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

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: As members are aware, today is the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 31/6 C of 9 November 1976. It is a day when Governments and peoples all over the world reaffirm their solidarity with all South Africans struggling against *apartheid* and demand the immediate and unconditional release of all persons imprisoned or restricted for their involvement in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of all Member States—since they are enshrined in many unanimous resolutions of this General Assembly—in reaffirming our solidarity with South African political prisoners.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

2. Mr. CHINEBUAH (Ghana): First of all, Sir, let me congratulate you most warmly on your elevation to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are particularly delighted that the very first appearance in the United Nations of a Ghanaian delegation representing the new civilian administration of the Third Republic—the Government of the People's National Party under the presidency of Mr. Hilla Liman—should take place during a session presided over by a brother from the sister country, the United Republic of Tanzania. Your election is a fitting tribute to your fine qualities of leadership, impartiality and tact, qualities which you have abundantly displayed as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Your election reflects honour not only on your native country, which, along with the other front-line States, continues to play such a laudable role in the liberation struggle, but on all of Africa, whose increasingly important role in world affairs to-

day is thus fittingly recognized. We are convinced that both in the open debate and in the corridors of this Assembly your diplomatic skill and sober judgement will be fully brought to bear in guiding the discussions to a successful conclusion. In your challenging task as President, my delegation would like to assure you of its ready support and co-operation at all times.

3. To your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, we convey our deepest appreciation of his excellent achievement during his tenure of office in steering the thirty-third session to such a successful conclusion.

4. It is common knowledge that the work of this Assembly cannot be carried out effectively without the valuable support provided by our distinguished Secretary-General and his self-effacing but able and dedicated staff both at United Nations Headquarters and its various offices around the world. The Ghana delegation would like to place on record its profound appreciation of their excellent work.

5. May I here express our own sense of bereavement at the passing of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the late President of Angola. By his untimely death Africa has lost one of its greatest sons in the present phase of decolonization. He was a great African leader who, along with others like him, finally turned the tide against the colonialism of Salazar and Caetano and thus cleared the way for the final assault on the last bastions of imperialism and racial domination in southern Africa. Our profoundest condolences go to the delegation and to the Government and people of Angola for this irreparable loss.

6. The late President Boumediène of Algeria will also be remembered throughout the third world, and beyond it, not only as a great champion of the people in his own country, and a great fighter for rights of the Palestinian and Saharan peoples, but also as a great pioneer of the New International Economic Order. By his death, Africa, the Arab nations, and all the third world have sustained a heavy loss. To the Algerian delegation, and to the Algerian Government and people, we convey our deepest sympathies.

7. For us in Ghana, the birth of every new State is an occasion for rejoicing as it marks another milestone in the systematic eradication of colonialism. It is for this reason that we heartily welcome into our growing family the Government and people of Saint Lucia. We share their justified feeling of fulfilment and wish them every success in tackling the difficult problems of nation-building.

8. Ghana is a member of the non-aligned movement. Our first President, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, was among the founding fathers of the movement. Guided by his

precept and example, the People's National Party Government of the Third Republic, has resolved that the foreign policy of Ghana shall be securely anchored in the cardinal principles of non-alignment, namely, independence from great-Power influence, scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations, and total commitment to the crusade for self-determination.

9. It is perhaps appropriate for us to recall the historic pronouncement of Mr. Nkrumah, on the eve of Ghana's independence some 22 years ago, that Ghana's independence would be meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of Africa. The Government of the People's National Party is determined that, in collaboration with all countries which believe in true freedom and justice for all men, Ghana shall bear its part of the burden, make the sacrifice and pay the price in order to achieve total and genuine freedom for all Africa and indeed for all territories still under colonial and alien domination.

10. In keeping with its commitment to genuine freedom and independence, Ghana did not hesitate to reject the internal settlement arranged between the racist Smith and the Muzorewa clique because that settlement did not bring majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe, but merely provided a black front for what was, in reality, the continuation of racist minority rule and the perpetuation of injustice. Any system of government which places in the hands of 3 per cent of the population the power to block all constitutional advance for a period of 10 years, and the control of the security forces as well as all senior positions in the civil service, the judiciary, and the police, is grossly unjust, and indeed outmoded at birth.

11. The consensus on Zimbabwe, reached at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka in August [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para.15], clearly rejected the internal settlement and called for fresh elections based on a new constitution which would truly reflect the inalienable rights and legitimate aspirations of the black majority. Ghana supported this consensus, which we believe provides the basis for a just and internationally acceptable solution. In this regard, our prime objective was to ensure that the sole authentic liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, whose sacrifices and armed struggle created the right political conditions, assumes its rightful role in a truly independent Zimbabwe.

12. We expect the United Kingdom Government to honour its pledge and fulfil all its responsibilities and obligations as the administering Power, by ensuring, *inter alia*, that the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference, now being held at Lancaster House, produces a settlement acceptable to the black majority and to the international community. In the event that the Lancaster House negotiations on the constitution for independence should founder, there would be no alternative to an intensification of the armed struggle, and Ghana would for its part continue to extend all moral and material support to the heroic Patriotic Front until genuine majority rule was achieved.

13. It does, however, need to be emphasized that it would not be enough to secure agreement on a constitution without agreement on the transitional arrangements leading to independence. The character of an

interim administration, arrangements for properly supervised elections and acceptable conditions for the cease-fire—all these have to be agreed on before any question of lifting sanctions can properly arise. Neither a cease-fire nor an end to international sanctions was envisaged at the Lusaka Meeting except in the context of putting into operation a settlement which could truly be regarded as lasting and internationally acceptable. Let no one imagine, expect or believe that a conclusion of the proceedings at Lancaster House that falls short of these conditions is likely to produce either an end to the war or an end to international sanctions. And any such conclusion should not be regarded as sufficient justification for a unilateral lifting of sanctions in defiance of the Security Council's decision under Chapter VII of the Charter and in violation of Charter obligations.

14. The issue of independence for Namibia continues to engage the attention of the United Nations and has perhaps become one of the most intractable problems facing this Organization. The five Western Powers and the front-line States worked out in 1978 a formula¹ that formed the basis of the Secretary-General's plan for Namibia's transition to independence.² This plan was, however, sabotaged by the South African authorities, who, true to form, raised tenuous objections to its provisions and announced their intention of proceeding with their own bogus elections without the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], under what was in fact an internal settlement of the Rhodesian type. In spite of the Secretary-General's untiring efforts to achieve a cease-fire and break the deadlock, South Africa's provocative response took the form of a vicious attack on what it called a build-up of SWAPO guerrilla bases inside Angola—a sovereign and independent State. The next phase was the arrest of 31 leading members of SWAPO's internal wing in Namibia, the transformation of the Constituent Assembly into a National Assembly with limited legislative powers and the appointment of a hard-liner as the new Administrator-General of this United Nations Trust Territory.

15. If the sinister design of the South African authorities is meant to bring about another unilateral declaration of independence in Namibia in utter defiance of international opinion, then South Africa will have to be warned now, in no uncertain terms, that this world body is ready and willing to frustrate its intentions by effective measures. In this regard, my delegation calls on the Security Council to implement, without any further delay, the resolution adopted by a vast majority of countries at the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly [resolution 33/206] which proposed that the Security Council should urgently take enforcement measures against South Africa as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on Namibia. My delegation is confident that the Security Council will enhance its credibility by taking such measures.

16. The related question of Walvis Bay should not be

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1978*, document S/12636.

² *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

forgotten. My delegation will wish to reiterate its well-known position that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and should be so considered in any negotiations leading to the Territory's independence. Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep-water port and is also the nerve centre of the Territory's thriving fishing industry and export and import trade. South Africa's questionable claim based on a nineteenth century fiction has been rightly rejected by this body, by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], by SWAPO, by the front-line States and, indeed, by the five Western Powers.

17. Ghana's consistent and uncompromising condemnation of the criminal policy of *apartheid*, a policy rooted in the myth of racial superiority, stems from our abhorrence of any system which subjects man to humiliating indignities. While we are aware of the existence of pockets of racial prejudice and aberrations regarding human rights in other countries, it is only in South Africa that the policy of racial discrimination, of suppression and of persistent human rights violations against a majority of another racial stock has been institutionalized as an official, as well as a religious, dogma and given the full backing of the law.

18. The racial policies of South Africa create tensions and constitute a serious threat to world peace in our increasingly interdependent world; and yet strenuous efforts made since 1946 by the General Assembly and by the Security Council to change those backward policies have been treated with contempt by South Africa. Worse still, this shameful *apartheid* policy has been extended to Namibia, a Territory legally under United Nations administration. In view of South Africa's incorrigible obstinacy over a long period of 34 years, during which the international community's well-meaning exhortations have proved totally futile, my delegation calls for positive action in terms of comprehensive sanctions, including oil sanctions, aimed at bringing the racist régime to heel. In this regard, my delegation would like to record its deep gratitude to the new Iranian Government for joining the Arab oil-producing countries in their unqualified commitment to the embargo on oil supplies to South Africa.

Mr. Matane (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

19. The situation arising from the stoppage of Iranian and Arab oil supplies to South Africa offers a unique opportunity to the international community, particularly the other oil-exporting countries, to exert additional pressure on South Africa. Already the extra bill of approximately \$5 million which South Africa has to meet every day for oil supplies from the spot market is doing serious harm to its economy. In order to prevent further oil from secretly entering South Africa, we urge the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] to extend their boycott to the five international oil companies known to be marketing to South Africa about 85 per cent of its oil supplies. Additionally, we endorse the suggestion that, in order to prevent embargoed oil from reaching South Africa, OPEC countries might include a standard clause in their sales contracts stipulating that the oil sold to any country should not be resold to South Africa, or to any intermediary for future sale to South Africa. These measures, if faithfully applied, would make a great contribution towards the eradication of *apartheid*. We also welcome and applaud the courageous decision of the

Nordic countries to support the intensification of international pressures against the *apartheid* régime.

20. In further defiance of international opinion, South Africa has since September 1979 created another of its so-called "independent black States". Venda, a small inhospitable area with a population of less than half a million, and without any resources, will have to be dependent on grants and paltry crumbs from its benefactor. The international community has in the past refused to recognize two such States and my delegation strongly urges all States Members of the United Nations as well as non-member States to withhold recognition from this spurious State of Venda.

21. As regards the Middle East problem, it is the view of my delegation that any settlement which ignores the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in Palestine and which does not accord full recognition to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the authentic representative of the Palestinian people is unrealistic and bound to fail. In the light of the whole history of the Middle East problem, the refusal to have any talks, or indeed any contact, with the PLO is a totally untenable position. We are convinced that the PLO should participate on equal terms in all negotiations on the question of the Middle East and Palestine and that the PLO can play a constructive role in the search for a just and lasting settlement.

22. My delegation would also like to state categorically that it remains unalterably opposed to any Israeli presence on African and Arab land acquired as a prize of war. We also totally reject unilateral modifications of international boundaries by the use of force contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is our belief that all States in the area have the right to peaceful existence in secure and recognized boundaries.

23. Indeed, our concern for a stable order in the Middle East has inspired our participation in various efforts, including conferences relating to this complex problem; it has also led to our contribution of two contingents of troops to serve in the area under the flag of UNEF and now under that of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon, so as to assist in securing a lasting peace for an area that has endured so much suffering for so long.

24. We are greatly encouraged by the positive results of the first review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Belgrade in 1977. The renewed efforts to normalize relations and the cultivation of friendly co-operation should enhance the concept of détente and contribute to the relaxation of international tensions. The consolidation of détente and security in Europe, in view of our growing interdependence, will have meaning only if it ensures the security and well-being of all States. We must move beyond the present gains and seek lasting solutions to the underlying causes of tension in international relations, including colonialism and under-development. It is regrettable that the super-Powers are still preoccupied, because of their shared feeling of insecurity, with the acquisition of more sophisticated nuclear weapons in order to achieve an illusory nuclear parity and mutual deterrence. We believe that the progressive reduction in the level of such expenditures will release much-needed resources not only for domestic development in their countries but also for promoting economic growth in the developing world.

25. The current world economic situation poses grave problems for the developing countries. Its persistence will threaten the very livelihood of large numbers of people in those parts of the world, unless extraordinary efforts are made by the entire international community to bring the poor nations firmly within the developmental process. According to informed forecasts, if present trends continue—and they probably will—the already intolerable conditions of these poor nations will, by the turn of the century, have deteriorated to unprecedented levels.

26. The developing countries, which represent three quarters of the world's population, account for a mere 20 per cent of total world trade. This unacceptably small share has failed to expand, as it normally should have, largely because of protectionist barriers raised by the developed nations against those products from the developing countries which could, in conditions of fair competition, significantly increase the latter's participation in world trade. The developing countries' access to financial resources for development purposes remains severely limited; at the same time their debt-servicing liabilities have grown completely unmanageable because of the harsh lending conditions under which they are forced to borrow.

27. In short, the gap between the developed and the developing countries is widening rapidly, causing serious social and political havoc in an increasing number of developing countries. Thus there now exists a very severe crisis of development.

28. Yet the great advances which science and technology have achieved in our lifetime have undeniably endowed man with a unique capacity to wipe out poverty from the face of the earth. Ironically however, this advantage is employed far more to increase the risks of self-annihilation than to improve the quality of life everywhere. The advances in science and technology are properly regarded as an asset belonging to the human family as a whole, and should be fully utilized as such and equitably shared among all.

