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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Farah (Djibouti)	633
Speech by Mr. Saúde Maria (Guinea-Bissau)	635
Speech by Mr. Huq (Bangladesh)	639
Speech by Mr. Touré (Guinea)	643

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): I should like, Sir, on behalf of my people, my Government and my President, Hajji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, to congratulate you most sincerely upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Because of your personal qualities, your long experience and your wisdom, I am convinced that you will successfully discharge the onerous tasks that have been entrusted to you. In appointing you to this important function, the States represented here have paid a unanimous tribute to your people and to your country for the important role it is playing on both the African scene and the international scene under the wise and enlightened leadership of President Julius Nyerere. I can assure you that my delegation will always be ready to give you its unconditional support and active co-operation.

2. I should like to express my gratitude and admiration to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, who directed the work of the thirty-third session with dedication and political skill.

3. It is also a great pleasure for me to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his outstanding competence in managing the affairs of our Organization, for his dedication and for his constant and tireless endeavours in defending the goals and fundamental principles for which our Organization was founded in order to promote peace and understanding among nations.

4. The delegation of Djibouti is also happy to congratulate the State of Saint Lucia upon its accession to independence and we warmly welcome its admission to the United Nations family. We wish Saint Lucia every success.

5. A few days ago Africa lost one of its sons. We wish to express our deep sorrow and profound sadness upon

the untimely death of our brother, Agostinho Neto. His loyalty to his people in their struggle for independence, his unceasing battle against imperialism for the liberation of Africa and his qualities as a statesman have earned him the recognition and respect of all peoples, and those of Africa in particular. I should like to express our profound condolences to his dear family, his Government and his people.

6. As we begin this thirty-fourth year, we are once again gathered here in order to seek solutions to the many questions which continue to confront the conscience of the world with all their political, economic and social complexities. The international community could not have chosen a better place than the United Nations, where the combined efforts of countries may be exerted in order to improve man's conditions as he seeks to fulfil his potential.

7. Aware of its responsibilities and of the increasing anxieties that weigh upon the world, my country firmly supports the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. In this respect, my country is anxious to offer its co-operation and to make its modest contribution to the international effort aimed at bringing nations closer together in a world of peace and justice and at promoting co-operation based upon mutual respect and the principles of interdependence in equality and dignity.

8. With respect to the non-aligned movement, my country has since its independence joined in the defence of the principles and objectives of that movement. The work of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met at Havana from 3 to 9 September, demonstrated to the world that the member countries, in spite of their differences, have decided to preserve their unity. We fully support the movement's initiatives aimed at establishing a new international economic order.

9. The commitment of my Government to follow the objectives of national unity, equality and peace, strengthened by our will to remain neutral in our foreign relations, is a corner-stone of our policy, not only in order to maintain and preserve our sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, but also to make more harmonious our hard-won independence in a genuine spirit of co-operation and understanding with all nations. The young Republic of Djibouti has firmly decided to build the foundations of its economic development.

10. In acceding to international sovereignty on 27 June 1977, my country found itself confronted by various economic and financial difficulties, including, among others, the serious reduction in harbour and rail activities, our principal source of revenue. Apart from those difficulties, my country is particularly affected by

the rapid increase in the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods.

11. The trade situation has deteriorated especially since Djibouti does not export any goods, which further aggravates our trade-balance deficit. Indeed, we import most, if not all, of our needs. This economic dependence on foreign countries, coupled with the rising cost of transportation, places us in a difficult position and slows down our economic development. I do not wish to dwell on these points, but my country would like to be included in the list of the least developed countries, in view of its difficulties. My country is very appreciative of the support, both material and moral, that it has received from friendly countries since its independence. We should like to express our profound gratitude and appreciation for that help.

12. One can only view the question of respect for human rights with bitterness and disappointment since these rights are not being respected in most countries. Our world, unfortunately, has not yet rid itself of this evil, which runs counter to the principle of respect for man. The essence of respect for human rights means that each person should enjoy political, social, economic and religious rights as a free person. It is for that purpose that the advocates of human rights should work, instead of for political or propaganda purposes. The right of people to fight for their most fundamental needs, to fight against ignorance, disease, the domination and exploitation of human beings, both abroad and at home, the pursuit of justice against racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* must be a source of inspiration, respect and attention. Greater priority should be accorded to morality and to the exercise of moderation by all political figures. It is high time that all those who support peace heeded the appeal for help from the millions of victims who are living in abject poverty, the tens of millions of homeless refugees, the human beings in distress but receiving no help in Palestine, Lebanon, southern Africa, South-East Asia, the Horn of Africa and Latin America, before it is too late.

13. How can we explain that virtually one third of the world's population suffers from famine, abject poverty and total wretchedness, crying out for help while some nations display their supremacy and power by spending billions of dollars on military prestige, thus accumulating an arsenal of armaments? How is it possible to explain this fact while the whole world is seeking peace and security?

14. We find that some of us are bent on manufacturing and accumulating mountains of dangerous weapons, which are then sold to the countries of the third world. As a result our already limited resources are exhausted, our courage weakened and our unity shattered. In this unhappy state of affairs, the advantage always lies with those who manufacture these weapons.

15. My country is proud to have directed its national policy towards providing for the well-being of everyone, within the limits and abilities of its resources, by protecting the fundamental social, economic, political and religious rights of all. It is by this sense of duty and by its contribution to the world action on human rights that the Republic of Djibouti, a land of exchanges and encounters, has legitimately assumed its part of international responsibility by offering hospitality to 30,000 refugees—between 10 and 15 per cent of its

population—with whom it willingly shared its resources, though these may be limited, and this is done without any regret and in dignity. On this occasion, I should like to thank the countries and organizations which have given us their assistance and support. But in view of the economic difficulties which my country is experiencing and in the light of the increasing number of refugees, we wish to make a vigorous appeal to the international community to seek a final solution to this humanitarian problem.

16. The Palestinian Diaspora has been a source of suffering for too long. The Palestinian is a man equal to any other. He has the right to a homeland. How can it be possible to settle this conflict or how is it possible to claim to have achieved a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem if this man, this Palestinian who is suffering, is ignored? Peace will come to the Middle East only if the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are fulfilled and if the Palestinian people find their land and their home again.

17. The separate agreements between Egypt and Israel have been condemned by all the Arab countries because no peace is possible without the participation of the Palestinian people and their sole valid representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. On numerous occasions, the international community has condemned the illegal occupation of occupied Arab territories. It must require Israel to withdraw from all these territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, which must be surrendered unconditionally to Arab sovereignty. But since Israel, it would seem, possesses nuclear weapons, it is time for the Security Council to adopt a decision along these lines; it is time for world consensus to be translated into action.

18. The problem of Lebanon cannot be isolated from the Middle East crisis. Continued acts of aggression by Israeli forces, the increase in the number of atrocities in southern Lebanon, the violent bombings and the heavy losses as a result of the infiltration of Israeli forces are all acts which flagrantly violate the United Nations Charter. It is disturbing to note that the international community, which is in favour of peace, remains passive before these gratuitous and deadly acts of aggression. It is therefore our duty to support our brothers, the people of Lebanon, in their struggle to defend their sovereignty and their national integrity.

19. The policy of my Government has always been opposed to any form of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. In this respect, it is with all our hearts that we give our support to the measures adopted by the United Nations to eliminate these evils. The international community should not lose its momentum in the moral and material support it gives to the objectives of the Declaration and Programme of Action to combat racism and racial discrimination adopted in 1978.¹ It is with satisfaction that we observe that these efforts have been crowned with success in some regions, where aggression has been resoundingly defeated. It is indeed satisfying to note that, through concerted efforts, the forces in favour of peace that are fighting for self-determination and national independence will always be victorious.

¹ Report of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 14-25 August 1978 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.XIV.2), chap. II.

20. The present situation in southern Africa has become for us all a source of concern and a disgrace to mankind. My Government has constantly denounced and condemned the policy of *apartheid* and of bantustanization, which is nothing other than a hideous attempt on the part of the South African régime to perpetuate its racist policy. The resolutions approved by the States Members of the United Nations for the purpose of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa have turned out to be ineffective, especially since several Member States are violating those resolutions for selfish reasons and do not live up to their commitments.

