redouble its efforts to bring an end to this tragedy, so that the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon are respected." [*1st meeting, para. 49.*]

46. It is neither just nor logical that our country should be prey to factors of disintegration because the Palestinian people wish to recover their legitimate rights and their right to self-determination, which Israel refuses to grant them. Similarly it is neither just nor logical that Lebanon should be the principal victim to undergo the martyrdom imposed upon it by the oppressor without, however, being spared by the oppressed, whose cause, though just, pushes him to excesses that are sometimes

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13051; *ibid.*, *Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, documents S/13242 and S/13356; and *ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, documents S/13452, S/13464, S/13486, S/13488, S/13509 and S/13510.

ascribed to his state of despair. Is Lebanon condemned to suffer injustice from the hands of the oppressor and also sometimes the oppressed?

47. It is high time that southern Lebanon, and consequently Lebanon as a whole, should with the help of the international family be removed from the toils of the infernal game of war and peace and that its own case should be given absolute priority, so that it will no longer be a hostage in the Middle East turmoil or a football tossed about by the parties according to their desires and interests. Its sons have spilled too much blood and shed too many tears and lost too much of their property and have paid too great a price for faults and injustices committed elsewhere for which they bear no responsibility. Lebanon has reached a threshold beyond which it is no longer able to carry on without risking the loss of its own identity.

48. Before concluding my statement, I should like to reply to a question which, I imagine, all present are asking themselves, namely, what is Lebanon asking of the United Nations at this stage and what can the United Nations do?

49. Lebanon's requests are addressed not solely to the United Nations but also to each of its Members and especially to the most powerful among them. These requests are the following.

50. Because of its geographical location, its Arab obligations and commitments and its faith in the principles of right and justice in international relations, Lebanon believes that the United Nations must in its search for a radical solution to the Middle East crisis deal with the substance of the Palestinian question, so that the Palestinian people may be able to exercise their legitimate and inalienable rights, the first of which is their right to self-determination and to the establishment of a Palestinian State on Palestinian soil. This naturally implies the total and unconditional evacuation of all occupied Arab territory in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

51. Furthermore, it is equally self-evident that the idea must be finally and definitively rejected that the Palestinians can be settled anywhere outside their own land, and in particular Lebanon's categorical refusal to agree to their settlement in our country, in the interest of both Lebanon and the Palestinians themselves, must be regarded as the final word.

52. Lebanon has often stated, through its President, on behalf of the Lebanese people as a whole that it absolutely refuses to agree to the settlement of the Palestinians on its territory and rejects any attempt which would in one way or another effect such a settlement or impair its sovereignty or the independence and unity of its territory and people. Lebanon rejects any solution to the Middle East crisis that may be made at its expense.

53. Until such a radical solution is found, agreed upon and implemented, we believe we are within our rights in asking the United Nations and all its Member States to consider that they must deal also with the Lebanese crisis in its own terms and not as part of the Middle East crisis. Because of what our country represents geographically and politically as well as in human terms, it deserves to be a focus of the attention of the

international community with a view to preserving its unity, independence and sovereignty as a model for the Middle East and even, perhaps, the world. It also deserves the support and help expressed not by mere words but by positive and concrete acts.

54. We ask that a speedy, definitive and firm stop should be put to all Israeli aggression against Lebanon whatever the form it may take, particularly the form of a preventive attack against Lebanese territory. We also demand the full reintegration of southern Lebanon into the Lebanese State, which should be given the means of recovering its full sovereignty and authority throughout that area with respect to all individuals and groups without exception, of restoring security and of preventing any subversive activities on its territory.

55. Apart from the diplomatic activity that must be exercised by our Organization and the Member States concerned, the best means of achieving that goal is first of all to strengthen the role of the United Nations Force in the south of the country so as to enable it to carry out its task in a comprehensive way. UNIFIL can then prevent any military activities of whatever origin in the south, control the situation and, in conjunction with the Lebanese forces, ensure the progressive pacification of the territory and the exercise of the jurisdiction of the State over the area in accordance with the letter and spirit of Security Council resolutions, without fear or favour. It would then become necessary to provide the Force with the means of action and the directives it needs to give effect to that goal, and the Lebanese authorities are ready and willing to work with UNIFIL for that purpose.

56. We ask that with your support and in the interests of international peace an area of stability and calm should be established in southern Lebanon where the provisions of the Lebanese-Israeli General Armistice Agreement,<sup>2</sup> which is still fully in force and which has been ratified by the Security Council and reconfirmed again in its last resolution 450 (1979), should be scrupulously observed in the interval before a radical and just solution is found for the Palestinian cause in the framework of a global peace.

57. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole representative of the Palestinian people, which has through its spirit of combativeness and its just cause been able to breach the diplomatic isolation in which it was sought to be kept, is urgently called upon in the present circumstances to prepare to shoulder the heavy responsibility that has been conferred upon it, to live up to the hopes that it embodies and to channel its vitality and its activities in southern Lebanon into political and diplomatic action. In this regard it should undertake positive initiatives which would be likely to reassure the Lebanese people and which would be in keeping with the exigencies of the rights of Lebanon and the security of its territory. It would thus prove its capacity for self-control in all circumstances and would demonstrate its absolute respect for the resolutions of the Security Council and its concern to safeguard both its higher interests and its relations with the Lebanese people, who have suffered more for the Palestinian cause than any other Arab people. Such an attitude is dictated by a spirit of true brotherhood, a sense of responsibility and a clear-sighted long-range political vision.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4.

58. It goes without saying, obviously, that one of the prerequisites for carrying out our demands is the extent of the support which the great Powers give to United Nations initiatives and the laying of the groundwork for a political climate that would facilitate the acceptance of what logic and the recognition of the rule of law demand. No one can be unaware that these Powers have a multiplicity of means of constraint and persuasion available to them in achieving their goals. This is particularly the case since the arms used for aggressive purposes in southern Lebanon were obtained under agreements concluded with the United States of America which prohibit their use for the purposes for which the Israelis are using them.

59. I am in duty bound to point out that this business has aroused dismay in international political circles, particularly within the United States, where many responsible officials have expressed their interest and concern at the fact that the use of American-manufactured weapons in southern Lebanon is a violation of American law and the undertakings entered into by Israel on the subject. Thus the United States must bear a heavy burden of political and moral responsibility.

60. In conclusion, we are convinced that the United Nations commitment to us does not exonerate us from undertaking our own diplomatic initiatives in another framework with a view to helping to achieve the goals we have set. And I must point out that this type of action is fully consistent with our thinking and is being taken up.

61. Since we are convinced of the need for a frank dialogue with our friends and brothers and since we are firmly convinced that our country should not be the prey of anyone's greed, we have pursued such diplomatic action within the framework of the Arab community and we have requested its highest bodies to work out with us a plan of action that would take due account of the obligations of that community and of our own possibilities now that Lebanon has become what is unacceptable to us: the only battlefield in the Middle East.

62. Last year the General Assembly adopted a resolution [resolution 33/146] to which we attach great importance and which deals with economic and humanitarian assistance to Lebanon, as well as with the co-ordination of international and local activities with a view to its reconstruction and development.

63. If I have deliberately left aside the question of the assistance unflinchingly provided by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as by various States, it is not because we underestimate the importance and usefulness of such assistance nor the gratitude which we owe to its donors. But in view of the urgency of executing the demands which we have put forward and the wholesome impact this would have on the situation in Lebanon as a whole we decided we had to give priority to them.

64. The satisfaction of these demands would contribute to the establishment of a political and psychological climate in Lebanon that would help to strengthen the common goals of all the Lebanese, namely national understanding, which, in turn, would have a positive effect on the situation we have described. Similarly, the

recovery by the State of its authority over any particular area would have favourable repercussions over other areas of Lebanon.

65. Both because of its system and the way of life of its people, Lebanon has been and could again become an example of the noble principles that lie at the basis of the United Nations, of which Lebanon has the honour to be one of the founders. Thus preserving this achievement, which embodies all of mankind's aspirations to live in tolerance, brotherhood and love, by helping it to overcome this crisis is a necessity not only for it and for its region but also for all mankind and for the international community's mission.

66. Our history, which goes back thousands of years, includes many pages of black tragedy as well as just as many pages of dazzling splendors. Our mountains and our rivers have looked on throughout the centuries as whole processions of conquerors and usurpers have descended upon the country, but have also seen them invariably beaten back, as the inscriptions on the rocky walls not far from our capital proclaim. Thus Lebanon endures.

67. The people of Lebanon, resolved to preserve their land, to defend their rights and to repel all dangers from whatever quarter, as well as the greeds which surround them and which seek to break their unity, is strong with its own force and with a consciousness of its own powers and its sacred right to live in freedom and dignity. Let our Organization, through the ways and means given to it by the Charter, not begrudge us its aid and support.

68. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): It is with a sense of both pride and satisfaction that I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your unanimous election is not only a timely recognition of your personal qualities as an able and experienced diplomat, but also a fitting tribute to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and indeed to its eminent leader, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

69. The constructive role you have played in the various international forums, especially in the efforts of the United Nations in the decolonization process, is a matter of record and needs no elaboration on my part. The United Republic of Tanzania, which you so ably represent, is well known for its championship of the just cause of the oppressed peoples everywhere, especially in southern Africa. It is in awareness of these facts that we embark upon our task at the current session of the General Assembly, confident that the explosive and dangerous situation currently obtaining in the southern part of the continent of Africa will receive a thorough examination that will lead to substantial progress in the eradication of the evil systems of *apartheid* and settler colonialism.

70. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the warm sentiments and appreciation of my delegation for the able manner in which he presided over the work of the last session of the General Assembly. Our gratitude and appreciation go also to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the dedicated and competent manner in which he has guided the Secretariat of our Organization. His sagacity and persever-

ance have enabled the United Nations to enhance its role in the search for global peace and prosperity.

71. At this juncture I should like, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, to welcome the newly-independent State of Saint Lucia into this ever growing family of nations.

72. Africa, the motherland of one third of the membership of the United Nations, has been the scene of the worst forms of racial degradation, economic exploitation and political oppression. Much has been sacrificed by preceding generations so that we might reach the stage at which we find ourselves today in the continuing struggle for continental liberation. It is true that much of colonial Africa has gained political independence. The last two decades, however, have demonstrated to us that the independence we enjoy today will soon become empty of substance if Africa continues to be divided and exploited for the benefit of a handful of multinational corporations. So will the dignity of Africans remain incomplete as long as the deprivation, degradation and subjugation of the masses in southern Africa is allowed to persist.

73. A gallant and able leader in the struggle for continental unity and liberation has been Mr. Agostinho Neto, the first President of the People's Republic of Angola. The untimely death of this revolutionary leader and eminent statesman is mourned by the struggling masses of Africa with a deep sense of loss and a stronger commitment to his life-long objective of total African liberation.

74. The total liberation of Africa is the responsibility not only of the present generation of Africans, but also of humanity at large. The current situation in southern Africa is marked by the escalation and intensification of the struggle for liberation, on the one hand, and the war of repression and aggression, on the other. The national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia, with the full backing and support of the African population of those Territories, are actively engaged in demolishing the colonial and racist edifice of Salisbury and Pretoria. In a desperate attempt to arrest the march of history, the racist and illegal régimes in southern Africa are for their part intensifying the repression of the African masses in all territories. The cold-blooded murder of freedom fighters as "terrorists" and the arrest and incarceration of the innocent civilian population as "guerrilla sympathizers", as well as the blatant armed aggression carried out against neighbouring independent African States, are becoming daily occurrences.

75. While the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the Patriotic Front, the sole and legitimate representatives of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively, as well as the national liberation movement of South Africa, are gaining increasing support and assistance from peoples all over the world that love freedom and peace, the collusion and collaboration of certain Western Powers with the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury are also being strengthened. Despite the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against Rhodesia and a total arms embargo against South Africa, economic and military collaboration between certain Western countries and the racist régimes continues unabated.

76. In parallel with these developments, both régimes

are trying to hoodwink the international community by setting up puppet administrations, composed of the most treacherous and reactionary elements of the black population, in a vain attempt to win international recognition. The freedom fighters are, however, foiling these devious attempts by closing their ranks and exposing the true nature and ultimate objectives of those illegal and puppet organs in Windhoek and Salisbury.

77. The independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the emancipation of the African masses from the shackles of *apartheid* has been for far too long on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Now is the time for more concrete and meaningful actions by the international community. To this end, the leaders of independent Africa, at their last summit meeting in Monrovia,<sup>3</sup> resolved further to intensify their assistance to the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

78. In this connexion, I should like to reaffirm revolutionary Ethiopia's unswerving commitment to the just cause of the suffering masses of southern Africa. While saluting all those who have contributed to that liberation struggle, Ethiopia would like to call upon all freedom-loving peoples and Governments to increase material and financial assistance to the liberation movements and to the front-line States, so as to hasten the day of liberation.

79. It is a well-known fact that, without the racist régime of South Africa, settler colonialism in Rhodesia would have long been eradicated. It is equally true that, without Western collaboration and collusion, the illegal occupation of Namibia and racial subjugation in South Africa would also have long been closed chapters of history. When tackling the situation in southern Africa, we should therefore not lose sight of these facts, and the measures we take should be commensurate with the problems posed.

80. As regards Namibia, the United Nations has a special responsibility. South Africa has slammed the door on all attempts at the peaceful decolonization of Namibia. Abusing the goodwill of the international community, South Africa has indeed attempted to use the negotiating period of the last two years to evolve and establish illegal and puppet institutions to ensure a neo-colonial hold over the economic resources and future developments in Namibia. Though the United Nations has condemned and rejected Pretoria's manoeuvres, these measures by themselves have not altered the situation. It is thus incumbent upon the United Nations to take the necessary measures to implement its decisions so as to ensure the speedy emergence of a free and united Namibia. My delegation therefore reiterates its call to the Security Council to convene immediately and consider the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions on the racist régime of Pretoria. We hope that the Western permanent members of the Council, namely, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, will heed this call of the overwhelming majority of mankind for the immediate imposition of sanctions.

81. Inasmuch as permanent membership of the Council entails greater responsibility, we had hoped that some of the permanent members of the Security

<sup>3</sup> Sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979.