29. Taking the example of agriculture and food production, it is disturbing to observe that the developing countries, which are generally regarded as agricultural and producers of primary products, are the very ones which can least satisfy the food needs and general agricultural requirements of their people. Agriculture has become so heavily industrialized that it is now virtually the preserve of the already industrialized countries, and this has serious implications for the trade and well-being of their disadvantaged counterparts. The international community must be concerned about the dangers implicit in policies which perpetuate such an unhappy state of affairs. With particular reference to the application of science and technology to agriculture and food production, all members of the international community should commit themselves irrevocably to ensuring that all decisions already taken within the United Nations system regarding food production, food aid and food security are implemented fully as a matter of the utmost urgency.

30. Since the last session of the General Assembly, the international economic situation has taken a turn for the worse. Serious distortions have developed because of fundamental defects in the system resulting in balance-of-payments difficulties, widespread recession,

inflation and yet another energy crisis. Growth in world trade has suffered a serious setback, and many countries, particularly those with developed economies, have turned to greater protectionism, thus damaging the prospects of improvement in global living standards. Such acts of protectionism are shortsighted, because expanding world trade facilitates the exchange of goods and services and opens up avenues for investment, which in turn generate mutual employment opportunities.

31. These unhappy developments have forcefully underlined our growing interdependence. No nation, however powerful, can really solve its problems in isolation. The recent negotiations between the European Economic Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific States, characterized as they were by confrontation and polemics, achieved only limited success. The results of the fifth session of UNCTAD,³ on which so much hope was pinned, fell far short of our expectations, as the session failed to promote liberal trade, or advance the development process in any significant way. The recent renegotiation of the International Cocoa Agreement in Geneva provides another instance of a clear lack of political will on the part of the developed countries, and demonstrates their insufficient sensitivity to the grave problems which continually afflict the developing countries but which, if solved, could contribute immensely to the achievement of an equitable system of international economic relations.

32. I need hardly point out that for the majority of the developing countries, raw materials constitute the mainstay of their economies. In the particular case of Ghana, cocoa is the very life-blood of the economy and accounts for over 65 per cent of the country's foreign-exchange earnings. While cocoa has proved vulnerable to variables such as the weather and unstable prices, essential inputs such as machinery and fertilizers, which must be imported from the industrialized countries, continue to escalate steadily in price, adding to the distress of the impoverished producer.

33. Only a price structure which is equitable to the producer as well as to the consumer can guarantee stability in the industry. Thus an unrealistic minimum price level which is obviously inadequate to cover fixed overhead not only is morally wrong but also perpetuates the perennial injustices which we are with such painful effort striving to redress. It would be tedious to spell out the full implications of the current unrealistic price system in terms of its destabilizing impact on our fragile economies.

34. The necessity of our time has imposed on all of us an obligation to anchor our relations on mutually beneficial international co-operation. In view of our interdependence, my delegation would like from this rostrum to appeal to the consumer developed countries for greater flexibility to permit agreement on more equitable cocoa price levels at the next renegotiating conference.

35. We are among the first to admit that development within our own domestic *milieu* is our primary responsibility. We have therefore paid attention to utilizing our limited resources for the attainment of social and economic objectives so as to brighten the lives of our

³ Held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979.

peoples. We accept this responsibility, but development also provides a basis for international co-operation for mutual gain, under which we welcome foreign investment and a variety of experts with special skills to build, to heal and to help in forging an alliance for reciprocal progress.

36. Our economic policy is indeed based primarily on self-reliance, by which we seek essentially through our own resources to mobilize and develop Ghana's natural wealth, achieve modernization and overcome the vicious circle of poverty, thereby satisfying the growing expectations of our people. This strategy does not, however, preclude international co-operation with all friendly countries regardless of their ideological orientation or economic systems, provided that they respect our hopes and aspirations and our exclusive and sovereign right to determine our own domestic and foreign policy.

37. A major thrust of our foreign policy is the promotion of good-neighbourliness, by which we seek to stimulate and foster the closest possible co-operation and collaboration with our neighbours, so as to harness in an orderly fashion the material and human resources of the region. This explains the various bilateral trade and economic agreements and permanent joint commissions signed with our neighbours. Such endeavours will be supportive of the wider co-operation that our membership in the Economic Community of West African States seeks to promote in order to remove constraints imposed by limited domestic-market skills, technology and investment funds. We are also dedicated to the strengthening of our continental and global links in order to promote mutual progress, advance the objectives of the New International Economic Order and achieve social justice.

38. I should now like to touch briefly on the energy question, which is of such crucial importance to all of us. It is with a sense of great expectation that my Government welcomes the decision to hold a United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy in 1981. My Government has also taken due note of current proposals to explore new forms of energy in the search for a more permanent solution to the energy crisis.

39. All of us have a stake in achieving stability and prosperity, in creating the right climate for the attainment of the ideal of a world which is one, a world without war, want, ignorance or under-development. For the continued existence of two worlds on this planet, with the minority living on an island of precarious affluence while the majority is condemned to grinding poverty and despair as the wretched of the earth only heightens international tensions and calls into question our sense of social justice and fair play. It also undermines the great act of faith of the founding fathers who designed the United Nations machinery not merely for the pursuit of international peace and security but also for the attainment of social and economic advancement for all.

40. We have now reached the cross-roads. The options are clear. We must either come together in a grand design of collective co-operation or bitterly drift apart and disintegrate. As one great American statesman aptly observed and cautioned: "You cannot have

peace, you cannot even have your legitimate business of the world, unless you are partners with the rest."

41. Most of the problems that plague the majority of mankind are environmental and man-made, and they should therefore constitute a challenge to our joint and concerted wisdom. Given our natural instinct for survival, we are unavoidably left with the choice of charting a path which will enable us to exploit together the opportunities before us and mould an enduring future based on the New International Economic Order. In this regard may I assure the representatives that the new democratically elected Government of Ghana pledges its commitment to peace and international co-operation and stands prepared to contribute fully to their realization.

42. 'Mr. MAKKI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and on my own behalf, I wish to express our gratification at the confidence that has been shown in Mr. Salim by the General Assembly in electing him unanimously to preside over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. His election is further evidence that this Assembly fully recognizes his political competence and his experience as a diplomat, which will guarantee the success of this session. He may be assured that my delegation will fully co-operate with him in the carrying out of his great responsibilities, so that we shall be able to achieve our common goals of finding acceptable solutions to the problems before the present session.

43. My delegation wishes to express its admiration of Mr. Liévano, the head of the delegation of Colombia, for the extraordinary skill with which he presided over the last session of the Assembly.

44. We are very happy to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the efforts he has made and the devotion he has shown in the service of the cause of strengthening peace and stability in the world. We particularly appreciate the role he has played and the initiatives he has taken for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East based on the reaffirmation of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

45. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of Saint Lucia to our Organization. We are convinced that the admission of that newly independent State will further strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in all its efforts to encourage justice, peace and progress.

46. The yearly sessions of the General Assembly prove to us the continuity of the struggle against war and the factors of under-development and oppression. They reflect man's innate attachment to peace, freedom, and progress. We feel that this session of the General Assembly, too, will enable us to assess the work being done by the United Nations—with its successes and its failures—since its creation at the end of the Second World War.

47. The Charter of the United Nations reflects the desire of the peoples of the world to see peace and progress reign in the world. Thus, we are convinced that the General Assembly must go beyond the stage of

discussion in accordance with the parliamentary procedure governing the items before it and adopt an attitude based on positive and constructive criticism and the commitment of all Member States to implement the resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Only thus shall we be able to strengthen the role and the effectiveness of the Organization as an instrument for peace, save mankind from the horrors of war and destruction, and ensure the triumph of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

48. The existence of the United Nations is a unique experience in the world of today, because, to the extent that its existence has contributed to preventing the tragedy of a third world war, it has undoubtedly created in the minds of all peoples the conviction that the United Nations is the natural and most appropriate framework for the structuring of international relations on democratic bases, with a view to enshrining the principle of coexistence and co-operation in a better world, where prosperity and stability will prevail, a world freed from the state of under-development inherited from the colonial era. So we believe that continued assistance to national liberation movements must be at the forefront of the efforts that the United Nations must deploy in order to achieve the purposes of the Charter.

49. The United Nations has before it one basic subject which has been of concern to the international community for 32 years—namely, the cause of the Arab people of Palestine, who have continued to experience an unprecedented tragedy because of the Zionist conspiracy with imperialist circles to expel them from their homeland and occupy their lands. The Arab people of Palestine submit their cause again today to this international gathering, confident of the justice of that cause and convinced that the United Nations as an organization embodying international legitimacy is the international forum that can best examine all the aspects of the problem with the participation of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the embattled Arab people of Palestine, on a footing of equality with the other parties concerned. In that way, a just and lasting peace must be achieved, and it must include the following elements: first, the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from all the occupied Arab territories, and above all from Jerusalem; secondly, the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, sovereignty and national independence on the territory of Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, the only representative of that people; thirdly, the cessation of the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories and in Jerusalem, since those settlements are an obstacle to a just peace and violate international law and the United Nations Charter, as well as the many relevant United Nations resolutions; and, fourthly, the dismantling of all the Israeli settlements that have been established in the occupied Arab territories, and the cessation of archaeological excavations and of construction designed to change the cultural, religious and demographic features of the occupied Arab territories.

50. The international community unanimously recognizes that a just and lasting peace cannot be achieved if it does not include the basic elements that we have just set forth. But the Zionist entity, which professes to want peace, arrogantly and obstinately opposes this unanimous will of the international community and

continues its aggression and its occupation of Palestine and other independent and sovereign Arab countries neighbouring Palestine. Moreover, the decision taken on 16 September last by the Council of Ministers of Israel, under which Israelis will be allowed to acquire Arab lands and property on the West Bank and in Jerusalem, again confirms Israel's determination to pursue its policy of occupation and aggression and to undermine the chances for a just and lasting peace in the area.

51. The bombings, the air raids, the land and sea attacks by the Zionist enemy against southern Lebanon and the Palestinian refugee camps are further proof that Israel is challenging the international community and intends to pursue its aggression and terrorism in order to perpetuate its occupation of Palestine and neighbouring Arab territories and its conspiracy against the independence and sovereignty of the Arab nation.

52. Israel, born of aggression and terrorism, has opposed every sincere effort to establish a just and lasting peace, based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to set up an independent State in Palestine, a peace guaranteeing the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from the occupied Arab territories and the city of Jerusalem.

53. The separate peace treaty⁴ that resulted from the Camp David agreements⁵ signed by the Egyptian régime and the Zionist enemy has encouraged Israel to pursue its expansionist policy of settlement and has strengthened its hold on the occupied territories, by means of every method of terrorism and repression. Israel's repeated acts of aggression against the civilian population in southern Lebanon and the Palestinian refugee camps, since the signature of the Camp David agreements, prove to international public opinion how incompatible those agreements are with the sincere international efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. They confirm the connexion between the separate peace treaty and the plans to annex southern Lebanon and liquidate Palestinian resistance, thereby enabling the aggressive Zionist authorities to put into effect their expansionist policy, to the detriment of the Arab territories and Palestinian Arab rights.

54. The resolutions of the Ninth Arab Summit Conference,⁶ held in Baghdad in November 1978, and of the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Fez in May [see A/34/389], as well as the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in September [A/34/542], unanimously condemned the Camp David agreements because they deny Arab rights, and particularly the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of a State on their national land. That condemnation is a clear and resounding reply to the manoeuvres and misleading campaigns engaged in by Zionism and its new allies to legitimize these unacceptable agreements.

55. The delegation of my country wishes to warn the

⁴ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

⁵ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

⁶ See document A/33/400.

Assembly that Israel's policy, based on expansionist settlements, and the annexation of territories by force and terrorism will lead our region to the brink of total war, the consequences of which will not be limited to the Middle East but will inevitably engulf the Mediterranean basin, thus posing a grave threat to international peace and security. Our warning is based on our understanding of the responsibility that the United Nations has in the maintenance of peace and security, and particularly the responsibility of the Security Council, which must fulfil its task of establishing peace by taking strict measures against Israel to oblige it to bow to the will of the international community, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

56. The maintenance of colonialist régimes in southern Africa is a blemish on the human conscience. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa is one of the most hateful aspects of persecution and exploitation; it is contrary to the principles on which the United Nations is based.

57. The occupation of Namibia by the racist South African régime and the maintenance of the illegal racist régime in Rhodesia are other elements in the struggle between the imperialist forces and the national forces struggling for their freedom and their right to self-determination, and to shape their future in conformity with their free will.

58. Just as my delegation, last year, welcomed the initiative of the five Western countries towards a just settlement of the problem of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, we now fear that that initiative will fail because of the colonialist and racist attitude of the Pretoria authorities, who refuse to respond to the efforts of the United Nations to ensure Namibia's attainment of independence and territorial integrity.

59. It has therefore become all the more imperative that we adopt binding sanctions against the Pretoria régime in accordance with the terms of Chapter VII of the Charter. My delegation would appeal to all Western States that still have contacts with the racist Government of South Africa to implement the resolution on sanctions and thus help the United Nations in its efforts to grant the Namibian people the right to self-determination, national independence and territorial integrity under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people. This would be in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

60. On the question of Rhodesia, my delegation welcomes the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference, convened in London by the United Kingdom Government and attended by all the parties concerned in accordance with the agreement reached at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka. My delegation reiterates its support for the legitimate claims of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe that the white minority racist régime be ended and that a new constitution be drafted providing for free and democratic elections and guaranteeing the rights of the indigenous majority of the population.