21. The States Members of the United Nations which are in favour of peace should under no circumstances hesitate to exercise pressure on these racists. It is high time for the United Nations to consider more effective methods to weaken and wipe out the odious system of *apartheid*.

22. My Government condemns and declares null and void the South African minority régime's unilateral decision to set up elections in Namibia from 4 to 8 December 1978 in violation and in disregard of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 439 (1978), and its rejection of the Secretary-General's proposal to organize elections supervised and controlled by the United Nations.² The constant South African defiance of world public opinion, by refusing to give to the Namibians their legitimate right to self-determination, is an act which constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security. My Government deplors and condemns the acts of violence perpetrated by South Africa against the Namibian people, and its policy of intimidation as well as the arbitrary detention of the leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. In order to be valid, any and every agreement must take into account all the conditions proposed by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] with regard to the decolonization of Namibia. These are: respect for territorial integrity, the liberation of all political prisoners, the return of all Namibians in exile, the withdrawal of all South African forces from the Territory, the recognition of SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and the holding of free elections under United Nations control.

23. In Zimbabwe, the freedom fighters are engaged in a bitter war against the forces of domination and exploitation. The blocking of the transition and the transfer of power from the illegal and rebellious régime of Ian Smith to the puppet Government of Bishop Muzorewa was nothing more than a disguised and deliberate plan by the white minority, whose principal purpose was to divert world public opinion in order to perpetrate its supremacy over the overwhelming African majority.

24. We do not see any prospect of success as long as the racists occupy more than a quarter of the seats in Parliament and retain control of the political machinery of power. Any proposal for constitutional changes in Zimbabwe must be designed to reduce the power of the white minority by bringing it to a proportionate level, which would result in a transfer of control to the hands of the people of Zimbabwe.

25. In conformity with the resolutions of the OAU, we invite all States not to recognize the Government of Abel Muzorewa, and to refuse him any material or moral support. The overwhelming majority of African States, which has identified itself with the struggle for liberation and human rights in southern Africa, is opposed to such recognition. That majority is also opposed to any peace solution in Zimbabwe which does not include the full participation of the Patriotic Front. It is indeed regrettable that the unfortunate retention of Ian Smith as a minister, the state of martial law covering most of the country, the ill-treatment inflicted on hundreds of political prisoners, and the opposition to a genuinely democratic rule by the majority constitute serious factors blocking the way to a peaceful solution.

26. As regards the question of Western Sahara, my Government reaffirms its position: the Saharan people have the right to express their opinion and their will in the exercise of their right of self-determination. We commend the Republic of Mauritania for its wise decision in the pursuit of peace in the region. We believe that an effort towards relaxation of the present tension in the region, in the quest for peace, is an act of wisdom. All the parties concerned should respect the resolutions of the OAU and of the United Nations.

27. In conclusion I should like to say that we come here every year with the firm intention of participating in the efforts of this Assembly in order to find solutions to the numerous problems which preoccupy the entire world. It is in this spirit that we are gathered here in order to listen and exchange views in the hope of taking a step ahead in relation to last year. This is an encouraging start towards a goal which has yet to be reached. Thus, the latent desire to find the means of bringing about global peace and security should manifest itself in harmony here in this Assembly. Let us join our efforts for the fulfilment of our aspirations.

28. Mr. SAÚDE MARIA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):³ Almost a month ago, Africa and the world learned the sad news of the premature death of President Agostinho Neto, which caused immense pain to the hearts of millions of Angolans. The political stature of Agostinho Neto is matched only by the greatness of the Angolan revolution. Mr. Neto's contribution to the liberation of the peoples of the world far exceeds the geographical limits of Angola and of Africa, and has attained a universal dimension. May I be allowed to pay a last heartfelt tribute to the memory of the unforgettable leader and founder of the Angolan nation, the long-time companion-in-arms of Amílcar Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane, the poet whose example and whose devotion to the noble cause of his people, to freedom, peace and the building of a free and prosperous Angola will remain forever engraved in the memories of all peoples that love peace and freedom.

29. It is a particular pleasure for me, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of my country, Guinea-Bissau, which it is my singular honour to represent, to address to you sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute by the international community to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and experienced politician, qualities

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

³ Mr. Saúde Maria spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

which you have so devotedly placed at the service of oppressed peoples. At the same time, the General Assembly also wanted to pay a well-deserved tribute to the fraternal people of the United Republic of Tanzania, who draw inspiration from the colonialist past from which they suffered in their constant struggle against exploitation and domination and for peace and the progress of the peoples.

30. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to express to him our long-standing sympathy and to reiterate our appreciation of his devotion and his untiring efforts on behalf of peace, justice and international détente, whereby he has ennobled the mission and prestige of the United Nations.

31. I am particularly pleased to note the presence among us of the delegation of Saint Lucia, whose admission to full membership in our great family of nations enhances the universality of our Organization.

32. The second half of the twentieth century—the century of freedom—has been marked by popular struggles for national liberation. In Africa, in Asia and in Latin America, empires that were veritable bastions of colonialism have crumbled after several centuries of construction. In the aftermath of this phenomenon, we are witnessing the entry on to the international political scene of dozens of young States from the ruins of the colonial past, and this is a decisive factor in the transformation of today's world. We have witnessed the advancement of a part of mankind and its decisive and qualitative leap forward in the inevitable process of liberation within the over-all framework of the liberating dynamics of our era.

33. Here and there, however, the tidal wave of oppression persistently threatens the peoples of the world. Hotbeds of tension are still being fuelled and conflicts are being fomented and controlled from afar. Blame for this must be laid on the enemies of freedom and of the emancipation of peoples. Often, political, economic and cultural oppression reaches such proportions that it actually becomes colonization. And in many cases, and particularly where colonial domination is exercised by minority and racist régimes over a large majority, the violence of oppression becomes an open scandal and forces popular resistance to take the form of armed struggle, the sole means for asserting legitimate aspirations to freedom, peace and social justice.

34. Such is the phenomenon we are witnessing in southern Africa, in Western Sahara, in the Middle East and East Timor, where revolutionary violence, faced with the violence of oppression, makes armed resistance legitimate.

35. Everyone agrees that there has been a change on the political chess-board of southern Africa. Minority and racist régimes in that part of the African continent, faced with the stubborn struggle of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, are attempting to work out new formulas of neo-colonialist compromise designed to perpetuate their domination.

36. The disturbing development of the situation in Namibia, and the creation of a so-called black majority government following the so-called internal settlement

and sham elections in Zimbabwe, are evidence of this fact.

37. The elements of this change are essentially the result of the action taken by vanguard organizations—the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa—within the framework of the new balance of forces established by the accession to independence of the former Portuguese colonies as a whole, in particular Angola and Mozambique.

38. In another respect, the conflicting internal convulsions within the minority racist régimes, which find it impossible to continue the exploitation of the black majority under their own system, as well as the increased international awareness of the inhuman nature of the situation constitute additional elements of the situation now prevailing in southern Africa.

39. South Africa is experiencing an economic crisis as a result of the recession in the capitalist world, the fall in investments and the restrictive practices of *apartheid* that hinder the full use of that country's human and material resources. That crisis explains the motives of the advocates of *apartheid*, in league with the imperialist Powers, in concocting alternative solutions to the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

40. In fact, we have witnessed of late a vast number of manoeuvres aimed at eliminating from the political scene liberation movements representing the legitimate interests and profound aspirations to independence of the peoples of that region. Efforts are being made to set up puppet régimes, including governments on the model of the South African bantustan régimes. In Namibia, the creation of a so-called "constituent assembly" cannot be interpreted otherwise than as the prelude to a proclamation of unilateral independence by the racist settlers and their black agents.