Council would faithfully discharge the obligations they assumed under the Charter of our Organization. To our regret, however, it is in those same countries, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States, that governmental action is being considered wilfully to violate international obligations and unilaterally lift economic sanctions. We view these developments with the utmost concern. It is obvious that the mere change of colour does not in any way constitute a change in the illegal and colonial nature of the Salisbury régime. That settler domination is still intact in Rhodesia and that, as a result, the struggle for genuine independence, freedom and equality has intensified, needs no further elaboration. In our view, that struggle has to continue unabated until the dignity of the African is fully restored and final victory achieved.

82. If that final victory could be achieved through peaceful means, we would be among the first to welcome it. It is in view of this that socialist Ethiopia and indeed the whole of Africa follows closely the current London Constitutional Conference on Rhodesia. Despite our bitter experience with the series of manoeuvres which have served more to prolong than to expedite the process of liberation, we earnestly hope that the results of the London Conference will lead to a speedy transfer of effective power to the African majority in Zimbabwe.

83. The achievement of majority rule in Zimbabwe and progress in the elimination of racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa require immediate and determined action by the international community. It is therefore imperative that the decision of the Security Council with regard to the arms embargo on South Africa be fully implemented. In view of the grave threat posed by South Africa's nuclear weapons capability, the Security Council is in duty bound to pronounce itself on the mandatory cessation of all types of nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

84. While discussing the total liberation of Africa, I cannot fail to reiterate my Government's full support for the heroic struggle of the people of Western Sahara for self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the recent decision of the sixteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] [see A/34/552, annex II, AHG/Dec. 114 (XVI)].

85. In this connexion, Ethiopia lauds the wise and courageous stand taken by Mauritania in renouncing its claim over, and relinquishing its occupation of, a part of Western Sahara. It is our hope that Morocco will also reconsider its present position and follow the commendable example of Mauritania so that the people of Western Sahara will regain their independence and peace, and security in the region will thereby be ensured.

86. Turning now to the general international scene, we note that the year has been marked by rising tensions and conflicts in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, each gravely endangering global peace and security. The world has also witnessed the end of one tyrannical régime after another, a further testimony, if one were needed, to the fact that nothing can stand in the way of a determined people struggling for freedom, equality, justice, democracy and peace.

The victory of the Nicaraguan people over the Somoza tyranny and the neo-colonialist régime was secured at the cost of indescribable sacrifice and as the direct result of the heroism of the fighting forces under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. In this connexion, the Government and people of socialist Ethiopia warmly congratulate the Latin American and Caribbean countries on the high sense of responsibility, determination and firmness they have so courageously demonstrated in opposing all forms of intervention, particularly military intervention in Nicaragua.

87. We also support fully the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in their just struggle to attain their legitimate rights over their natural resources and to conduct their political life without foreign interference so as to establish just and equitable social and economic systems.

88. The Middle East situation continues to make the maintenance of international peace and security increasingly difficult. The cleverly orchestrated manoeuvres and betrayals which we have witnessed of late have succeeded only in highlighting the fact that the question of the rights of the Palestinian people is at the core of the Middle East problem.

89. The Camp David agreements<sup>4</sup> and the subsequent treaty between Egypt and Israel<sup>5</sup> have not only ignored and circumvented this important and central issue but have also made Israel more arrogant and intransigent. This has been amply demonstrated by the continued establishment of illegal settlements in occupied Arab territories and has increased Israeli aggression against the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

90. Furthermore, the separate deals between Egypt and Israel have increased tension and conflict among the States of the region. For these reasons, socialist Ethiopia rejects these separate deals and maintains that there can be no lasting solution to the Middle East problem unless it is sought within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions which require the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State. To this end, the participation of the PLO in all negotiations on the question is also of crucial significance. Therefore, Ethiopia extends its full support to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the Arab States whose territories have long been occupied.

91. Socialist Ethiopia also urges all the parties concerned to exert the efforts necessary for the resumption of the intercommunal talks among the people of Cyprus with a view to arriving at a mutually acceptable solution on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the United Nations. Once again we reiterate our support for the struggle of the people of Cyprus to maintain and consolidate the sovereignty, independence, territorial

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

integrity and the non-aligned policy of their country and, thus, we call for the cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

92. The situation in South-East Asia is no less grave today than it was last year. The heroic Vietnamese people have been subjected to yet another foreign armed aggression, but once again they have successfully repulsed the aggressor. However, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and Laos continue to be under imminent threat.

93. Having overthrown the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal régime, the Kampuchean people, who are currently engaged in the arduous task of reconstructing their devastated country, are facing the concerted manoeuvres of international reaction and imperialism, which are trying again to impose on the people that discredited and murderous régime.

94. In this regard, I cannot fail to express our deep dismay at the decision by the General Assembly to seat in the United Nations, as representatives of the Kampuchean people, individuals who have been disowned by their own people and discredited by their very actions. This decision will neither contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in the region nor will it enhance the prestige of our Organization. Such an outright denial of reality and justice will rather, in the long run, jeopardize the credibility of the United Nations, an organization which certainly deserves a better fate than that of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

95. It has been repeatedly confirmed that the cessation of the arms race and progress towards genuine disarmament constitute the most urgent and pressing problem in contemporary world politics. It cannot be over-emphasized that the early cessation of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, and the collective realization of the long-cherished objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control would not only strengthen international peace, security and co-operation, but would also release substantial resources which would benefit the peaceful development of mankind.

96. The newly re-established Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament have held and concluded their 1979 sessions with some degree of success. Yet the arms race is increasing at a pace which outstrips by far all the efforts to put an end to it. It is, therefore, imperative that all States should muster the necessary political will and strive to use with greater efficiency the newly-established deliberating and negotiating bodies which provide the basis for promoting the programme of disarmament as adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*].

97. Last year the General Assembly stressed the urgency of concluding agreements on a comprehensive ban of nuclear tests and chemical weapons [*see resolutions 33/71 C and 33/59 A*]. Regrettably, not much progress has been achieved during the year and, once again, we wish to underline the responsibility of the Committee on Disarmament for completing negotiations on these important matters. It should also be underlined that any failure on the part of the nuclear-weapon States to meet their responsibility and obligation to halt the arms race and to proceed to genuine

disarmament measures will mean that the world is faced with the danger of the continuing erosion of the efficacy of the non-proliferation régime.

98. Obviously, this trend is ominous and it has been further highlighted at the recent Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. Aware of the dangers of the extension of the nuclear arms race into the Indian Ocean region, the littoral and hinterland States have long striven, individually and collectively, to promote conditions that will ensure the preservation of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and also enable them to resolve their political, economic and social problems in conditions of peace and tranquillity.

99. The Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, which was convened pursuant to the Declaration adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], clearly demonstrated the urgent need for the elimination from the area of the competitive escalation in the military presence of the nuclear-weapon States. Regrettably, and despite the expressed wishes of the littoral and hinterland States, recent developments in the region point in the direction of expanding existing military bases and the deployment of more naval units, which indicates the intensification of the nuclear arms race and thereby gravely endangers the independence, security and stability of the States of the region.

100. At this juncture, I should like to emphasize that the clarion call by the OAU for the denuclearization of Africa can have no effect so long as certain imperialist Powers continue to collaborate in the nuclear field with the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria.

101. A significant development that has taken place this year in the field of disarmament was the signing, at the conclusion of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*], of a treaty<sup>6</sup> by the leaders of the USSR and of the United States of America. There is no doubt that this Treaty is a step in the right direction inasmuch as it contributes to strategic stability and to the reduction of the risk of nuclear war. Since the main thrust of the SALT negotiations is the limitation of the levels of strategic weapons of the two major nuclear Powers, the Treaty can assume global importance only if it constitutes a step in halting, and eventually reversing, the nuclear arms race.

102. It is obvious that any progress in the field of disarmament and the maintenance of global peace and security would essentially require international co-operation, confidence between and among States, and strict compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. We are therefore satisfied to note that two of the new proposals submitted to the current session of the General Assembly are of direct relevance to the furtherance of the objectives of disarmament and the strengthening of international security. We refer here to the proposals submitted by Czechoslovakia and the USSR and entitled, respectively, "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" [*A/34/141*], and "Inadmis-

<sup>6</sup> 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.

sibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" [A/34/243]. These two items are not only timely but also of crucial importance for the maintenance of international peace and security, and the Ethiopian delegation is pleased to extend its whole-hearted support to them.

103. I should like to turn now to a subject which is no less vital and pressing: that of economic co-operation and development.

104. As we are all aware, the international community finds itself at present in the midst of important negotiations in the economic field, which will have a critical bearing on our endeavour to create a just and equitable world economic order. The demand for equity and justice requires fundamental changes in the international economic system to assure to all nations a fuller participation in international economic life and an equitable share of benefits accruing therefrom. Although this perception found its expression in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order which was adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], the results obtained so far leave much to be desired.

105. The negotiations conducted until now between developed and developing countries in various international forums to bring about structural changes have reached a stalemate. This lack of progress is due, evidently, to the absence of a genuine political will on the part of the large majority of developed countries to engage in meaningful dialogue. That was apparent during the fifth session of UNCTAD held last May in Manila, in the meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, and at the recently concluded session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, where the industrialized countries demonstrated increasingly inflexible positions towards the legitimate demands of the developing countries.

106. The inward-looking policies adopted by the developed countries have not only rendered the process of negotiation more difficult but have also made elusive the attainment of the goals set out at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [see resolution 3362 (S-VII)]. We are not simply concerned at the lack of political will to expedite those negotiations. If the dialogue between North and South is to succeed, a political vision is required, a vision which is inspired by the promise of a just future, rather than one marred by the desire to cling to the short-term privileges of the present. So long as the developed countries persist in their old ways, no realistic solution can be worked out for the major issues which affect the developing world.

107. My delegation firmly believes that the international community should seek a new initiative and a dynamic approach to achieving concrete results which would enhance the establishment of the New International Economic Order. In that regard, we subscribe fully to the proposal of the Group of 77 that global negotiations on international co-operation for development be launched at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980. We believe that this approach, which was initiated at Havana by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned

Countries, will be innovative and bring about a breakthrough in the present stalemate.

108. We should exert our efforts to demonstrate a change in attitude and to embark on a new approach to bringing an end to the present climate of uncertainty and disenchantment in international economic relations. It is thus the view of my delegation that international economic relations built on the *status quo* will produce an adverse trend in the international economic situation which, in our opinion, will not augur well for peace and security.

109. My delegation is of the view that the international community should share a vision of the world in which justice and equality prevail. It is equally of the view that an equitable world economic order can and must be based on an equitable economic system within each nation. Being strongly committed to the achievement of social justice at the national level, we are at present carrying out basic and fundamental structural changes in our country in all socio-economic fields.

110. The Government of socialist Ethiopia has embarked upon a genuine economic development programme in a determined effort to raise the standard of living of the masses which for centuries languished under an archaic feudal system. In that regard, a proclamation has been issued providing for the establishment of a national revolutionary development campaign and a central planning supreme council, the main objective of which is the reconstruction of the national economy, which has been ravaged by wars of aggression, repeated natural calamities, and by acts of sabotage instigated and assisted by the forces of reaction and anarchy.

111. In his address to the nation on 3 February 1979, on the occasion of the inauguration of the short-term plan of the national revolutionary campaign, Comrade Chairman Mengistu stated the following about the options open to our people:

"... it is a historical day on which a choice has to be made between a country where the broad masses of Ethiopia would forever remain hungry, deprived, alms-seekers, illiterate, etc., or a country, a socialist one, proud and strong, in which equality, justice, peace, happiness and collective prosperity prevail".

112. The Provisional Military Government of socialist Ethiopia, cognizant of the fact that the nation's economic destiny lies first and foremost in the hands of its own people and resources, has mobilized the country's human and natural resources to increase the productive capacity of the nation, primarily in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

113. Stressing the expedience of improving the food supply of the nation during the campaign, Comrade Chairman Mengistu also said:

"Our campaign will chiefly concentrate on the agricultural, industrial, commercial and social fields, with special emphasis on the question of finding a solution to the current food-shortage problems. Our first and foremost task, therefore, is to save our fellow countrymen from the scourge of hunger, to which they had been subjected for so long."

Thus the current phase of the campaign gives priority to the settlement of people who have been uprooted as a result of the recurrent and prolonged drought and other natural disasters, from marginal areas to potential agricultural sites in different regions of the country.

114. This undertaking has beyond any doubt put a heavy strain on our meagre resources. The financial burden has been shouldered so far by all Ethiopians who look on the campaign as a part of their sacred duty to help their less fortunate brothers and sisters. Since the sacrifice and contribution of our people alone would not be sufficient, we believe that the international community, which made a worthy contribution towards our relief efforts in the past, will equally demonstrate its humanitarian concern in the resettlement and rehabilitation effort currently under way, by coming forward with generous contributions.

115. My delegation—and, indeed, the great majority of this Assembly—is guided by the thorough analysis of the international situation and the historic decisions adopted at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries [see A/34/542], which was held in Havana, Cuba, only a few weeks ago. It would therefore be appropriate to make a brief reference to that historic Conference, if only in order to refute the self-appointed critics of our movement who, for their own selfish ends, are desperately trying to divide the non-aligned countries.

116. It is to be recalled that, prior to the Havana Conference, imperialism and international reaction were feverishly engaged in a well-orchestrated campaign of vilification directed against the host country of the Conference with the aim of thwarting its proceedings. Nevertheless, their efforts failed and the movement emerged stronger and more united than ever. Cuba, as the host country, and its revolutionary leader, Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, therefore deserve our deepest gratitude and appreciation for the important role they played in making the Conference a great success.

117. The pronouncements made at the Conference by most of our leaders, the Final Declaration, the Programme of Action, and the resolutions that were unanimously adopted were not only indisputable evidence of the outstanding success achieved at Havana but also a clear demonstration of the solidarity and the unity of purpose of the non-aligned countries. At Havana, the movement strongly reaffirmed its vigorous opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid* and racism and charted a viable programme of action for the years ahead.

118. It is precisely because of this fact that imperialism and big-country chauvinists with expansionist and hegemonic ambitions persist in their concerted efforts to hamper the implementation of the decisions adopted at Havana and to undermine the unity of the non-aligned countries. These devious attempts should be condemned and rejected with the contempt they deserve.

119. As we enter the new decade of the 1980s, we see the world faced with new challenges while existing problems still remain to be solved. It is recorded in history that each decade and each century has posed its own challenges, and more often than not humanity has

mustered its ingenuity and resources and has met such challenges with courage and determination. It is our firm conviction that the issues and problems of the 1980s will be faced with the required vision and determination. We are also confident that the United Nations will play a more constructive and active role in the creation of a world order based on peace, justice, freedom, equality and prosperity.