61. We wish here to reaffirm that for such efforts to

succeed the following elements must be taken into account: first, recognition of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate representative of Rhodesia, and of its programme for the independence of the Territory; and secondly, the organization of free and fair elections on the basis of the new constitution guaranteeing majority government. This will defeat any attempt to maintain domination by the white minority based on a spurious internal settlement rejected by the Zimbabwe people and its leadership, represented by the Patriotic Front.

62. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean entrusted with its preservation as a zone of peace, my country wishes to reaffirm its opposition to any military presence or to the signing of any pact in the area of the Indian Ocean and its natural prolongations like the Red Sea. At the last meeting of that Committee in March, in which the littoral and hinterland countries of the Indian Ocean participated, we reiterated the need to keep the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea free of all foreign military bases. My country advocated co-operation by all members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean in drafting a convention by which the signatories would commit themselves fully to respect and implement General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) containing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

63. In many international forums, and most recently at the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries at Havana, my country has defined its position on the question of Cyprus. We fully support the initiative taken by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, embodied in the 10 points he suggested.⁷ We stand by the United Nations in its efforts to promote a dialogue between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities aimed at a solution to the problem that would put an end to the suffering of the friendly Cypriot people within a framework of the unity, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the island of Cyprus. Such a solution would guarantee in full equality the political, civil and religious rights of the two communities constituting the people of Cyprus.

64. With regard to the Korean question, my delegation reiterates its firm position that the Korean people must be entirely free to unite North and South Korea without any foreign interference or pressure, in accordance with the three principles set forth in the joint Declaration of the two parties of 4 July 1972,⁸ namely independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

65. The arms race and the stockpiling of conventional and nuclear weapons, their development and production, continue to threaten international peace and security all over the world. It is an important factor contributing to increased tension in international relations. Disarmament has become a matter to which the international community, represented by the United Nations, attaches the greatest importance. Consequently, specific and serious measures must be adopted in order to achieve that aim, ensure general and complete disarmament.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I*.

ment, and divert the manpower and funds spent on armaments, their stockpiling, development and manufacture, to solving the economic crises besetting the world, and more particularly the developing countries. My country welcomed the signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America reached as a result of the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT].⁹ We consider it to be a first step, to be followed by other more positive steps that would lead to disarmament and spare mankind the risk of a third world war and of a nuclear confrontation which would destroy all man's great achievements in the field of culture, civilization and construction. That is why we renew our sincere appeal to the great Powers, particularly the super-Powers, to place the enormous resources being devoted to arms and instruments of destruction at the service of the peoples, particularly those of the developing countries, in order to help them raise their standards of living and thus strengthen the chances of peace and security in the world.

66. We have, since its first session, followed very closely the discussions in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and participated in the work of its resumed eighth session, held in New York from 19 July to 24 August 1979. We also took part in the meetings held by the negotiating groups 6 and 7—set up by the Second Committee. We wish, in this connexion, to make the following comments. First, the resumed eighth session of the Conference, despite the difficulties that had accumulated from previous sessions, did chalk up certain successes with regard to the rewording of the composite text¹⁰ and formalizing it to ensure its adoption as the final text of the Convention. Secondly, the Arab delegations, in the course of the sixth session, held in New York, submitted a proposal that the continental shelf be limited to 200 nautical miles. Our delegation and the Arab group were disappointed that the proposal was not included in the revised composite text. Thirdly, the shabby attempt by some delegations to cast doubt on the legal claim of liberation movements to sign and ratify the convention is contrary to the tenets of international law reaffirming the sovereign rights of non-independent territories over their natural resources. This principle has been endorsed by the United Nations in its resolutions on the subject, particularly the resolution on the right of peoples to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

67. The present state of international economic relations is a reflection of the unhealthy economic structure. This has had negative repercussions on the rates of economic growth in the developing countries. It has led to a constant widening of the gap between the developing and the developed countries. This situation has had repercussions also on the negotiations for the restructuring of international economic relations on the bases of equality and justice. Our delegation wishes to state again that the industrialized countries that continue to export the problems of inflation and unemployment to the developing countries must exercise maximum control over those problems and must be receptive to the sincere appeal for co-operation made by the

developing countries, particularly the constructive proposals they submitted during the fifth session of UNC-TAD for the establishment of a new international economic order on the bases of justice and equality.

68. In regard to the invitation extended to the General Assembly to hold a special session in 1980 on the question of international development and then to declare the beginning of the third development decade, my country believes that there must be intense and sincere efforts by Member States, and particularly by the developed countries, to achieve the aims of a third development decade. In that respect, we would point out that the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 has not yet made any significant progress because of the negative attitude of some industrialized countries. In our opinion, that is an obstacle to the efforts to declare the year 1980 the beginning of the third development decade; it will ensure that there will be no end to the stifling economic crisis from which the international community is suffering.

69. We have noted with some satisfaction that there is a consensus on the fact that the new international development strategy must form a common framework for all the national efforts made by the developing and the developed countries and must serve as a field for international co-operation. In our opinion, the new strategy should include the elements contained in General Assembly resolution 33/193. In particular, stress must be placed on the methods for the economic restructuring of the developing countries, in conformity with the principles of the new international economic order. The new strategy must also be designed to achieve the aims of that new order.

70. We wish to state the following once again. First, economic relations must be reorganized on the bases of justice and equality. Secondly, the developing countries must be given the opportunity to participate effectively in the drafting and application of resolutions concerning development and financial and technical co-operation. Thirdly, there must be respect for the principle of the right of States to exercise complete control over their natural resources. Fourthly, there must be a reaffirmation of the principle of collective participation and of the promotion of the role of women and youth in the process of local and regional development. Fifthly, the price of manufactured products exported by the developed countries must be stabilized, and some equality must be established in trade relations, through the abolition of protectionist policies. Sixthly, a study must be made of practical methods for settling the debt problem of the developing countries. Seventhly, the international monetary situation must be corrected through a review of the special agreements, special drawing rights, and so forth.

71. My delegation believes that the use by the developing countries of their resources, and co-operation among them, must form the basis of the establishment of a new international economic order, to complement co-operation with the developed countries. The least developed countries must have priority in the assistance to developing countries, through the drawing up of a plan of action and practical measures to improve the economy of those countries and help them to develop their own resources. Thus they will be assured of at least a minimum standard of living and of assistance

⁹ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

¹⁰ See document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.1.

in overcoming the problems of inflation and mounting prices.

72. Before concluding this statement, I wish to draw attention to what the political leadership in my country has been doing to ensure stability and guarantee a free and dignified life for every citizen. In co-operation with the southern part of the Yemeni homeland, my country is making efforts to achieve the unity of Yemen, through the creation of economic bodies and a democratic atmosphere propitious to such unity. That was one of the objectives of the 26 September revolution in my country. From 2 to 4 October this year, the Presidents of the two Yemens met at San'a and reaffirmed the determination of the two parts of the country to spare no effort to put into effect the Cairo agreement of 28 October 1972, the Tripoli communiqué of November 1972 and the Kuwait communiqué of 30 March 1979 concerning the methods to achieve the peaceful unity of Yemen on sound democratic bases. We seek to intensify our common efforts to achieve economic integration, to ensure co-ordination and the harmonization of our development plans, and to encourage Arab and foreign investment, in conformity with our development plans, which are in the interests of Yemen and are designed to increase the well-being of our people.

73. I would stress here that the joint commission set up in accordance with the Cairo agreement and the Tripoli communiqué is continuing its intensive efforts and is making considerable progress towards the achievement of our noble national objective and the establishment of conditions that can lead to the unity of the two Yemens: an aspiration of the masses of Yemeni people in the two sections of the country.

74. In the Yemen Arab Republic, our political leadership is convinced that our brothers and friends throughout the world will co-operate with us to ensure the success of the efforts being made by the Yemeni people and their national leaders to achieve this desired unity, which will serve as an element of stability and peace in the region and thereby contribute to the struggle of the Arab nation for its unity and for the recovery of all the occupied territories in Palestine and in other Arab countries now under the control of zionism and settler-colonialism.

75. The Yemen Arab Republic is devoting all its attention to the improvement of its economy and the living conditions of the people, but at the same time it recognizes that it has responsibilities in regard to the questions before the international community. For we have faith in the Charter and we hope to see the role and effectiveness of the United Nations strengthened so that all the problems may be solved and the cause of all the peoples may triumph, and so that those peoples may be enabled to exercise their rights to self-determination and national independence.

76. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): It gives me great pride and pleasure to congratulate the President on his unanimous election and to say that my delegation fully concurs in the highest praise and admiration, which all delegations, without exception, have expressed for his competence and achievement as President of this Assembly. He is an illustrious son of Africa and comes from the sister United Republic of Tanzania, which has never hesitated to be in the vanguard of the just struggle of our people for freedom and independence. Bearing in

mind his personal contributions as Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, my delegation pledges to support him fully in the performance of his onerous functions and responsibilities.

77. May I also express our congratulations and gratitude to his worthy predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for his impeccable record as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

78. Over the years, our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has in the name of our Organization, managed the endless crises of our age with dedication, compassion and perseverance. The fact that nations tend to judge the successes of the United Nations by his successes is the measure of the hope and confidence we all place in his office. I pay a very warm tribute to him for all his efforts.

79. The vision of the founding fathers of the United Nations was eventual universality of membership. With the accession of Saint Lucia to independence and its admission to the United Nations as the one hundred and fifty-second Member State, our Organization is fast approaching its goal of universality. On behalf of Nigeria, I most warmly welcome the membership of Saint Lucia, with which Nigeria shares many bonds as a result of Commonwealth membership and history. It is our desire to maintain cordial relations of friendship and close co-operation with Saint Lucia.

80. Only a few weeks ago, we all learned with shock and grief of the death of Agostinho Neto, the President of Angola. During the lifetime of that towering architect of Angola's freedom and independence, my country enjoyed fraternal relations with his Government and people. We shared his aspirations and his dreams for his country and Africa. His death has deprived Africa and the entire world of a wise, erudite and humane statesman. We shall all miss his candor and unswerving commitment to the vision of a just international order.

81. Permit me to say how happy and honoured I am to convey to this Assembly the personal greetings and good wishes of Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. I also take special satisfaction and pride in addressing the Assembly at this major turning-point in Nigeria's history.

82. After 13 years of military rule in Nigeria, we have just concluded a unique experiment of orderly and peaceful transition to a democratically-elected, civilian Government. Last July and August, my compatriots in six weeks went to the polls in five separate national elections to fill 19 state assemblies, the Federal House of Representatives and the National Senate, in addition to electing 19 state governors, and finally the President of our country. All these elections, which were conducted peacefully and in a free, open manner, marked a significant milestone in my country's political and constitutional history.

83. On Monday, 1 October 1979, the former head of the Federal Military Government, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, formally handed over power to the new President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in a solemn

ceremony at the Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos, the same site where the rebirth of our nation was consecrated nearly two decades ago. The moral impact and, I daresay, the political significance of the ceremony cannot be exaggerated.

84. Nations, like men and women, sometimes make mistakes. This is regrettable. But it is more regrettable when they miss the opportunity to make history. The Armed Forces of Nigeria have made history because they have lived up to their honour and duty. They took up the sword to defend and preserve our national integrity and sovereignty, which was threatened in 1966. They pledged to hand over power to a civilian Government, democratically elected and freely inaugurated, once the constitutional arrangements had come into effect. They have lived up to this expectation. Given this tradition and precedent of peaceful and orderly transition from military to civilian Government, Nigeria is today not only irreversibly united as a nation, but completely at one and at peace with itself. Not only have we solved our problems of divisions and secessions—legacies of a colonialism whose sole *raison d'être* was to pit brother against brother in order to consolidate its exploitative stranglehold—but we have also embarked on an honourable national course that fully respects and promotes all human, social, economic and political rights of every citizen, regardless of race, colour, creed or sex. Above all, we are committed to the simple precept that independence is nothing but the government of the people by themselves. Thus, with their tasks accomplished, the armed forces of Nigeria have now proudly marched back to the barracks of their own volition to perform their traditional role of defending our fatherland against external aggression.

85. New Governments tend to address all issues at the same time. Mine is no exception. But we have the advantage of hindsight, perspective and continuity. This is because the cardinal principles of my country's foreign policy have their roots as deep in the genius of our people as in the history and circumstances of our country and continent. We are proud that many nations and peoples identify with these principles.

86. Those who speculate that our new civilian Government will be less dynamic in the pursuit of our foreign policy objectives will be disillusioned. If anything, and because we shall be operating from a firm foundation, we intend to pursue them with greater drive and greater vigour. Let me therefore emphasize that the quintessence of Nigeria's foreign policy has been, and will remain, the pursuit of international peace and security; strict non-alignment; international solidarity and adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charters of the United Nations and of the OAU; the protection and defence of human dignity; constructive partnership in the campaign for the enjoyment by all States of equitable economic and political rights; an unswerving commitment to the total liberation of Africa; and the eradication from southern Africa of the twin evils of colonialism and *apartheid*.

