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

*Address by Mr. Henck A. E. Arron, Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname*

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname, His Excellency Mr. Henck A. E. Arron. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Henck A. E. Arron and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ARRON (Suriname): Mr. President, we of the Republic of Suriname, should like to begin by telling you how much we welcome your election as President of this General Assembly, a signal honour which we see as a fitting tribute to your widely admired ability and diplomatic skills.

3. Of great significance to the United Nations must be the fact that a representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, a country whose moral strength has always placed it in the forefront of the forces of progress, has been chosen to guide our debates and discussions. As one of our outstanding diplomats in the field of multilateral diplomacy, you played a pivotal role in the decolonization process. As Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, your positive influence has also been felt throughout the years in many other areas of activity of the United Nations. I am sure our debates and negotiations will be uplifted by your personality and your unique experience.

4. Allow me to take this opportunity to express our deepest appreciation for the superb stewardship exemplified by your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, in presiding over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

5. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the very

able and conscientious way in which he continues to direct the work of our Organization towards more harmonious co-operation among nations and the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

6. My delegation welcomes Saint Lucia in our midst as an independent and sovereign State. On this happy occasion we extend our most cordial congratulations to the Government and people of Saint Lucia on its membership in the world Organization. We are convinced it will make an important contribution to translating the goals and principles of the United Nations into reality.

7. A year ago while addressing the General Assembly,<sup>1</sup> I had the honour of stating the views of the Government of Suriname on the grave and menacing problems of our day. I said on that occasion that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly was unfolding against the grim backdrop of increasing political and economic tensions, leaving little room for optimism.

8. During the past year, those tensions have not diminished. Once again we meet at a time of profound international anxiety. Though people the world over want real peace and tranquillity, they seem as far as ever from attaining these goals.

9. The situation in several parts of the world—South-East Asia, southern Africa, the Middle East—has not changed for the better since we met in September of last year.

10. Even on our own continent we have witnessed turmoil and fury in the sister nation of Nicaragua. However, the forces of freedom and human dignity have finally triumphed. We sincerely hope that, having overthrown the Somoza régime, the proud people of Nicaragua will under its heroic leadership at last win the peace and prosperity for which they shed their blood.

11. For us in Latin America, 1 October 1979 was a day of great joy and historical significance. On that day our sister Republic of Panama established its sovereign rights over part of its territory, thus starting the liquidation of one of the remaining relics and symbols of foreign domination in our continent. We trust that this first step will result in the effective exercise by the Government of Panama of its sovereignty over its entire national territory, not later than foreseen in the relevant treaty.<sup>2</sup> We in Suriname share the joy of the Government and people of Panama and we take this opportunity to extend to the Government and people of Panama our warmest congratulations.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 22nd meeting, paras. 70-121.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 78, No. 2016 (July 1978), pp. 52-57.

12. We should also like to express our sincere appreciation to President Jimmy Carter and the Congress of the United States of America for the wisdom they have demonstrated in dealing with this sensitive matter.

13. The situation in southern Africa has been further aggravated by the devious tactics of the South African Government designed to block any peaceful solution of the Namibian question. The chances for a peaceful settlement in that Territory under the aegis of the United Nations seem to be receding ever further. The answer seems more elusive than ever, as the Pretoria Government continues to block implementation of a genuine negotiated settlement along the lines of the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council,<sup>3</sup> which led to the adoption of Security Council resolution 431 (1978).

14. In Zimbabwe as well, the hope for a peaceful settlement has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the situation has grown more complicated and intractable, since the establishment of a new régime in that country after the holding of elections in which the major opposition parties, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union, could not participate. Because these parties were excluded we cannot accept the outcome of those elections. Neither can we accept the legitimacy of the new régime, based as it is on a constitution that grants a veto power in Parliament to the small white minority and preserves that minority's fiefdom in the armed forces, the police, the judiciary and the civil service.

15. For these reasons, the delegation of Suriname is adamantly opposed to recognizing the new Salisbury régime, as well as to lifting sanctions at this stage. We are not, however, giving up hope for a peaceful way out and we appeal to all parties concerned—the followers of Bishop Muzorewa, the members of the Patriotic Front and those belonging to the white minority—to join in the new efforts towards finding a solution which can avoid still further destructive racial, as well as tribal wars, in that Territory.

16. In this respect, we fully support the agreement that emerged from the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in August of this year in Lusaka. We fervently hope that the talks now being held in London will produce a democratic constitution acceptable to the parties concerned, as well as to the international community.

17. The Middle East conflict still hangs like a dark cloud over us. In the absence of a comprehensive peaceful settlement, involving all parties concerned, and in particular the Palestinians, this problem will continue to haunt us. The sooner we can dispel it, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the better.

18. We of the Republic of Suriname remain convinced that success in the peace talks on the Middle East question can be achieved only by the full participation of the representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. These negotiations must be based on the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent State, on the

one hand, and on the right of Israel to live in peace within recognized and secure borders, on the other.

19. The hostilities in the Middle East have resulted in territorial gains by one nation at the expense of others. They have also resulted in ever increasing tension in that part of the world and have engulfed its peoples in increasing suffering. In this respect we want to endorse once again the doctrine that acquisition by force creates no rights.

20. My Government is anxiously watching the continuing conflict. We should like to reaffirm our conviction that a solution to the Middle East question must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is of the utmost importance to break the existing deadlock via the resumption of negotiations among all parties concerned.

21. The menace of a war breaking out is growing daily with the incalculable spread of the means of destruction. The unabated arms race is morally and materially intolerable: morally, since it engenders a state of insecurity and anxiety; and materially, because the incessant piling-up of armaments throughout the world, in particular by the great Powers, inevitably leads to increasing reliance on force and, consequently, to a further erosion of the rules of international law.

22. As the super-Powers continue to strive for a margin of superiority over each other in terms of armed strength, the temptation to strike first grows, despite full knowledge of the consequences of a universal cataclysm and the terrible catastrophe it would entail for vanquished and victors alike. However, established military alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are not the sole culprits; the arms race is not their monopoly.

23. According to reliable sources, the military spending of third-world States in Africa, Asia and Latin America has doubled during this decade, with those States now spending on arms three times what they receive in official development aid for their economies. As peaceful nuclear technology spreads, so does the capability of producing nuclear weapons, and yet, so far, no effective world-wide proliferation control exists.

24. Over the past few decades some important treaties and agreements have been concluded, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] the Declaration on the sea-bed<sup>4</sup> and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [resolution 2826 (XXVI)]. However, the efforts made hitherto in the cause of disarmament within the United Nations framework have on the whole been insufficient, hesitant and rather half-hearted. The holding last year of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first devoted exclusively to disarmament, was an encouraging sign, though its main objective was not to conclude specific treaties.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

<sup>4</sup> Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

25. Moreover, while the session yielded consensus on a broad programme of action, it also highlighted ominous differences between the nuclear and non-nuclear States on important issues such as non-proliferation, the relationship between nuclear and conventional disarmament and the question of securing assurances that nuclear weapons or the threat of nuclear weapons would not be used against non-nuclear States. The absence of agreement on those existential problems does not augur well for the future.

26. We must continue, within the framework of the United Nations, and particularly within the scope of the deliberative and negotiating instruments established during that tenth special session of the General Assembly, to search for methods aimed at a progressive reduction of various kinds of armaments. The delegation of my country is of the opinion that we should immediately take up the question of prohibiting all nuclear tests. We believe, furthermore, that regional agreements to ban nuclear arms should be concluded, along the lines of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).

27. The Tlatelolco Treaty is a glimmer of light on the otherwise bleak and gloomy horizon of international disarmament politics—and the same can be said about the signing of the agreement resulting from the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]<sup>5</sup> by the United States and the Soviet Union. Additional Protocol II of the Tlatelolco Treaty has been ratified by all the nuclear Powers, while Additional Protocol I has now been signed by France and the United States of America. The Government of Argentina, furthermore, has on several occasions during the past year declared its intention to ratify the Treaty, which leads us to conclude that the Tlatelolco Treaty will soon be the first effective regional anti-nuclear weapons treaty.