120. Prince AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of God the merciful and compassionate.

121. Allow me, Mr. President, to preface my address by extending to you, on behalf of my delegation, my sincere felicitations upon your election as President of the General Assembly at its current session. Your election reflects your great competence and the esteem in which you are held and underlines the importance of the post that you occupy in the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of mankind.

122. I would also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for having proficiently presided over the preceding session.

123. It also gives me great pleasure to express, on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, our deep gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his sincere endeavours in promoting the effectiveness of the United Nations and in furthering its lofty objectives and principles.

124. I wish to seize this opportunity to associate myself with other heads of delegations who preceded me in welcoming Saint Lucia to the United Nations as a new Member that will take part with all other Member States in attaining the noble aims of the Organization.

125. While it would be exceedingly optimistic and idealistic to maintain that the United Nations has fulfilled all the hopes and aspirations of the world, it is only realistic to acknowledge and recognize the accomplishments that have been made, and those that are being made, by this Organization. It has provided a world rostrum for the peoples from which they could express their aspirations and expectations. It has been able to attain for those peoples many of the rights which they had always striven for. It has succeeded in admitting a number of new Members to the family of sovereign nations. It has allocated considerable financial and human resources for economic and social development in various corners of the globe. It has endeavoured to ease world tensions and to prevent, to the best of its ability, regional crises from developing into multilateral conflicts.

126. Probably the biggest problem that confronts this Organization and in many instances renders it unable to discharge its great responsibilities is the fact that it is functioning in a world that still fails to subscribe to its objectives and is dominated by the great Powers. None the less, this Organization and other specialized and affiliated agencies, including regional organizations such as the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and the OAU, endeavour to achieve common objectives and are considered indispensable bodies whose activities should be encouraged and developed

in order to maintain the security, integrity and prosperity of mankind.

127. By taking the initiative and playing a constructive role in consolidating and promoting co-operation among its member States, the Islamic Conference is endeavouring to promote prosperity and progress for Islamic States and consequently for all mankind. In discharging their responsibilities they contribute to the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations and the affirmation of the principles embodied in its Charter.

128. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia takes great pride in its membership in this Organization. Islam is the Kingdom's religion, and the Holy Koran is tantamount to its constitution and law. The well-established principles and genuine precepts of Islam have displayed their adaptability to the changing conditions of modern life, with all its complex economic aspects and its scientific and technological variables in a human and social framework that preserves the dignity of the human being and establishes justice and equality for society.

129. In the sphere of international relations, we, as Moslems, entertain no enmity or hatred for other peoples, whether in the East, West, North or South. In fact, our religion importunes us to build bridges of friendship and cordiality among various peoples. God the Almighty says:

“Say: Unto Allah belong the East and the West. He guideth whom He will unto a straight path.

“Thus we have appointed you a middle nation, that ye may be witnesses against mankind, and that the messenger may be a witness against you.” [The Koran, *Sura II Baqara* 142-143.]

130. In calling us “a middle nation”, the Koran urges upon us to be moderate and to shun prejudice and hatred; to surmount the myths of racial and cultural superiority and to advocate the sphere of social and international relations, the concepts of mercy, charity, justice and equality, which constitute the essence of faith. Islam is a religion that addresses the mind, fights backwardness in all its forms, promotes freedom of thought, and allows for the assimilation of modern accomplishments. The Islamic civilization has been a source of inspiration, in the dissemination of its knowledge in various branches, for the nations of the world.

131. Similarly, and in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations, the League of Arab States has played an effective and constructive role in promoting political, economic, social, and cultural co-operation among its member States with a view to providing stability security and prosperity for the nations of the region. Yet, these endeavours by the League and its member States have always been confronted by a formidable obstacle which not only has impeded the establishment of peace, stability, and prosperity in the Middle East region, but also has threatened world peace and security. By this, I mean the unrelenting aggressive role played by Israel and its pernicious racist policy of settler colonialism. Israel's continued aggression is the core of the Palestinian cause and in fact runs counter to all those who subscribe to the right of self-determination for all peoples.

132. When we talk about Israeli aggression we do not describe it merely as aggression committed against a peaceful people settled in its natural homeland and the usurpation of its lands and properties, or even as the flagrant violation of the resolutions of this international Organization. Rather we refer to it as aggression against the moral values and lofty ideals of mankind.

133. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is convinced that, notwithstanding the inadequate attempts and initiatives taking place in the Arab and international arenas and allegedly aimed at resolving the Palestinian problem, Israeli aggression continues unabated, in one form or another, notwithstanding the notion entertained by the optimistic advocates of Camp David that Israel will respond to legitimate demands if it feels that its security is guaranteed. On the contrary, realities demonstrate the opposite, for the practices of Israel still show that it is bent on territorial aggrandizement and is not interested in peace. The Israeli aggression has not ended, and it will not come to an end until Israel recognizes and accepts all the basic elements which constitute a solid foundation for a just peace that will ensure complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, beginning with the Holy City of Jerusalem, and that will recognize the legitimate right of self-determination for the Palestinian people in their homeland. One of the most important of these ingredients is the necessity of the participation of the original and legitimate party to the conflict—to wit, the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

134. If we review the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly that condemn Israeli aggressive practices and support the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland in Palestine as well as affirm the Arab character of Jerusalem, we will find that none of these resolutions condone the untenable Israeli allegations—including that of the “secure borders” myth propagated by Israel—and that they fail to advance any logical justification for Israel's continued occupation of the Arab territories. Israel is accordingly utilizing the idea of “secure borders” as a pretext for the continuation of its occupation of Arab lands, even though actual facts demonstrate that it is the Arabs and not Israel who require security. Israel has consistently been the aggressor. It is Israel which possesses more arms than the Arabs, and it is Israel whose security and integrity is guaranteed by both the East and West.

135. We are all aware that this Organization in its various organs has been seized of this problem for well over 30 years, during which it adopted many resolutions that were consistently ignored by an intransigent Israel.

136. For these reasons, it is our judgement that there is at this juncture not so much a need for new resolutions as an imperative requirement for serious action and measures to promote the implementation of the resolutions that have been adopted. We hope that increasing international awareness of the justice of this cause will encourage the adoption of such measures and help expose the colonial expansionist intentions of the Zionist entity that threaten security and stability in the Middle East and in the world at large. At this point I should like to commend the significant development with regard to the position of the members of the European Economic Community vis-à-vis the Palestinian

problem, a position that reflects an understanding of the core of this problem and the necessity to resolve it on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in conformity with the principles of right, justice and fairness.

137. We also believe that the time has come for the Security Council to change its concept of the Palestinian problem as one concerning homeless refugees. The Council should reconsider this attitude, as the General Assembly did, from the standpoint that this is a case of a people whose rights, homeland, and properties have been usurped.

138. I am not informing you of anything new when I say that the Arabs are not the cause of the Middle East conflict; rather, this conflict has been thrust upon them. The Palestinian people have never been the aggressors or usurpers of other people's land; rather, history shows that they have been victims whose rights have been violated and whose land and property has been usurped.

139. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reiterates its firm conviction that peace, security and stability will not be attained in the Middle East region or in the whole world unless there is a just and comprehensive resolution of the Palestinian problem that ensures the recognition of all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own State in their own land; and unless there is a complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

140. It also reiterates that any settlement of the Palestinian problem that does not lead to the return of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty and the guarantee of freedom of worship for Arab and non-Arab Moslems, Christians and Jews, is totally unacceptable. Jerusalem, with its religious significance and its geographic and demographic importance, is the main test of Israel's designs insofar as the implementation of the United Nations' resolutions is concerned.

141. Israel's expansionist and aggressive intentions require no proof. Its practices are clear evidence of these intentions; otherwise, how can we interpret the establishment of new settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights? How can we interpret the latest Israeli decision to allow its citizens to occupy privately owned land in the West Bank and Gaza? And how can we interpret the Israeli Prime Minister's statements that autonomy only applies to the inhabitants and not to the territories, meaning that the Palestinians have no rights to their lands, or to self-determination?

142. I should like to recall the historic speech delivered by His Holiness Pope John Paul II at the General Assembly on 2 October [17th meeting], and particularly to his emphasis on the spiritual ideals and values that should be espoused by the world in facing the various facets of materialism, in order to attain peace, justice and freedom. What the Pontiff advocated in his address is in keeping with what Islam and the Moslems call for. From this perspective, the followers of the three monotheistic religions must enjoy their rights of freedom of worship in the Holy City of Jerusalem. In order to meet this objective, we believe that Jerusalem must revert to Arab sovereignty so that all

the faithful will enjoy complete freedom of worship on an equal footing.

143. All Arab States strive for peace and work for peace. But they have been patient long enough in the face of Israeli intransigence, and the time might come when they will find themselves compelled to adopt certain positions and experience specific and inescapable reactions in defence of their dignity and legitimate rights. The Arab States may differ in their attitudes with regard to international endeavours and initiatives, but they never differ in their desire for a just and comprehensive peace.

144. On the other hand, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia denounces and condemns in no uncertain terms the continued barbaric Israeli aggression on southern Lebanon. In an attempt to mislead public opinion, Israel claims that the aim of its aggression in southern Lebanon is to protect itself from the Palestinian presence there. Needless to say, this is a distortion of facts, for the presence of Palestinians in southern Lebanon was, in the first place, a result of the Israeli aggression that displaced the Palestinian people from their original homeland. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia calls upon the international community in general, and the United Nations in particular, to take decisive measures to put an end to these acts of aggression in view of the dangers and threats they entail and their violation of the principles of international law as well as of lofty human values and ideals. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also urges those countries which provide Israel with manpower and military and economic support to cease such support, and to help put an end to the Israeli aggression and achieve peace and security.

145. The role played by the OAU in enhancing and strengthening co-operation among the African peoples, and in eliminating the causes of differences among those peoples, is also in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations.

146. The similarity between the economic and social problems faced by the Arab and the African peoples, who are both peoples of developing countries, helps bring them closer together in their objectives and approaches. It also reflects a firm desire on both sides for consolidation and understanding that has its roots in the mists of history. In addition, their political approaches in most cases have the same bases and similar sources emanating from their lofty ideals and common heritage. It is not surprising, therefore, that their policies are congruous and their positions similar in enhancing the precepts of justice, equality, and the right of self-determination and independence, as well as being in opposition to injustice, aggression, racism and imperialism.

147. In this respect, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reiterates its support of the just causes of liberation in Africa and the need to assist the African territories and peoples that are still under the yoke of colonialism and racism and in their legitimate struggle for gaining their independence and their inalienable rights. Saudi Arabia reaffirms its support of all international action aimed at meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and in seeking recognition of the right of the national majority to govern their country.

148. In the meantime, Saudi Arabia condemns foreign

interference in the affairs of the African continent which clearly poses a threat to the stability, security and peace in this continent and impedes its growth and development.

149. As the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia establishes its economic system on rational Islamic bases, it works diligently to incorporate these concepts in its international economic policies. It therefore endorses the system of free and just enterprise and rejects intimidation, exploitation and blackmail in all their forms.

150. In its diligent endeavour to contribute to any international effort towards achieving stability, Saudi Arabia reiterates its hope and desire for the establishment of a new international economic order more conducive to bringing about equity and respect for the rights of both the developed and developing countries, and to provide the necessary means of establishing a dynamic and balanced relationship between economic growth and political stability in all nations, particularly in the developing countries. Accordingly, my country has spared no effort in order to achieve this objective. In all international forums, it has pursued and is still pursuing this objective, hoping that the dialogue would be in the same constructive spirit that prevailed in the previous special sessions of the General Assembly, and the Conference on International Economic Co-operation,<sup>7</sup> as well as at the fifth session of UNCTAD held recently at Manila. At this point, I would like to emphasize that my country is prepared to take part in any international effort to resume the dialogue in these areas in accordance with the aspirations of the Members of this Organization.

151. In adopting those objectives we fully believe in some established facts which indicate that the peoples of the world no longer live in isolation, but rather have come a long way towards increased and intensified mutual interdependence, and are no longer satisfied with subsistence living but aspire to a better life and higher standards of living. The realization of those two objectives has become the constant preoccupation of mankind.

152. These considerations are also manifested in some given factors that call for objectivity on our part and commit us to honesty and truth when we look at these issues. To conceal these facts from international public opinion does not serve the interests of humanity. In a similar vein, it is in the interest of no one if each imputes his failures to another. On the contrary, our interests demand that we should evolve a formula that aims at co-operation and succeeds in breaking the vicious circle. They call upon us to acknowledge that the achievement of the desired economic goal of progress and prosperity for the international community, and justice and equity for the developing countries in particular, is a joint responsibility involving everyone.

153. In this light it should be admitted that the voices which are raised from time to time accusing the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries of responsibility for fluctuations and disarray in the international economy are far removed from the truth. As a matter of fact, energy constitutes only a part of the world economic system, and even so the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum

Exporting Countries have assumed, and still are assuming, their full responsibility in this respect. The industrially advanced countries, both Western and Eastern, should also shoulder their full responsibility towards the world economy in general and the developing countries in particular.

154. Notwithstanding the fact that the issues we are considering this session are not new and have been discussed before, we still hope that our Organization will diligently press forward with the implementation of the resolutions we have previously adopted. We trust that this may be achieved, granted the existence of goodwill and determination.

155. Mr. DONALDSON (Trinidad and Tobago): On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in extending to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. My delegation pledges its fullest co-operation to you in the firm conviction that, through your efficient and distinguished guidance, our deliberations will have the very best chances for success.

156. It gives me great pleasure also to express our appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Liévano for the skilful and able manner in which he discharged the arduous responsibilities which fell to him as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, and to our Secretary-General and his staff I wish to convey, through you, our thanks for their untiring efforts to enhance the quality of life for us all.

157. My delegation joins with those who have preceded me to this rostrum in extending a warm and sincere welcome to our sister Caribbean nation, Saint Lucia, as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations family. In so doing, I should like to express the hope that this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the last of this decade, will usher in a new era of co-operation among nations, and that the people of Saint Lucia and of new Member States will in future be spared the frustrating experiences of many of our peoples who have looked to the United Nations with high aspirations, but who, in the words of the Secretary-General, have been shackled "to an [international] economic system which no longer meets the requirements of an interdependent world of free nations" [see A/34/1, sect. I].