87. Naturally, we shall give primacy to the pursuit of peace and security in Africa, without which we can neither be safe nor prosper. In this connexion, my Government condemns most vigorously recent interferences by some European countries, notably France, in the internal affairs of some African countries. Like the Bourbons of old, they have clearly

proved that they have learned nothing, and forgotten nothing. Leadership in any State is as good as the people of that State want it to be. Those African leaders who parody themselves after foreign models or who degrade themselves by exploiting their people through insensitivity, corruption or callous brutality will be swept away by their own people into the dust-bin of history, just as their colonial masters were driven out of Africa in ignominy and revulsion. It is only the leadership which grows out of the people that will endure. In recognition of this fact, the OAU long ago affirmed as one of its cardinal principles the "unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State". The era of self-appointed kingmakers for Africa is gone. Africa will no longer tolerate intervention and destabilization exercises in the continent. Dependence of political institutions on foreigners from whatever continent is both anathema and a betrayal of Africa's freedom and liberty.

88. Africa stood on the eve of the 1960s proud and defiant. The promise of independence was vibrant and challenging. If the dream in some cases turned into a nightmare, the fault does not lie on our stars. While we derive no consolation from the fact that no country anywhere in the world has a more glorious account of its first 20 years of history to give than those of most independent African States, and while our detractors must bear in mind that the stresses and changes which have unsettled all nations, developed and developing alike, were bound to take their toll more on the new nations of Africa, it is reasonable to state that, given its enormous resources and potential, Africa has not been left alone to develop its own institutions and to provide for its well-being, as others were allowed to at the comparable stage of their history. Former colonial masters not only left behind time-bombs in the form of latent instability and insurrection, but, nurturing their nostalgias and myths of indispensability, they carefully planned their return for insidious political domination and economic exploitation. In fact, it may be true to say that the colonialists never left Africa. They merely exchanged their roles and masks to make their presence less suspect and objectionable.

89. But as we meet on the eve of the 1980s, let no one assume that Africa has not learned its lesson. Those States which profess genuine friendship for Africa must come to terms with a new relationship with that continent. Africa is for the Africans. It is not for sale, nor for division into spheres of influence. We want no dependent status, nor surrogate roles. We seek external economic aid and assistance, fully conscious of our dignity and inalienable rights. Let all foreign Powers recognize that. Whatever they can do for us now can never compensate for the debt they owe Africa, directly or indirectly.

90. One area in which we intend in Nigeria to subject to the acid test all professions of friendship by each and every State for Africa is in southern Africa. The rabid racism which *apartheid* represents to all men of conscience; the inhuman exploitation of man by man, unprecedented in the annals of man since the slave trade of the eighteenth century, which *apartheid* constitutes; the grotesque dehumanization of an entire people which *apartheid* has institutionalized; the systematic and massive violation of human rights which *apartheid* promotes, and the blatant and consistent destruction of life which it encourages—all these and more make

apartheid a crime against humanity. That a minority racist régime in a country which has no claims to be a world Power can defy the United Nations at will has ominous implications for the survival of our Organization. How else can one judge the efficacy of the international will, if the United Nations cannot implement its decisions arrived at unanimously and in accordance with the provisions of its Charter? What recourse is there for the peaceful resolution of the problems of southern Africa, when South Africa, in violation of international law, bombs refugee camps and invades the territory of neighbouring countries in naked pursuit of a policy of aggression, intimidation, and terrorism?

91. Nigeria has been following closely Zimbabwe's progress to full independence. The colonial Power, the United Kingdom, has recognized, albeit belatedly, that it has to negotiate with the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe for the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe, if the hope for a just and durable settlement in Zimbabwe is to be realized. From all accounts so far, the contributions of the Patriotic Front, under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, to the current Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London have been constructive, imaginative and most helpful. It is Nigeria's hope that justice and realism will prevail, and that the London talks will restore power and sovereignty to the Zimbabwean peoples on a basis which will justify international acceptance and recognition. Otherwise, international sanctions against the illegal régime must continue, and the armed struggle for freedom and independence, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, will be intensified.

92. The situation in Namibia is no less intolerable. Early this year, we had hoped that the plans of the Security Council for Namibia's transition to independence would be implemented. Events have belied that hope. Instead of progress, the United Nations now seems to have allowed itself to be lulled into inaction. In my delegation's judgement, there has been too much bending over backwards to accommodate the so-called Government of South Africa that is in illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia. And not enough is being done to assist SWAPO and the people of Namibia to regain their independence. In strict terms of international law, morality or natural justice, the United Nations should not put itself in a position of appearing to condone an illegal and illegitimate act of piracy by a State which has forfeited the goodwill and respect of the international community.

93. The United Nations Charter brooks no double standards. There is no ambiguity regarding how it should deal with errant Member States. It was in recognition of this that the last session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia, called upon the United Nations to invoke the provisions of Chapter VII, in its entirety, against South Africa over Namibia. Nigeria is committed to press for the implementation of that decision.

94. Behind all these problems of southern Africa is the racist minority régime of South Africa, whose conduct now raises the spectre of a racial war in our continent. South Africa continues to be emboldened by its intransigence by its supporters and friends, particularly in the Western bloc, who make a ritual of condemning its *apartheid* policies, while they increase their trade, investments, arms and technological transfers, as well as

their assistance in the development of nuclear capability, with its régime. Perhaps the time has come for the United Nations to undertake a comprehensive study of how much the attitude of some Western States is determined by their dependence on the strategic minerals and commodities of South Africa. We shall initiate the necessary studies in due course. Further, as internal and international opposition to its policies intensifies, it is painfully obvious that South Africa intends, through the employment of mercenaries and subversion, to threaten the peace and security of our continent. In the past year alone, the OAU has had to adopt two urgent resolutions calling attention to the menace of mercenaries and requesting that its convention against mercenaries be reinforced to deal effectively with the problem. Nigeria therefore intends, in co-operation with its African sister countries, and countries such as Barbados, to submit formal proposals for an international convention to ban the recruitment and activities of mercenaries in Africa and throughout the world.

95. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose a very serious threat to international peace and security. For too long has that region, whose ties with Africa are as intimate as they are eternal, has been the tinderbox of hostilities and the cockpit of wars, with the accompanying defilement of its populations. We firmly believe in a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question in which peace and justice triumph together. We cannot therefore but remind the protagonists of any peace initiative in the region that the question of Palestine and the rights of its people remain at the core of the continuing crisis in the Middle East and that, unless this central issue is addressed fully and directly, no just and durable solution to the crisis should be expected.

96. As Nigeria has had cause to state before, the relationship between the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine is integral, both in its consideration and in its solution. Consequently, partial treaties and partial agreements will not suffice. The Palestinians, in common with all of us, have a God-given, inalienable right to a national homeland. They must achieve independence with full sovereignty. They must not be held hostages to the security or boundary considerations of any State in the region.

97. We therefore call again upon Israel to withdraw from Arab lands occupied since June 1967. We call upon Israel to desist from building new settlements in the occupied Arab lands and to stop administrative and other measures designed to alter the demographic and cultural character of the occupied lands in violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. We recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. We re-emphasize that Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the occupied West Bank, which must be liberated.

98. The harrowing experience and suffering in Lebanon oblige us to emphasize the need for an early and viable peace in the Middle East. It is unimaginable that the United Nations should appear to be so impotent in the face of persistent attempts by Israel to undermine a United Nations peace-keeping operation in a beleaguered Member State. The United Nations should evolve a more strict and practical solution with a view to ensuring the integrity of the Lebanese nation and to

guarantee the right of its peoples to live in their traditional peace and freedom.

99. The mandate of UNIFIL to secure the return of the Lebanese Government's authority to southern Lebanon must be fulfilled. As a country contributing to that Force, Nigeria fully endorses the view that an adequate security zone must be established around UNIFIL headquarters, that the renegade Haddad's forces must end their harassment of the UNIFIL troops and that over-all co-operation of all parties concerned must be forthcoming. In addition, Nigeria expects that a more determined effort will be made to remove all the obstacles in the way of UNIFIL; for instance, all Member States must share its prescriptive obligations. It is our hope that delegations will not demur at making their contributions to the upkeep of UNIFIL and in extending it their full co-operation in its complex and delicate task.

100. Another issue which must be addressed in this connexion is the continued harassment by the Israeli authorities in the form of arrests and trials of members of UNIFIL. This raises the question of whether the time has not come for the United Nations to enunciate more precise norms and rules in a convention defining the status and immunities of United Nations peace-keeping troops as international civil servants not subject to capricious blackmail and harassment by a national government. I am aware that there are various peace-keeping agreements relating to this matter, but they all differ. Perhaps the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, of which I have the privilege of being the Chairman, may be directed to consider the need for an instrument that would establish standard and uniform rights, obligations and immunities for peace-keeping personnel.

101. Many years ago, when UNFICYP was set up, with its double mandate for peace-keeping and peace-making, it was hoped that it would play the decisive role in ensuring the return of tranquillity to Cyprus and thereby assist in upholding the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country, with which Nigeria has close ties of friendship. Just as the stalemate in the intervening years, exacerbated by the tragic events of 1974, has remained a matter of grave concern to Nigeria, so also was the failure to build upon the ten-point agreement reached after the Secretary-General's personal intervention last May. Nigeria believes that the various decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, as well as those of the Conferences of non-aligned countries, provide a basis for a just peace.

102. At the end of its eighth session recently, we learned with relief that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has entered its final stages, and that it is scheduled to end next year. The fact that the negotiations have been protracted and difficult should steel us in our determination to ensure that the convention to be adopted will bequeath to future generations a peaceful régime for the exploitation of the sea. The exploitation of the sea and its resources must be fair and rational.

103. One of the most serious crises facing mankind today is the chaotic state of the world economic situation. There is an ominous indication that the poor developing countries, beset by the difficulties of under-

development, natural disasters, inflation, unemployment and exchange-rate fluctuations, among others, are being made to subsidize the rich industrialized nations through structural and institutional defects in the world economic system. We had expected that dispassionate discussion of economic matters within the context of dialogues between the developing and the developed countries would have removed these anomalies.

104. We note with deep regret that the economic negotiations held so far this year have been most disappointing. At the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held in Arusha in February, the developing countries agreed on a programme of collective self-reliance,¹¹ in which great hopes were placed. That was to have been the basis for realistic negotiations between the developed and developing countries at the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila. Unfortunately, instead of addressing the main issues facing the economy of the international community, the Conference concentrated on matters of secondary importance, and wasted precious time on trying to sow division and discord in the ranks of the developing countries. Similarly, the Tokyo Round on multilateral trade negotiations, which was held in Geneva within the framework of GATT, ended by protecting only the interests of the developed industrialized countries. We hope that the recent agreement on the constitution of UNIDO as a specialized agency, the outcome of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development and the decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly in 1980, in order to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations system in establishing the New International Economic Order will remedy some of these short-comings.

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

105. The goal which the developing countries have set for themselves is the restructuring of international economic relations in a way which would accelerate the narrowing of the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, through trade and aid, and increased net flows of real resources. To this end they wish to initiate measures that will enable them to deal with their mass poverty, mass unemployment and galloping food deficits. In response, the developed countries have merely demonstrated their hesitation, if not lack of political will, in achieving the desired goal of establishing the New International Economic Order. There is no gainsaying that the struggle to eliminate the inequities of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order is an integral part of the struggle for the elimination of colonialism, foreign exploitation and all forms of subjugation and interference in the internal affairs of States. It is against that background that Nigeria fully endorses the new strategy adopted at the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries in Havana to strengthen mutual co-operation among the developing countries, and to begin international negotiations within the framework of the United Nations on all the social and economic problems facing the international community.

106. The economies of many rich, industrialized countries were built and nurtured on the availability of

¹¹ See document TD/236.

cheap petroleum, to the detriment of the oil-producing countries. However, since they have succeeded in establishing quite satisfactory pricing mechanisms in conformity with the dictates of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], the members of OPEC are being cast in the role of scapegoats. They are being blamed for virtually all the economic difficulties in the world, from inflation to the artificially manipulated price of gold. It is very strange that those who speak lightly of the subject have not stopped to consider seriously what component of international inflation is contributed by oil. It is even stranger that they have not questioned why each of the industrialized countries with economies that work, like Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, hold far greater foreign reserves than all the OPEC countries put together.

107. Nigeria fully appreciates the plight of the developing countries, particularly the least developed, a majority of which are in Africa. We admit that recent increases in the price of oil have aggravated their hardships. But oil is only a part of the problem. We need to consider carefully and collectively relevant solutions to the global issues of raw materials, development, finance and energy. And this must be done soberly and with full comprehension. The challenge we all of us face collectively is how to evolve during the next United Nations development decade rational procedures for the utilization of the world's shrinking natural resources, bearing in mind, of course, the crying needs of the developing countries.

108. It is superficial to speak of the inherent contradictions and distortions in the world economic system which militate against the poor nations without referring to the disproportionate resources being consumed by armaments, particularly nuclear armaments. Every nuclear test—and there were over 250 nuclear tests in the past year alone—blights the hopes and aspirations of over 1 million children for education and health care. The annual unproductive expenditure of \$400 billion on armaments far exceeds five times the total net flow of resources to developing countries as a whole from all sources, which stood at \$63.93 billion in 1977. In fact, it is more than half of the combined gross domestic product of all the developing countries together. Viewed from another angle, the least developed countries of the world had a total outstanding external debt of \$10 billion, and as a result had to mortgage 15 per cent of their export earnings in that year for debt payments. How relieved they could have been—what a prospect for a fresh economic start they could have had!—if one fortieth of 1 per cent of the annual armaments budget of the nuclear-weapon States had been diverted to cancel out their external debts.