28. My Government is keenly following the negotiations under way in the Committee on Disarmament on other weapons of mass destruction which, we hope, will lead to a convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical and radiological weapons. In this connexion we particularly welcome the convening at Geneva during the month of September of the plenipotentiary United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

29. Although I gladly acknowledge that since the Second World War much of positive value has been achieved in settling international problems within the United Nations framework, we must bear in mind that, in view of existing geo-political realities, the role of our Organization in resolving international conflicts is a limited one.

30. It is still a sad fact of life that it is neither here in this Assembly nor in the Security Council that the outcome of many grave world problems is decided. It is, indeed, particularly disturbing to have to recognize how small a part the United Nations is playing in solving those problems. Public opinion nowadays does not

focus first and foremost on what is happening in New York, but on what is happening in certain capitals.

31. Certain circles are inclined to blame the manifest weakness of our Organization primarily on the Charter. Although the United Nations Charter, like any other human effort, is not devoid of flaws—and I am referring among others to the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council—there is on the whole nothing essentially wrong with the Charter itself.

32. In our view, the principal reasons for the erosion of the image of the United Nations are the non-implementation of its resolutions by Member States and the growing tendency to keep important questions out of its sphere of influence.

33. 'This tendency is to some extent due to a broadly shared contention that the United Nations in its procedures is not equipped to deal efficiently with the problems of our contemporary world. We are, however, in a position to take practical measures which could lead to a substantial and speedy improvement of the *modus procedendi* of the General Assembly and its Main Committees, the specialized agencies and the organizations affiliated with the United Nations.

34. This could be done by abolishing as far as possible all general debates, with the exception, of course, of the general debate right here in this hall.

35. The general debates have in our opinion caused undue delay in the negotiating and decision-making processes of, among others, the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires last year, the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held recently in Vienna, and many sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Those debates in many cases amounted to duplications of previous statements and have in our view seriously limited the time available for concrete negotiations and the reaching of agreements.

36. My delegation would therefore suggest that the written contents of statements of a general political nature be submitted for distribution prior to or at the beginning of those conferences. We should thus be able to devote a maximum of the time available to the negotiating and decision-making process.

37. Furthermore, it would be recommendable to limit the number of resolutions, whose implementation puts too great a burden on the administrative machinery of the Member States, in particular that of the smaller countries. At the same time we question the effectiveness of many of the resolutions.

38. The efficiency of our Organization could, moreover, be enhanced if the General Assembly would adopt the many recommendations of the Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and the Organization of the General Assembly.<sup>6</sup>

39. Furthermore, the contribution of the United Na-

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

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 26*.

tions in certain areas of conflict is unquestionably being held to a modicum by the lack of political will of some of its Members to take action where such action is called for and when it is within the realm of the possible. It is, for example, not consistent with the dignity of the United Nations to remain inactive regarding the imposition of comprehensive sanctions on the Republic of South Africa when the Charter provides for the right of the Security Council to take measures in this case, which clearly constitutes a threat to international peace and security. As the representative of my country, I once again stress the necessity of imposing mandatory sanctions on South Africa, a decision to which in our view the Security Council is morally and legally bound in duty to take.

40. On the other hand, the timely arrangement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of a meeting last July of more than 70 countries<sup>7</sup> to discuss measures to deal with the refugee problem in South-East Asia has greatly enhanced the image of our Organization.

41. Political events in that region of the world have resulted in a refugee problem of enormous magnitude. However, the task of alleviating the lot of those unfortunate people is a problem that should be dealt with in the absence of political motivations and treated as a purely humanitarian problem. In saying so I should like to express our admiration for what the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has done. Indeed, its work in this respect deserves the highest praise, in which it may take the most legitimate pride.

42. I do not forget that some individual countries have made great sacrifices in assisting refugees who have entered their territories. My country, for instance, is willing to absorb a number of refugees. The Parliament of the Republic of Suriname has adopted a resolution to that effect, and my Government is now drawing up the necessary plans.

43. We cannot deny that whenever our world Organization fails to deal decisively and boldly with dangerous problems, whether they are of a political or an economic nature, it loses its prestige throughout the whole world, and the multitude of ever increasing resolutions will not mask the naked truth. On the other hand, while adopting a critical attitude, we should not overlook the fact that the importance of the United Nations success is often not sufficiently appreciated. Disputes have occurred that might have led to resort to force had not the United Nations intervened. In other cases, when a dispute has arisen between Member States, the mere fact of the existence of the United Nations and the corresponding obligations incumbent upon Member States have erased the tension between the parties concerned, making it easier to reach a peaceful and honourable settlement. Furthermore, public opinion, which is always haunted by the problems of the maintenance of world peace, follows with greater interest the political work of the United Nations, thus frequently overlooking its successes and those of its specialized agencies in the technical, economic, social and humanitarian fields.

44. In the light of the foregoing I wish to express once

again the firm dedication of the Government of my country to the principles of the Charter and to the ideal of the brotherhood of man—the ideal that led to the founding of our world Organization.

45. A grave economic crisis threatens to descend upon us, and there looms the spectre of economic warfare between the rich nations and the poorer nations. We wonder whether the United Nations and its subsidiary and affiliated bodies will manage to survive as a political instrument for regulating meaningful and just international economic relations. Past and present negotiations between the developed and the developing countries have spelled a succession of serious disappointments because they have failed to arrive at tangible and just solutions and at the establishment of a new international economic order. It is a fact of life that the future of the vast majority of developing nations is now largely decided by the industrialized Powers and the oil-producing States. There should be no attempt to hide this incontrovertible fact.

46. One of the essential objectives of the New International Economic Order initiated by the non-aligned movement at its 1973 summit Conference in Algiers<sup>8</sup> was to strive for rapid growth in developing countries so that they would win full, equal and effective participation in solving their international economic problems.

47. The concept of the New International Economic Order has been subject to a wide variety of interpretations. We may conclude that the past five years have been marked by the efforts to reduce the one-sided dependence of developing countries on the over-all interests of the industrialized countries and to accelerate their development on the basis of collective as well as individual self-reliance. Without ignoring the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the results of the major conferences that have been held in the context of the New International Economic Order, it is a matter of deep concern that so many of the expectations of developing countries and the commitments made by some industrialized countries are as yet still unfulfilled.

48. Imbalances and inequities between developing and industrialized countries still persist in international economic relations. Official development assistance and other long-term aid flow have failed to expand adequately in real terms. Stabilization of commodity prices through the establishment of an appropriate Common Fund is still at an embryonic stage.

49. Meanwhile, continuing economic recession, persistent inflationary pressures, unemployment and rising payment deficits have increased the vulnerability of these countries. Here I would point especially to the non-oil-producing developing countries, mine among them. The collective trade gap of these countries widened from a deficit of \$34 billion in 1977 to one of \$53 billion last year. The spectacular surge in oil prices has not only hit hard at external accounts, but has also contributed to raising the prices of imported manufactured goods; this in its turn has depressed the export earnings of the developing countries.

50. Several representatives have already pin-pointed

<sup>7</sup> Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

<sup>8</sup> Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

the phenomenon of protectionism. The export earnings of the developing countries also suffer from the protectionist measures of the industrialized countries. Beyond direct restrictions, a great variety of other measures, such as industrial standards, health regulations, government procurement and subsidies on domestic production have a discriminatory impact on the export capability of the developing countries.

51. During the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila, the developing and the industrialized countries were able to reach agreement on a plan of action for structural adjustment,<sup>9</sup> related to trade and policies and measures to deal with protectionism. When and how the Plan will be implemented is not clear and we would reserve our judgement on this matter.

52. The developing countries must bear in mind that in the industrialized countries day-to-day political realities influencing or even determining government actions tend to place immediate domestic concerns ahead of commitments to the developing countries. In the long run however, we seriously doubt whether this attitude will help to solve the problems now facing the industrialized countries, as it negates the interdependence and the mutuality of interest of both groups of nations. In this respect, we fully agree with the President of the World Bank, who at the UNCTAD session said that trade protectionism is rarely the right instrument to safeguard income and employment levels. More often it only succeeds in converting potential short-term private costs into long-term social losses.

53. Is there any reason for optimism after this rather gloomy assessment of the scope of problems facing the developing countries? In our opinion, long-term economic self-interest will make it necessary for the industrialized countries, including the centrally planned economies of the USSR and Eastern Europe, to negotiate with more understanding, taking into consideration the underlying economic and social conditions of the developing countries. We base this opinion on the industrialized countries' need not only for oil, but also for raw materials, access to foreign markets and investment opportunities in the third world.