158. Since last we met, the attentions of the world have been increasingly focused on events in the Caribbean. One of the active volcanoes in the region, La Soufrière in Guadeloupe, resumed activity with devastating effect; and in recent months, two tropical hurricanes of unprecedented ferocity, David and Frédéric, swept through the region, leaving in their wake a trail of death and destruction. This accumulation of disasters causes me to recall proposals made by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago some 10 years ago that there should be instituted at the regional level a system of special insurance protection which would facilitate an early return to normalcy after such inevitable disasters. There was no positive response to those proposals at the regional level. However, in the light of the recent disasters the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has taken the initiative of establishing a fund to assist the less developed countries in the Caribbean

<sup>7</sup> Held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

region to finance the reconstruction which must of necessity take place after natural disasters. This disaster relief fund, with a target of \$50 million, has been established with an immediate allocation of \$10 million.

159. We are poised today on the brink of the 1980s. What hopes can we take with us across this threshold? Before the reports of this General Assembly are circulated, we will have entered the new decade, unhappily still carrying with us all or nearly all of the short-comings of the 1970s. The very worst of these wrongs is the lack of urgency or concern on the part of some for the plight of countries in the third world. It is the plight of developing countries struggling to negotiate new rules for the conduct of international economic relations. The rules we seek will provide a climate conducive to fairer and more equitable intercourse so that, through our own efforts, we can ensure a better quality of life for our people.

160. The experiences of the 1970s lead me to question seriously the integrity of those who continue to pay lip service to the desirability of a strong world economy founded on the logic of interdependence between rich and poor, but who at the same time cling tenaciously to every facet of privilege they command through the existing world economic order. The effect of this posture is to stifle any advantage, real or imagined, that might accrue to developing countries. It is clear, as we enter the 1980s, that many Governments are not prepared even now to make the political commitment required to translate the ideals of the 1970s into realities. Economic growth in developing countries still seems to be regarded as a threat. Economic co-operation therefore must be selective, the argument continues, reserved only for those areas that would complement further growth in developed countries, and even then meted out in small, ineffectual doses.

161. Where we as developing countries have been able through our own efforts to wrest a comparative advantage in a few industries, some of our major trading partners—who alone are capable of undertaking structural adjustment measures—have responded harshly with new, protectionist measures.

162. I should like to identify for the record specific areas where the efforts of the 1970s have fallen far short of the desired goals and where it is my hope the international community will concentrate all efforts in the 1980s to ensure that the real issues are confronted with the determination necessary to surmount them.

163. What are these real issues? The first is trade. Looked at from the point of view of trade as an engine of growth in developing countries, the decade of the 1970s has not given much cause for celebration. Manufactures still account for only a small percentage of the export trade from developing countries, while primary commodities, excluding petroleum, account for the bulk of merchandise exports from the third world.

164. This situation is part of an interesting, albeit very frustrating, mosaic. The role as purveyors of raw materials that has been traditionally reserved for the developing countries has been encouraged through the creation of institutional machinery and the provision of financial assistance to ensure adequate supplies, and even surpluses. Falling prices have characterized the trade in primary commodities during the middle and

late 1970s, with the result that developing countries have tended to steer away from new investment in primary commodities, or they do so—at great cost—with the certain knowledge that such action would serve only to exacerbate an already grievous economic situation, both domestically and internationally.

165. In many instances, the choices open to developing countries have been rigidly circumscribed. Opportunities for alleviating unemployment and ensuring economic growth through industrialization have been frustrated by the new protectionism. Exports of manufactured products, including processed foods, textiles, clothing and foot-wear—all natural outlets for developing countries, particularly the least developed—have been the subject of voluntary restraints, export restraint agreements, orderly marketing arrangements, non-tariff measures, and in some cases even subjected to increased competition through the granting of subsidies to declining industries in developed countries. These are the facts of the new protectionism. The Assembly will understand the concern of a small developing country like Trinidad and Tobago in this area, when much of our development thrust for the future will depend on gaining access to international markets for our steel and aluminium products.

166. The role of lower prices as a disincentive for new investment in primary commodities is paralleled by the granting of smaller, totally unviable quotas for manufactured goods to the smaller or least-developed among the developing countries, thus forcing the weakest economies into defensive, inward-looking trade strategies that in themselves limit flexibility and heighten the incidence of burdens on those least capable of bearing them. Without the assurance of export markets, the economies of the third-world countries will continue to stagnate, with all the attendant social ills and consequences that go hand in hand with such stagnation.

167. In the face of this dilemma, we have witnessed the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the remission of all substantive issues to the permanent machinery of that organ. We have witnessed, after long and expensive negotiations, the conclusion of an International Sugar Agreement that has had no impact whatsoever on the depressed market conditions. Meanwhile, and perhaps not without significance, two of the most important traders in sugar remain outside the confines of this Agreement.

168. After long and arduous negotiations spanning several years, we have witnessed the creation of a Common Fund, which is the key instrument of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.<sup>8</sup> The wars of attrition have taken their toll on this Fund and have reduced it to its mere price-stabilization functions, with the real problem of funds for industrialization still being left to voluntary efforts.

169. We have witnessed also the failure of the multilateral trade negotiations to respond to the major trade interests of the developing countries. Far from according special and differential treatment to developing countries, our developed trading partners have re-

<sup>8</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

quired us to grant concessions that were in some instances far in excess of the concessions they received.

170. Trade has not been the only area of discontent for developing countries during this current decade. Industrialization and related issues have been the cause of great concern to many developing countries, the experience of my country in this regard being a notable example.

171. To the extent that a shift towards industrialization is crucial to the development of countries heavily dependent on a few primary commodities, to that extent is it fair to say that the international community has failed to provide the type of assistance necessary to facilitate that shift. Funds disbursed by international institutions for industrialization and for research and development in that field in developing countries still constitute no more than 5 per cent of the total development assistance to those countries. This is an indictment of the system, which appears consciously and deliberately to address the wrong problem.

172. My delegation is encouraged, however, by one reason for optimism in this area of industrial co-operation. I refer to the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency. It is the hope of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago that this agency will prove to be responsive to the needs of developing countries and stronger and more effective in assisting industrial development in those countries.

173. The importance of this new institution within the United Nations family cannot be over-emphasized. However, it cannot be a success unless all nations work towards the strengthening of its role and capacity and assist it in its efforts to promote industrialization and to foster industrial co-operation among all nations.

174. The transfer of technology from developed to developing countries is one further area in which the efforts of the 1970s have not been crowned with success. My delegation continues to be concerned over the lack of progress towards the adoption of an international legally binding instrument that would facilitate and increase the international flow of all forms of technology from developed to developing countries under favourable terms and conditions.

175. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago continues to maintain the view that the code of conduct on the transfer of technology, when adopted, should serve as a vehicle to eliminate restrictive and unfair practices affecting technology transactions and that it should help to strengthen the national technological capabilities of the developing countries.

176. With regard to the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, I dare to express the hope that this Assembly will succeed in establishing effective machinery for the completion of negotiations on the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development.<sup>9</sup> It will then be incumbent on Member States to muster the necessary political will to finalize the programme so as to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion. This is

<sup>9</sup>Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna (20-31 August 1979) (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.1.21).

an area to which the Government of Trinidad and Tobago attaches great importance and which, I am sure, must play an essential role in the development of the economies of third-world countries in the 1980s.

177. The closing years of this decade have seen in Trinidad and Tobago an acceleration of our efforts to industrialize, using our hydrocarbon resources to feed and to fuel those efforts. Problems of trade, industrialization, research and development, and the transfer of technology have all been brought into sharp focus during this process of accelerated industrialization. There has been no easy solution. The problems involved in the transfer of technology have, however, by and large proved to be among the most intractable.

178. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has had to devise mechanisms, including Government-to-Government arrangements, to ensure that technology transfers take place. In this form of international co-operation, Governments undertake to guarantee performance in respect of projects and contracts. Provision is also made for the transfer of technology involved in projects. Further, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has, through this mechanism, a reliable point of reference for establishing the *bona fides* of companies participating in such projects. One interesting development has emerged from this experience. It is that some Governments are able to ensure that transfers of technology take place, notwithstanding the fact that the technology involved may be privately owned.

179. This form of co-operation has also been useful to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago since it has facilitated joint-venture participation with companies in the public and the private sector from both developed and developing countries in a variety of projects. It has made it possible to tackle real problems, whether they are of a financial, export, marketing or technological nature or involve ongoing maintenance. In each case, through negotiation it has been possible to reach accommodations acceptable to all parties.

180. Economic stability, growth and a better quality of life cannot be enjoyed if vast areas of the world continue to be engaged in political conflict and warfare or subjected to the dehumanizing practices of racism and *apartheid*. In this regard, the record of the 1970s is unenviable.

181. We, the peoples of the United Nations, must indicate in no uncertain terms our resolve to face the common problems that affect us individually as nations or collectively as States Members of this body. The goal of global peace cannot be achieved unless the major areas of tension throughout the world are eliminated and disputes settled in a fair and equitable manner.

182. Several issues still remain for resolution in the coming decade. The questions of peace in the Middle East and in Cyprus and of peaceful change in southern Africa have been on our agenda for decades and have preoccupied Governments because of their adverse effects on the maintenance of international peace and security. Despite the continuing concern of the international community, there has been little progress towards universally accepted solutions. What are needed now are bold new initiatives to be taken by all interested parties in order to achieve in the Middle East a compre-

hensive settlement that would recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

183. The situation in southern Africa is fraught with danger for the international community. Intransigence on the part of the white racist minorities brings nearer the prospect of a racial conflagration on a grand scale, with consequences of further bloodshed and greater human suffering. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia must be permitted to exercise fully and freely their right to self-determination and independence, and they and all peoples of southern Africa must be enabled to enjoy all their fundamental human rights irrespective of race, colour or creed.

184. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has noted the stand taken by the OAU on the question of the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination [A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. My delegation maintains the view that the international community has a duty to see that this question is resolved through peaceful means and within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

185. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago reiterates its support for the people of Belize in the exercise of their right to self-determination leading to a secure independence and condemns all attempts to inhibit the exercise of that peremptory right of the people of Belize. The administering Power and all those nations with a real capability should take measures within their competence to implement speedily General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 33/36 with respect to Belize, and to guarantee by all credible means strict respect by all States for the inviolability of the frontiers and for the territorial integrity of an independent Belize.

186. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago appeals to States Members of the United Nations to abide by the principles laid down in the Charter, and to refrain from breaching those principles on the basis of short-term expediency. In this regard, and as an extension of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, Members of this Organization should take particular care to ensure that their territories are not used as bases for subversion of the legal Governments of other Member States.

187. There are other tasks facing us in the new decade. Besides the resolution of the issues affecting economic development and international peace and security, we cannot expect to maximize the use of human resources or improve the quality of life until Governments are prepared to tackle in a comprehensive and integrated manner the basic social ills that confront our national societies.

188. Full and equal participation of women is crucial to world development and peace. It is essential that the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, adopted at Mexico City,<sup>10</sup> be implemented at the national, regional and international levels. In this context, I should observe that Trinidad and Tobago has an established National Commission on the Status of Women. My

delegation urges that the draft Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women be completed at this session of the General Assembly, and be available for the 1980 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, Peace.

189. The United Nations and the intergovernmental organizations associated with it must, within the coming decade, launch and maintain a concerted attack on these problem areas. It is hoped that with the harmonization of medium-term plans, the Secretariat of the United Nations and the various specialized agencies will be able better to co-ordinate their activities in the implementation of policy directives from their principal legislative organs in these fields of activity. Part and parcel of their future activities must be the provision of training to nationals of developing countries and the creation of institutions in developing countries that can help Governments to deal on a continuous basis with these crucial social problems.

190. My delegation welcomes the preparations for the 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy which should lead to greater global co-operation in the development and transfer of technology relating to these forms of energy for the benefit of all countries and in particular for those developing countries which do not possess vast amounts of conventional energy resources such as coal, nuclear energy and hydrocarbon deposits, and which will require cost-effective energy resources for the continued economic and social development of their peoples.

191. We move into the new decade of the 1980s with a comprehensive catalogue of grievances that need to be settled. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is conscious of, and also deeply concerned about, the proliferation of institutions to which the Secretary-General alluded, and the extent to which this institutional escapism is being used to obfuscate real issues or to relegate the just demands of the developing countries to the cobwebs of international institutional networks.

192. If the international community wishes to identify the real problems and assist the development of developing countries, then the perspective of genuine interdependence rather than that of narrow nationalistic goals must inform the attitudes of those countries with the capacity to assist in the solution of these problems.

193. If the international community really wishes to optimize the utilization of the limited natural resources of this planet, all nations must strive towards forms of co-operation that will not involve exploitation of the poor by the wealthy, or the subjugation of the weak by the strong.

194. These are some of the tasks that will continue to face us in the 1980s. We must have the courage to recognize them. We must have the political will and conviction to acknowledge them. We do have a duty to overcome them.

195. Mr. YAZDI (Iran):<sup>11</sup>

“O believers, we created you male and female and

<sup>10</sup> *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Yazdi spoke in Persian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

have made of you nations and tribes that you should know one another. Lo, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most righteous."<sup>12</sup> [*The Koran, Sura XLIX Hujurat 49.*]

196. Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. The unanimous vote of this body in your support is a tribute to Africa, to your country and to you personally.

197. I should also like to express my respect for Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, whose continuous search for world peace ought to be an example for all peace-loving nations.

198. Permit me to convey to this Assembly the greetings of the Iranian people, of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, and of the great leader of our revolution, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

199. I should also like to note that this is not the first time I have addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, although this is the first time the Assembly is actually hearing me. As an Iranian who has come here from out of the ranks of a 30-year-old revolutionary movement, I have enjoyed the satisfaction of screaming the outrage of my people at you on several occasions from the sidewalks in front of this building. While from the outside, the walls of this complex seemed difficult to penetrate, I never questioned the necessity of appealing to the conscience of the world in our struggle against tyranny.