109. Another illustration will show how resources which could have brought stability and development to some region of the world, say Africa, are being frittered away in the production of nuclear armaments that no one dares to use. The 49 independent African States have with the approval of the United Nations launched a Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, which, they hope, will enable them to integrate their economies and provide a viable basis for accelerated progress. The programme is estimated to cost \$8 billion over 10 years. The Powers that do not hesitate to budget \$400 billion for destructive purposes are wary of supporting and making pledges for such a constructive

scheme as Africa's Transport and Communications Decade.

110. In consideration of these facts, Nigeria had fervently hoped that the text of a comprehensive test-ban treaty between three of the nuclear-weapon States would have been submitted for consideration at this session, as promised. It is a matter of deep regret and concern that once again we are being asked to accept their word on trust. It is also because we believe in the existence of an organic link between disarmament and development that we have over the years supported all moves for the elimination of nuclear weapons during the first Disarmament Decade and, failing that, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, particularly in Africa. Hence also our proposal two years ago¹² that perhaps through fellowship grants and enhanced dissemination of public information mankind could be made more aware of the dangers of nuclear weapons and of their debilitating effects on the world economy. And hence we also welcome the agreement reached at the second round of SALT, for that agreement only makes sense because it puts a ceiling on the probable amount of resources that could be burnt up in a mindless nuclear arms race.

111. The dangers we face as we enter the 1980s are too real for us to despair. Beset as mankind is, on the one hand, by economic burdens and, on the other, by fear of a nuclear holocaust, constructive and collective action through the United Nations remains the only hope and opportunity we have to face the challenges of the future. Only thus can we leave a legacy worthy of our civilization to our children, as we meet to consider their prospects and problems in this International Year of the Child.

112. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, my delegation has great pleasure in seeing you presiding over this Assembly. Your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and mine are neighbours, but our peoples are not simply neighbours: they are one people. They have a common history, language and culture and, without any doubt, common aspirations. We therefore truly share in full the pride of having one of our brothers receiving this honour from the international community in recognition of the great personal qualities of leadership and devotion which he has always demonstrated at the United Nations.

113. I wish to pay a tribute also to the outgoing President, Ambassador Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for the distinguished service he rendered to this Organization during his presidency. I was honoured to serve as one of his Vice-Presidents and I know the skills and devotion he brought to the job.

114. The past year has also seen more and varied initiatives by the Secretary-General in dealing with the many problems that call for the attention of this Organization. Mr. Waldheim's extensive travels to the problem areas to see for himself and render assistance deserve commendation and encouragement.

115. This Organization has continued to grow in size and complexity. The demands on its staff are always

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting, paras. 96-97.

increasing. We believe its internal institutional problems and staff pressures are bound to increase, and it is our hope that these problems will receive constant attention to avoid the recurrence of the disruption we experienced last year.

116. We take pleasure in welcoming Saint Lucia as a new Member whose application we were proud to sponsor. It is our hope that the remaining pockets of colonialism and other problems that stand in the way of the universal membership of the United Nations will be eliminated in the coming months.

117. Perhaps I should explain why the Minister for Foreign Affairs is not delivering this statement this year. Our democratic system of government requires that those who represent the people in the legislature and in the Government should surrender their mandates every five years and submit themselves to a competitive electoral process. The President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, has dissolved parliament, which includes the President himself as well as the Ministers, and has called for general elections on 8 November, which explains why my Minister is too busy in this constituency to be in New York this week.

118. I wish now to join others who have drawn the attention of the international community to the areas of tension which continue to threaten international peace and security. The situation in southern Africa has deteriorated over the past year. In Southern Rhodesia a puppet régime was installed earlier this year despite many voices of warning that it would not provide a solution to the basic problems of that British colony. The puppet régime has behaved no better than its master, the racist minority régime. The military forces of Southern Rhodesia, which are in any case not under the control of the puppet Government, have continued to mount aggressive raids against the neighbouring States. The violence has increased both outside and inside Southern Rhodesia, and the loss of human life and the suffering of the ordinary people have reached levels no one could have foreseen a year ago. The only bright spot in the miserable story of that colony is the agreement of the racist régime and its puppet to negotiate a settlement with the freedom fighters under the leadership of the administering Power. Clearly everyone's hope is fixed on the current negotiations now in progress at the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London, and my delegation can only encourage everyone involved to seek a permanent solution to the problem of decolonizing Southern Rhodesia now. This looks like the last chance for a peaceful settlement. The consequences of failure now are too ghastly to contemplate.

119. The problem of Namibia persists. The racist régime of South Africa has finally implemented its version of the "internal settlement". It has accomplished its objective through the transfer of political and administrative power to the puppet Constituent Assembly it had earlier installed in the capital of Namibia. By taking this action, South Africa has clearly demonstrated its arrogance in rejecting a compromise formula which could have brought independence to Namibia through peaceful means.

120. The introduction of "internal settlement" was implemented at a time when South Africa was engaged in protracted negotiations with the five Western Pow-

ers. It is now clear to the whole world that South Africa used the negotiations merely to buy time while preparing its own plans. Kenya has always warned that the racist régime cannot and should not be trusted. The negotiations are quite clearly being used to buy time for South Africa to carry out its plans to install and entrench a puppet régime in Namibia. It is now possible to conclude that the United Nations effort to solve the problem of Namibia peacefully has been frustrated by South Africa. In our view, therefore, the United Nations should take decisive action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. We must call on the Security Council to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

121. While on the question of decolonization, we must express the hope that Morocco will quickly find a way of co-operating with the OAU to end the problem of Western Sahara through the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of that Territory. We cannot see any viable alternative open to Morocco. Therefore it is our duty to encourage Morocco to take the bold decisions required now, rather than later.

122. The problem of the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa is bound to continue to call for determined and sustained action by this Organization and all right-thinking people in the world. It is a crime against humanity that needs to be eliminated from human society before it spreads its destructive cells, as cancer does in the human body. This Organization must continue to lead the way in the fight against *apartheid* and initiate measures calculated to bring about change in South Africa. We must always remember that over 20 million of our brothers and sisters in South Africa continue to suffer under this inhuman system and that we have a responsibility and a duty to help them win their freedom.

123. Now I should like to refer to the situation in the Middle East. While we note current efforts to solve the problems of that troubled area, we should reaffirm our total commitment to the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), while recognizing that the Palestinian people must be a party to any durable peace settlement. Failure to do so will only perpetuate a situation that endangers international peace and security. We have consistently expressed our view that three conditions must be satisfied if the problem of the Middle East is to be solved. These are: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands occupied since 1967; secondly, recognition of the right of all States in the region to live in peace within recognized boundaries in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council; and, thirdly, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to an independent and sovereign homeland.

124. We believe that efforts that overlook these basic requirements, whatever the motivations may be, are bound to fail. It is for this reason that we would urge all concerned to be realistic and go the whole distance rather than take half measures that may only serve to complicate the situation.

125. The problem of Cyprus continues to cause anxiety since little progress has been achieved in resolving it during the past year. We continue to believe that, if left alone, the people of Cyprus would be capable of resolving their differences. However as long as one section of the population continues to rely on aggressive external

support, the chances of developing the climate of co-operation and accommodation which is needed for fruitful negotiations will remain slight. We believe the willingness of the Government of Cyprus to discuss the establishment of a federal form of government in Cyprus is a step forward which should lead to the solution of the problem. We would therefore encourage and support further initiatives in that direction, and hope the Secretary-General will report more progress in the months ahead.

126. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted entirely to disarmament, was an important factor in the long but slow effort to achieve disarmament. It gave us the opportunity to examine more critically all aspects of disarmament and to draw from that examination a comprehensive disarmament programme that, if implemented, would lead to a more secure world, free from nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

127. From the time of the establishment of the United Nations, whose birth coincided with the first explosion and use of nuclear weapons, the world body has pressed Member States to heed the danger involved in an unchecked arms race. That request has not been heeded and, as a result, we are faced with the grim picture of escalation and proliferation in the manufacture of those horrible weapons. The first Disarmament Decade, which was declared by the General Assembly in 1969 [resolution 2602 E (XXIV)], is now coming to an end—and yet the international community has done very little to check the arms race. The end of the Decade finds the world faced with economic problems that are closely linked in many ways to the arms race. The arms race is a waste of scarce economic resources that no country can afford to ignore and in many cases it has reached absurd levels. It is reported that last year alone 48 nuclear-weapon tests were carried out. That is nearly one test per week. There is clearly an urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear test ban covering all environments. The Committee on Disarmament in Geneva should at its annual session in 1980 give priority to the consideration of, and meaningful negotiations on, a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We believe that if that is done, it will be an important step towards the eventual ban of all nuclear-weapon tests and the total destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The accumulated experience of human history shows quite clearly that if we do not end this mad rush to manufacture more and more terrible weapons of destruction, we are headed for self-destruction and the annihilation of human civilization. It does not make any sense, nor is it logical, to spend \$400 billion annually on the manufacture of armaments when inadequate resources are devoted to economic development and the social welfare of people everywhere.

128. The progress of negotiations on a convention on chemical weapons in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva was very slow indeed. Kenya is disappointed that some States members of the Committee on Disarmament did not appear ready to start concrete negotiations on the item. We hope that those States will take a positive approach when the Committee resumes its negotiations early next year.

129. The need to build and strengthen trust and confidence among nations is urgent and imperative and Kenya stands ready and willing to play its part. The time has come for the adoption by this Assembly of a

convention that would guarantee the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, as a first step on the road to strengthening international understanding.

130. While on the subject of disarmament, my delegation continues to support the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. There has been no progress in the preparations for a conference to further this declared goal, since the two Powers most directly concerned have not yet played their part. We trust that there will be a change of heart in the months ahead, to allow negotiations to be undertaken for the establishment of a zone of peace in the region. Success in that effort would itself be a contribution to the larger effort for disarmament.

131. I wish to turn now to the subject of the ongoing negotiations at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We consider that the time has come for the Conference to conclude its work. It has now taken it more than 10 years to conduct negotiations but no convention or treaty has emerged from its deliberations. Although Kenya recognizes the intricate nature of the issues involved, that is not to say that negotiations should go on for ever. We would therefore appeal to all concerned to make a deliberate effort to reach agreement at the next session of the Conference and to present to us an authoritative instrument to facilitate the orderly exploitation of the vast resources of the sea.

132. Last year, we learned that the Conference was about to conclude its work at the session to be held this year. We were therefore disappointed to learn that that did not prove possible. However, we note from the results achieved thus far that the time was well spent. We wish to reiterate our sincere belief that the next two sessions of the Conference will mark an end to the negotiations and that a draft convention will soon be submitted to this body for adoption. We have noted with appreciation the progress made in the various negotiating groups. It appears that most of the areas of disagreement have been the subject of more or less successful negotiations, thus paving the way for an eventual agreement on the issues involved. The Kenyan delegation to the next session of the Conference will therefore seek to persuade other delegations that the work of the Conference should be concluded without any further delay because we believe it is possible to conclude the work in the coming year.

133. The world economic scene continues to be unstable and threatening to the survival of many economically small nations. The progress of the negotiations in the United Nations and in other international forums towards the achievement of the New International Economic Order has been very disappointing. Most developed countries appear to approach the North-South dialogue without any enthusiasm. The fifth session of UNCTAD held in Manila in May 1979, ended in complete failure, to the great disappointment of the developing countries. To date, no substantive agreements have been reached on the creation of an Integrated Programme for Commodities, despite the commitments entered into at the fourth session of UNCTAD,¹³ held at Nairobi in 1976. The Preparatory

¹³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session, vol. 1, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

Committee for the New International Development Strategy has so far not achieved positive results in its work. The list of such failures is long and I could go on enumerating them.

134. We consider that the international community should resolve to tackle these problems with determination in the months ahead if progress and agreement are to be attained.

135. My delegation supports the move to transform UNIDO into a specialized agency. This transformation should enable UNIDO to carry out its mandate more effectively. We hope that the Third General Conference of UNIDO, to be held in New Delhi next January, will elaborate concrete measures for the accelerated and effective implementation of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action¹⁴ within a specified time-frame.

136. I wish now to turn to the question of science and technology. We believe that science and technology should be directed towards improving the quality of life by enriching the social, economic and cultural needs of man and fostering the development and rational utilization of natural and human resources. Bearing this in mind, my Government supported fully the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held in Vienna in August this year. Although the Conference did not meet all our expectations, it made a significant contribution to the continuing effort to deal with the question of science and technology for development. The decision of the Conference to create an Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development¹⁵ was a major step in itself. If this is followed vigorously by the projected study by the intergovernmental group of experts on all relevant arrangements for the operation of that Committee, we have no doubt that a suitable framework for international co-operation in this field will have been established. My delegation regrets, however, that the Vienna Conference did not reach agreement on other important issues to which the developing countries attached great importance. I sincerely hope that the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development which this Assembly will be called upon to establish formally will be charged with the duty of continuing the discussions and negotiations on the remaining issues.

137. The transfer of technology to developing countries is of crucial importance to the economic and industrial development of those countries. There is an imperative need to strengthen the indigenous technological capabilities of the developing countries in order to accelerate the process of their technological transformation and development, while increasing the international flow of all forms of technology on favourable terms. The developed countries should facilitate the acquisition, adaptation, development and application of technology to development by the developing countries in order to speed up their economic development. These measures cannot be achieved without the full co-operation of the developed countries at all levels. My Government has established a national centre which serves as a focal-point for monitoring and

co-ordinating national and international activities in the field of technology, including those relating to the serious problem of reverse transfer of technology.