41. We cannot accept such a *de facto* situation. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, we are already confronted with a racist puppet régime that was set up following a so-called internal settlement concocted by the racists. Rhodesia is a colony of the United Kingdom under the rules of international law. Its constitution is an illegal one because it is the product of an illegal régime, has no legal status and no political authority or moral force to win acceptance of the results of the sham election that was held in that Territory. This is a fundamental fact that deserves consideration by all those who speak out on behalf of human rights. It is thus becoming clear that the changes that have occurred in the political situation in southern Africa aimed at finding new alternatives to the earlier forms of domination employed by the minority and racist régimes are, more than anything else, the result of the armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front and SWAPO. Because they are engaged in a national liberation struggle which is difficult and painful and because we have had a similar experience, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe and Namibia appear to us to be the most genuine defenders of the ideals of the Charter of our Organization. Amílcar Cabral would have said that they are the anonymous fighters of the United Nations. Thus we are deeply disturbed.

42. We wish to stress in this Assembly the danger to the United Nations of the adoption of any position not reflecting the popular will of the black majority on the situation in southern Africa in general and, in particu-

lar, on the efforts being made to gain recognition for the puppet régime in Zimbabwe.

43. In our opinion, there is only one possible solution, and that is one which, in view of the sacrifices of the national liberation movements and those of the front-line countries, would pave the way to the exercise of power by the true representatives of the black majorities in those countries.

44. Any other action would be a denial of the basic principles of the United Nations and would jeopardize its foundation and objectives. We believe that our aim must be to sensitize the entire international community and encourage it to adopt the joint position of the OAU and the United Nations, which have spoken out in favour of the creation of conditions in southern Africa conducive to the free exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and for the emergence of a political system that would be the choice of the African peoples of the continent.

45. It must be stressed also that it is the innocent peoples of Zambia, Angola and Mozambique in particular which bear the heavy burden of the war of aggression being conducted by the minority racist régimes, and it is necessary that international solidarity should be increasingly demonstrated in order to help those countries to comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

46. The final bastions of colonialism and racism are defying world public opinion and the principles of the Charter of our Organization. It is therefore imperative that the Security Council and the entire international community should act in accordance with the responsibility incumbent upon them as a consequence of their undertaking to work for democratic solutions in southern Africa.

47. The Pretoria *apartheid* régime must take the necessary measures to reverse the process which has been started so that a truly democratic solution may be attained.

48. As far as Western Sahara is concerned, a new situation has been created thanks to the tremendous continuing successes of the courageous struggle of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.⁴

49. The important military victories of the Frente POLISARIO have aroused the admiration of the peoples of the world which cherish freedom, and have increasingly attracted the attention and support of the international community. That in turn has led to the diplomatic successes of which we are all aware.

50. Recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic by many Member States of our Organization is merely the result of respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and has no other aim than the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms.

51. All independent countries, and particularly those which only recently were groaning under the boot of

colonialism, have an overriding duty to make a contribution to the acceleration of the process of decolonization in order to restore the inalienable rights of the Saharan people to freedom and independence.

52. My Government welcomes the decision of the Government and people of the fraternal country of Mauritania to withdraw from the conflict and recognize the right to self-determination and sovereignty of the Saharan people over the territory that was seized from it. We believe that this noble and courageous act of the brotherly people of Mauritania deserves the support of the entire international community.

53. We hope that the Moroccan Government will not delay in heeding the voice of reason and, above all, will respect the decisions of the recent Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia in July, and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and will follow Mauritania's example. In our opinion, that is the only possible way to put an end to this fratricidal war. This pressing appeal which we make to the Moroccan Government is especially fraternal in the sense that it is based on the historical bonds formed between our two peoples ever since the early days of our national liberation struggle, when the people and Government of Morocco helped us and made an inestimable contribution for a certain period.

54. The struggle of the Saharan people is irreversible and its victory inevitable. No force in the world can stop the victorious march of this martyred people which desires the freedom, sovereignty and national independence to which it is entitled, like any other people in the world.

55. As regards East Timor, we cannot fail to express our militant support for the just struggle of the Maubere people under the leadership of FRETILIN,⁵ to regain their international legal status so cruelly and inhumanly usurped by Indonesia.

56. We exhort the international community and the nations of the world to take whatever action is required by the present situation to bring about the full withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and help the people of that country to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

57. The situation in Cyprus is also disturbing, and we hope that a just and lasting solution will be found that respects the territorial integrity and the national sovereignty of Cyprus, as well as the right of both communities, Greek and Turkish, to live together in a climate of peace and unity.

58. The problem in the Middle East is another source of deep concern. The complexity of the grave situation in the Middle East has had a negative impact on international relations and cannot be ignored by anyone. No one can disregard the duty of each one of us to contribute to restoring certain precepts which must above all be respected in the relations between the peoples of the area: freedom, a just peace, a global and lasting settlement and peaceful coexistence among men.

59. It would be Utopian to hope to solve the problem

⁴ Frente Popular la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamray de Río de Oro.

⁵ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

of the Middle East satisfactorily by ignoring at the outset its fundamental cause, namely, the flouting of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people trampled upon by Israel. It would also be Utopian to ignore the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and to exclude the PLO, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

60. We reiterate our view that any negotiated settlement which does not include the return of the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the creation of a Palestinian State, will be doomed to failure.

61. The repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel against the people of southern Lebanon are inhumane and deserve the strongest condemnation of the peoples of the world who cherish peace, freedom and justice.

62. The struggle of the people of Latin America to win back their national rights and exercise their sovereignty has also taken a qualitative step forward. The recovery of the Panama Canal is a victory for the Panamanian people that we welcome since it will help them to consolidate their political and economic independence.

63. In Nicaragua, an impressive popular uprising under the leadership of the Sandinist Front, which represents the legitimate aspirations for freedom and social justice of the poorest people, has done away with one of the oldest and most retrograde dictatorships in Latin America. The historic transcendence of the events in Nicaragua is a severe warning to unpopular dictatorial régimes.

64. Guinea-Bissau firmly supports the Provisional Government, which has emerged from that struggle as the sole representative of the Nicaraguan people.

65. A few weeks ago in Havana there came to a close the work of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The results achieved there emphasize that the fight against underdevelopment, neo-colonialism and imperialism must be based on a genuine policy of non-alignment, which is a decisive factor in the unification of popular liberation struggles. At the same time, non-alignment presupposes a concerted struggle against the enemies of the economic, political and cultural independence of the peoples of the world, against racism and zionism, against treacherous attempts to turn the weaker countries into areas of rivalry or to confine them within zones of influence against the interests of their peoples.

66. At the present time we are experiencing a moment of uncertainty with regard to the future of economic relations between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. It is with particular concern that we approach this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the importance of which can be compared to the crisis constantly and seriously affecting international economic relations.

67. Indeed, to take action to restructure the international economic system is required more urgently than ever, although the developed countries do not seem willing to move in that direction at the present time.

68. The policy of controlling the cycle of economic

activities is at the source of the present situation, is a flagrant demonstration of the egocentricity of the developed countries and renders their policies ineffective.

69. The importance and persistence of the economic crisis show that any effective and lasting solution to the problem depends essentially on the creation of new forms of relations between the industrially advanced countries and the developing countries on a basis of equality and mutual advantage.

70. Regrettably, it seems to us that certain developed countries—notwithstanding their awareness of those requirements—do not act in accordance with their historic responsibilities in the course of international negotiations. That is why we are not at all surprised that no negotiations thus far have led to any concrete and tangible results and that the problems are becoming increasingly serious for the international community.

71. In the area of trade, the protectionist measures adopted by the developed countries and the disregard of the fundamental interests of the developing countries in multilateral trade negotiations have led to a situation in which the results have recently been even more unsatisfactory than before.

72. This is in flagrant contradiction with the commitments and decisions contained in the Tokyo Declaration⁶ and the repeated declarations of the developed countries regarding the need to have an open trade system favourable in particular to the developing countries.

73. We are particularly concerned at the tendency to apply the rules of GATT, to which third-world countries must adjust.

74. The fifth session of UNCTAD did not produce the results expected and there was no significant progress in implementation of the commitments and decisions concerning the Integrated Programme for Commodities entered into at Nairobi.⁷

75. With reference to the Common Fund, it seems that there have been certain developments, in particular the developed countries' decision to accept in principle certain financing facilities as a means of promoting stabilization. That is one of the more encouraging aspects of these developments.