54. The lack of a streamlined steering body within the developing world has up to now been one of the most serious causes of its rather limited impact in talks with the developed world.

55. It is of vital importance for the developing nations, through the machinery of the Group of 77, to prepare their positions in a timely and effective way. This could be furthered considerably by setting up a permanent secretariat of the Group of 77 to carry out the essential preparatory work of analysis, co-ordination and planning. Experience gained by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development would seem to underline the value of such an approach. The proposal for establishing such a permanent secretariat is indeed not new, but has not been decisively dealt with so far. We do hope that the Group of 77 will soon take a positive decision on this matter.

56. The Secretary-General of our Organization, in his

<sup>9</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part I A, resolution 122 (V).

recent statement to the Economic and Social Council at its summer session in Geneva,<sup>10</sup> drew the attention of Member States to the energy problem. It goes without saying that the supply of oil and its cost are a matter of extreme importance to the world economy, and constitute an essential element in the balance of payment of all, in particular of the non-oil-producing developing countries.

57. Contrary to the developing countries, the industrialized countries, being fortunate enough to have financial means, technology and know-how at their disposal, are in a much better position to develop new and renewable sources of energy. I would therefore like to appeal to all Member States, but in particular to the non-oil-producing developing countries, to start preparing now for the forthcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy in 1981.

58. In this connexion, my delegation whole-heartedly supports the decision by Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at its recent meeting in Havana, that the international energy issue should be discussed in the context of global negotiations within the United Nations, with the participation of all countries and in relation to such other issues as the problems of the development of the developing countries, financial and monetary reforms and so on [see A/34/542, annex, sect. VI B, resolution 9].

59. Following the Havana Conference, the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 recommended to this Assembly the adoption of a proposal made by the Group of 77 along the lines of the decision by the non-aligned movement [see A/34/34, part three, annex I]. More specifically, it was proposed that global negotiations should be held at the special session of the General Assembly scheduled for 1980, which may have a considerable bearing on the development strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. This item could be of great, if not indeed of crucial, importance in making that Assembly a success. It places the all-embracing energy problem squarely within the overall context of development. It thus marks a significant departure from an approach according to which it appeared possible to deal with that problem on a separate or piecemeal basis. My delegation welcomes the proposal as a possible major break-through and we will give it our most vigorous support.

60. We consider the problem of energy to be a crucial part of our future development and though we realize that reaching an agreement will not be easy, we do hope progress will be made to relieve some of the heavy burdens weighing down the non-oil-producing countries.

61. In this connexion, I whole-heartedly support the proposal of the President of Mexico, Mr. José López Portillo [11th meeting] for the adoption of a world energy plan aimed at assuring an orderly, progressive, integrated and just transition from one age of man's history to the next. We also strongly support President López Portillo's proposal to establish a working group composed of representatives of the oil-producing

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1979, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting.

countries, of industrialized countries and of developing petroleum-importing countries for the preparation of the energy plan. In making this historic proposal President López Portillo has, as in the case of disarmament and the establishment of a New International Economic Order, once again demonstrated his country's deep commitment to the solution of the problems of mankind.

62. My country has actively participated in ongoing talks on the future convention on the law of the sea, because my Government is convinced that only a comprehensive and balanced treaty on the law of the sea can prevent a scramble of claims to explore and to exploit the wealth of the oceans beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

63. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has doubtless made substantive progress in certain areas. On the other hand, the results of the negotiations have been meagre in many respects, especially when we recall that the Conference has now been in session for a total of 63 weeks over the past six years. Notwithstanding the many compromise proposals put forward in the various negotiating groups of the main Conference committees, several issues remain unresolved. The problems still pending concerning the delimitation of the exclusive economic zone between adjacent or opposite States are a clear example of the lack of the spirit of compromise needed to settle the hard-core issues plaguing this important Conference.

64. With regard to an equitable system for exploring and exploiting the sea bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, my delegation need hardly stress that one of the main targets of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is translating the concept of the sea as the common heritage of mankind into binding rules and regulations, taking particular account of the interests and needs of the developing countries. It is disappointing to note that the Conference is still far from the true meaning of this concept. My Government sincerely hopes that in the months ahead the Conference will find the ways and means to resolve these problems during the final phase of its work.

65. After its achievement of independence, my country did not hesitate to adopt in the sphere of foreign policy a line of conduct dictated by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and consonant with those of the non-aligned movement, of which we became a member during the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government in Havana.

66. Our deep sense of attachment to the sister nations of Latin America and the Caribbean has in each case been met with a sympathetic response, for which I thank them here, on behalf of my country and on my own behalf. It is a very pleasant task on this occasion for me to express our satisfaction at seeing the principles of cordial and good-neighbourly relations reaffirmed during my visit to Guyana in June of this year. That visit proved once again that good faith and mutual understanding can lead to harmonious and effective co-operation among nations.

67. Individual nations—and indeed all human institutions—have to go through difficult periods in their lives. We all must face the fact that in the course of events mistakes have been and are being made. In both

the political and economic arenas, the world community has come up against great and serious difficulties that threaten the machinery of international co-operation. The recognition of these difficulties as such should muster our individual and collective will to deal with them in a realistic manner.

68. I hope and trust that when, in the future, we look back on our work this year, it will be seen not as a year of retrogression and disruption, but rather as a year in which we took a decisive step closer to peace and towards the kind of greater understanding in which faith in a peaceful future survived.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

69. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, to extend to you congratulations upon your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly is for me no mere fulfilment of a tradition. The bonds of great fraternal solidarity between our two countries and the shared aspirations of our two peoples are the sources of the pride and pleasure Guyana feels at your assumption of this high office. Further, Mr. President, your election is in recognition of your unswerving commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of this Organization, of your rich experience and your considerable talents and consummate skills, but above all, of your broad vision as a humanist striving for a world in which exploitation is no more and in which all can grow to their full stature. If I may be allowed to strike a somewhat more personal note, it will be to recall with the greatest satisfaction the years which you and I shared, working in tandem in this Organization. These recollections, Mr. President, serve to reinforce Guyana's conviction that, under your guidance and with your counsel, the business of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be efficiently discharged.

70. It is appropriate at this stage, Mr. President, that I should place on record Guyana's appreciation of the serenity with which your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, conducted the work of the last session, and of the success which attended his efforts.

71. As we look back over the past year, we must recall with particular sadness the loss of two distinguished leaders of the developing world, Mr. Houari Boumediène, the President of the People's Republic of Algeria, and Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. Their memory will be cherished wherever men speak of peace, justice and political and economic emancipation.

72. Looking forward to the year ahead of us, it is with especial pleasure that Guyana welcomes the admission to our Organization of the sister Commonwealth Caribbean territory of Saint Lucia, with which we share a common history of colonialism and exploitation and with which we work closely together in the councils of the Caribbean community.

73. As in the past, this general debate is providing the occasion for a searching analysis of the condition of man at a particular moment in time. Clearly, old problems remain, and new situations requiring international attention have arisen.

74. The persistence of old problems and the thrust of new ones seem to call into question the collective capacity of the international community to articulate solutions and to implement them. Indeed, many of the declarations, resolutions and programmes of action reflective of our joint experience and wisdom have languished unimplemented.

75. Within this chamber there has been struck on occasion a note expressive of uncertainty and of the lack of a sense of direction. Some have even conveyed the feeling that the moorings of the international ship of state have been cut and that it is adrift in uncharted seas.

76. It may be that reflections of such moods are responses characteristic of the end of a time-rhythm—the decade, the millennium. But it may be as well that the roots of such feelings lie in the nature of the international system and the manner in which its actors, both national and non-national, comport themselves in pursuit of often contradictory objectives.

77. Yet not all the voices which have been heard from this podium have conveyed a mood of groping, of uncertainty. We need to ponder carefully the reasons for these differentiated responses.

78. In Guyana's view, out of this general debate must emerge the identification of the constraints on international co-operation and of the obstacles to the development of greater international understanding. If this were done, and if there were a measure of broad consensus, this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly could represent a true turning-point in human affairs.

79. No one can contest that the two most profound revolutions of this century have been that of October 1917, in the Soviet Union and the post-colonial revolution, the vibrancy of which reverberates throughout the international milieu.