200. Now that we have penetrated the walls and this Assembly can hear me loud and clear, I should like to state categorically that this is the first time since the coup engineered in Iran by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1953 that the Iranian delegation to the United Nations has represented the true preference of the Iranian people. It is an undeniable fact that during the past 25 years the Shah of Iran was a puppet of imperialism and zionism. While our people identified with the liberation movements of the third world, the Iranian delegation to the General Assembly sided with the racist or imperialist oppressors. While the Iranians felt a deep sense of solidarity with the people of Palestine and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, the Iranian delegation voted with the Zionists, whose repression of the Palestinians and the Lebanese has become comparable to Nazi criminal acts.

201. It is a source of immense pleasure for me to announce to this session of the General Assembly that from now on the Iranian delegation to the United Nations will act and vote on the basis of the true preferences and aspirations of the Iranian people. It is intrinsic to the Islamic Republic of Iran that our representatives in the world Organization should always side with the victims of colonialism, imperialism, exploitation, racism and zionism.

202. The Iranian revolution is committed to a fundamental transformation of Iranian society, on the basis of the Koranic principles of justice, equality and participation. Revolution is a quest for freedom and, from the perspective of Islam, freedom involves the unchaining

of human beings from economic oppression, exploitation, political and cultural manipulation, mental slavery, egocentrism and all other causes of alienation. In the Islamic world view, one is capable of recognizing God only after one has unchained oneself from the conditions of one's alienation. The final goal of all revolutions is the destruction of the sources of human alienation, whether they be found in capitalism, totalitarianism or exploitation.

203. The goal of the Islamic revolution is to create a society in which all people may fulfil their potential, regardless of race, religion or sex. The end of the Shah's régime was the first step towards this goal by the Iranian revolution. Needless to say, the destruction of the Pahlavi rule was the less difficult part of our task; the more complex revolutionary work is ahead of us. For example, we have to restructure the society at a time when our agriculture, by reason of the neglect and irresponsibility of the old régime, can feed no more than 30 per cent of Iran's population.

204. The moral explosion of the Iranian masses in 1978 was greatly inspired by the doctrines of the Koran and the efforts of Prophet Mohammed to transform the wealthy and class-dominated societies of his time into egalitarian and democratic communities of the Islamic faithful. The doctrines of the Koran and the Prophet's tradition will continue to guide and inspire our revolution. One of the most popular slogans of the demonstrators during the last phase of the revolutionary struggle was "Neither East nor West: only Islamic Republic".

205. It is indeed true that both the Western and the Eastern worlds have difficulty understanding the nature of the Iranian revolution. The difficulties of the West are rooted in a number of misperceptions.

*Mr. Tómasson (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

206. In the first place, in the West religion is defined as a relationship between man and the supernatural. There is no room in that definition for political, economic and social considerations. Islam, however, consists of a set of doctrines based on a world view. The Islamic doctrines define and conceptualize both man and the social universe with the purpose of transforming them in accordance with the Islamic world view. Seen in this light, the religion of Islam has its own political, economic, social and cultural perspectives. It is the imposition of the Western definition of religion on Islam which prevents most Western observers from comprehending our revolution.

207. Secondly, the development of secular scientific culture in Europe was opposed by the organized Church. This was not the case in the Islamic societies simply because Islam has no organized and centrally controlled Church. The Western intellectuals, as a class, developed their distinction in opposition to the Church, particularly the Catholic Church. They were perceived to be rational rather than emotional, and committed to the doctrine that knowledge is the product of pure reason. During the dark ages, which, in the specific sense, were exclusively a Western phenomenon, the Church rejected the existence of non-religious or non-theological knowledge. The Christian clergy's

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

attitude of resentment and contempt towards the early scientific discoveries is well known.

208. In pre-Renaissance Europe, the papal system had transformed religion into a stagnant institution closely connected with the ruling classes of the time. A principal function of theology and religious literature was to comfort the oppressed masses with the promise of heaven. With the Renaissance, science and philosophy broke away from the bondage of papal totalitarianism and began their free and independent inquiry. With the passage of time, this sense of liberation, along with the scientific reasoning brought about by the Renaissance, became the weapon of the intellectuals against organized religion, which fought back with all its resources.

209. In such a situation, it was logical for the scientists and secular thinkers to distinguish their activities as separate from, or opposed to, religious doctrines. When the clock, which was invented by the Moslems, was introduced into the French Court, the priests deemed it to be the work of the devil and ordered their servants to destroy it. Thus when the Western intellectuals began to advocate the separation of Church and State they were actually choosing freedom over the arbitrary power of organized religion. They were against superstition and denial of natural joy, not against ethics or morality. Consequently, the antagonism of the intellectuals to the Church in the West made a significant contribution to social and scientific advancement. However, when Western secularism was transmitted to the colonized societies, particularly Islamic societies, and popularized among the educated elements of the people, the results were not social and scientific advancement but the alienation of the intellectuals from themselves as well as from the masses.

210. The West moved toward secularism as a way of solving this problem. The separation of Church and State was the outcome of this movement, which served the progressive interests of science and society. The Islamic world has never had such an experience. Those Western observers who assume their experience with religion has universal application are often confused when they see a religious leader has become the leader of a great political revolution.

211. Thirdly, the Western experience with religion also contributed to the development of philosophical materialism. When Karl Marx described religion as the "opium of the people", he had the history of Western Europe in mind. He knew very little about Islam or the African or Asian societies. In the Islamic societies, when the intellectuals opposed religion and religious values, echoing either Marxism or Western liberalism, the result was the destruction or weakening of the moral force capable of confronting colonial aggression and imperialism, particularly in its cultural form.

212. The prejudice of the colonial scholars was, and continues to be, heavily influenced by the imperialist interests, while the misperception of the Marxist writers has been a logical extension of the assumption that "religion is the opium of the people", a contention that could have been true in one society or region but not necessarily in other societies and regions of the world. Instead of using Marxism as a tool of analysis, many Western and Eastern thinkers have substituted the

Marxist doctrines for an independent study of third-world societies within their own native socio-historical context. It is unfortunate that too many of the contemporary liberal and socialist observers of the third world are still pursuing the framework developed by their nineteenth-century predecessors.

213. The fourth factor in understanding the Iranian revolution is that the works of the so-called Western orientalist on Islam are, for the most part, so prejudiced that even those who wish to learn about the reality of Islam as a revolutionary ideology have difficulty finding adequate literature. Most students of Middle Eastern affairs in Western universities study with teachers who have a built-in antipathy towards Islamic cultures.

214. Finally, the fifth factor: for a quarter of a century the deposed Shah spent millions of dollars in order to present a progressive image of himself to the Western world. A component of this undertaking was to present his opponents as either Marxists or religious extremists opposed to his modernization programs.

215. Given such pre-conceived notions and prejudices, it is no wonder that many observers of socialist and liberal persuasion have as much trouble appreciating the radical and progressive nature of the Iranian revolution as do the apologists for imperialism.

216. All societies have their own organic development, regardless of what the ethnocentric social theoreticians would like to believe. It was the consequence of this reality that, in February 1979 after 100 years of struggle, enabled the Iranian people to force their illegitimate monarch into permanent exile and to welcome home their most popular leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Those events were a culmination of more than a year of nation-wide demonstrations, protests and strikes against the Pahlavi régime and United States imperialism. The dominant slogans of the protest demonstrations and mass marches were: "Death to the Shah", "Independence, Freedom and Islamic Republic" and "Neither East, Nor West, only Islamic Republic".

217. The swiftness with which the Islamic Republic of Iran acted against Zionist Israel and South Africa exemplifies the ideals embodied in the international stand taken by our revolution. It demonstrated our unequivocal commitment to the right of all peoples to a sovereign and independent life free of oppression, domination and exploitation in all their manifestations.

218. We are committed to the view that the maintenance and propagation of bloc alliances based on a military network serves only the cause of imperialism and tyranny. The policy of dismantling military bases and dissociating Iran from military alliances, which cater to the imperialistic game-plan, was one of the initial foreign policy decisions of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It was also a logical step for revolutionary Iran to join the ranks of the non-aligned States. The ideals represented by the non-aligned movement reflect many of our own. Our recent participation in the Havana Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries signalled the beginning of what we hope will be a very active membership in the non-aligned movement. Our beloved national hero, and

Prime Minister from 1951 to 1953, the late Mohammad Mossadegh, was one of the original advocates of non-alignment. He championed the cause of non-alignment from the tribune of the United Nations in 1952,<sup>13</sup> at a time when Stalinism and United States imperialism did not even respect the legitimacy of non-alignment. The coup engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency against Mossadegh was, in part, due to his advocacy of non-alignment, exemplified by his refusal to join the military alliance sponsored by the United States which came to be known as the Baghdad Pact.

219. We are all too familiar with the facts of the Middle East conflict. For us, the most important fact is the displacement and suffering of the Palestinian people. Three million human beings either have been expelled from their ancestral homes or live under the Nazified terror of the Israeli military occupation simply because they are not Jews. I know such a formulation of the problem may sound over-simplified, but it is nevertheless the naked truth. This is why Zionism has to be regarded as one of the most vicious forms of racism in recorded history; it displaces and terrorizes human beings simply because they do not belong to a particular race and religion.

220. Poor people have always used less sophisticated means of killing their enemies than have the rich. This inequality of means in warfare, which is tremendously intensified by the industrial and technological advances of the past century, has enabled the rich to distort the reality of their actions and intentions. When the Israeli bombers rain death on the impoverished Palestinians and Lebanese, their media apologists in the Western countries, particularly in the United States, describe their genocidal aggression as defensive aerial attacks on Palestinian military bases. No correspondent goes to the Palestinian refugee camps or to the Lebanese villages to report on the plight of the victims. But when the Palestinians blow up a bus in occupied Jerusalem or assassinate an Israeli secret agent, they are described as terrorists. This hypocrisy is characteristic of systems of oppression that deny the rights and human dignity of their victims.

221. My Government is proud to have taken concrete steps in contributing to international efforts aimed at unmasking such deceptions and at undoing the violations and criminal acts committed by Israel.

222. Nowhere are the vestiges and remnants of colonialism and imperialism more apparent and stark than in southern Africa. In keeping with our conviction that we must seek for others the same dignities and freedoms that we have sought for ourselves, the Iranian Government took prompt action regarding the abhorrent policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination on the African continent. This action resulted, among other things, in the total cut-off of Iranian oil shipped to South Africa. That measure was adopted with the intention of applying economic pressure on the Pretoria régime and, indirectly, upon the equally racist and illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

223. Five months ago the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples held a series of plenary meetings in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Iran participated in those deliberations and enunciated its views on *apartheid* and decolonization in greater specificity and detail. We mentioned then, and we repeat the view now, that the Iranian Government finds the situations existing in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia disgraceful and deplorable. We add our voice to those that have already made themselves heard through the channels of the United Nations as well as elsewhere, denouncing any solution not entailing the right of the majority to self-determination and freedom without qualification. It is our hope that the Security Council in particular will further contribute to this end by strengthening all existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and that all Member States will cease and desist from violating the letter and spirit of these prohibitions.

224. In the case of South Africa, our policy is predicated on the same tenets of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism that combined to form the moral underpinnings of our position on Southern Rhodesia. As mentioned earlier, the existing racist nature of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa remains in direct opposition to Iran's policy of supporting efforts aimed at creating an international society free from the evils of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination in all their forms. As such, South Africa has done little to ameliorate its present posture in either style or substance, as witnessed by its continuing discriminatory, exploitative and provocative policies in Namibia, all pursued in defiance of the unanimous call by the international community for a peaceful and just settlement in that Territory. We believe, then, that it is high time that the United Nations adopted more effective economic and other measures, including the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the Government of South Africa.

225. Although the revolutionary government is only eight months old, the Provisional Government of Bazargan, under the moral guidance of Ayatollah Khomeini, has made it abundantly clear that Iran has proudly joined the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces. However, what is distinct about our revolutionary posture, in both the domestic and international realms, lies in our conviction that the struggle for justice, independence and freedom should in part be directed against our own habits and perceptions. It is certain that the racists and exploiters of this world will not treat the nations and peoples of the third world any better than the way we treat our own people and relate to one another across national boundaries.

226. Until recent decades the rulers in the official or unofficial colonies of Africa, Asia and Latin America did not need the assistance of colonial or imperialist Powers in order to maintain their privileged position. In fact, in many cases the traditional rulers attempted to resist the Western penetration of their societies not only for political but also for cultural and ideological reasons. Until the outbreak of the Second World War, the cultural and ideological orientation of the typical traditional ruling class in the under-developed world was not too different from that of its own general population.

227. Today the situation is completely changed. The

<sup>13</sup> See *I.C.J. Pleadings, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. Case (United Kingdom v. Iran)*, pp. 437-442.

peasants are still living under the same conditions or have moved to urban ghettos, but the owners or controllers of the means of production have adopted a cultural and ideological orientation that mystifies the general population. The privileged few, whether they belong to the commercial, bureaucratic or military sector of the governing class, have little socio-cultural contact with the exploited many. In terms of their concrete aspirations and ambitions, they identify with the West to the point of being alienated from their own roots.

228. Thus as the economic gap between the privileged few and the wretched many increases, so does the cultural gap. The enclaves of wealth and power in many under-developed countries are also enclaves of imported cultures and life-styles. The rapid growth of international finance, the movement of goods and services, travel and communication have led to a global standardization of values, goals and aspirations among those who benefit from these activities. Since the technology and the ideology of this dramatic phenomenon are the product of organic socio-economic growth in the West, the standardization of values, goals and aspirations among the ruling classes of the world has added a new dimension of cultural domination to the evolving character of imperialism in the contemporary world. Today, even the liberal education, the manners, the dress fashion, the fads and the consumptive norms of the ruling classes in the subordinated societies are similar to those of their counterparts in the advanced industrial world.

229. In our time imperialism has produced an unprecedented amount of resentment among the populace in the subordinated societies. This resentment, which is a response to exploitation, coercion and consumption-oriented manipulation, has resulted in an intensified and expanded revolutionary challenge from below. Thus installation of repressive technology in the dominated society and militarization of its state have become necessary in order to maintain the *status quo*. And yet it is a mistake to think of the export of manipulation, repression and militarism to the developing countries as a reaction to the resentment of the wretched. Since the resentment itself is a product of imperialism, the response to it is also a product of imperialism. Seen in this light, manipulation, repression and militarism are the organic commodities of imperialism in search of global markets.