76. We believe that it is time for the industrially developed countries to reach agreement on the meaning of the alternatives proposed and really to commit themselves with the other members of the international community to move towards these new forms of relations that can guarantee the peoples of the world a better future.

77. There is a need for permanent, active and effective solidarity among the developing countries in order

⁶ See General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, *Basic Instruments and Selected Documents*, Twentieth Supplement (Sales No. GATT/1974-1), p. 19.

⁷ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

to avoid situations of under-development, domination and exploitation and to ensure recognition of their common interests if there is to be a new international economic order making possible economic independence in the service of genuine development.

78. In this context, we should recall that today there are still millions of children in the world who are suffering from social injustice, hunger, exploitation, illiteracy and malnutrition. That is why we believe that, within the framework of the International Year of the Child, we must establish a new and more just international economic order and effect fundamental social changes capable of bringing about a better and more humane future for succeeding generations.

79. My country, Guinea-Bissau, welcomes the recent signing of the Soviet-American agreement resulting from the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]⁸ which is not only a decisive step in the search for general and complete disarmament but may also herald a new era in international détente.

80. Incalculable sums of money and great quantities of human energy are being wasted instead of being invested to help the less favoured nations of the world to narrow the gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries and consequently to establish stability and international security. These sums are needlessly poured into the war industry to satisfy the crass interests of those who would wage war.

81. We therefore welcome this new step towards peace, but we do not forget the voices of the theoreticians of war, whose philosophy has caused so much human misery, nor do we believe that this single act is a goal in itself.

82. Because we have a long way to go and a difficult, rough road ahead, we call for the redoubling of efforts to put an end to the arms race, for that has become an imperative, a demand of our day to which all those who think that peace and security represent the loftier interests of mankind must tirelessly devote their efforts.

83. Mr. HUQ (Bangladesh): The members of my delegation and I deem it a great privilege to have the opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We bring to Members the warm greetings of the people of Bangladesh.

84. We are indeed very happy to welcome Saint Lucia as a member of the family of the United Nations. We sincerely hope that the admission of Saint Lucia as a new Member will add to its strength and also to that of the United Nations.

85. Mr. President, on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation and also on my own behalf I offer you our warmest congratulations on your election as the President of this session of the Assembly. Your election to your high office is indeed a tribute to your outstanding personal qualities and wide-ranging experience, as also to your great country, the United Republic of Tanzania,

with which Bangladesh has close ties of friendship. We assure you of our fullest co-operation.

86. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to the President of the last session of the Assembly, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for his valuable contributions. His wise guidance and leadership proved to be of immense benefit to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

87. I should like to convey to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our sincere appreciation for his total dedication to upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and his exemplary perseverance in strengthening the United Nations and its organs as an instrument for reducing tension and promoting global peace and stability. We also commend him for his forthright and penetrating report on the world situation during the year under review [A/34/1].

88. With the rest of the world, Bangladesh mourns the death of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria and President Agostinho Neto of Angola. As leaders of their respective countries and as dauntless freedom fighters, they have both left a deep imprint on contemporary world history.

89. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to our sister Members of the United Nations for electing Bangladesh to the Security Council. It has been and will continue to be the endeavour of Bangladesh to justify the confidence thus reposed in it by upholding the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter and serving the cause of peace, freedom and justice.

90. Total adherence to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter is to us more than a commitment. It is enshrined in our Constitution. Ever since the admission of Bangladesh as a Member of the United Nations, it has been our consistent effort in concert with the vast majority of the Member States to work for the greater interest of the world community. As a developing country, Bangladesh is fully conscious of the benefit it stands to derive from this world body and also its responsibility in safeguarding the interests of the world community, both political and economic. It is in this spirit that we have always urged that the decision-making process of the United Nations system should be more adequately democratized.

91. From its very inception, Bangladesh has been committed to a non-aligned foreign policy based upon the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peaceful coexistence of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of all disputes. As a new emerging nation in this multipolar world, with its many divergences, we have found the non-aligned movement to be a useful means of steering clear of Power rivalry and the consequent conflicts and controversies, thus ensuring both independence and balance in our foreign policy.

92. Since I had the privilege of speaking before this Assembly last year,⁹ Bangladesh has been passing

⁸ 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.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, paras. 147-193.

through a quiet and peaceful revolution under the leadership of President Ziaur Rahman. With the election of a Parliament, the nation's sovereign law-making body, on the basis of adult franchise, the country's transition to the democratic process was completed in February last. The restructuring of the administrative services in order to gear them to serve a welfare society, land reforms and decentralization of the Government and the planning machinery, and the mobilization of the people for direct participation in all development efforts are among other revolutionary changes now under way. Following the completion of a two-year approach plan, a five-year development plan within the framework of a 20-year perspective plan will be launched next July. The focus of the strategy of the plan is on the achievement of economic self-sufficiency and the raising of the quality of life of the people, with the top priority assigned to agricultural production and population control. The well-spring of motivation for the rapid political and economic changes in Bangladesh lies in the resolute and determined will of our people to overcome difficulties and move forward along the path of stability and progress.

93. Bangladesh welcomes every effort aimed at advancing the process of détente, the limitation of armaments and the promotion of peaceful coexistence in every part of the world. In the context of these cardinal principles of our foreign policy, Bangladesh has made persistent endeavours in recent years to promote peace and stability in the South Asian region through the creation of a climate of mutual trust, understanding and co-operation, on the basis of respect for sovereign equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Guided by these principles, my Government has endeavoured to promote and expand its friendly and co-operative relations with all peace-loving nations of the world. Tangible progress achieved in that direction can be briefly summarized as follows.

94. An agreement was signed with India to resolve the 25-year-old problem of the sharing of the Ganges waters. Efforts are now under way to evolve a long-term arrangement in this regard to the mutual satisfaction of both countries. Following the agreement with Burma signed in July 1978, the repatriation of nearly 200,000 Burmese refugees is almost completed. Both these agreements are the demonstration of good-neighbourly relations among our countries and contributed to peace and stability in the region. In like manner, efforts were made to promote friendly relations with our other neighbours in the region, such as Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka; and relations with these countries are growing in strength. Fraternal relations and co-operation with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey and other Islamic States in economic, cultural and other areas were further widened and deepened. As a bridge between South and South-East Asia, Bangladesh has made every effort to strengthen its traditional ties of friendship and co-operation with the countries of South and South-East Asia and the Pacific region. Bangladesh also sought both to expand and to diversify its foreign relations by developing mutually beneficial relationships with other countries of Asia and other continents.

95. The creation of the United Nations in 1945 symbolized the hopes and aspirations of a war-ravaged world for lasting global peace and stability. In the years immediately following the Second World War, the pre-

vailing mood was one of clear optimism and of determination to achieve the twin goals of global peace and progress. The motto was to "build peace in the minds of the people and banish poverty, disease and illiteracy". The striking recovery of war-torn Europe and Japan, the resurgence of the nations of the third world and their emergence as independent, sovereign States, advances in science and technology and rapid developments in the means of communication were epoch-making changes on the world scene. As a result, bipolarity was largely replaced by multipolarity in international relations. The nations of the world became more interdependent than ever before; the specific goals of the majority of our nations were also more well defined.

96. There was, however, a gradual swing in the mood of the nations of the world, throwing up many challenges to the dream of the founding fathers of this world body. Formidable among them are the ideological polarization, the intensification of power rivalry, the escalation of the arms race, the persistence of colonial subjugation and racial discrimination, the widening areas of tension and conflict and, overshadowing all these, the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations.

97. The world of today is evidently in great disarray and is faced with many distressing paradoxes. Armed with its military might, an otherwise small country such as Israel can, with impunity, continue its illegal occupation of the Arab territories and indulge in acts of naked aggression, violence and terrorism in total defiance of international law and the will of the international community. In like manner, racist minorities can continue to flout world opinion and trample upon all canons of justice, morality, freedom and human dignity to prolong their repressive rule over the majority of the population through the brutal use of force, as in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The international community is also a helpless spectator at the frightening escalation of the arms race, although the arsenal which has already been built up by the great Powers is enough to destroy our planet many times over. Tragically enough, this arms race is spreading to engulf other areas of the world, thereby threatening the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of nations which are either inadequately armed or totally unarmed. The rule of law is yielding increasingly to international anarchy.

Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

98. The economic scene is equally alarming. Two thirds of the world's population, impoverished by two centuries of colonial exploitation, are in a grim struggle to meet their basic human needs. Ironically enough, the remaining one third, representing the rich industrial nations, are also fighting a hopeless economic battle. In their attempt to preserve an inequitable economic order and protect a life-style based on high consumption, they find themselves in the preposterous situation, on the one hand, of inflation and recession and, on the other, of mounting expenditures for armaments, the rapid depletion of non-renewable resources, the pollution of the environment and growing ecological hazards. While the economic disparity between the two parts of the world continues to widen, both are in a desperate economic situation with inevitable repercussions for the peace and security of the world.

99. It will appear from this brief analysis that the

world is being inexorably driven politically, economically, militarily and morally to a point of catastrophic explosion, which, unless arrested in time, may turn into an all-consuming holocaust. The crisis facing the contemporary world is thus essentially a product of a material and utilitarian system without a moral basis. The ills that plague our world stem not from lack of resources but from lack of a political will to reorder our political and economic system on the foundation of the universal human and moral values.

100. We are clearly standing on the brink of a precipice. We see, however, the stirrings of the world conscience. There is an emerging awareness that the crisis is grave and we must move in concert to overcome it. This is a concern that is shared by the overwhelming majority of nations, cutting across the boundaries of race, religion, geography, politics, economics and ideology and including many nations from the East as well as the West, from the North as well as the South. This new emerging profile of the international community and the trend of its thinking favour the strengthening of the United Nations system for the establishment of the rule of law in international relations and for securing global peace, stability and progress.

101. In our view, many of the challenges and problems posing a threat to peace and security can be resolved through our united action and through the implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions.

102. For ages, Moslems, Christians and Jews have lived together in the Middle East. All canons of justice and morality demand the restoration to the Palestinians of their inalienable national rights, including their right to a State of their own. As required by the United Nations resolutions, which Bangladesh has consistently supported, lasting peace can be secured in the Middle East only by the complete withdrawal of Israel from all illegally occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and the recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

103. In like manner, there can be peace in southern Africa only through the transfer of power to the genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the ending of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa. We commend the Lusaka initiative [see A/34/439-S/13515] and the British efforts and wish for a speedy resolution of the Zimbabwe problem through the transfer of power to the true representatives of the people. We, however, strongly condemn the attempt of the racist minority régime of South Africa to impose a puppet régime in Namibia in contravention of United Nations resolutions, in particular, Security Council resolutions 345 (1976) and 435 (1978). The Bangladesh delegation also denounces the detention and arrest of SWAPO leaders and appeals to all Member States to refrain from recognizing the illegally constituted, so-called "national assembly" in Namibia or assisting it in any way.

104. Bangladesh welcomes all efforts towards disarmament, including the recently signed strategic arms limitation treaty. We, however, believe that the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], which was devoted to disarmament, provides a good basis for ending the esca-

lation of the arms race. The Final Document of the tenth special session assigns highest priority to nuclear disarmament, together with measures for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. That document, along with the programme adopted at the recent meeting of the Disarmament Commission [see A/34/42, chap. IV], is a positive step forward and will, we hope, create the necessary atmosphere to induce the super-Powers to negotiate with the non-aligned countries for achieving general and complete disarmament.

105. As enjoined by its Constitution, Bangladesh is wedded to general and complete disarmament. It has also consistently advocated the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones as an effective measure of disarmament as well as of non-proliferation. As a token of its commitment to such steps, it has recently signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

106. Bangladesh believes that peace and security would be promoted by the creation of zones of peace in areas like the Indian Ocean, South and South-East Asia, the Mediterranean and so on. It may be noted that Bangladesh participated actively in the recently concluded Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, held in New York in July last. We hope that the recommendations of the meeting regarding the expansion of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to include the super-Powers and the major maritime users will facilitate [see A/34/45, chap. VI] the necessary preparatory work for reaching an international agreement for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

107. It is the sincere wish of Bangladesh that both communities in Cyprus should live in peace and harmony. We warmly welcome the 10-point agreement reached in May 1979¹⁰ between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus under the auspices of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We would appeal to all, both inside and outside Cyprus, to encourage the leaders of the two communities to hold meaningful and constructive discussions leading to a mutually acceptable agreement so that both communities can live with freedom and dignity in a federated Cyprus.

108. We view with concern the unfortunate developments in the South-East Asian region. We sincerely believe that peace can be restored in the region by strict adherence to the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. We hope that all foreign troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea and that conditions will be created to end the conflict there and to enable the people freely to choose a Government without external interference or military presence.

109. As a developing country with a long seaboard, Bangladesh is closely following the prolonged negotiations going on in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We are, however, strongly of the view that the interests of the developing countries should be adequately appreciated and safeguarded. Bangladesh lays special emphasis on the unique prob-

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

lems created by geological and geomorphological factors in some countries and the application of the principle of equity in the solution of such problems.

110. As I earlier observed, the widening disparity between the rich and the poor nations of the world has assumed such an alarming magnitude that economic polarization stands out as the most serious threat to peace and security in the contemporary world. The expectation raised during the initial years of the era following the Second World War that through international co-operation the newly emerging countries could reap the fruits of advances in science and technology, telescope time and attain within decades the level of growth the industrial countries had taken centuries to achieve did not turn out to be true. The level and quality of international co-operation did not match the needs of the developing countries, which also discovered that they did not have free access to the world stock of science and technology or to the world's markets, trade and resources. The development efforts during the last three decades indicate certain constraints embedded in global factors. It has now become more abundantly clear than ever before that the problems of poverty, disease and hunger in the developing countries cannot be effectively resolved as long as those countries remain shackled to an economic order built during the colonial times and designed essentially to subserve the colonial pattern of production and trade. The existing economic system is clearly both unjust and outdated. The inequitable character of this system and the grotesque distortions it produces in the growth pattern are evident from the following illustrative facts.

111. First, the developing countries, particularly the least developed among them, while commanding only one third of the world's resources, have to bear the entire burden of the world's poor numbering over 800 million, over 600 million of whom live in the least developed countries.

112. Secondly, for 1 billion of the world's population, the *per capita* income remains as low as \$150—and is much less in real terms—as compared to the *per capita* income of over \$6,000 for the population of the industrialized countries.

113. Thirdly, the population of the developing countries is over 2 billion but their share of the production of manufactured goods has now declined to 7 per cent.

114. Fourthly, the share of the developing nations in merchandise exports has fallen from 24 per cent of the world total in 1960 to 21 per cent in 1976.

115. Fifthly, the indebtedness of the poorest nations has increased from \$29.6 billion in 1970 to \$44.6 billion in 1977 and is projected to increase to \$64.5 billion by 1985.

116. Sixthly, in 1970 the debt service of the poorest nations accounted for 14.9 per cent of their exports. It is estimated that this will rise to 17.4 per cent in 1980.

117. Seventhly, measured in real *per capita* terms, the least developed countries as a group actually recorded a decline between 1970 and 1977 in such key areas as gross domestic production, agricultural production, manufacturing output and import volume.

118. Eighthly, even if the objectives of the projected growth rate in the developing world, as indicated in the last World Bank report,¹¹ were to be achieved, some 600 million people would still remain trapped in absolute poverty by the end of the century.

119. Ninthly, in relation to combined gross national product, official development assistance has declined from 0.52 per cent in 1960 to 0.31 per cent in 1977. Ironically enough, there is a net outflow of resources from the poor to the rich countries.

120. Tenthly, prisoners of this anachronistic economic system, the industrialized rich countries are being increasingly driven away from the free-market economy to protectionism, through tariff and non-tariff barriers, in their agonizing struggle against inflation, recession and unemployment and against the paradox of unwelcome deficit for some and surplus for others, with its deleterious effect on the over-all economic situation.