138. While noting with appreciation the efforts made so far to resolve the remaining issues in the negotiations within the United Nations Conference on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, my delegation expresses grave concern at the lack of political will which explains the very slow progress made in negotiations so far.

139. The United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires last year, demonstrated very clearly that the developing countries have the ability and willingness to co-operate in many areas of mutual interest to them and that they can utilize their own resources to the maximum and to the mutual benefit of their peoples. It is my hope that the United Nations system as a whole will support the developing countries in their endeavours in this field. My delegation would like to reaffirm our conviction that economic co-operation among developing countries is a vital element in the over-all effort towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order. There is plenty of scope for co-operation among developing countries in trade and technology, and it is our sincere hope that there will be more evidence of this in future.

140. My Government views with grave concern the current energy crisis, which threatens the entire world community. We should have taken notice after the crisis of 1973/1974 that world petroleum supplies would soon be depleted and that it was therefore necessary to make greater use of alternative sources of energy. The oil-importing countries should have taken steps to develop their indigenous energy resources more urgently. We have for several years now felt that the international community should convene a conference on new and renewable sources of energy in order to deal with this global problem. The General Assembly wisely decided at its thirty-third regular session last year to convene the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy in 1981 [*resolution 33/148*]. I hope that my Government's offer to play host to that Conference in Nairobi will receive favourable response from this Assembly.

141. In conclusion, I should like to state that, despite the many problems that face the world community today, the future is bright. It is not possible to look back to a past when it was possible for so many nations to gather as we do today in this forum to discuss and plan what actions to take jointly to solve problems that face man. When all else looks frustrating one must pause and recognize that there was never a time like this in the history of man. We must be realistic, and if we are we cannot help but be filled with optimism for the future.

142. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The lengthy debates we have had at this session and over the past three and a half decades, particularly on the theoretical parameters of important economic and political issues, should be more than sufficient, at least to identify reasons for lack of progress, to pin-point priorities, to select the best means to render our performance more efficient, and thus to alleviate the crisis of confidence besetting our Organization. A survey of the past decade helps to focus our attention on the main contributing factors.

¹⁴ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

¹⁵ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.1.21), chap. VII, sect. III, para. 100.

143. The most serious consideration immediately stands out: peace in the world—such as it is—remains precarious. Détente—the golden concept of the 1970s—has promoted intensive debate, which, however, has rarely been translated into genuine dialogue. Consequently, very little of the great expectation generated by the fanfare surrounding détente has been converted into practical achievement. There is still much uncertainty on the code of détente, which often turns hot or cold.

144. Détente was predicated on the perceived need of preserving a stable balance between two opposing military blocs. It followed as a corollary that a wildly spiraling nuclear and conventional arms race enhanced neither side's security and should therefore be avoided. It also followed that avenues of co-operation in responsible political conduct should be encouraged and explored at the same time.

145. Neither of these two essential corollaries has been applied in practice, although both have been debated at length in theory here and elsewhere, and have often been quoted in negotiations. This observation hardly needs elaboration.

146. The failure of disarmament negotiations provides striking evidence. Both major Powers have a declared common interest and a legal commitment to control and reverse the nuclear arms race. Lengthy negotiations were held on a bilateral basis at the stated preference of the parties. These were therefore the optimum conditions for negotiations. Yet neither one of the two accords signed so far has achieved its declared objective. The very notion of arms control, which sur-repetitiously replaced that of disarmament, has proved illusory. The arms race keeps on escalating: from 1,000 warheads on each side in early 1970, the number has increased to around 9,000 at present, with an anticipated 20,000—constantly more refined—by 1985. To look beyond is perhaps too optimistic.

147. In contradiction of theory and declared policy, the practical result of 10 years of negotiations has been escalation of the arms race, which has not brought about increased stability, but only an increase in the tragic cost and the serious risks inherent in nuclear deterrence. Additionally, new doctrines of limited nuclear war and first-strike capability are attracting increasing attention among military strategists. Unfortunately, the agreements reached at the first and second rounds of SALT have not eliminated any single weapons system that has been deployed. By no stretch of the imagination can this process be considered as arms control, still less as disarmament.

148. Promise remains for the future, in the agreement to go on talking and in a resigned acceptance of the fact that any treaty is better than no treaty at all. It is too pessimistic to conclude that neither of the two ideological systems is capable of halting what each one of them has defined as insane. We cannot but encourage the major Powers to ratify the agreements and to proceed without delay to the next round of negotiations, for which far better results are augured.

149. At the same time we note that the major impetus for disarmament comes from the non-nuclear-weapon States, which have assumed the responsibility of substituting for the inertia of the major Powers. Arising

from these efforts, machinery for disarmament negotiations has been broadened and democratized to allow for the participation of all potential contributors. A programme of action has been agreed to, at least in theory, and the concept of zones of peace has been defined for the first time; this concept offers prospects for regional initiatives which would reduce tension through co-operative efforts by the States concerned, with the tacit acquiescence—preferably even the support—of the major Powers. The Mediterranean Sea, the Caribbean Sea and the Indian Ocean are promising areas to explore and have already attracted wide interest among the States concerned.

150. Lack of progress in disarmament has been matched on other political issues which this Organization has spotlighted for too many years. They are areas of regional tension, which are among the most dangerous threats to peace, principally on account of the diametrically opposed policies of the two military alliances.

Mr. Yusuf (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

151. The Middle East is probably the most dangerous potential flash-point at present. After a dangerously static period, an element of movement has been introduced, which so far, however, fails to tackle the central issue of the Middle East tension and hence gives rise to uncertainty.

152. It is becoming increasingly urgent for all countries to realize that the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people can no longer be thwarted arbitrarily and that as long as the PLO, as the representative of its people, is kept out of the search for peace, no just or permanent solution can be envisaged. The United Nations has prepared a comprehensive peace plan. This has already gained wide acceptance, which I hope will be even more pronounced at this session.

153. My delegation has been actively involved in this process. Malta is striving to convince all countries, particularly Israel, that their best interests and the interests of peace will be served best if they act to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people—a gesture of statesmanship which would pay rich dividends in future. The time is approaching for difficult decisions of reconciliation and recognition to be taken by all sides to the conflict and also by those countries in a position to influence positive decisions. Those countries which are still hesitant will probably find it convenient at worst to be highly critical of the United Nations plan, or at best, to qualify the plan as wishful thinking.

154. I respectfully ask those countries to consider the following main questions. First, since the approaches of the past have brought no solution, but only bloodshed and misery, over the last 30 years, is it not time to give priority to a peaceful approach based on fundamental justice? Secondly, can an approach be considered democratic, peaceful and just if the people whose future is at stake is not represented in the negotiations by its recognized representatives? Thirdly, why is it assumed that a people working for its economic future within its own homeland is less peaceful than the same people forcibly denied its dignity and political aspirations and living in deplorable conditions? Fourthly, why can we not concede to others the rights that we

ourselves recognize as fundamental? Fifthly, and finally, on what basis should the Palestinians uniquely be considered by a few countries as ineligible for independence?

155. Until these questions are settled there will be no peace in the Middle East. In the meantime, Lebanon also continues to suffer, caught in the instability of the region. It is evident that security has not been attained by the injection of massive armaments into the area in the past; a new approach is necessary, one which overlooks no important element essential for success. The United Nations has pointed a way out, and it would be tragic if once again a critical opportunity were by-passed, with dire consequences for the economic and political future of the entire world.

156. In Korea the situation remains tense, the country divided, despite the wish of the people concerned for peaceful reunification. The most visible obstacle to reunification—foreign troops stationed in the south, potentially armed with nuclear weapons—remains. This symbol of division frustrates the peaceful dialogue which is the prerequisite for the solution of the economic and political problems hindering reunification.

157. Similarly, there is a stalemate in Cyprus, and the country remains artificially divided, its economic and social progress inhibited, with foreign troops threatening its territorial integrity and violating its sovereignty. Malta has played its part in the Commonwealth, in the Council of Europe and in this forum to encourage progress, but so far reason has not prevailed. None of the protagonists benefits from the present stalemate, least of all the people of Cyprus.

158. There is, at least and at last, some room for optimism that the shameful repression of the oppressed minorities in Namibia and Zimbabwe is nearing an end. I am glad that the first contacts between the parties to the conflict in Zimbabwe were held in Malta. These have since progressed and at the recent Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, in Lusaka all participants finally came to the realization that a truly representative Government must be installed. We trust that the consultations at the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London, despite last-minute complications, will still end in a positive outcome, and that the example of majority rule will promote further advances throughout southern Africa.

159. There are other danger-spots, and some new ones looming ahead, which we will have to discuss on our present and future agenda. These are, admittedly, the most extreme examples of political problems inherited from the past, on which progress has been alarmingly slow or practically non-existent. They must of necessity now constitute our priorities for the future, before our attention is diverted by other events.

160. Even in a new field of human endeavour, in an area when we were trying collectively to plan for the future rather than to undo the events of the past, our progress was tardy, clouded by suspicion and conditioned by outdated concepts of the national interest.

161. I refer of course to the question of the utilization of the resources of the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction, and to the concept of the common heritage of mankind. After more than a decade of effort, a treaty

is within the grasp of the international community. Yet, in the negotiating process, the original concept has been shorn of much of its imaginative content, and ocean-fronting States have laid claim over the maximum extent of their continental shelf, to include the slope and the margin, even when these extend beyond the 200-mile exclusive economic zone, and thus they seek to encroach on the area that would otherwise be considered international.

162. Consequently, the potential impact on economic equity and co-operation from exploitation of the resources within the "common heritage" area risks being greatly eroded, and thrust further into the future. Nevertheless, Malta hopes that next year the negotiations will be concluded, and we remain willing to play host to the proposed international sea-bed authority.

163. The reasons for our lacklustre performance on issues that have become almost permanent features of our agenda are undoubtedly many and complex. It would be unfair to ascribe the paucity of progress to only one source. But the negative influence of the most powerful nations remains without question the principal determining factor.

164. The mutual fear and suspicion of the major Powers continues to prevail and, with few exceptions, their interests pull in opposite directions, and hence cancel each other out, rendering our Organization ineffectual. The Security Council has become the living embodiment of this present phenomenon, which is certainly not what the founding fathers of our Organization had anticipated.

165. It is trite but true to observe that there can be little significant progress in the complex, highly volatile questions facing the international community, unless there is a change of attitude among the protagonists. Uneasy, occasionally provocative coexistence is not enough, even when it is labelled "détente". After so many years of debate, the mere repetition of stated positions, in which each side conveniently blames the other for all imaginable ill-will, no longer carries much conviction; in fact, it has lost all credibility and should be discontinued. We must henceforth try to understand the preoccupations and concerns of the other side and seek the most efficient modalities and opportunities for progress.

166. In the past year the calendar of activities in the economic field has been particularly full. No doubt some will claim that results are encouraging, if only because of the concentrated attention that has been generated.

167. Without going into too many details, my delegation shares the serious concern at the lack of results of the negotiations aimed at the establishment of equitable relations between developed and developing countries, as stated by the Ministers of the Group of 77 at their meeting here last week.

168. This acute divergence of opinion cannot be explained away as a mere affirmation of the instinctive, initial bargaining attitudes adopted by both sides. The significance runs deeper. The developing world defines as failures not only those negotiations where no conclusions have been reached—even though agreed deadlines have long been passed—but, more espe-

cially, those negotiations where the formal conclusions arrived at are moulded in the classic patterns of North-South relations. It is the essential objective of the New International Economic Order to reshape these patterns.

169. The persisting economic crisis in the industrialized world has been singled out as the main factor which makes it impossible for Governments in the developed countries to take bold measures at the national level which would lead to structural changes at the international level.

170. However, this argument rests on an incorrect premise—namely that evolution of the dialogue depends upon concessions which the North decides to give to the South at a time, and under conditions, which the North deems appropriate. This premise runs counter to the whole foundation of the New International Economic Order, and is itself, perhaps, the major reason for the dialogue to be regarded by the developing world as completely sterile and frustrating—a dialogue of the deliberately deaf and indifferent.

171. No one denies that the present international economic situation is extremely serious, even though, once again, there are fundamental divergencies between the North and the South in the emphasis which is laid on the various factors contributing to this situation.

172. For instance it is ironic that the developed world sees the roots of the current economic crisis in the only area where the developing world has finally been able to utilize the prevailing international circumstances to remedy or to lessen its previous disadvantage.

173. I refer to the question of supplies and prices of oil. Together with the rest of the developing world, the oil exporters had long been seeking a radical adjustment of the prevailing economic structures, from which the real cause of the present international economic malaise arises. Therefore, the malaise itself, far from serving as an excuse to retard structural changes, should serve as an added inducement to speed up the necessary reforms.

174. The noble, challenging objective of the New International Economic Order is the achievement of a humane and equitable living environment for the whole of mankind. This is a challenge which none should shirk, and from which none should be excluded. It should be recalled that one of the most fundamental elements of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] was the emphasis placed on the diverse economic adversities as they manifest themselves in the different parts of the developing world.

175. This approach in turn is premised on the understanding that poverty and social injustice, if they are to be effectively eliminated, must be tackled at their roots, not only at the level of their most obvious manifestations. Furthermore, in identifying the roots of the problems as and where they exist, we have tried to move away from rigid notions and definitions based on criteria and perspectives peculiar to advanced market economies.