230. Sad to say, too many of us are eager customers for the latest commodities of imperialism. Too many of us spend the precious resources of our people in a parasitic and paranoia-producing arms race. Too many of us are more responsive to the greed of the few for luxury goods than to the essential needs of the many. The arms race and the insatiable hunger for luxury goods are integral parts of the imperialist design for the contemporary world. Too many of us are the unconscious victims of imperialism. The perceptions which were imposed on our fathers by colonialism and imperialism have gradually become so internalized by us that we think they are the product of our own thinking. Cultural imperialism has penetrated the deepest levels of our psyches. Too many of us use the imported instruments of repression and oppression against our own peoples more effectively than their producers intended for us. Too many of us spend more of our resources on the institutions of coercion than on education or public health. The deposed Shah of Iran was perhaps the most

irrational ruler in this category, but we all know that there are too many smaller shahs in this world.

231. Why did China have to teach Viet Nam a lesson? What justification was there for the Pol Pot régime in Cambodia to pursue a course of action that resulted in the death of more than 2 million of its own citizens? Why did Viet Nam find it necessary to invade Cambodia? If the new régime in Cambodia is popular and legitimate, why are foreign troops compelled to continue their presence in the country?

232. The rebellion in Afghanistan has produced thousands of deaths and tens of thousands of refugees, who are pouring into the Iranian and Pakistani territories. Irrational and alienated elements justify such actions in the name of an imported "ism". It does not matter if the natives reject the imported formula or do not wish to be represented by those who arrogate to themselves a scientific mission.

233. We will betray our own commitment to peace, justice, independence and freedom if our answers to these questions are superficial, evasive, self-serving and one-dimensional. It was not class struggle or economic considerations which caused the latest tragedies in Indo-China. And it is not enough to claim that subjective factors are at work without pursuing the question of what we mean by "subjective factors" and what should be done to remove them. It is our responsibility to analyze these conflicts with as much vigour and commitment to truth as we apply to unmasking the nature and consequences of traditional imperialism.

234. The Marxist theory of conflict falls short of explaining all the problems of our time; and when it does explain a particular conflict situation, it is a mistake to perceive such an explanation as final. There is an abundance of historical evidence that materialist categories of explanations or prescriptions, whether rooted in Marxism or capitalism, neither fully comprehend the nature of human conflict, nor sufficiently satisfy human aspirations.

235. The revolutionary experiences of this century are once again demonstrating the ancient truth that the struggle for justice, freedom, peace and independence requires a moral dimension which is separate from and beyond the material structure. Nuclear weapons and the real possibility of a global holocaust have intensified the need for this recognition in an unprecedented manner. Nineteenth century conditions of growth and industrialization made morality subservient to materialism in social theories and political actions. Contemporary revolutionary movements can no longer continue this unnatural situation. They have to recognize that imperialism, war and oppression cannot be defeated by materialism alone.

236. The problem in the third-world countries is not just the political and economic domination by the alien forces of super-Powers, but also their cultural domination.

237. Many of the third-world countries are dominated by the ideological, philosophical and cultural tendencies which are alien to the native societies. As a result, many intellectuals in the third world are alienated not only from themselves, but also from their own people. This situation has produced an unprecedented crisis

among intellectuals in the third world, to the extent that communication between them and the masses has become extremely difficult, and at times impossible.

238. Many of the educated elements in the third world speak the native language; they might even dress like the natives. But they think, feel, taste, see and hear in a Western or Eastern way. In other words, their sense perceptions are taken over by alien forces. This is the worst kind of slavery human beings can be subjected to. This mental slavery is the most distinct consequence of imperialism in the contemporary world, and it seems to be a cheap and effective tool for perpetuating imperialist domination.

239. The global problems diversely analysed from this podium during the past 10 days have a cultural dimension the comprehension of which is at least as crucial as their economic, political, commercial and military components. The multifaceted crisis confronting us all can be reversed if our attention is not limited to the objective conditions of oppression and exploitation. We must also confront the habits and perceptions which we have inherited and internalized without thought or reflection. The problems of development, poverty, inequality, insecurity and violence in the third world can be effectively dealt with only in native socio-cultural contexts, otherwise we will continue to be, however unwittingly, the tools of the super-Powers.

240. The producers and sellers of arms live in a few advanced industrial societies, but increasingly those who use the ever more sophisticated weapons are the impoverished peoples of the third world. This is a new but less visible form of domination and exploitation to which the wretched of the earth are subjected. The poor have become the fighters of the proxy wars of the rich, and this is why the militarization of politics in the third world has reached a sorry stage. In the name of security and with the dubious claim of knowing what is good for their people, many rulers of third-world countries have substituted forced submission for civil society and voluntary association. Nationalism, once a source of solidarity against imperialism, is now becoming an excuse for militarized societies to engage in civil and regional wars. Both the East and the West are exploiting the misperceptions and militarization of the third-world countries in accordance with their imperialistic game-plans, which include the expansion of their own self-serving arms race.

241. It is the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran that the United Nations should be as active in combating the new forms of imperialism as it was in the struggle against colonialism. The cultural domination and militarization of the third world can be as destructive of the rights and humanity of nations as violation of their sovereignty. The confrontation between the oppressed natives and the rulers whose alienated consciousness has placed them at the service of imperialism is as inevitable as was the confrontation between the natives and their colonial masters. Whenever the United Nations has had an opportunity to play a constructive role in the confrontation between colonial oppressors and the forces of national self-determination, it has been instrumental in reducing the violence of the confrontation.

242. In the past decade the United Nations has played a significant role in unmasking the deceptiveness of

zionist Israel or arousing the conscience of the world against the racist régimes of southern Africa. The Western mass media have a near monopoly of information and communications facilities and it is extremely difficult for the poor or the oppressed to appeal to world public opinion. The plight of the oppressed is not sensational enough for the monopolists of information and communications facilities. The United Nations can be more helpful in this regard than it has been in the past.

243. For a quarter of a century half a million Iranians served time in prison; more than 65,000 of them were killed by the Shah's armed men; over 2,000 of them, all young men and women, were publicly executed and an unknown number were tortured to death; yet not a word about these hideous crimes was uttered in this Assembly. There are other peoples in the world who are being killed, imprisoned and tortured by other shahs. The United Nations should heed their cries and reflect them in its public deliberations.

244. The crimes of the shahs cannot be ignored by the world Organization simply because they take place within national boundaries. If the oppressors have to get their arms, ammunition, spies, advisers, and repression technology from outside their national boundaries, then concern over their crimes cannot be confined within their national boundaries either.

245. The legitimacy of the United Nations can be deepened if this challenge is taken seriously. The oppressors, the monopolists of information and communications facilities, those who benefit from proxy wars and cultural domination, whether they live inside or outside certain national boundaries, will certainly advise the United Nations to tolerate the crimes of those who rule by coercion alone. But if we are to serve the cause of peace and justice in the world, we cannot ignore the plight of the oppressed without losing our legitimacy. The Islamic Republic of Iran is committed to the proposition that the most sacred mission of the United Nations is to support, within a realistic framework, the rights and human dignity of the oppressed at all times and under all circumstances.

246. Mr. ÖKCÜN (Turkey): It is a great pleasure for me to join the previous speakers in congratulating President Salim most warmly on his election to the high office he now occupies. As I wish him well in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities, I should like to emphasize that my delegation and I are confident that the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly will carry out its work effectively and efficiently under his able guidance. May I be permitted to pay a tribute to the country he represents and stress that my Government attaches special importance to promoting its relations with the United Republic of Tanzania in all fields.

247. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay homage to Mr. Salim's predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia for the efficient and skilful manner in which he performed his duties during the last session of the General Assembly.

248. I wish to recall once more the eminent qualities of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to reiterate our sincere appreciation for his dedicated and untiring efforts in the attainment of our common goals.

249. Permit me also to avail myself of this opportunity

to express our warm welcome to Saint Lucia on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. We consider this admission to be a further step towards the true universality of the Organization.

250. Each session of the General Assembly provides us with the opportunity of taking stock of the situation in the world and of the trends affecting the course of events in international relations. In line with this practice, the speakers who have taken the floor before me have analysed in detail the present world developments. I should like to stress briefly the conclusion that was reached by many and which I fully share.

251. In spite of the determined efforts deployed during the past year in all international forums, particularly within the United Nations system, and through bilateral contacts, the international scene continues to be characterized by tensions and conflicts.

252. In the search for solutions to these tensions and conflicts, the correct approach should be to discern their real causes. Whatever may be their nature, political or military, the underlying causes are often economic and social. Therefore, while tackling some of the urgent international issues separately, this interrelationship should always be kept in mind.

253. Our major concern in international relations is the establishment and maintenance of peace, security and stability among nations.

254. Much has been done in the quest for a better world, and a more congenial international setting for peace and security. In this quest it is our belief that détente represents the guiding factor for present-day international relations. In present world conditions there is no alternative to détente. As I stated last year, from this very rostrum,<sup>14</sup> every country, big or small, developed or developing, has a stake in the relaxation of tension and should, on the basis of equality participate actively in the efforts to promote peace and security. Détente must therefore become universal, encompassing all regions of the world and all aspects of international life.

255. Détente is in conformity with the principles that guide Turkish foreign policy, which is aimed at developing relations with all the countries in the world, particularly with neighbouring countries, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the equality of rights.

256. Inspired by Atatürk's motto, "Peace at home, Peace abroad," Turkey has played an active role in fostering the process of détente and has consistently contributed to the work leading to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe<sup>15</sup> and to its follow-up. It is true that we should not expect spectacular achievements in the relatively short time that has elapsed since the Conference. Yet it is gratifying that the process of détente in Europe is continuing and even acquiring new dimensions. The Madrid review session to be held next year will, in our view, constitute a crucial step in this evolutionary process.

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting, para. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

All participating countries bear a special responsibility to contribute to the success of the Madrid meeting. We believe that a careful and thorough preparation is therefore indispensable. Bilateral contacts and consultations will certainly play an important role in this respect. We should not lose sight of the fact that the momentum of the détente process should be sustained by timely and appropriate efforts. Hence the importance of the Madrid follow-up meeting.

257. Détente is indivisible. It should not be confined to Europe alone. Serious thought should be given to encouraging such a process in other regions through constructive initiatives and positive actions. We see no other way of ensuring peace, security and stability throughout the world.

258. Another crucial matter that interests us all is arms control and disarmament. General and complete disarmament under effective international control is and will continue to be the ultimate goal of the international community. World public opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the need for stopping the arms race and allocating the material and human resources thus released to economic and social development.

259. Arms control and disarmament is a long process that will require purposeful and constant efforts by all countries. Progress towards this objective will have to be achieved gradually but effectively, and our primary aim should be to stop the arms race and reduce the danger of nuclear war. Reduction of the level of armaments is an equally important task. Our method should be a step-by-step approach. We should aim at specific, feasible measures. Therefore, we are of the view that steps at present being undertaken will play an important role in the attainment of the over-all objective.

260. Let me add that Turkey welcomed the second SALT Treaty recently signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America as a major step in this context. It is our hope that this important development will have a positive bearing on other arms control and disarmament negotiations in Europe and in the world in general.

261. Another significant initiative is the Vienna talks on force reductions in Central Europe and associated measures. The successful conclusion of these negotiations will contribute to peace and security in Europe and to conditions conducive to a more stable military relationship based on reduced force-levels. While backing the current efforts in that direction, we believe that the measures to be undertaken should not adversely affect security and stability in other regions of Europe.

262. I should now like to turn to the situation in the Middle East, which continues to be one of the major areas of tension in the world. Turkey, as a country of the region, follows the developments there with close attention.

263. As we have stated on several previous occasions, a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem can be achieved only through Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories and from the Arab sector of Jerusalem occupied in 1967 and through the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent State. That is why we consider the

question of Palestine to be the core of the Middle East conflict, and that is why we believe that the active participation of the PLO, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should be secured in any peace-making process if there is to be peace in the region.

264. Another source of deep concern in the Middle East is the situation in Lebanon. The events of recent years have caused great sufferings in that country and have put in jeopardy its territorial integrity. The situation in Lebanon is in itself inextricably linked with the over-all problem of the Middle East. Repeated attacks by Israel further aggravate the situation and constitute another serious impediment in the way of bringing about peace in the area.

265. The acute problems awaiting solutions in southern Africa continue to be another source of disappointment to the international community.

266. The Turkish people have always rejected all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. The active and determined stand we have taken against racist policies is a natural consequence of this traditional position.

267. Indeed, having led the way for liberation movements earlier in the century under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk, the Turkish people are following the situation now prevailing in Africa with deep concern.

268. The Government of South Africa, which has institutionalized the policy of *apartheid*, has remained undeterred by and insensitive to the repeated demands of the international community. It has stepped up its oppressive measures and has continued its policy of bantustanization. These developments have further aggravated the prevailing situation in southern Africa. The Government of Turkey strongly condemns the policy of *apartheid* and advocates continued United Nations efforts to eliminate this policy. We are firmly convinced that further effective measures should be adopted against South Africa.

269. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia from its inception, we maintain, as before, that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is unacceptable. We fully support the people of Namibia and their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, in their rightful struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and genuine national independence. We remain convinced that the United Nations plan<sup>16</sup> for the establishment of an independent and democratic Namibia through elections to be held in accordance with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) is the only feasible way to achieve a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem.

270. As regards the question of Zimbabwe, I should also like to reaffirm my Government's support for the legitimate struggle of the Zimbabwean people, led by the Patriotic Front, against the vestiges of racism and towards the achievement of a solution based on genuine majority rule. We believe that any solution concerning

the future of Zimbabwe must be worked out with the participation of the Patriotic Front so that it can be internationally recognized.

271. In this connexion I should like to note that the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka last August, has brought about a new stage concerning the solution of the question of Zimbabwe. We welcome the constructive efforts of the front-line African States in this regard, as well as the initiative taken by the United Kingdom to hold a conference in London with the participation of all parties concerned. We hope that this Conference will contribute to the solution of the Zimbabwean question, taking into account the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

272. The African nations are facing particularly difficult problems. The security and stability of the continent will depend on finding urgent and effective solutions to these problems. The eradication of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and the acceleration of development are the pressing tasks of the world community as a whole. It can easily be said that in the coming years Africa will constitute the testing-ground for international solidarity and true co-operation.

273. In their efforts for development primarily based on national and collective self-reliance, African countries will certainly be in need of and benefit from the positive contributions of the international community as a whole and of the developed countries in particular.

274. However, while providing such support and assistance, non-African countries should refrain from intervening in inter-African disputes and interfering in the internal affairs of African States. Turkey firmly believes that inter-African disputes can and should be resolved by the African countries themselves.