121. Eleventhly, the crisis, grave as it is, is further aggravated by two other crucial problems, namely, energy and food. Though the increased income resulting from the recent rises in oil prices represents no more than an insignificant fraction of the income of the industrialized countries, a disproportionately high burden has been placed on the developing countries, which have been doubly hard hit, having to pay higher prices not only for oil but also for imports from the industrial countries.

122. Food-deficit countries like Bangladesh are faced with the additional dilemma that, though they have the potential for doubling or even trebling their food production through the increased application of the new technology requiring such inputs as fertilizer, irrigation, pesticides and the like, investment in such inputs is growing at a slow pace because of the resource constraint. Owing to the vagaries of nature, they are often faced with food crises and with the unhappy compulsion of diverting part of their scarce resources to meet the food deficit, thus further slowing down the rate of agricultural development. A world food security system is thus an imperative need.

123. The existing economic order is clearly unsuited to contemporary world needs and is ineffective in remedying the malaise of the chronic economic disequilibrium which is detrimental to the interests of both the poor and the rich countries. The restructuring of the existing economic system is, therefore, an imperative in the global interest. It cannot be overstressed that the New International Economic Order aims at raising the quality of life of the peoples all over the world. To say this, however, is not the same as equating the quality of life with a life-style based on wasteful consumption, the predatory depletion of non-renewable resources, the pollution of the human environment and the creation of an ecological imbalance. The restructuring of the existing economic system is, however, imperative, since the search for peace and political stability is bound up intimately with the settlement of the crucial economic issues of our time.

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

¹¹ World Bank, *Annual Report 1979* (Washington, D.C., 1979).

124. The contemporary world economic scene has, however, important implications for the concept of restructuring the world economic order and the implementation of a new order. The structural changes envisaged in the New International Economic Order will be governed very substantially by the prevailing world political climate. For example, the objectives of the New International Economic Order are likely to become largely vitiated by the continuing escalation of the arms race and its continuing influence on the developing countries. The international economic and political structures are thus interlocked and both profoundly influenced by the values and beliefs of the nations of the world. It is against this backdrop of harsh realities and on the eve of the launching of the third United Nations development decade that my delegation would like to suggest the following programme of action.

125. First, the nations of the world, particularly the great industrial Powers, should undertake a firm political and moral commitment to reanchor international relations to those human and moral values which inspired and sustained man's undying quest for peace, freedom and progress and to the principles of equality, justice and human dignity which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

126. Secondly, the international community should recognize that in the preservation of human rights the most sacred and pressing are the right to life, food, shelter, clothing, health, education and employment and that it is the collective obligation of the international community to ensure the immediate expansion of resources and other support for meeting these basic human needs.

127. Thirdly, there should be a transfer of adequate resources to the developing countries with special attention to the needs of the least developed ones for harnessing their vast human resource for productive employment through support for the creation of jobs, including support for small-scale labour-intensive rural public works projects.

128. Fourthly, there should be a massive supply of inputs for agricultural and rural development, such as fertilizers, pumps and so forth, in order to increase agricultural production.

129. Fifthly, a food security system should be developed with an adequate food reserve built up through contributions from food-surplus countries to help alleviate food crises in food-deficit countries, and special assistance should be given to food-deficit countries to sustain their development efforts.

130. Sixthly, the socio-economic structures should be transformed through decentralization down to the grass-roots level to ensure the widest possible participation of the people in development with emphasis on rural and agrarian development.

131. Seventhly, there should be increasing assistance for projects and programmes which can be executed quickly and progress towards the goal of economic self-sufficiency should be accelerated.

132. Eighthly, the planned strategy should be geared to the productive utilization of women in economic and social development.

133. Ninthly, international policies should be re-defined to ensure the transfer of resources in real terms to the developing countries, with the focus placed on the special needs of the least developed ones.

134. Tenthly, there should be increasing economic co-operation among the developing countries with special stress on the investment of the surplus income of the oil-rich countries in joint ventures in the developing countries.

135. Eleventhly, tariff and non-tariff barriers by the industrial countries should be removed and the general system of preferences should be extended beyond 1981 on a non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory basis to facilitate greater access by developing countries to the world market and world trade.

136. Twelfthly, resources now wasted on unproductive armaments should be diverted to the economic and social development of the third-world countries.

137. Thirteenthly, the resources and capabilities of science and technology should be increasingly applied to productive development efforts in the third-world countries, including pre-disaster planning and the prevention and mitigation of suffering in disaster-prone regions of the world.

138. Fourteenthly, there should be a united determination by the international community to deal with the crucial energy situation with a view to developing economically viable alternative energy sources, evolving an energy-efficient technology and making energy available to the developing countries at concessional prices so as not to impair or retard the pace of their development.

139. Lastly, the full, equitable and effective participation of the developing countries in the formulation and implementation of decisions in all fields of international co-operation should be ensured.

140. I should like to stress once again that adequate provision for meeting basic human needs through the improvement of nutrition, health, housing, education and employment in each of the least developed countries is of paramount importance to the success of any future development plan. Additional resources made available for this purpose would also accelerate economic progress by generating additional employment and income for the rural and urban poor, thus bringing tangible benefits to the poor and subsistence sectors of the population even before the desired structural changes can take place.

141. I should like to conclude on the hopeful note that the nations of the world will unite in their effort to overcome the present political, economic and moral crisis and build a better future for our world. Let us resolve to build on mutual trust and understanding. The available resources and technology are enough to build a world of prosperity for all of us. What is needed is the will of the nations, developed and developing, to cooperate and move in a united endeavour towards this goal, inspired by our shared human heritage.

142. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, in extending to you our most sincere congratulations on your outstanding election as President

of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea would like to pay a deserved tribute to your people, the great people of the United Republic of Tanzania. My country, which has had numerous opportunities to appreciate your high sense of duty 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, is convinced in advance of the total success of the work of this thirty-fourth session.

143. Our delegation would also like to take this opportunity to extend its sincere thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for the outstanding manner in which he directed the work of the thirty-third session.

144. May we also be permitted to express our gratitude to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for the great competence with which he is fulfilling his delicate mission at the head of our Organization. We assure him of the firm support and total confidence of the people of Guinea and its President, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré.

145. Lastly, it is with great satisfaction that we welcome to our midst the new State of Saint Lucia, with which our country would like to establish relations of confidence, friendship and co-operation.

146. Africa has just suffered an immense loss in the passing of President Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola, a tireless and intransigent fighter for the democratic African revolution. We address to our sister delegation of Angola a sincere expression of our condolences, and we wish to assure it of our active solidarity.

147. An analysis of the international political situation brings out the inevitable contradiction which pits the forces of emancipation of peoples against the systems of oppression and exploitation. The axis of the situation lies between two poles: the persistence of foreign domination, and the liberation struggle waged on various fronts by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

148. Thus, we are bound to continue to observe with bitterness, but also alas in guilty impotence, that in southern Africa millions of Africans are groaning permanently under the weight of racist oppression and exploitation. Arbitrary imprisonments and massacres of African populations are common practices designed to check any attempt on the part of the majority to lay claim to the exercise of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

149. The white racist minority régimes implanted in South Africa, in Zimbabwe and in Namibia are the best possible bases of aggression against Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Lesotho. At the same time, they are the choice subjugated zone of imperialist exploitation, a fact which adequately explains the material aid and the political and diplomatic support that is given to those régimes by the Western Powers. The incredible and intolerable indifference of the Western allies of Pretoria and Salisbury to the bombings and aggressions of all kinds against the front-line countries form part of this support.

150. The delegation of the Party-State of Guinea calls vigorously and insistently for the application against the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. It also feels that it is the duty of the international community to afford Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho increasing aid of various kinds to enable them to resist victoriously the onslaughts of South Africa and Rhodesia and to cope with their consequences—in particular, material destruction and the constant and increasing flow of refugees.

151. Without anticipating the outcome of the London negotiations, our delegation is convinced of the inescapable nature of the victory of the peoples of Zimbabwe, whose armed struggle is directed by the Patriotic Front. The armed struggle waged by the gallant freedom fighters in Namibia under the leadership of their vanguard, SWAPO, for total independence, including Walvis Bay, an integral part of the Territory, will be crowned with success.