176. As an island developing country, Malta is

particularly aware of the different types of constraints which lie in the path of development. We find it difficult to understand the attitudes of some developed countries which insist on defining the problems of development in a rather simplistic manner, refusing to acknowledge the different constraints which exist, and refusing to apply the various remedies which have been proposed.

177. The net result of our endeavours is that, as we approach the end of this decade, most of the fundamental issues posed at its inception are as yet unresolved. Persistent, unalleviated adversity consequently has made militants of us all. But let us not forget, we are militants for the shared objectives of peace, justice and equity. We seek to pursue our objectives through a mutually receptive dialogue, through common endeavour and through collective action.

178. We therefore invite our partners in the developed world to understand our objectives and to join us in our sincere endeavour to make the world kinder, healthier and happier for all peoples. Only through such a partnership approach can we resolve the problems which we face in elaborating a new strategy for the 1980s, in preparing for the General Assembly's special session next year and in agreeing upon an effective format for global negotiations in the years to come.

179. Against this somewhat negative over-all assessment of our performance, we can still derive comfort from the fact that the major problems confronting us have been thoroughly analysed and that the parameters of potential solutions have been indicated.

180. In the process of that analysis we have also indirectly acquired long and practical experience of the techniques of conference procedures. We have among us in the Secretariat and in delegations many experienced participants who have been involved in these conferences, both as representatives of Governments and as international civil servants. I believe it would be useful to attempt to derive benefit from this experience.

181. There are some areas where an updated, concise study by a small panel of these experts could perhaps indicate to us procedures designed to facilitate our work in future, as the membership of our Organization continues to expand. A few tentative areas for investigation come to my mind—which I hope others will supplement: for instance, first, how can we make the general debate more productive and less time-consuming; secondly, what techniques can we devise to render the process of ascertaining a consensus more rapid and more substantive; thirdly, what is the best means of ensuring an adequate follow-through on decisions reached by consensus; fourthly, what is the optimum or average time-frame in which we can reasonably expect significant progress between one meeting and another; fifthly, how can the press and the public at large be better informed about the complex activities of our Organization so that we may generate continued world-wide support? I urge the Secretariat to consider these points as it pursues its probe into the working methods of our Organization.

182. Certainly, the United Nations has firmly established its role as the moulder of international opinion, as the spotlight for crisis, as the centre for defining universal standards and as a place for large and small

countries to meet on an equal footing. We can anticipate the world's problems and we can point out considered solutions. But the contribution of individual countries, or of a spontaneous grouping of individual countries, then becomes the most direct and efficient means for producing tangible results. This has been demonstrated in the remarkable progress made, for instance, by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and of the European Economic Community, acting in concert in the pursuit of common objectives, forgetting their past differences and gradually expanding the spheres of their co-operation. This is only natural. The application of universally agreed principles calls for flexible supportive mechanisms that respond to the perceived interests and specific issues arising in the various geographical regions. The countries in any one region, through better perception, greater commitment, consistency and proximity are in the best position to make effective contributions to various situations of particular concern in which they are directly involved. This applies equally for political, social, economic and cultural issues. These regional initiatives deserve every encouragement and would be enhanced and expanded in their application through interregional contacts.

183. There remains the essential contribution made by each individual country, and in such a dangerous, complex and inequitable world, what can a small country like Malta offer as a contribution to peace and security, without which economic progress would elude us?

184. My own Government has applied in practical terms the considerations I have just outlined. We recognize that coexistence must be enhanced by understanding, and that co-operation must eventually replace confrontation; we have found that the constraints of a military alliance thwarted initiatives for peace and perpetuated confrontation; we have discovered that the advocates for peaceful change were among the ranks of the developing and non-aligned countries, so much maligned in the Western press; we have therefore decided irrevocably to move away from our past history as a base for military confrontation; instead, we have already assumed a new role as a bridge for peace and co-operation in our region; we put these options before our people, to be decided by them through a democratic electoral process. In 1971 and again in 1976, the new approach was preferred by the Maltese electorate.

185. The challenging objective which Malta set itself in June 1971 contemplated a radical transformation of its centuries-old history. It entailed enormous upheavals in the structure of our national economy. We were not deterred by the sacrifices involved. We were convinced that the decision was correct and in the interest not only of the people of Malta, but also of all the neighbouring States of the Mediterranean. We gave ourselves a breathing-space of only seven years in which to accomplish our objective.

186. Malta pursued its chosen programme consistently over that period. We attempted to change our economic sinews to be able to sustain us in the chosen role. Although our economy still requires foreign support, nevertheless we felt that we had to fulfil at the appointed time our voluntary commitment to the imperatives of peace in the region.

187. Last year I informed this Assembly of our in-

tentions.¹⁶ Today I am pleased to confirm their implementation. On the historic day, 31 March 1979, through peaceful negotiations, in friendship and without rancour, the last British troops departed, never to return. Warships and warplanes have been replaced by tourist liners and civilian aircraft, military personnel by tourists.

188. Our neighbours can be assured, once and for all, that Malta will not be used as a spring-board by any Power in acts of aggression against them. At the beginning of this decade, we were considered the unsinkable aircraft carrier of the Mediterranean, a base for a military alliance. Today I solemnly affirm before this Organization that there is not one single foreign soldier on our soil—neither today nor in the future.

189. Despite the economic burden which our new role entails, by popular choice and of our own free will, unilaterally, we have therefore made our maximum contribution to non-aligned objectives and to the promotion of peace in our region. We have lit a small beacon of hope for a brighter future. Our aim is to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation by promoting Arab unity and by strengthening the common interests that European and Arab countries share, something that will give our region its best guarantee for independent action and security, free from big-Power rivalry.

190. Last year in Belgrade¹⁷ and this year in Colombo¹⁸ and in Havana,¹⁹ the non-aligned movement hailed Malta's contribution and expressed support. We welcomed this expression of intent. We are anxious to see it applied in practice, both to Malta's national development as well as to the pursuit of tangible co-operation in the Mediterranean region. I take this occasion publicly to express Malta's gratitude to our Arab friends, some of whom are already giving moral and material support to Malta's newly acquired status. We are seeking to enlarge this circle, in the common interest.

191. We also sense that other countries would prefer us to resume our previous role as the military watchdog of the Mediterranean. We tell them frankly and firmly that our decision is irrevocable, and that from them, too, we would welcome understanding and support for our economic development and peaceful policies, which require our immediate, undivided attention.

192. I also give assurance that our commitment to the imperatives of genuine peaceful co-operation will not come to an end with the closure of the foreign military bases on our soil. In our region for years we have sensed unease over the acute confrontation that persists in the Mediterranean. We have understood the popular longing for peaceful change that cries out for tangible fulfilment among the countries of the region. We have noted that the enduring obstacles to progress, particularly the questions of the Middle East and Cyprus, required our urgent attention and constant en-

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 32nd meeting, paras. 159-167.

¹⁷ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978.

¹⁸ Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo from 4 to 9 June 1979.

¹⁹ Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

deavours for a regional and equitable solution. To these objectives, we have ceaselessly contributed, as the record shows.

193. As a centre for peace and a bridge of friendship between Europe and the Arab world, we have stressed the important fact that the Mediterranean countries—the first to suffer from the existing Middle East confrontation—should take the lead in concerting their views so as to promote unity and progress in a regional setting. We have repeatedly urged our European friends to play a protagonist role in the search for a comprehensive solution of the problems besetting our region. I renew that call today.

194. We had harped on this message as soon as the dawn of détente led to an all-European conclave. At the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe we were the ones first to raise the relevance of the Mediterranean and, as a start, we secured the contributions of non-European Mediterranean States in the proceedings. At the end of the first marathon meeting, a chapter on the Mediterranean became a permanent feature of The Final Act of the Conference, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

195. Since then, of the follow-up meetings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, one has been held in Valletta. On Malta's initiative, in February 1979, an examination of potential sectors for projects of concrete co-operation among participants in the Conference and all Mediterranean countries in the economic, scientific and cultural fields was carried out, for the first time in the history of the Mediterranean.

196. The meeting, despite early-warning signals of divisive influences promoted from outside the region, ended on a positive note; many concrete areas of co-operation were singled out, and new initiatives envisaged. These matters, as well as the overriding question of security, will be taken up in the forthcoming Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Madrid next year.

197. We look forward to this meeting, in the expectation that it will be action-oriented, and that the participating countries will not find, as happened in recent meetings, that once we had laboriously defined principles we had great difficulty in reaching agreement on their practical application, and had to content ourselves with polite exchanges or, at times, vituperative accusation and counter-accusation.

198. In particular, we attach importance to the advantages of prior consultation, during the first half of 1980, between the Mediterranean States of the non-aligned movement and the Mediterranean States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to launch practical projects of co-operation and to prepare for the Madrid meeting of the Conference next year. Malta will be glad to play host to such a gathering at the Mediterranean Conference Centre in Valletta, and is prepared, together with other Mediterranean countries, to embark on the necessary consultations in order to devise the agenda and modalities for such a meeting.

199. Before I close, I wish to reassert that Malta is proud of its membership in the United Nations, and will pursue its contribution to the causes of peace. It will be

evident from what I have said that we share the insight, the preoccupations, the dedication and the objectives of our Secretary-General, whose thoughtful analysis in his report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1] we have carefully studied.

200. We welcome the additional step towards universality that has been taken through the admission of Saint Lucia, another developing island country, among the growing family of nations.

201. We hail the accord over the Panama Canal. We were greatly encouraged by the inspiration in the timely message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II [17th meeting] who reminded us that our activity—all political activity—“comes from man, is exercised by man and is for man”.

202. We congratulate the President on his appointment—we also congratulate his predecessor—and on their contribution to the work of this Organization. The President has already steered us successfully into adopting procedural improvements in our work. He has introduced the essential discipline of punctuality, and a recognition of the need for cost-efficiency in our work. That is a good start, long overdue perhaps, but all the more welcome on that account. Malta's hope and constant striving is that this is but a precursor of even better things to come.

203. Let us close the door on the 1970s as the decade of debate on the principles that guide our actions, and of persistent probing for equitable solutions to enduring obstacles. Let us enter the 1980s resolutely determined to apply objective, practical and peaceful remedies to long-outstanding and long-discussed problems. Let 1980 be the first year of the decade of accomplishment, as our Organization enters its prime of life.

204. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): I wish to extend to the President my delegation's sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to his high office in this Assembly. His election not only represents a well-deserved tribute to him personally as a distinguished diplomat with a long association with the United Nations, but also to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, which in the past has played a significant role in the promotion of the aspirations of the peoples of the third world, and Africa in particular, in the international arena. My delegation is confident that his vast experience in the work of the United Nations will provide him with clear insight and guidance in the proceedings of this important session of the General Assembly. We pledge to the President our full co-operation in making our deliberations a success.

205. I also wish to express our deep appreciation to the President's predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, who presided over the thirty-third session, for the efficient and dedicated manner in which he conducted the work of the General Assembly, which won him our admiration and great support.

206. I also take this opportunity to extend to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, our sincere gratitude for his unremitting efforts to promote peace and international understanding and to thank him for his most comprehensive report in which he evaluated the work of the Organization [A/34/1] giving us the guidelines and the hopes for a better accomplishment of

the objectives and the ideals of this Organization, and the realization of a better life, based on justice and freedom for the millions of people who are plagued by poverty, hunger, disease, aggression, oppression and subjugation.

207. My delegation is extremely happy to see our Organization grow every year, enabling us to achieve our objective of the much desired universality of our community. We are particularly pleased this year to welcome to our midst Saint Lucia, a small country like ours, which has determined to come forward and share the responsibility for world peace and justice in accordance with its means, and to express the will of an independent nation contributing to the progress of mankind as a whole.

208. While focusing our attention on the issues and problems included in the agenda of this session, we are conscious of the grim background of increasing political and economic tension in the present world, which could have negative effects and might even frustrate our unceasing efforts to formulate the process of establishing a new pattern of international relations based on friendship, mutual respect and peaceful coexistence, and a more equitable infrastructure for international co-operation. In this context it is heartening for us to see that, despite severe constraints, sustained and determined efforts are being made to respond to the aspirations and hopes for the establishment of a new international economic order.

209. My delegation is confident that this Organization, with its lofty objectives which no one can dispute, will be able to stand up firmly and victoriously to the challenges that mankind faces today, as it has done before. We remain more than ever convinced that this great Organization will continue to justify the hopes and expectations of mankind for peace, security, progress and prosperity, even though all forms of colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination are putting up a fierce struggle before their death. We are confident that this great community of nations of the world can and will uphold the great principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. For our part, in all humility, we pledge our support to all efforts aimed at achieving the noble objectives of this Assembly.

210. Maldives continues to be guided by the policy of non-alignment and has always endeavoured humbly to contribute its modest share in order to strengthen the unity and character of the non-aligned movement in a sincere desire for international peace, friendship and co-operation. We fully support the concept of establishing zones of peace in different parts of the world, trusting—and convinced—that such achievements will constitute a major contribution to the consolidation and preservation of global peace and security.

211. Turning to our region of the world, I confirm our full endorsement of the proposal to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, not only because of our strong opposition to the existence in our part of the world of foreign military bases and facilities—or to a foreign military presence in the context of great-Power rivalry—but also because of our awareness of increasing tension there. This situation forces us to divert our attention to, and exhaust our energy and resources on, progressively greater security measures, while the promotion of the welfare of our people most urgently re-

quires our unimpaired efforts and every available resource.