275. As a developing country, Turkey is well aware of the obstacles facing the developing countries in our age. This is why we are ready to make available our own experience and capabilities in contributing to the efforts the African nations make towards development and self-reliance.

276. In recent years, we have increased our contacts with many African countries in order to promote economic, cultural and technical co-operation.

277. Traditionally, peace has been considered as a product of an equilibrium based on security and the political independence of States. Today there is a growing awareness that this equilibrium has, in fact, economic and social dimensions. Political independence, in this context, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to remedy the ills of under-development. There can be no stability in an international environment where disparity between rich and poor nations attains such disquieting proportions.

278. Unfortunately the record of our activities within the United Nations system is not yet very promising in this respect. Expectations raised by the consensus on the establishment of the New International Economic Order have not been met. Rather a dismal picture is the result so far of many endeavours.

<sup>16</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

279. One has to admit that this is a rather peculiar situation: rich and poor countries agree on broad objectives for the establishment of a more equitable international order, and yet they fail to adopt the practical measures required by their consensus.

280. To our mind, one of the main reasons for this bleak picture is the absence of the necessary political will on the part of the industrialized countries. Only with such will can one overcome short-term, narrow and even parochial interests which have hitherto impeded progress in a North-South dialogue. Only through significant progress on substantive issues can a new impetus be given to the dialogue.

281. Since the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, we have been passing through a transitory stage characterized by a set of *modi vivendi* reached temporarily by the major industrial Powers with respect to international monetary and trade issues, as well as economic policy concertation among them. Nevertheless, in the present climate of uncertainty implicit in transition, it is no longer possible to preserve the old international order by minor adjustments or short-term counter-cyclical measures.

282. What we need is to aim at a new international order conducive to the development in a truly interdependent world of the developing countries with their full and active participation. Only in such a new international order can the inflation and unemployment besetting the world economy be tackled and global economic growth be resumed on a sustained basis.

283. I should like to bring to the attention of the General Assembly two points that I consider particularly important.

284. First, in our view the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 should allocate its remaining time, until the 1980 special session of the General Assembly, to determining how best it can launch the new phase of global negotiations. We should accordingly modify, at this session of the General Assembly, the mandate of the Committee so as to enable it to discharge this major task until the convening of the special session. Turkey is ready to contribute actively to such an initiative.

285. We are convinced that the incorporation of "energy" in the dialogue is of tremendous importance for all countries, developed and developing alike. Incidentally, since the industrialized countries had in the past fully recognized and even ardently defended the need for incorporating the question of energy in the dialogue, we expect that they will support the initiative now taken in this respect by developing countries.

286. In fact, there are many reasons justifying the inclusion of energy in the dialogue. Indeed, the pricing of oil, its interaction with world inflation, and conservation measures to be adopted by developed countries, as well as the problem of meeting the primary energy requirements of developing countries on a sustained basis are some of the short-term and long-term issues related to energy which can be usefully discussed within this dialogue.

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

287. In the short run, however, the energy issue is related to the acute balance-of-payments difficulties of oil-importing developing countries. In fact, these countries have reached such a stage after recent price rises that their oil import bills start drawing heavily on their total export earnings. This development has compounded the existing balance-of-payments difficulties of these countries arising from strong inflationary trends in the industrialized world.

288. I must make it clear that collective self-reliance lies at the core of this problem. It is a promising sign, therefore, that this crucial point has been fully recognized in the resolution adopted at the Havana Conference of non-aligned countries [A/34/542, annex VI B, resolution No. 7].

289. We carefully listened to Mr. José López Portillo, the President of Mexico, and greatly appreciated his innovative contribution to a better understanding of the world's problems which await urgent solution. We fully share his conviction that the energy issue should be tackled within a "more complex whole: a new world economic order" [11th meeting, para. 62] with all its linkages, and within the framework of the new international development strategy as a means of implementing the necessary measures.

290. It is also our considered view that the United Nations system is the most appropriate, indeed the only "fully instituted forum" [*ibid.*, para. 65], in which to handle global energy questions. We are convinced that the proposed energy plan could best be approached within global negotiations which, we earnestly hope, will be launched at this General Assembly session, and will be fully open to all countries, not only during negotiations, but also during the preparatory stages.

291. I now come to the second point which is the rampant trend of protectionism in international trade. The development of developing countries depends to a considerable extent on continued growth in their export earnings. And yet, protectionist practices in industrialized countries are rapidly increasing. This poses not only a great danger to the economies of developing countries but also a threat to the very foundations of the liberal and interdependent world order advocated by the industrialized countries themselves. There is an urgent need for determined international action to stop this trend. Such action would be to the benefit of both sides. The growth of the economies of the developing countries through increased access to the markets of developed countries would in the long run have beneficial effects on the industrialized countries by enabling them to sustain their own level of growth and welfare.

292. We live at a very critical period in history. While developing countries are determined to realize economic development, the international economy plunges from one recession into another with a prospect of long-term slow growth.

293. At this juncture, the New International Economic Order appears as an historic opportunity and a challenge both for those who have been blessed with the bounties of the industrial age and for those who are disadvantaged. We should welcome this challenge without further delay. Negotiations on the New International Economic Order must be pursued uninteruptedly and persistently. We must mobilize all our

efforts, resources and imagination to explore new approaches to co-operation. Above all, we must not allow ourselves to become discouraged or to abandon a worth-while objective.

294. Before concluding I would like to touch briefly upon the question of Cyprus.

295. The Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization makes the following observation in connexion with the question of Cyprus:

“It seems to me, however, that a far-sighted and determined approach, based on the existing guidelines and accords, could lead to a rapid improvement of the situation in the island that would serve the interests of all concerned and would be vastly preferable to continuing to cling to an unsatisfactory and potentially unstable *status quo*.”  
[See A/34/1, sect. III.]

296. The Turkish Government fully agrees with the Secretary-General's observation. In the view of my Government, the key to improving the present situation in the island and even to finding a solution lies in the process of negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, to be conducted on an equal footing.

297. The Turkish community of Cyprus pursues the sole objective of ensuring its security as well as its fundamental and legitimate rights as an equal partner in an independent, sovereign, non-aligned, bi-communal, bi-zonal, federal Republic, closing the doors to any possible repetition of oppression by the other partner. This noble aim must be supported by all those who respect human dignity and justice. Turkey, for one, fully supports it.

298. In the view of the Turkish Government, the 19 May agreement provides the necessary framework for the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities as equal partners. It cannot and should not be seen as an escape from commitments undertaken on the basis of the Denktas-Makarios four-point guidelines of 12 February 1977.<sup>17</sup>

299. The Cyprus question has today reached a stage where the common purpose of the international community, as well as that of the parties directly concerned, is to encourage the pursuit of the intercommunal talks in a continued and sustained manner. To that end, my Government is determined to support the serious intensive efforts that are under way thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General in order to reactivate the intercommunal talks. In our view, if the momentum of the break-through of 19 May 1979 is to be maintained and if the negotiating process is to be given a chance to make substantial progress, it is essential that the parties should refrain from violating the letter and spirit of point 6 of the 19 May agreement<sup>18</sup> which provides for the improvement of the atmosphere so as to facilitate negotiations.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977, document S/12323, paras. 4 and 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979, document S/13369.

300. Attempts to change the nature of the good offices entrusted to the Secretary-General and to take the Cyprus problem on to platforms other than its proper platform, that is to say to the intercommunal talks, are nothing but a manoeuvre aimed at avoiding serious negotiations and as such are doomed to failure. We still hope that the Greek Cypriot leadership will realize this fact and co-operate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the resumption without further delay of the intercommunal talks. We also continue to hope that the Government of Greece will bring itself to encourage current efforts designed to make possible the resumption of those intercommunal talks, which is, in fact, the only valid exercise in clearing the way for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cyprus question.

301. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Mr. President, it gives me personally, and the entire Botswana delegation, great pleasure and satisfaction that you, a representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which Botswana has the most cordial of relations, have been elected President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election speaks eloquently of your diplomatic experience and attests to your competence. It is a source of pride to Africa. While congratulating you, I also wish to thank your predecessor, whose presidency of the last session was impeccable. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, goes our special commendation for the dedication with which he has devoted himself in the past, and continues to devote himself at present, to grappling with the many world problems that face our Organization. His faith in the role played by the United Nations, his vision of its capabilities in the political, economic, social and humanitarian fields, and his determination to translate that faith and vision into a fulfilment of the objectives for which this Organization was created, have been a source of inspiration to many of us. We wish him continued strength and good health.

302. From the outset I wish to reaffirm Botswana's unswerving commitment to the ideals of our Organization. Although the United Nations has not always lived up to our highest expectations, it has proved itself to be the best forum yet, where all nations, regardless of size or economic circumstances, can meet to seek ways of resolving the various burning issues of our time.

303. The United Nations has always aspired to universality in its membership in order to enhance the world-wide exchange of ideas. We are pleased, therefore, to welcome Saint Lucia into this comity of nations. We congratulate the Government and people of that State on the occasion of the admission of their country to the United Nations.

304. The Good Book tells us that in the midst of life we are in death, and we therefore remember with affection our esteemed friend and neighbour Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, a great freedom fighter and statesman. His passing is a loss not only to Angola but to all of us, especially to those in southern Africa who are still struggling to liberate their countries from racism and minority rule, for he was totally committed to their cause. Our condolences go to the family of the late President and to the Government and people of Angola.

305. Multiple aspects of building the New Interna-

tional Economic Order to provide practical solutions for the real problems besetting the world economy have been discussed in various forums. What is required now is a firm resolve to create a suitable atmosphere in which positive results can be obtained towards finalizing the detailed modalities by means of which resolutions may be put into practice at the global, regional and subregional levels. Only concerted, serious efforts and political goodwill on the part of all concerned will make the New International Economic Order a matter of practical reality. Action in that direction has already begun, but there is still a long way to go.

306. We are happy that an agreement has been reached on the fundamental elements of the Common Fund. We earnestly hope that final negotiations for making this institution operative will not be prolonged by divergent views on the utilization of the facility. The decision that the Common Fund would extend the use of its finances, through its second window, to measures other than for stocking commodities, is a major development.

307. The Second General Conference of UNIDO held in Lima, Peru, in 1975 recognized the low share contributed by developing countries to total world industrial production and declared that efforts should be made to increase their share to the maximum extent possible. Later in the same year, the General Assembly endorsed the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation<sup>19</sup> and asked UNIDO to organize consultations in the industrial field between developed and developing countries. Consultations on leather and leather products were held at Innsbruck, Austria and interested countries, including Botswana, have since sought assistance from UNIDO in keeping with the decision to encourage participation by developing countries in industrial production. Such efforts to put into practice the intentions of international forums should be appreciated and encouraged.

308. Botswana welcomes the establishment of UNIDO as a specialized agency of the United Nations and hopes it will be provided with sufficient resources to enable it to perform its task.

309. The Second United Nations Development Decade and its International Development Strategy [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] are drawing to a disappointing close. My delegation is rather concerned that that fact has not sufficiently aroused in us, as an international community, a sense both of urgency and seriousness of purpose. We are still talking about protectionism. We are churning out more strategies with an even higher degree of disagreement. In the meantime, the special session of the General Assembly to establish the new international development strategy for the 1980s, to be held in 1980, is fast approaching.

310. Botswana is a land-locked country. Among its serious disadvantages is its geographical position in southern Africa. It is almost entirely surrounded by racist, minority-ruled States which face actual or contemplated economic sanctions and boycotts, the effects of which Botswana cannot escape. We look forward to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries at which we hope that measures will be taken to lay down rational and equita-

ble criteria—other than those of gross national product and balance of payments—for that group of countries, and to provide programmes of assistance to increase their self-reliance and strengthen their independence.

311. Botswana is greatly encouraged by the growing awareness on the part of developing countries of the vital importance of developing our collective self-reliance. Our varied resources should go to meet our varied needs. Regional and interregional co-operation should be fostered much more actively, with international support.

312. Fifteen years ago when the first session of UNCTAD was held, shock, dismay and resistance were displayed at the then tentative discussion of revising terms of trade, of identifying a resource gap and of a proposal for a generalized system of preferences. One could take the position after 15 years and endless conferences, when these are still agenda items, that little has been achieved. It is certainly true that, given the needs of my people and of the rest of the world, too little has been accomplished. It gives one some comfort, however, that there is now virtually universal recognition that the international economic arrangements which have evolved over generations are inadequate for everyone, and that modification alone is not what we seek. Those arrangements must be reformed, restructured, recreated and revolutionized. Both the will and the method to regroup are as yet inadequate, but both developed and developing countries are gradually recognizing that they have some interests which converge and that even their divergent interests need not be completely irreconcilable. Nothing much has yet been accomplished, save the basis for accomplishment.

313. Almost two decades ago, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) which heralded the accession of many countries, including Botswana, to independence. That was one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations. It is a sad commentary on our times to have to acknowledge that there remain a few colonial situations where the oppressed are still struggling to free themselves from domination and where oppression still clings desperately to power in a last-ditch but futile stand against the inexorable march of history and inevitable change.

314. The question of Western Sahara remains on our agenda despite the numerous General Assembly resolutions affirming the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. Botswana has always supported the cause of the Saharan people because we hold sacred the right of any people to determine their own destiny. At its recent sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Monrovia, the OAU emphasized the urgent need to enable the Saharan people to exercise that right [*A/34/552, pp. 90-91*]. We oppose Morocco's expansionism while we applaud the Government of Mauritania for abandoning its claim to Western Sahara and its recognition of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination and independence. We urge the General Assembly to pronounce itself unequivocally on that issue.

315. We support the efforts being made by the Republic of the Comoros to achieve its territorial integrity and political unity through the reintegration of the island of Mayotte with the rest of the archipelago.

<sup>19</sup> See document A/10112, chap. IV.

316. We oppose the occupation of Cyprus by foreign forces and call for their immediate withdrawal. We regret the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks aimed at finding a just and lasting solution based on the Kyprianou-Denktaş agreement of 19 May 1979. We urge the parties concerned to enter into serious negotiations so that non-aligned Cyprus can soon be united and live peacefully with its neighbours.