80. The first not only offered an alternative strategy for the internal development of societies, but also promulgated an entirely new system of values with which the then dominant form of international organization had to contend. The most striking result of this challenge was the cold war. But its reality, albeit in a different form, continues today.

81. The second revolution involves the majority of the Members of this Organization. It continues to enrich the international community through the insights and experiences of diverse peoples. It has advanced universality based on sovereign equality. It has made possible the concept of a planetary community. And, above all, the articulation of the legitimate aspirations and objectives of that second revolution brought into focus the selectivity of affluence reflected in the divide between the rich North and the South where the poor live in the shadow of reality.

82. These revolutions registered advances towards the democratization of the world order and exerted influence on the international system, a system in which this universal actor, the United Nations, properly utilized, could play a leadership and catalytic role.

83. In large measure, the desire of the post-colonial

States for the maintenance and consolidation of their independence, for the elimination of imperialism and colonialism, for the establishment of equitable international economic relations and for the creation of conditions for a secure peace found expression in the policy of non-alignment.

84. But while these two great revolutions have been global in their range and in the transformations which they have effected, the present legacy of the international system is one of profound cleavages and discontinuities. These complexities which the international community presently confronts include the persistence of imperialism with its structures of dependency and supportive networks, among which numbered the mass media, the spiralling of nuclear arms technology, which buttresses the immediate post-war bipolar division, and the new patterns of ideological behaviour.

85. Yet somehow there seems to be, beneath the turbulence, positive elements for change which provide the basis for new forms of co-operation which can take into account the desirability of peaceful coexistence.

86. In more recent times, there has been growing acknowledgement of the diffusion of power within the global society. Two years ago this was recognized at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. More recently it was reflected in the report of the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has so consistently served the cause of peace. In his report to us this year, the Secretary-General said, *inter alia*: "The international scene has never been more complex nor the old concepts of power so diffused" [*see A/34/1, sect. I*].

87. If we were to disaggregate the elements of power today, we will find that the power to destroy humanity is not necessarily coincidental with the power to ensure justice and equality. The elements of power are no longer located in any one national entity or a small group of national entities. Indeed, there are new centres of power—financial, economic and moral.

88. The real question before us is how to build on these growth points and to maximize the potential, nay the inevitability, of a global approach which, in taking account of our separate national interests, serves the wider purpose of the international community.

89. The field of disarmament reflects the dichotomies which we face as we seek to grapple with the more complex model of international organization which the present realities portend. If we integrate into the concept of security the profound changes in attitudes to resource utilization, political pluralism, and technology itself, are some of us not still imprisoned by a perception of security which does not go beyond the building of isolated fortresses within national societies? Any commitment to disarmament in today's world is meaningless if it rests at the threshold of arms limitation. For the ramparts that are built on such assumptions are not founded on the satisfaction of human wants at the elemental level. Such a situation results in an armed peace which, in the pursuit of national survival, could encompass the destruction of the entire human race.

90. Similarly, the global application of détente is a prerequisite for its universal acceptance. It is necessary to ensure that détente in its operational parameters

should not be limited to the European theatre. Thus we must insist that, if and when it is invoked outside Europe, it is not interpreted to mean either the observance of so-called spheres of influence, or privately negotiated codes of behaviours. For such action is, in essence, an attempt to preserve a *status quo*, which is inconsistent with the aspirations of the majority of the world's peoples.

91. Dramatic examples of the dilemma we face as a result of our failure to transcend the constraints to which I have alluded are the continued division of the Korean people, despite their quest for reunification without outside interference, and the apparent stalemate which besets the people of the small non-aligned State of Cyprus in their desire to be united and to rid their country of foreign occupation.

92. The situation in southern Africa is no less reflective of the conflicts which have so far inhibited collective international efforts for just and equitable change.

93. The Fascist régime in Pretoria has, since its ignominious defeat in Angola, effected tactical shifts in its over-all objective of economic and strategic supremacy in southern Africa. The pace of bantustanization has been accelerated, starting with the Transkei in 1976. The so-called internal settlements in Namibia and Zimbabwe have been promoted as part of a grand South African design for an edifice of puppet States behind which a white redoubt can be kept intact.

94. The cardinal objective of *apartheid* is the protection of settler interests in South Africa—interests which are buttressed internationally by class links.

95. The liquidation of *apartheid* would substantially assist the forces of liberation throughout southern Africa. But its elimination is not a necessary condition for the reconquest of freedom and independence by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. In relation to the former, the conjuncture of the declining economic base of a shrinking white minority and the pressures of the freedom fighters, led by the Patriotic Front, has made the present Conference in London possible. Let us hope that this particular opportunity for a negotiated settlement will be effectively utilized for ensuring the full transfer of genuine power to the majority of the people of that country. In this way, further bloodshed, in a war where the victory of the Patriotic Front is inevitable, can be avoided.

96. Similarly, the efforts of the five Western countries, the major trading partners of South Africa, to effect a negotiated settlement must not compromise the genuine aspirations of the people of Namibia, led by their authentic representatives, the South West Africa People's Organization. The white tribes of South Africa must be given no succour for perpetual illegal dominion.

97. *Apartheid* has been roundly and universally condemned. While moral suasion is a legitimate tool of pressure for desirable change, it is apposite to assert that the cardinal underpinning of *apartheid* is economic. Racism is a derivative of that essential condition. Like slavery before it, *apartheid* will be effectively terminated when it becomes unsustainable as a form of economic organization.

98. The oppressed people of South Africa are waging a bitter struggle to achieve precisely that objective. For its part, the United Nations must maintain a multifaceted attack on *apartheid*, and it is in this context that Guyana contends, and has done so consistently, that mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter will hasten the collapse of the structure of *apartheid*.

99. In the Middle East a lasting peace is still elusive, and this despite the fact that the foundations for such a peace have long been identified. Pivotal to any search for a just settlement must be the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people, their full involvement in that search through their sole legitimate representatives, the PLO, and the universal acknowledgement of their right to a home and State of their own in Palestine. It is Guyana's hope that, ere this Assembly ends, there would be no more equivocation on the just rights of the Palestinian people. Meanwhile, we must condemn Israeli aggression against Lebanon and lend our full support to the people of that country in their present travail.

100. While the constraints that I have mentioned have been operated to hinder international co-operation, there has been contemporaneously an unheralded emergence of issues and values of a global character. These include the maintenance of the environment as a life-support system, the need to devise a new régime for the seas, an effective system of world food security, the supervision of multinational corporations and the elimination of both over-development and under-development. These challenges have led to a number of global consultations under the auspices of this Organization. Global programmes have been formulated and, in some instances, new norms identified.

101. It is the contradiction between new global norms and the maintenance of attitudes and practices which are inconsistent with present-day imperatives that has served to retard effective action in the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

102. If we were to reflect on the mood of the international community earlier in this decade, when there appeared global consensus on the way forward in international economic relations, it would be to perceive that this development was effected by the energy catalyst and the circumstances which inspired it. For a while thereafter it appeared—to some of us, at least—that the degree of international economic co-operation which was necessary for the implementation of the programmes of action agreed upon was both possible and realizable. But the hopes that the sixth and seventh special sessions aroused for the early implementation of the New International Economic Order were not sustained. The course of subsequent events and the resurgence of intransigent attitudes dramatically demonstrated this reality. Some minimal gains were made. I refer, for example, to the Common Fund and the agreement on debt in relation to the least developed countries. But in so many areas there was no progress.

103. As we come to the end of the decade of the 1970s, it seems that both in magnitude and range the economic problems which afflict the world's communities—East and West, North and South—are of such dimensions as perhaps to be insoluble in terms of the present collective measures and approaches.

104. The upcoming negotiations in the early 1980s present the international community with a clear opportunity for co-operative action. Let us profit from our experience of the failure and disappointment of the 1970s. The forthcoming negotiations must not be approached as previous ones on the New International Economic Order when stratagems were utilized to maintain an old order while using the rhetoric of the new. On the contrary, the approach must take fully into account the new global imperatives, otherwise the decade of the 1980s may well be worse than that of the 1970s.