152. The daily battle waged by the patriots of South Africa, in spite of all neo-colonialist manoeuvres now in progress, will also achieve victory. We know from experience that independence and freedom are not negotiated: they are fought for and won.

153. An examination of the situation in Africa, in South-East Asia and in the Middle East exposes other hotbeds of tension, and brings into focus the immensity of the task which our Organization has to face in trying to establish a just and lasting peace in all these parts of the world.

154. With regard to Western Sahara, our delegation would recall that the OAU has already assumed its responsibilities through the adoption, at the sixteenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State or Government at Monrovia, of the report of the committee of wise men, or the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara, on this important question [*see A/34/552, pp. 90-91*].

155. Being in agreement with the conclusions and recommendations of that Committee, of which it is a member, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea believes they should be put into effect. Also, the Party-State of Guinea is following, with confidence, the peace initiatives adopted at various levels outside the OAU as well as within it, to achieve a permanent solution which, we hope, will be constructive and beneficial, and also will redound to the advantage of all parties involved. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea will spare no effort to reach that goal.

156. With regard to the representation of Kampuchea, the leader responsible for our revolution, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, made a thorough analysis of this crisis. He concluded that, both in the non-aligned movement and in the United Nations, it is States that are represented and not régimes, and that consequently it is the Government in being, that of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which should occupy the seat which belongs to it by right, not only at the Havana Conference, but also in our world Organization.

157. It is because we do not wish to repeat past mistakes that we must, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré has shown, give to the Government established at Phnom Penh the seat among us which belongs to it by right. We fully understand the concern of those who invoke the violation of international law to oppose the restitution to the present government at Phnom Penh of its seat in the United Nations. They fear that the example of Kampuchea might be contagious, and might spread to other countries of South-East Asia. But in the opinion of our delegation, what is more dangerous than a foreign intervention is the fact that a Government, by its reactionary, antinational, antipopular policy could raise the masses against itself, and irretrievably lose any credibility in their eyes. What our Organization must not lose sight of, and what must serve it as a lodestone each time it is to decide upon similar cases, which may unfortunately arise in future, is the awareness of the interests of the people concerned. Above all, may realism prevail here at the United Nations in New York with the recognition that there is in Phnom Penh a government which is governing in fact. The United Nations has pursued this unrealistic policy on another occasion by denying the great Chinese people its legitimate rights and representation. We came to realize that that policy does not pay. History is stubborn and does not repeat itself.

158. Our country also ardently hopes that the differences between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam can be resolved through peaceful and sincere negotiations. We also hope that the talks begun by the Soviet Union and China will likewise result in satisfactory solutions that can safeguard the interests of those two friendly countries, peoples joined by history and geography whose destiny is linked in solidarity with all the peoples of the world, including the people of Guinea.

159. The situation in the Middle East shows that the southern part of Africa is not the only place where blood is being shed. In that other area of the world, the Palestinian people are being deprived of their right to exist. Indeed, since the Balfour Declaration of 1917 that led to the creation of Israel, this region has known nothing but war. In our opinion, there is no need to dwell on the origins of this conflict, the persistent nature of which is a subject of great concern and anxiety for our Organization.

160. Although we have never denied any people the right to existence, neither have we ever condoned this right's being exercised by denying the right to existence of another people.

161. Israel must realize that the Palestinian people, whose sole legitimate representative is the PLO, will never renounce their inalienable national rights. In any negotiation for the over-all settlement of the Middle East crisis, the PLO must have the exclusive right to speak and act on behalf of Palestine.

162. The security of Israel lies less in territorial conquests than in peaceful coexistence with all the States of the region on the basis of respect for the recognized right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent national State. The status of the Holy City of Jerusalem as the hallowed site of the three great monotheistic religions must also be scrupulously respected. Israel must proceed, finally, to the unconditional with-

drawal of all its troops from all occupied Arab territories.

163. In this connexion, our delegation considers that the Egyptian-Israeli agreements do not represent a real solution. For this reason, we support the holding of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Palestine as proposed at the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Fez last May [see A/34/389 and Corr.1, annex I, p. 18], and we subscribe to the idea of convening, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, an international conference devoted to Palestine and the Middle East for the purpose of arriving at an over-all solution that would take into account the interests of all parties concerned.

164. In the meanwhile, the international community must deal more resolutely with the record of Israel's repeated aggressions against Lebanon. We emphasize this because this situation contains the genuine seeds of a conflict with unforeseeable dimensions.

165. Cyprus also continues to be a subject for concern in this Assembly. The delegation of Guinea considers that the territorial integrity, national unity and non-aligned character of that country must be protected. The discussions between the two communities that have yielded certain tangible results must be pursued under the aegis of the Secretary-General of our Organization.

166. The question of Korea, furthermore, is of equal concern. Our position is well known: we consider that the withdrawal of all foreign troops is an essential prior condition for the Korean people to achieve reunification in peace, without any outside interference. The tragedy of a divided people such as the Korean and Comorian peoples affects the balance of the entire international community, which must promote only those things that can contribute to the realization of this aspiration to national unity.

167. Our Organization must examine the fate of all peoples still being subjected to colonial domination and thus deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination in Africa, in Latin America, in the Caribbean and in Asia.

168. We wish to take this opportunity to hail the resounding victory of the gallant peoples of Nicaragua and Iran, whose example cannot fail to be followed by other peoples under neo-colonialist dictatorships.

169. The elimination of *apartheid* and an end to foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are preconditions to the establishment of true peace. In order to be genuine, détente must cover every region of our planet.

170. Indeed, developing countries know that any threat to peace imperils their efforts to strengthen their national independence and ensure their economic development. They are thus the first to feel concern about the establishment of an international order based on relations of trust and free from the threat of war. Such an international order must abolish the parcelling of the world into zones of influence or conquest in which the

right to exercise domination would be preserved. The tendency of certain Powers to extend their lines of security beyond their geographical borders and into regions of the world that come under their purported protection and influence is extremely dangerous. The Party-State of Guinea will never agree to be a part of this ploy or to submit to it. Our people have sufficient strength, determination and conviction to win respect for its will to independence and to resist any infringement of its sovereignty.

171. On the question of disarmament, preceding speakers have laid sufficient emphasis on the evils of the arms race. My delegation fervently hopes that it will be brought to an end.

172. We are pleased to quote in this connexion President Ahmed Sékou Touré, who stated:

“The Revolutionary People’s Republic of Guinea gives its unqualified support to all decisions which might operate in favour of a reduction in international tensions and the arms race. It is also determined to oppose any attempts to establish a *status quo* which would maintain the unacceptable differentiations, the existing inequalities and discriminations in the living conditions of peoples and in the relations established between nations.”

173. It is specifically in the economic field that these relations are particularly unjust. The present economic situation is characterized by: first, a steady deterioration in the relationship of forces which has been detrimental to the developing countries; secondly, the export of increasing monetary inflation from the North to the South, as the consequence of monetary disorders in the industrialized countries; thirdly, constant increases in the external debt of the developing countries, because they have to channel their economies into exports. Many other factors contribute to a widening gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries.

174. In the opinion of my delegation, the bitter truth is that, regardless of our approach to the issues, regardless of which bloc we give our sympathy to, there are always a few multinationals ready to turn their attention to us with our tacit or explicit connivance. The fact remains that, while we cannot be blamed for the existence of multinationals, we can be blamed for their persistence.

175. The standstill in the North-South dialogue and in the discussions in UNCTAD, the meagre results of the renewed Lomé Convention, should all serve to convince the developing countries that they must stand together and promote a new development policy. That new strategy must be pursued nationally, regionally and internationally. Nationally this requires, first, that the people of different countries should take control of the principal economic levers in the areas of industry, transport, energy and trade; secondly, an independent national currency should be created; thirdly, there must be agrarian reform aimed at the promotion of modern agriculture; fourthly, a dynamic industrial system in harmony with a policy of land management should be created; and fifthly, those segments of society, young people and women, who have heretofore been deprived of their legitimate economic and social roles, should be brought into the fight for development.