317. My country recognizes the Palestinian question as the core of the Middle East problem and believes that any agreement which fails to take full cognizance of that reality cannot hope to achieve the desired lasting solution to the problem. The question of Palestine should not be seen merely as a refugee problem, but as a question of the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future and to establish their own State. Due recognition should be given to the need for the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in any dialogue designed to secure peace in the Middle East. Very strong concern should be expressed regarding the provocative act of the establishment of settlements in occupied areas.

318. Botswana affirms the right of all States in the Middle East to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The search for an acceptable solution is an ongoing process and none can claim to have completed it yet. Botswana therefore urges all the parties involved to continue together to seek a settlement on a comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East.

319. The aspiration of the Korean people to unite their divided country deserves the continued and objective support and encouragement of this Organization. We respect their expressed desire to have the discussion of the problem left to the Korean people themselves since only by that means can the hegemonistic support of one side or the other be eliminated. We urge the big Powers involved in the Korean issue to remove all the obstacles to the peace and security of the peninsula and exhort the Koreans of North and South to resume, without further delay, the dialogue aimed at unification of their country.

320. Another area of concern to Botswana as hinterland State of the Indian Ocean is the creation of a zone of peace over those waters. We have observed with great concern the increasing military presence of the great Powers in the Indian Ocean over the past few years. Botswana supports the creation of peace zones wherever and whenever feasible, for we believe that the existence of such zones reduces the number of flash-points and contributes towards disarmament. We therefore call upon the great Powers and other users of the Indian Ocean to co-operate in creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the 1971 United Nations Declaration [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*].

321. The United Nations Territory of Namibia is still illegally occupied by South Africa despite the numerous United Nations resolutions calling upon it to withdraw from that Territory. The General Assembly is aware of the fact that progress in the Namibia issue came to a virtual halt when South Africa disputed the accuracy of the Secretary-General's report,<sup>20</sup> and that

the hopes raised by the diplomatic efforts of the five Western Powers for an early solution have been sorely disappointed despite the concessions made by SWAPO in the interest of a peaceful settlement. South Africa delayed progress towards United Nations-supervised elections and Namibian independence by insisting that SWAPO bases in neighbouring States should be monitored by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and by rejecting the restriction of SWAPO freedom fighters to their bases in Namibia. In the meantime, it was introducing changes in Namibia which cast serious doubt on its willingness to co-operate with the United Nations, the five Western Powers and SWAPO to end the war. The Constituent Assembly was upgraded to the status of a National Assembly with legislative powers. This is a direct contradiction of South Africa's assurances that the bogus elections of 4 December 1978 would in no way alter the status of Namibia and is in defiant contempt for Security Council resolution 439 (1978) which declared them null and void. The harassment and arbitrary arrest and detention of the members of SWAPO continues. This can only be interpreted as an attempt to stifle opposition through intimidation. The appointment of the Chairman of the Broederbond as Administrator-General of the Territory lends itself to diverse interpretations.

322. Attacks launched against Angola and Zambia from this international Territory are a direct challenge to international peace as well as to the United Nations itself. If all these policies do not add up to an attempt to obstruct progress—despite the assurances of the "open door"—it is difficult to say what would.

323. The international community should resist any attempt by South Africa to side-track the issue and should continue to support both the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and the initiatives to bring that struggle to a successful end. The Namibian problem must be resolved without further delay if we are to arrest the impending disaster.

324. Botswana congratulates SWAPO on its readiness to co-operate in advancing the course of a peaceful settlement. We welcome the resumption of negotiations to resolve the problem. We hope that the constructive proposal of a demilitarized zone along the Namibian border will be seen as a genuine effort to reassure South Africa of the continued determination of the front-line States to secure honourable independence for Namibia.

325. The war of liberation in Rhodesia continues to exact a heavy toll on the inhabitants of that country. In August the Rhodesia régime conceded that 600 people had been killed that month. This was the highest figure reported for any given month throughout the entire history of the war. On 27 September, the *Rand Daily Mail*, a South African newspaper, reported that 569 people had been killed thus far in the month of September. Attacks against the neighbouring States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia have also increased not only in frequency but also in intensity and in the degree of adventurism with which they are carried out. In early September military headquarters in Rhodesia reported their having made land and air attacks against troops of the Mozambican army in addition to guerrilla bases. A week ago the rebel régime mounted a five-day incursion into Mozambique as a so-called self-defence operation.

<sup>20</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

326. Such attacks not only bring suffering and death, they also destroy much property—bridges, hospitals, schools, fuel dumps—and inflict economic hardships upon innocent people. The number of refugees in the neighbouring countries is also mounting.

327. As a Commonwealth country, Botswana is party to the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka in August [A/34/439-S/13515, annex], which led to the Constitutional Conference on Zimbabwe now being held in London. We reaffirm our commitment to genuine majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe and to all the necessary internationally acceptable steps to be taken to achieve independence for the Territory. We note the optimism for progress expressed by Lord Carrington, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, while we appreciate the difficulties which still remain. We are hopeful that the hardships, killings, destruction of property and homelessness suffered by the people of Rhodesia will strengthen the resolve of all those involved in the discussions to reach a settlement acceptable to all. In the meantime, and in the interest of progress and peace, Botswana wishes to urge those who are not directly involved in the Rhodesia issue to refrain from making such pronouncements or initiating such actions as can only hinder and frustrate these delicate negotiations. I refer in particular to any talk of the lifting of sanctions either to facilitate trade or for any other reason whatsoever. Our best service to the people of Rhodesia at this stage is to encourage them to continue negotiations to resolve the dispute and achieve an internationally acceptable settlement.

328. Fundamental to the political problems of southern Africa is the practice of *apartheid*, a system of human relationships based on a theory of racial inequalities which has been given institutionalized expression in the policy of separate development and which has been entrenched in law.

329. New realities, which even South Africa must acknowledge, have been brought to bear by the United Nations General Assembly and its Charter and committees, the accession of colonial territories to independence, the OAU and its principles and objectives, which are aimed at the liberation of peoples still under racist minority domination and, more recently, by the defeat of Portuguese imperialism in Africa.

330. As a logical extension of its policy of *apartheid*, South Africa created the so-called independent bantustans for separate and vertical development. In our view, these divisions—this separation of people—is designed to arouse and foment ethnic animosities, and to destroy the unity of nationalism. Botswana, with the rest of the international community, does not recognize those bantustans. We wish that our brothers in those bantustans could understand the reasons for our position. It is not that we begrudge them independence while we enjoy ours—no. Nor is it for any reason other than that we are opposed to racism, *apartheid* and the ethnic separation of people which denies them the sharing of political power in their own country. The people of South Africa themselves, whether as liberation movements or even as Soweto schoolchildren, have begun much more actively to challenge the *status quo*.

331. We are aware of the reported expression of concern by some rulers of South Africa on subjects ranging

from the opening of restaurants and the extension of trade-union rights to Africans, to the notorious Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act. But these are peripheral to the central issue, which is: one South Africa for all South Africans, black and white, equal and free. Until this is achieved, the struggle for liberation is bound to continue.

332. Unrest and bloodshed could be rendered unnecessary only if South Africa would engage in dialogue among all its nationals to end racism and *apartheid* and acknowledge the inalienable right of all its people to citizenship.

333. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, pointed, as indeed you yourself did, Mr. President, to the human tragedy of displaced persons and refugees [A/34/1, sect. VIII] and to the positive results achieved at the Arusha meeting on African refugees and the Geneva meeting on South-East Asian refugees and displaced persons held on 20 and 21 July 1979. We note with gratitude the commitment of additional assistance to refugees made by States Members of this Organization.

334. With over 10 million refugees in the world, 4 million of whom are in Africa alone, we have a problem of great magnitude which calls for bold, co-operative and imaginative measures. Our first task as Members of the United Nations, and one that lies within our competence, is to create in our own States such conditions as will ensure the security of all our citizens and even guarantee a safe return to those willing to go back to their homes.

335. In countries still suffering from minority rule and racism, refugees must be viewed as part of the liberation process, a result of the people's struggle for the right to self-determination. States Members of the United Nations should therefore match their commitment to the emancipation and liberation of oppressed peoples with the acceptance of their answerability, and therefore responsibility, for their welfare. The burden should not be left solely to the countries of first asylum, among which are the world's poor. Distance from the centres of war and strife should provide no excuse for non-participation.

336. Botswana is grateful for the assistance it has received from individual States, non-governmental organizations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. For its part, Botswana will continue, to the extent of its limited resources and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, to give asylum and care to our fellow-men from the minority-ruled countries of southern Africa.

337. In the final analysis, however, the only lasting solution to this problem is the removal of its root-causes: colonialism, oppression, the denial of basic human rights, and conflicts among nations.

338. It may sound strange that an arid, land-locked country such as Botswana should show interest in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Yet it is true not only that we attach great importance to it but that we hope and urge that the interests of developing and disadvantaged States like Botswana will be taken into account in the formulation of the envisaged convention on the law of the sea.

339. We regret that the final outcome of that Conference is still uncertain and that the modest but essential conditions for the acceptance of the régime of the law of the sea put forward by the developing countries seem to be being used by the industrialized nations to block a successful conclusion to that historic Conference. My delegation appeals to those nations to ensure that the outstanding issues do not frustrate progress.

340. The bilateral and international relations of the Republic of Botswana are governed by its respect for the sovereign equality of States. We recognize that the diversity of ideological orientations among States stems, in many ways, from their varied colonial and historical experience and the means and methods of their liberation—a development from a prevailing set of circumstances at a given time and place.

341. We respect the uniqueness of the circumstances in which political philosophies have evolved and continue to evolve in different countries. We seek and expect respect for the integrity of our own peculiar history and independence as we do for those of others. We value our political and economic system but we do not assume that it should be imposed on others, or theirs on us. We are non-aligned and we uphold the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, and peaceful coexistence among States.

342. All too often the historical and cultural differences from which a diversity of political, economic and social systems has developed and is still developing are perceived and used as bases for division, and not for the strengthening of the international community. This, in the view of Botswana, is an unfortunate development, for to choose one's position, whether for or against another's ideology, is to risk losing one's own integrity, one's own independence and the opportunity to build on diversity.

343. It is in the light of these principles that the position of Botswana in international affairs should be understood.

344. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. May I once again recall that the General Assembly, at the 4th plenary meeting of this session, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply that decision strictly.

345. Mr. LANE (United Kingdom): I am obliged to exercise the United Kingdom delegation's right of reply to answer certain statements made by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala in his speech to the General Assembly yesterday [19th meeting].

346. The Foreign Minister of Guatemala described my country as an "imperialist and colonialist power" and attempted to cast doubts on the sincerity of the United Kingdom's commitment to self-determination. We reject the description and the allegation. Since the Second World War, nearly 50 countries under United Kingdom administration have attained independence, precisely because we respect the right to self-determination.

347. Belize is no different in this respect. Our policy on Belize, too, is governed by our unalterable principle of respecting the wishes of the inhabitants. We want to grant Belize the speedy and secure independence for which its people and Government wish. It is not any British denial of self-determination that obstructs that independence. It is the policies of Guatemala. I repeat that we have never accepted, and do not now accept, that Guatemala has a valid claim to any part of the territory of Belize.

348. Equally, I can confirm that, like Guatemala, the United Kingdom wishes to find a negotiated solution to the obstacles which impede Belize's accession to independence. But for such a solution to be acceptable to my Government, it must above all be acceptable to the people of Belize.

349. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): I have asked to be allowed to speak to make certain clarifications following the reference made by Mr. Yazdi, the Foreign Minister of Iran, this afternoon.

350. Let me state at the outset that Afghanistan and Iran belong to the same geographical plateau, and speak the same beautiful language of Sadi, Afez, Samari and Farukhi; we have a common faith, culture and history; and we in Afghanistan have always wanted to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with Iran.

351. The working people of Afghanistan have always cherished the highest feelings of friendship and brotherhood for the noble working people of Iran. It is on the basis of this policy and these feelings that the leader of our delegation, in the course of his policy statement last Friday before this Assembly, stated:

"With regard to Iran also, we have the same desire for friendly relations and mutually beneficial co-operation on the basis of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs." [14th meeting, para. 72.]

He further added:

"This sincere desire emanates from the feelings of brotherhood and solidarity maintained by our working people towards the noble working people of Iran." [*ibid.*]

This feeling and this policy are the corner-stones of our relations with all our neighbours, and particularly with the noble Iranian people and workers.

352. The reference of the leader of the Iranian delegation to the so-called "thousands of deaths and tens of thousands of refugees" [see above, para. 232] is not only incorrect and exaggerated, but also an intervention in the domestic affairs of a friendly and brotherly neighbour. If he terms our great Saur or April revolution a "rebellion", he is making a grave mistake. Indeed, it is well known that our great Saur revolution, achieved by our noble working people, was a victorious workers' revolution on behalf of the toiling people of Afghanistan, and not the product of some "ism" imported from elsewhere. It was a revolutionary act of our people on behalf of our toiling masses and against a minority of exploiters and the feudal class who might, as a result of losing their privileged position, become a tool in the hands of the enemies of our revolution.

353. We do not want to speak on the question of refugees in Iran and Pakistan, because our statement last Monday on this matter [16th meeting], which answered the representative of Pakistan, also holds true in the case of Iran. Furthermore, there are thousands of pilgrims and workers who come and go every year across the Iranian border as they have throughout history.

354. The allegation about "thousands of deaths" is untrue, and we are quite surprised to hear it. Perhaps my Iranian friend was thinking about all the deaths and killings which take place in his own country and about which we read daily in the news all over the world.

355. I am sorry that it was the Foreign Minister of Iran who provoked us to make these clarifications for the sake of the record. May I say that the reference was somewhat unexpected, in the light of the warm and friendly sentiments expressed towards Iran by the leader of our delegation on Friday in the course of the general debate. Our Iranian friends should have re-

ciprocated in a similar vein by expressing the same warm feelings as our Foreign Minister did on Friday.

356. Mr. SHEMIRANI (Iran): In reference to the statement just made by the representative of Afghanistan, I should like to make some brief comments. As has been stated by the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran on several occasions in the recent past, Iran has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of any country. It has also been affirmed on numerous occasions that Iran does not export revolution. We believe it is up to the people themselves, and only to them, to make or not to make revolution and to choose their own Government.

357. However, I have to add that the outpouring of thousands of Afghan refugees into my country is a reality which cannot be denied. We believe that it is incumbent on all States to act in a responsible manner so as not to create difficulties and problems for their neighbours.

*The meeting rose at 8 p.m.*