105. As we begin the preparations for the important negotiations which 1980 will herald, it is to the goal of wider co-operation that I suggest our energies be directed. The year 1980 will mark the third time the international community will initiate a development decade with a hopefully appropriate international development strategy.

106. Of special importance, as part of a proposed global round of negotiations, will be the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy to be held in 1981. The approach to this Conference must be based on recognition of the rights of the producers, the finiteness of the oil resource, its over-consumption by some industrialized States, the special vulnerability of some oil-importing States and the urgent need to alleviate their situation of crisis and, finally, the need to develop globally new and/or renewable resources of energy.

107. One of the consequences of the present situation of persistent dysfunction in the international economic system has been the universalization of the awareness of the true dimension and nature of interdependence. It may be that with this development a new opportunity presents itself for a collective definition of the mutuality of interests which will banish for ever arrangements based on domination and exploitation.

108. If I am right about the potential of these new circumstances, then it is essential that before we embark on a global round of negotiations we should seek to establish the pre-conditions for success. One such is the inevitability of the further diffusion of power within the international system. This is but one of the consequences that will flow from growing South-South co-operation. Similarly, the relations which are increasingly being built between countries of different social, political and economic systems will impact on the distribution of power itself within the international system.

109. And there are other essential verities which we should acknowledge together and which should inform our attitudes to these forthcoming negotiations. I do not propose an exhaustive list, but I believe that recognition of the following is indispensable: (i) that usable power is no longer the monopoly of a few; (ii) that in terms of demographic trends, the presently rich nations of the world are a shrinking minority; (iii) that technology, including nuclear technology, cannot for ever be monopolized by a few; (iv) and that the maintenance and growth of high levels of economic activity in the affluent North must be premised on the development of the developing countries themselves.

110. The policy of non-alignment and the movement

of countries which practice that policy are universally recognized as an independent factor with a positive influence in the international system. Those of us who subscribe to that policy—which has provided a strategic alternative to multilateral alliances rooted in military power—have been consistently advocating the need for a system of international relations which is survival-oriented, democratic, equitable and just.

111. Even though our efforts in international organization have resulted in sometimes uneven success, it is yet undeniable that in the several forums in which we pursue our objectives new norms have emerged which have as their fundamental constituency the global polity. It may be that the time has come when we should attempt to devise an international contract bringing together into a single document the norms of genuine interdependence of requirements in a planetary community and the essentials for the new global round of negotiations.

112. Guyana, a small, non-aligned, socialist State, stands ready to participate constructively in advancing the cause of international co-operation.

113. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Permit me, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly and to wish you success in your important work. We welcome the people of the State of Saint Lucia, which has become a new Member of the United Nations.

114. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to express its profound condolences to the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola and the Angolan people on the untimely death of their President, an outstanding leader of the African national liberation movement, Agostinho Neto. We wish to express our profound sorrow and condolences to the delegation and people of fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia on the passing away of the former President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ludvik Svoboda. Our people, who are now celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from Hitlerite invaders, will never forget that Czechoslovak forces, under the command of General Svoboda, took an active part in the liberation of our Republic from the Fascist occupiers.

115. The decade of the 1970s will no doubt go down in history as a time when the peoples of the world intensified their struggle for peace and relaxation of international tension. It is precisely during these years that détente has become the dominant international trend and has made it possible to avert the threat of a deadly war, thus serving the interests of the whole of mankind. Legal, moral and political barriers are being built and strengthened to thwart those who relish military adventure. The first steps have been taken to limit the arms race. A major step to curb the arms race was the signing in Vienna by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and Mr. Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States of America, of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. When ratified and fully implemented it will undoubtedly be a solid barrier

to the unrestrained build-up of nuclear arsenals and will facilitate movement towards genuine disarmament.

116. The movement towards détente which has marked the decade about to close has not materialized by itself. It has been a result of the efforts of socialist countries and other peace-loving States and peoples of the whole world. Further progress towards this goal will require considerable effort and perseverance.

117. Today as never before, durable peace and security depend on the total cessation of the policy of violence and intervention in the internal affairs of States, a policy which is pursued internationally by certain States. That policy is carried out in obedience to various slogans, but its essence is the same: the claim to hegemony over other States or groups of States and the desire to gain a dominant position either in the world at large or in one of its regions. The policy of *diktat* and threats, the establishment of spheres or zones of influence has more than once brought the world to the brink of war and, indeed, has plunged it into the abyss of military catastrophe. Nobody has forgotten the hegemonism underlying the bloodthirsty policies of Hitlerite fascism, which unleashed the Second World War. The demonic Führer coveted many lands, including the lands of the Ukraine, which he intended to turn into a colony settled by representatives of the "master race". While celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine from the Fascist invaders, we recall that our people, together with all the fraternal Soviet peoples, were forced to sacrifice the lives of millions of our sons and daughters in order finally to crush the hegemonistic ambitions and designs of the Hitlerites.

118. History has demonstrated convincingly that hegemonism is repugnant in all its forms and manifestations. It is particularly dangerous in our time when those who pursue a policy of hegemonism possess, or can acquire, nuclear weapons. That is why the policy of hegemonism should be condemned by the United Nations in strongest terms and the world community is in duty bound not to permit any attempts to pursue it.

119. We categorically support the important and timely proposal of the Soviet Union, introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko [7th meeting], for the inclusion in the agenda of this session of an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations". We are confident that the new proposal of the USSR will have the broad support of peoples and States which are interested in the consolidation of the principle of sovereign equality in inter-State relations.

120. Durable peace, the security of nations and the development of peaceful and equal co-operation among them—that is the key to the foreign policy of the socialist countries. At the same time, one cannot overlook the forces which are at work in the world stubbornly trying to undermine détente, to threaten international security and to intensify the atmosphere of fear and hostility. To this end they trot out the stale political slogans of anti-communism and anti-sovietism. Facts convincingly show that anti-communism and anti-sovietism have always been and will always be the rallying cry for the most reactionary forces. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Mr. Shcherbitsky, stressed:

"Anti-communism is not only the most bitter foe of progress, but it is out of date historically, and is ideologically and politically bankrupt".

*Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

121. The myth of the so-called Soviet military threat is by no means the least of the weapons in the political arsenal of anti-communism. It has been used on more than one occasion in the past and it is being used again to obstruct the efforts of peoples working for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament. We are convinced that that myth will be recognized as the greatest lie of the twentieth century. But it still flourishes wherever capital holds sway, wherever the rights of the working people are trampled upon and wherever all means are employed to intimidate the people of the country concerned with an alleged threat of aggression from without. Meanwhile, vast mountains of weapons are piling up and that is the real threat to peace in the world. That threat is all the more dangerous, because in some countries war propaganda is still openly disseminated and plans for pre-emptive nuclear strikes against certain countries are proclaimed. All this misanthropic propaganda is camouflaged by the fabrications of a so-called Soviet military threat.

122. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have never threatened anybody and will never threaten anybody. As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said:

"We are motivated by one idea: to preserve and strengthen peace, to enable the peoples of the world to devote themselves exclusively to and to concentrate all their efforts and resources on productive ends."

A concrete and tangible rebuttal of the slander has been the consistent struggle of socialist countries for curbing the arms race and for disarmament.

123. The policy of limiting the nuclear arms race is the corner-stone of all efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the struggle for international security and disarmament. Of special significance is their joint proposal on the termination of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles to the point of total elimination. Of course, it would be unrealistic to expect that all nuclear weapons could be eliminated at once. It would be plainly impossible. A responsible approach suggests that appropriate measures of nuclear disarmament should be carried out with the participation of all nuclear States, stage by stage, in a specific order and according to a mutually acceptable time-table.

124. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that as soon as possible we must embark on preparatory consultations and talks on the termination of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles of such weapons, to the point of their complete elimination. In our opinion, the efforts of this session of the General Assembly should focus on that objective.

125. We believe that the elimination of nuclear weapons should be accompanied by political and international legal measures to ensure the security of all

States. Of particular significance in this connexion would be an early conclusion of the world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

126. As is already known, talks are now in progress on a number of problems of disarmament and international security.

127. A certain degree of agreement has been reached between the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom on complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing. In the opinion of our delegation the General Assembly should support an early conclusion of a treaty on complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing.