176. We also believe that the advent of a new international economic order must lead to the creation of sub-regional and regional organizations. These institutions must serve to harmonize and integrate broader communities and bring them into the economic structures of our States, which have suffered from an arbitrary fragmentation giving rise to “micro-markets” barely, if at all, viable. This form of co-operation must cover the following areas: transport, telecommunications, banking institutions, trade, the training of cadres and technical assistance.

177. We welcome the existence of the Latin American Economic System and of the Economic Community of West African States. These institutions must be supported by associations of producers of raw materials, such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the International Bauxite Association, just to mention those two. When those conditions are met, then and only then will the developing countries be in a good position to negotiate in international forums.

178. Notwithstanding the alarming situation which many representatives quite rightly have spoken about from this rostrum, my delegation believes that the international community must continue to be optimistic regarding positive results to be expected from the special session of the General Assembly in 1980 to be devoted to development problems.

179. Concerning the new strategy, we can affirm, as a representative of the African continent among the officers of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, that, regarding the requirements of development, Africa will maintain the position which it has so often expressed at previous meetings of the Preparatory Committee. That position is that the future strategy must take into account not only the growing gap between the North and South but above all must advocate special and specific political measures to help the poorer countries of the South.

180. On the initiative of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the OAU decided in resolution AHG/Res. 96 (XVI) [see A/34/552, p. 84] to convene in Lagos in 1980 a special summit session devoted exclusively to a thorough consideration of the economic situation in Africa, which is inseparable from the general economic situation in the entire world, with a view to defining the ways and means of promoting the economic integration of our continent.

181. For all these reasons, my delegation is quite convinced that it is possible to create a new international economic order of benefit to the entire international community on the basis of justice, equality and mutual interest.

182. The gravity of the world economic situation cannot turn our attention from the problem of the environment. Considering the harm done to nature by the development of the wealth of the subsoil, we welcome the draft convention on the preservation of nature which Zaire is planning to submit to our States for consideration.

183. As regards the measures being considered by the United Nations to help the Sudano-Sahelian region, my country will give special attention to any plan of action aimed at ensuring, first, the rational management and

exploitation of water, soil and vegetation resources; secondly, the rational management and development of pasture-land; and, thirdly, reafforestation.

184. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is the primary water source of West Africa, and it is now accepted that the success of any campaign to combat the drought in the Sahelian subregion requires the development in Guinea of the Futa catchment basin, the source of the largest waterways in our part of the world. The sixteenth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly adopted a decision on the development of that basin. We are convinced that international support and the co-operation of the States of the Sahel will not be withheld from us, that the Economic Community of West African States will also enjoy assistance in their fight against the drought and that that assistance will be forthcoming from the entire international community.

185. The United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were proclaimed long ago, but it is less than seven years since the question of the protection of human rights was included in our agenda and the debate on this subject took on a special nature and world-wide scope. We find that development heartening and encouraging. Our countries have a duty firmly to support any action to bring about the triumph of causes that concern mankind all over the world. We, for our part, will support any action to strengthen the cause of human rights anywhere in the world.

186. However, my delegation believes that our Organization can usher in a world where human rights are respected only if countries reach agreement on a global approach to the cause of human rights throughout the world. How can we reconcile the concept of a selective discriminatory approach to the rights of the individual, in which human rights are defended only when there is political profit to be gained from it, with a global concept which views human rights as fundamental and indivisible and part of the larger problem of the rights of peoples?

187. We firmly believe that the cause of human rights necessarily has certain limits owing to the fact that man's much proclaimed universality is not yet matched, in our contemporary society, by a universal respect for man's rights. There is a deep-rooted discrepancy between the rights recognized to every man—whether white, black, yellow, rich or poor—and the rights that he actually enjoys in daily life. It must be courageously recognized that a single standard is not applied in today's world, although man's nature may be said to be universal and the same everywhere. We do not wish thereby to deny the spiritual and material dimensions of man as an individual; but those dimensions cannot be correctly evaluated without taking into account the political and social dimensions of man and the political and social conditions in which he lives.

188. In the light of those considerations it will be more easily understood why our country chose to organize in the first half of November 1978 an international ideological symposium in the course of which the questions of human rights and the rights of peoples were debated. The official records of that symposium give preference to the rights of peoples over human rights—or, more accurately, they defined what is the correct approach to human rights by viewing human rights as part of the

larger problem of the rights of peoples. To make clear the basic theses of that symposium, we wish to say that we cannot ferociously defend human rights without first doing whatever is necessary to eradicate *apartheid* in South Africa; to do away with the power of the white racist minority in Rhodesia; to restore the rights of the Namibian people; to put an end to the crime of killing civilian populations in Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana, resulting from bombings by white racists in South Africa and Rhodesia. How can we seriously claim to defend human rights elsewhere and at the same time allow the Palestinian people to have their rights erased from the records of mankind, including their right to existence? Is there any right more sacred than that? How can we effectively ensure the defence of human rights elsewhere if, closer to us in the Middle East, entire peoples are humiliated because their territories are occupied and Lebanon is being bombarded by Israel? Does not the defence of human rights involve also the defence of the right to a decent life for entire peoples? When we see the industrialized countries at the fifth session of UNCTAD at Manila and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries meeting at Brussels flatly refusing to recognize the elementary economic rights of the peoples of the third world, we cannot help but wonder whether the selfishness of the industrialized Powers is not also a denial of human rights.

189. It would be a fine thing if those self-same crusaders for human rights were to declare war on all the injustices of our century, which might very well appear in the eyes of posterity to be the most cruel century in human history. Now that we are on the threshold of the third millennium, the future of mankind depends not only on the ability of our generation to solve the problems of development but also on our ability to remove from our world anything that mutilates the human person and peoples. Man cannot achieve great things on earth if he does not first face up to his many woes in all their dimensions—political, social, economic and spiritual.

190. The Party-State of Guinea has given close attention to the problem of integrating segments of society, young people and women, who have hitherto not been permitted to play their due role in the economic and social spheres, in the struggle I have described.

191. Thus, within the framework of the International Year of the Child proclaimed in resolution 31/169 of 21 December 1976, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea set up in 1978 a national commission to prepare for the year under the presidency of Comrade Andrée Touré, the wife of our Chief of State.

192. A few of the accomplishments of that commission, which has now become a permanent institution, are the adoption of a code protecting children, the issuance of a postage stamp, the creation of weekly educational radio and television programmes for children, the printing of story-books, the creation of play-grounds, the holding of a fair, exhibitions of children's works, and a national seminar on the sexual problems of youth, juvenile delinquency, the responsibility of parents for the education of their children, and the role of the organs of the Party-State.

193. We also welcome the fact that the international community seems now to be clearly in favour of restoring the right of women to participate in the political, economic and social life of nations.

194. In Guinea, women played a paramount role in our struggle for national liberation, and they have exercised their full rights on an equal footing with men in all activities of the national life.

195. Our delegation fully supports the Draft Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women that our Organization is now preparing, and we are convinced that it will lead to the elimination of all barriers to the full development of women's potential.

196. In conclusion, we believe that the experience we have acquired during the 35 years of the existence of our Organization should make it possible for us to live up to the hopes that were placed in it when it was created.

197. Although the record in the area of decolonization is positive inasmuch as two thirds of the countries represented here were languishing under colonial domination when our Organization was created, the same cannot be said of the record in other areas.

198. Hotbeds of tension in southern Africa, in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and in other areas of the world and the stagnation in economic negotiations are challenges to our Organization requiring urgent and effective action by it.

199. If these problems are to be solved, there must be a complete overhauling of the structures of the United Nations Charter.

200. We understand why, under the Charter, the major Powers have been given a special responsibility and obligation in the maintenance of peace and security in the world. It is a fact that they have in their hands the means of mass destruction, which threaten peace, but the defence and preservation of peace cannot be considered to fall exclusively within the province of any Power.

201. That is why the United Nations Charter needs to be revised and needs all the structures and strength necessary for it to be more effective. We wonder whether the right to raise objections that is given to some in world affairs, an exorbitant right compared to the rights of the overwhelming majority, should continue to be exercised in our Organization, which preaches democracy and equality among all Members.

202. However that may be, we wish to reaffirm the fierce determination of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea to join other nations in trying to ensure that reason will prevail over force and that justice will prevail over power.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.