128. Recently the USSR and the United States submitted a draft containing the main elements of a treaty on the prohibition of development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons [see A/34/27 paras. 56-57], which are a new type of mass destruction weapons. Measures should be taken to draft such a treaty and bring it into force at the earliest possible date to join existing agreements on limiting the arms race. At the same time we feel that the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on that question will be the most effective way to prevent the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

129. The purposes of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons are served by the proposals of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees for the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. We would point out that the idea that these guarantees should be embodied in an international document has formed the basis for talks on this subject in the Committee on Disarmament. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that at the present time work on this convention could well be accelerated.

130. We also believe that it would be important to embody in an international agreement the obligations of both nuclear and non-nuclear States not to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of those countries where they do not exist at present. We hope for a constructive exchange of views on this subject at this session.

131. The world community has been demonstrating active interest in the early prohibition of chemical weapons. Talks on this subject are under way, but they should be expedited.

132. A world disarmament conference could lend powerful momentum to intensifying the efforts of States in bringing about disarmament. It would enable all States to participate on an equal basis in the taking of effective decisions on the whole range of problems associated with disarmament.

133. I shall now speak briefly about another problem connected with disarmament, namely, halting the unproductive expenditure of labour and material resources on the arms race. The dimensions of this expenditure are eloquently demonstrated by the data contained in the most recent report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and military ex-

penditures.<sup>11</sup> According to that report, over the last five years world expenditures for military purposes have exceeded \$US 1.8 trillion. It should be stressed in this regard how immediate is the problem of reducing military expenditures, a problem which has been repeatedly raised by the socialist countries.

134. We have on the conference table quite a few constructive proposals for the limitation of the arms race and for disarmament. We understand that to put these proposals into effect is no simple matter. We need for that purpose first of all a demonstration of political will and action in the spirit of co-operation in the search for mutually acceptable decisions. That is why the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic supports the proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" [A/34/141]. Strict observance of the principles contained therein would undoubtedly yield appreciable results and facilitate the achievement of progress in talks on real disarmament.

135. International peace and security would be a hundred times more stable today if all States were to bring their policies into line with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. However, even now in various parts of the world the imperialists and their henchmen, the opponents of peace and détente, are tireless in their efforts to preserve hotbeds of tension, and even to create new ones.

136. Thus, the situation in the Middle East remains as explosive as ever. The path of one-sided concessions to Israel and separate deals has not led, and cannot lead, to the establishment of lasting peace in that area. It is clear that the United Nations cannot possibly associate itself with an approach of that character. In accordance with its fundamental resolutions, a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East is possible only on the basis of the inadmissibility of the seizure of territory by means of aggression, the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied in 1967; the exercise in practice of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State; and the ensuring of the right of all States in the Middle East to a secure and independent existence and development. The separate treaty between Egypt and Israel<sup>12</sup> has led only to a further intensification of the aggressiveness of Israel against the Arab countries and peoples, and primarily against Lebanon and the Arab people of Palestine.

137. So far there has been no real progress towards the normalization of the situation in Cyprus. Such a course of events is obviously advantageous to those who are attempting to use Cyprus as a strategic staging area in the Mediterranean. The United Nations should play a decisive role in bringing about a settlement in the island and in ensuring the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

138. Like other delegations, we whole-heartedly sup-

<sup>11</sup> *Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures: updated report of the Secretary-General* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.IX.1).

<sup>12</sup> Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

port the desire of the Korean people and the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the democratic reunification of the country and we are firmly in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the southern part of the peninsula.

139. The situation in South-East Asia has become exceedingly complex in connexion with the recent aggression by China against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the continuing threats of the Chinese leaders once again to take up arms "to teach" someone "a lesson".

140. The denouement of that aggression is well known. The heroic Vietnamese people, who for more than 30 years waged a self-sacrificing and arduous national liberation war, and won it, has firmly rebuffed the Chinese hegemonists as well. But now the aggressors and their accomplices are whipping up an anti-Viet Nam campaign in order to achieve what they were unable to obtain by means of aggression.

141. They were infuriated by the victories of the Kampuchean people over the criminal and inhuman régime of Pol Pot. However, in spite of all that, the People's Republic of Kampuchea will confidently move along the path of progress. We are convinced that the time is not far off when the lawful representatives of the Kampuchean people will come to take their rightful seats in this hall.

142. The position of those who are attempting to use the problem of the Indo-Chinese refugees for political ends against socialist Viet Nam is an outrage. However, these people are stubborn in their silence about the fate of millions of people who have fallen victims to the policy of aggression, *diktat*, *apartheid*, racial discrimination, foreign domination and occupation in South-East Asia itself, in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in long-suffering Chile.

143. Of course, one can scarcely expect the defence of human rights from those very people who trample them underfoot every day in pursuing a policy which has led to the massive and flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to life. They have, at the same time, shamelessly distorted the truth about the development of true democracy in the socialist countries. The so-called "champions" of human rights interfere in the internal affairs of States and work against international détente. At the same time, they are attempting to consolidate and use for their own purposes all kinds of emigrant organizations—a motley assortment of renegades and outcasts from their homes who have dug themselves in in the backyards of certain capitalist countries.

144. But all the attempts of the enemies of socialism as well as the attempts of those who so generously finance their provocative activities are doomed to failure. Attempts to exert pressure on the peoples of the socialist countries, including the Ukrainian people, are nothing new. They have not prevented the countries of socialism from achieving success in their work of peaceful construction and in defending their independence. They are not hindering our advances towards social progress even today.

145. Social progress depends, of course, on many factors, including the state of the world economy and

international economic relations. The world has come up against the most profound and protracted crisis of capitalism which affects the whole system. Although the capitalist countries, and primarily their working classes, have suffered serious harm from the crisis, the main brunt has been borne by the developing countries.

146. It goes without saying that the responsibility of the developed capitalist Powers for the economic difficulties of the developing countries by no means comes to an end or expires with the end of the colonial period. The developing countries are still suffering from inequalities and exploitation within the capitalist system. Therefore, they are suffering worse from its endemic diseases than is anybody else. This has led to an intensification of inequality within the framework of "interdependence" which is being so vigorously preached recently at international conferences.

147. As a spearhead of neo-colonialism, there have emerged major monopolistic groupings. The transnational corporations have created their own "economic order". The borders of their economic empires overlap the frontiers of sovereign States. These corporations create a breach between manufacturers and consumers and use this fact to engage in widespread exploitation. The transnational corporations are receiving from the young States ever-growing profits, which far exceed the initial investment capital, are limiting the transfer to those States of the latest technology and are interfering in the internal affairs of these States.

148. To the accompaniment of hypocritical utterances by Governments purporting to condemn colonialism and racism, the Western monopolies are continuing to expand co-operation with the reactionary colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. Fed by international monopolistic capital, they are its bulwark in southern Africa and its main political and ideological force.

149. One can say with the utmost confidence that the elimination of the remnants of the shameful system of colonialism and racism in Africa has entered its final phase. The powerful blows struck by the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are bringing closer the day when the racist régimes will be finally swept off the face of Africa. Nobody can possibly be convinced by the cosmetic means which the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa is attempting to use to beautify the ugly face of *apartheid*, or the farce which has been perpetrated in Zimbabwe with the creation of a puppet Government. The criminal practice of *apartheid* has not changed. In Zimbabwe we are witnessing a continuation of the cruel war against the African patriots. Piratical attacks on neighbouring States not only have failed to cease but have become ever more frequent.

150. The Ukrainian SSR is consistently in favour of the elimination of the racist régime in Zimbabwe and of the transfer of all power to the people as embodied by the Patriotic Front. We are in favour of the immediate and unreserved withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from Namibia and of the transfer of power in that country to the South West Africa People's Organization. In common with other States, we believe that it is necessary to strengthen sanctions against the racist régime in Salisbury and to apply against the Republic of South Africa the full range of measures provided for in the United Nations Charter.

151. The positive changes which have occurred in the world have led to the stepping up of the struggle of the people against imperialism and for independence and freedom. Afghanistan has chosen the non-capitalist freedom of development. The dictatorial régime in Nicaragua has collapsed, as has the Shah's régime in Iran. The world anti-imperialist movement has become ever stronger and has further consolidated itself as a result of an important international meeting, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana. These and indeed other events are only in keeping with the logic of history and the interests of social progress and the interests of peoples. In this lies their vital force.

152. The 1970s have written a number of glorious pages in the history of the tireless struggle of the forces of progress for peace among peoples, for restraining aggression and for creating a sound foundation for universal security.

153. The United Nations has taken part in that process. It must continue to promote the elimination of war from the life of mankind. In this we see the main task of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which should provide the world with a glorious and glowing prospect for the forthcoming 1980s.

154. Mr. SIMONET (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The sudden events through which we have lived this year have brought about a lack of confidence in the future and the feeling that less than ever before are we able to surmount our economic, social, moral and national problems.

155. Public opinion perceives a certain weakening of authority, a lack of leadership in the conduct of international affairs; it perceives, at any rate, the precariousness of the fragile balances in today's world as well as the causes of tensions and conflicts. Certain essential problems concerning the preservation of peace are stagnant, whether they relate to the Middle East, Namibia, Rhodesia or Cyprus. These problems have been bogged down at a time when it seemed that the goal was nearly attained. As a result the present peace becomes fragile.

156. Other problems have sprung up, some of them very crucial, in South-East Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and certain regions of Africa.

157. In the economic sphere, substantial rises in the prices of oil products are affecting the economies of all States. Inflation has not been controlled anywhere. For nearly 10 years now the international monetary system has been in an ever-increasing state of convulsion. The dollar, which claimed to be the new international monetary standard, is eroding. And when its foundations give way, should one not fear being cast adrift? The phenomenal rise in the price of gold is an illustration of this psychosis.

158. Such is the present state of our anxiety.

159. And yet we must not forget the enormous progress of the last few years in the economic and social fields and in international relations.

160. The deep sense of hostility between the great

Powers which existed after the war has disappeared and détente gives rise to hope of a lasting peace.

161. The Europe of the nine members of the European Economic Community is progressing in all aspects, politically and economically. This is happening slowly, it is true, but with the assurance that this is its destiny. It is preparing to expand and also to become more deeply-rooted in public opinion. On the international level its contribution is increasing, particularly in the area of development co-operation.

162. Of course, there is no great universal design today. Consequently, must we not, more than ever before, progress in several directions, step by step? The gap between disquiet and frustration and confident optimism can be quickly bridged.

163. The United Nations provides a privileged framework for the solution of a multitude of problems and the establishment of a world community.

164. I shall not go over the ideas already developed before the Assembly on 25 September, on behalf of the nine States members of the European Economic Community, by Mr. O'Kennedy, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland [*8th meeting*], who is President of the Community for this six-month period. Members will have noticed that the statement of the Community before the General Assembly gains more in substance each year. That shows the progress achieved towards the formulation of common positions in international affairs. It means that there are several questions on which I need not dwell. I shall therefore limit myself to developing some views on four subjects, the first of which is the Middle East.

165. On 17 September 1978 the Camp David Agreements<sup>13</sup> were signed. Who would then have dared to hope that the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty would be implemented on schedule? And yet the third phase of the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai has just been carried out. The two countries are discovering the path of mutual understanding. Thus the Treaty signals a first step in the implementation of the principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), on the way to an over-all settlement that will create conditions for a lasting peace. It is an act of courage and political far-sightedness, yet by itself it will not solve all the problems. We can, however, hope that it will give an impetus towards peace.

166. That is why I share the conviction of many Arab leaders that peace in the area can be restored only through a just and over-all settlement of the conflict. Such a settlement should be based above all on recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination and its right to a homeland, as well as withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including those in Jerusalem. It is up to the Palestinians themselves to decide upon the actual manner in which they wish to express their national identity and to decide, with the parties concerned, whether they prefer a status of autonomy or an independent State, a federal framework or a confederate one.

<sup>13</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.

167. Soon we should get down to some hard thinking with a view to defining the Palestinian entity that is so often talked about. We should reflect on its political and economic viability. Such clarifications will give more concrete shape to the wish of our Governments to arrive at a global settlement in the not-too-distant future. The Belgian Government has no doubt that the representatives of the Palestinian people, and in particular the PLO, should be associated with such a settlement. For its part, Belgium has had regular contacts with the PLO for several years now. In Brussels, the PLO has for quite some time maintained an information and liaison office. For my part, I hope to see the PLO adopt a policy of peace based on recognition of Israel and its right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries, as well as on acceptance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), whose over-all principles remain valid.

168. I have closely followed the efforts undertaken in the Security Council with a view to completing this resolution. I appreciate the attempts to include in the resolution the point

“That the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly”.<sup>14</sup>

169. Belgium, which maintains friendly relations with Israel, is fully conscious of Israel's security needs. But we wonder whether Israel's security would not be best guaranteed by relations of mutual confidence with its neighbours rather than by the continued occupation of their territories in a climate of hostility. History shows us too many examples of States wasting their moral capital in pursuit of such a policy.

170. The PLO, for its part, should of course cease its acts of violence against Israel, especially at a time when the international community is increasing and even accelerating its recognition of the justice of its demands.

171. The Israeli people and their leaders have long sought, and after much suffering have finally attained, their national ideal in circumstances which the Palestinian people are in turn now undergoing. May the common experience of so much parallel suffering finally bring the Palestinians and the Israelis together in dialogue and peace. That is, I believe, the hope of the vast majority of this Assembly.

172. This year, once again, southern Lebanon has continued to be the powerless witness of its own physical and moral destruction. It seems particularly unjustified that Lebanon, the only country that refused to enter the Middle East conflict, has become the victim of a war that is above all a war of others. Our Organization must support the endeavours now being made in many places to restore peace in Lebanon and to restore the full authority of the legitimate Lebanese Government.

173. I come now to my second subject, disarmament.

174. From this very rostrum, on 2 June 1978, during

the tenth special session of this Assembly, which was devoted to this important question, I stated:

“Imagination, coupled with the restraint on the part of all and the will to succeed, might lead to a more productive stage in the efforts to achieve disarmament.”<sup>15</sup>

This, members will agree, showed prudent optimism.

175. Unfortunately, we have to acknowledge that that more fruitful stage has still not yet been reached and that, indeed, the arms race has not slowed down.

176. Nevertheless, Belgium remains convinced that disarmament—and, in the meantime, the cessation or, at least, the slowing down of the arms race—constitutes what is undoubtedly the most urgent task of the community of nations. Like other speakers who have preceded me, I am pleased by the conclusion between the two biggest military Powers of a new Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms after some seven years of negotiation.

177. Even though, strictly speaking, this is not a disarmament measure, the treaty—if it is ratified, as my country and, I believe, most countries hope—will open the way to new negotiations aimed at substantial reductions in the long-range nuclear stockpiles of the two Powers and will, in a more general sense, make a powerful contribution to the creation of a climate favourable to the success of other negotiations now under way or being prepared.

178. Another positive point that concerns us in this field is the performance of the new Committee on Disarmament, which was established by this Assembly last year. We have reason to be pleased with its initial work. The questions of substance were discussed in a constructive spirit that augurs well for its next session.

179. My country is also pleased with the atmosphere surrounding the work of the Group of Governmental Experts on Regional Disarmament charged with assisting the Secretary-General in the elaboration of a report concerning the different aspects of that subject. We are convinced that when that report is submitted to the General Assembly next year, it will show that the regional approach offers a wealth of concrete possibilities for the negotiation and conclusion of agreements that would contribute effectively to the cessation of the nuclear and conventional arms race. In this context Belgium is following with particular interest the actions of Mexico and other countries in Latin America.

180. I come now to human rights. Every day brings us countless reports of torture, injustice, persecution, discrimination, fear and hunger. Fortunately, the world community is showing increasing concern regarding those denials of human dignity. The United Nations plays an essential role in making people aware of the universal significance of human rights, but our world is still searching for the proper way in which to express its legitimate concern.

181. The list of human rights has grown longer and the

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, document S/13514.

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 15th meeting, para. 149.

interdependence of these rights is recognized. However, interdependence does not mean equivalence; rights differ, in that they may be immediate or evolutionary in character; they differ in the role which the State may play in their realization. Some rights, such as the right to life, are fundamental and should be recognized everywhere in the same way; other rights are better realized in ways that are adapted to cultural, economic and social conditions. The elaboration of standards has now reached such a degree of development that our Organization might envisage a synthesis which would relate the rights to one another and which would be capable of laying the basis for a more coherent international policy on human rights.

182. All rights are universal, but in many cases this is compatible with a regional approach. Western Europe has already acquired considerable experience in this regional action, particularly through the action of the Council of Europe, but it has no monopoly on it. We see considerable activity in this field in the Americas and in Africa. Any regional initiative deserves to be encouraged, as long as it is in accordance with the instruments of universal applicability which constitute the international bill of human rights.

183. Our Organization has also made some progress in the way in which it deals with human rights violations, but its action remains slow and timid and this deficiency is particularly felt in the case of serious violations. The collective voice of the United Nations should be allowed more effective expression wherever it is still possible to correct a situation. This voice should not be toned down when an appeal is made to national sovereignty or political considerations.

184. May I recall in this respect that Belgium was not to be counted among those who have made it difficult, or even impossible, for the United Nations to carry out a real investigation of the massive violations of human rights in Kampuchea when those violations were at the peak of their atrocity. I want to reaffirm that the position taken by my delegation this session concerning the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea in no way constitutes approval of the policy followed in the past by that régime.

185. The President of the Assembly has emphasized [*1st meeting*] that if all Governments observed or enforced the various covenants and rules of human conduct and governmental responsibility, none of their citizens would be obliged to seek refuge abroad. Alas, they are far from doing so and the sad stream of refugees is continually growing. The humanitarian action of the United Nations with regard to this problem is indispensable; the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees deserves support proportionate to the situation. The Geneva Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, convened by the Secretary-General, reflected credit on our Organization. It focused particularly on the unprecedented problem of the Vietnamese refugees. Although it was not able to deal with the causes of the massive exodus, it contributed to the beginning of a solution to the question of asylum. In conformity with its tradition, Belgium will take a generous share in this humanitarian action.

186. The Geneva Meeting hardly touched upon the specific problem of Kampuchea, yet the suffering of the

population is becoming more frightful every day. We witness famine, massive displacements and desperate flights towards neighbouring countries. Only a political settlement, accepted inside as well as outside the country, could bring about reconciliation and the resurrection of a free Kampuchea. Immediate material assistance is indispensable. The international efforts that have been started must be amplified and must benefit all Kampuchean who need them urgently. It would be unthinkable for this vital assistance to be jeopardized by political considerations.

187. In concluding may I mention the North-South dialogue. Five years ago, at the sixth special session, the General Assembly launched the idea of a new international economic order. Since then the developed and the developing countries have been pursuing a continuing dialogue.

188. The new Lomé Convention which, I hope, will be signed on 31 October, will strengthen the links between the nine countries of the European Community and the 57 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. It seems to us that the Europe of the nine-member Community increasingly exemplifies international co-operation and a determined desire for progress. It also seems to me that each of the participants in that Convention can mention this effort without vanity or embarrassment.

189. The North-South dialogue is continuing. It must continue. The interdependence of States and problems requires this.

190. Already it has achieved moderate but unquestionable results. Admittedly they are not commensurate with the goodwill expressed and the efforts deployed, and perhaps the dialogue has given rise to too many conferences and committees, and perhaps their respective agenda are overloaded with too many problems. One cannot examine and resolve everything at the same time.

191. Moreover, the multiplicity of development objectives selected by international gatherings over the years, as well as the absence of priorities, seems to us to detract from the credibility of the consensus achieved. Each of us needs to be more realistic.

192. We were interested to note the proposal made by the Group of 77 at the last meeting of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 [*A/34/34, part three, annex I*]. It widens the field of our discussions by including the question of energy.

193. Of course, it will first be necessary to agree on the aim of this exercise and on its conditions and methods.

194. In any case, it seems to us that the dialogue should be conducted on the basis of solidarity. Problems of the economy in general and of the industrialized countries in particular cannot be excluded from it. The acceleration of development for all cannot be dissociated from the recovery of the world economy and the maintenance of economic conditions favourable to over-all growth in all regions, in particular those which suffer from a marked backwardness in the development of their human potential and natural resources.

195. The dialogue must favour a new international economic order. It must, by definition, be a new one, but it must also be orderly, so that there may be a more balanced distribution of rights and obligations for all.

196. It is not possible, I must reiterate, to hold such a dialogue while ignoring energy problems.

197. Oil represents nearly 15 per cent of world trade. Its increase in price imposes an enormous transfer of resources on the industrialized countries. One could estimate that the most recent rise in oil prices will result in a loss of growth of approximately 1 per cent of the gross national product for the European Community. It will mean an additional burden for the entire Community of more than \$12 billion. The resulting transfer of resources takes on its full importance when one recalls that in 1978 the industrialized countries together spent 0.32 per cent of their gross national product on official development assistance.

198. The dynamism of our economies is profoundly affected by the rise in oil prices. That rise inexorably erodes the balance of payments, particularly those of developing countries which do not produce oil.

199. A world-wide effort at common action on all aspects of the oil problem is therefore necessary.

200. On 27 September [*11th meeting*], this Assembly heard a remarkable speech by Mr. José López Portillo, the President of the United Mexican States, who described the problem of energy to us in all its scope and gravity. I welcome his proposal—one of apparent modesty, but great realism—to form a working group comprising representatives of oil-producing countries, industrialized countries and oil-importing developing countries in order to formulate concrete proposals in this field.

201. In my view, the development of a new strategy, quite as much as the continuation of the dialogue, must take into account the considerations I have just set before you. On the other hand, a number of facts and objectives must be mentioned.

202. There appears to be agreement on the priority developing countries must give to the increase and diversification of their food production. Their concern to ensure subsistence for their populations and to husband their foreign currency resources are primary objectives. Moreover, the development of agriculture and rural activities is the major source of employment in developing countries.

203. There is general agreement, furthermore, that the purchasing power created by agricultural development in itself favours the process of industrialization. On the whole, the international community considers the industrialization of developing countries to be one of its principal objectives because such industrialization is a factor for rapid growth.

204. I should like to emphasize, however, that industrialization cannot be accompanied by long-term protectionist measures. In view of their importance in world trade, the industrialized countries of course bear the primary responsibility for the freedom of trade. However, the fight against protectionism, against tariff

and non-tariff barriers, is the task of all countries, whether industrialized or in the process of industrialization. By the same token, free access to raw materials must be guaranteed to all. For that matter, only the liberalization of international trade can ensure the integration of developing countries into the international economy.

205. In this connexion, I am surprised that the question of private investments, indispensable in this process of industrialization, has hitherto not been the subject of agreements within the framework of the dialogue.

206. The transfer of private resources to developing countries surpasses government aid each year; often such transfers, whether they be foreign investments, bank credits or financing guarantees, are more than twice as high as government aid. However, they require an atmosphere of confidence, an appropriate protection of investments, and—when circumstances call for it—a free transfer of income and repayments, a reasonable and speedy compensation for expropriations, non-discriminatory treatment and the opportunity, in the event of disputes, for recourse to various international arbitration bodies recognized by the parties concerned.

207. As for official development assistance, we are all aware of the efforts to be made by developed countries and some developing countries, whatever their economic and social system, to increase their transfers of resources. Yet such official assistance has its limits. We must ensure its best possible distribution, as well as the most suitable means for its use. In this spirit, ought we not to take more into account the diversity of the developing countries? Is it not more equitable to direct official development assistance to the most disadvantaged countries to an increasing degree and to satisfy their basic needs?

208. Finally, we cannot overlook the fact that the transfer of resources will not truly be promoted save within the framework of growing national economies. Widespread inflation in the industrialized countries and the increase in unemployment today represent preliminary obstacles that must be overcome.

209. The primacy of the human person, peace and justice were the themes set forth during the visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to the United Nations [*17th meeting*]. These are also the chapters under which the action of the United Nations is taking place.

210. Our Organization can contribute to defining a great ambition. Essential debates take place here; for example, the definition of a type of society in which rights are more securely established and defended, the search for a durable peace in places where history has opened and is still inflicting deep wounds, and the realization of a new economic order as well.

211. If we can unite our political will, the future of our peoples will not consist merely of uncertainty, and instability will not become the law of the world. Perhaps history is but one long tragedy. For my part, however, I would rather believe, with Voltaire, that "the world, slowly, is progressing towards wisdom".

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*