212. We welcome the outcome of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, held at Headquarters from 2 to 13 July, and we look forward with great hope to a United Nations conference on the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. In this connexion, we appeal to the major Powers of the world to co-operate sincerely with the littoral and hinterland States, so that our peoples' aspirations to peace, stability and progress may be realized.

213. We firmly support the initiatives and efforts sponsored by the United Nations seeking to bring about world disarmament. We remain convinced that disarmament can never be a reality until the production and sale of all conventional weapons are brought under control.

214. As a small and unarmed country, we always look forward with hope and confidence to a positive and favourable outcome of the disarmament negotiations at various levels. We were greatly encouraged to see the birth and maturity of a second treaty on the limitation of strategic arms between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although we share the view of many others in this Assembly that the second SALT Treaty has not solved the problem of the reduction of nuclear arsenals and of the development of more destructive weapons to the extent desired, we feel that it is a positive step towards the realization of the cherished hope of the entire human race. We fervently trust that this step will pave the way to the achievement of eventual genuine disarmament.

215. We in Maldives are very distressed at the turn of events in the Middle East. We find that the aggressor, backed by international zionism, flagrantly and persistently refuses to bow to the demands of justice and human values. Instead of finding a solution to the grave dilemma of a people who have been subjected to untold misery, humiliation, expulsion from their homeland and extermination, and instead of finding a solution to a situation created by aggression and occupation by force, we find that the atrocities and the inhuman treatment of the people of Palestine are being continued by the Israelis, and that the lands illegally occupied by force are being destroyed and distributed among the population of the invader. This great international community condemns those atrocities and aggression and deplores the occupation. While we in the United Nations adopt resolutions expressing the feelings and decisions of this community, the situation deteriorates further by reasons of the encouragement given the Israelis under the provisions of the Camp David agreements, which in the first instance appeared to be a bold initiative to find a lasting solution to the Middle East problem. But because the framework of peace envisaged by that approach did not contain a solution to the heart of the problem, namely, the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State, as expressed clearly by the Palestinians themselves and by the vast majority of the international community, the Camp David agreements have turned out to be not only an abortive act, but also a source of serious damage to the cause of justice, freedom and international peace, contrary to the notion entertained by its optimistic advocates.

216. Israel's practices clearly show that it is bent on territorial expansion and not interested in peace. This has been demonstrated clearly by the Israelis' recent activities in establishing new settlements in the occupied territories and their persistent refusal to accommodate a comprehensive solution through the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, the legitimate owners of the land.

217. We all agree that the settlement of the Middle East question cannot be achieved through resolutions which do not embody a settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people. Nor could it be achieved through any partial solutions which meet the interest of only an individual country or the views of a particular group of people. We are convinced that peace, security and stability will not be attained in the Middle East or, in fact, even in the whole world unless there is a just and comprehensive solution of the Palestinian problem which ensures the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish a State of their own on their national soil. Any deliberations aimed at the fulfilment of this objective must be conducted in consultation with, and involving fully, the Palestinian people themselves, represented by the PLO, which we all recognize as their legitimate and authentic representatives. We also reiterate that any settlement that does not lead to the restoration of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, in the custody of the Moslem world as it always has been, is totally unacceptable. The question of Jerusalem is for many of us here more than a question of a part of the occupied territories; it is also one of historical facts, prestige and security for the believers and worshippers of three great religions. The solution itself should be a comprehensive one in the sense that it should lead to the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab lands, the return of Jerusalem to Arab custody and the fulfilment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

218. We fully endorse and support the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the question of the Middle East, which are truly an expression of world opinion. We also endorse what has been declared by the Heads of State of the non-aligned countries in their recent Conference in Havana [see A/34/542] and join the other countries in the third world in rejecting all attempts being made to jeopardize the deliberations of this international community for the purpose of finding a lasting solution to this great problem.

219. Over the past few months South-East Asia has been in the limelight as a tragically troubled area of the world. I do not believe that it is necessary for me to go into the details of this unfortunate situation. However, my delegation views it with serious concern, for we believe in absolute freedom for the people of any country to decide and resolve their own political issues without any foreign military intervention. We must recognize the principle of respect for the independence of all the States in any region and the sovereign rights of all States to define their national policies. States must be left alone to solve their own problems in accordance with their aspirations and national interests.

220. Resort to military intervention by one country in the affairs of another inevitably increases international tension, endangers the security and the independence of the peoples of the region, and carries with it the added grave danger of impairing international peace

and security. Such interference makes it impossible to build a strong and vibrant region whose States and their Governments can devote their efforts to the economic development of their respective peoples. We cannot condone the imposition of foreign will on any sovereign State by military intervention. And we must not allow such situations of the violation of the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States to become precedents in this great Organization.

221. We believe that one of the most pressing issues on which we should have consultations and reach agreement is the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, particularly in Africa. I do not intend to repeat at length the details that have already been stated here by the representatives of so many peace-loving nations on the subject of southern Africa. But it is evident that the question of southern Africa remains one of the most serious issues which the world community has faced up to now. It constitutes a challenge by a minority régime with a record of continued open and flagrant violations of all human values by subjecting the majority of the South African people to untold forms of humiliation, repression, torture and even murder. The situation is a continuation of colonial interests and racist ambitions. We wish to reiterate our continued support of all measures to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and we shall continue to abide by the universally accepted measures of sanctions against the racist minority régimes of southern Africa.

222. In observing the International Anti-Apartheid Year Maldives joins those who struggle to eliminate the scourge of *apartheid*, a crime against humanity and a defiance of the conscience and dignity of mankind. We express our opposition to all policies of *apartheid* and to the continuation of all forms of colonialism.

223. Namibia is a characteristic example of injustice which remains resistant to the human conscience and the demands of the civilized world. The case itself stands as a symbol of the failure of the collective will of our community to apply adequate measures for the implementation of what we resolve and to act with more determination against the régimes which pursue the policies of racism and *apartheid*. Maldives will continue its consistent support for the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, until total liberation and the independence of Namibia as a whole is achieved. In this respect I wish to reiterate our opposition to and condemnation of South Africa's efforts to annex Walvis Bay in clear violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and, particularly, Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We also stand in solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and with the leaders of the Patriotic Front in their struggle for genuine majority rule and true independence. The recent developments regarding the issue of Zimbabwe both at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka and the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London have strengthened our hopes that the prospects for a negotiated peaceful solution of the problem have not yet been exhausted.

224. Maldives, whose main industry is fishing, is relieved to note that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea approved, during its last summer session, a programme of work²⁰ which pro-

²⁰ See document A/CONF.62/88.

vides for the adoption of a new and comprehensive convention on the law of the sea next year. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation for that significant decision. Such a convention will enable us to initiate the exploitation of deep-sea resources. We hope that the ninth session, which is scheduled for next year here in New York, will complete the negotiations, despite the fact that the eighth session did not achieve its goal of finalizing a formal text.

225. As we focus our attention on a new development decade, it is essential that we have a clear perception of the great disparities that exist between the so-called developed and the developing countries. The economically advanced countries have a very apparent stranglehold on the resources of the world; and, unless some meaningful results emerge from the North-South dialogue, it will not be possible for us to evolve a viable and dependable infrastructure on which to base our hopes for a new system of world economy. The developments of the past few years have shown us very clearly that the protectionism and monopoly exercised by the developed countries will not assist anyone to find a solution to the profound crisis of the international economic system that we face today. This instability results in the building up of political tensions throughout the world, often leading to catastrophic results.

226. In spite of sustained efforts in the various forums of the United Nations to evolve structural changes in the world economic order during the past several years, it is most disheartening to see that no real progress has been achieved. That is due, mainly, to a lack of political will on the part of some of the most developed and advanced countries of the world. It is in the face of such critical and adverse developments that we now have to seek new initiatives and approaches in order to achieve solid and practical results, aimed at long-term solutions of common interest, in the relentless endeavours for the establishment of the basic infrastructure of the new international economic order.

227. In this connexion, we must all bear in mind that the world economy today does not provide for economically independent units, either on a regional or on a global basis. The world has become extremely interdependent. Thus, if the developing countries are ever to succeed in their search for a more equitable economic system, those countries that are most developed industrially and technologically, and thus possess the greatest economic and financial potentials, must demonstrate more positively their willingness to co-operate with the developing countries.

228. We sincerely feel that the decision of the Group of 77 to initiate sustained negotiations on international co-operation for development at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980 is a novel and bold initiative in an effort to overcome the present stalemate in the North-South dialogue.

229. While we are in the process of formulating new ideas, plans and strategies towards a new global system of economic relations, I feel I should mention for the record that the situation, particularly in the least developed countries, needs special consideration by virtue of the fact that there is an extreme dearth of natural resources to exploit. I have no doubt that the situation in the least developed countries is receiving due attention from the appropriate organs both in this Organization and in other international forums.

230. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm our faith and trust in this Organization as the most effective instrument for the peace, progress and prosperity of mankind. For this reason my country is determined to enhance the scope of its modest contributions and co-operation in the work of the United Nations.

231. Quite undeniably, we are bound by constraints. However, our aspirations encourage us to make renewed efforts in our search for greater means to extend more support to the efforts of the United Nations in its search for a more peaceful, more just and better world for the generations to come. We are determined to do this because we believe that the effectiveness and the strength of the United Nations as a universal instrument to better the prospect of man lie in the extent of the sincerity of every one of its Members and their devotion to the noble principles and objectives enshrined in its Charter.

232. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon. Several representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. I would recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure I intend to apply that decision strictly. I shall now call on those representatives wishing to exercise the right of reply.

233. Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Yes, this Assembly decided to partition Palestine in 1947. Israel refused to abide by the decision on partition and by means of armed force was able to take over territories that were vaster than those defined in the resolution on partition [*resolution 181 (II)*]. That forced the inhabitants of Palestine to ask for the assistance of the Jordanian Army, which was able to protect what is today known as the West Bank and Arab Jerusalem.

234. The inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem, and even the Jewish inhabitants of the Jewish quarter, did not wish to see Jerusalem transformed into a battlefield, but it was the Israeli gangs that imposed combat in spite of the will of the Arab and Jewish inhabitants of the city proper. It was the same Zionist gangs that bombed the Holy Places. The Israeli representative knows full well that the Al Aqsa Mosque was hit by fire from the Zionists.

235. As I pointed out yesterday [*28th meeting*], a constitutional union of the two banks of the Jordan was brought about. Jordan has made every effort to safeguard the Holy Places and to ensure free access to them. It is rather Israel which refused that access at that time. How can the representative of Israel dare to accuse us today?

236. The representative of Israel added, indeed he claimed, that Jordan had destroyed 50 synagogues. He knows full well that in Arab Jerusalem there were only two synagogues. I wonder where he found this figure of 50 synagogues.

237. Need I remind representatives that there are 2 million Palestinians dispersed throughout the world? The heads of delegations have virtually unanimously stated here—indeed, they have proclaimed—the right

of Palestinians to a State upon Palestinian soil. Israel is the reason for the dispersion of these persons. The representative of Israel is shedding crocodile tears, accusing Jordan of being the cause of the wretchedness of the inhabitants of Nablus in 1963. His information is not accurate. The truth is that the Jordanian Army offered both water and food to the inhabitants of Nablus. What is stranger still is that the representative of Israel weeps over the fate of Palestinians during the events of 1970 in Jordan. Those events, which took place in Jordan, were only a settlement of scores within the Jordanian family and that was the result of the presence of half a million Palestinians who were expelled to Jordan by the Israelis after the 1967 war.

238. Does the representative of Israel always have so little consideration for the General Assembly that he feeds it fallacious information?

239. I suppose I am providing neither pleasure nor satisfaction to the representative of Israel in reaffirming before this General Assembly that the relations between Jordan and the PLO are excellent.

240. Israel is in the dock because it has refused to comply with many of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly including, for instance, that on the annexation of Arab Jerusalem [*resolution 303 (IV)*]. How does the representative of Israel dare to speak of this before the General Assembly, this very Assembly which refuses to countenance Israel's presence in that part of Jerusalem? This is indeed a manifestation of the Israeli stubbornness which continually threatens international peace and security. I shall confirm what I have said with specific figures drawn from a report by the Commission which the Security Council established by resolution 446 (1979) and sent to the area last July:²¹ Israel appropriated 27 per cent of the area of the West Bank, land belonging to Arab citizens; to that is to be added the property that was stolen by Israel and annexed to Jerusalem, land which today has come to represent 20 per cent of the area of the West Bank.

241. The representative of Israel should rather give heed to the voice of the conscience of the world—the voice that has been heard from the rostrum of this Assembly in the statements of the various heads of delegations. He should cease to resist the manifestation of the conscience of the world. This conscience of the world states that the Palestinian people have a legitimate right to a homeland and to their own State, and that Israel must withdraw to the frontiers which existed before the 1967 war, including Arab Jerusalem.

242. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of its right of reply, to point out the inaccuracies in the treatment by the Foreign Minister of Barbados of the problem of Belize in his statement before this Assembly yesterday afternoon [*28th meeting*]. That statement contained certain assertions which we wish vigorously to reject.

243. As the Permanent Representative of Guatemala, I deplore the fact that, notwithstanding the reliable

information available on the status of the problem of Belize, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Barbados alone has chosen to misrepresent the facts to suit special interests alien to the question of Belize. May I be allowed to set the record straight.

244. The representative of Barbados said that, since the adoption of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, many countries, including his own, have broken the bonds of colonialism and joined the free and independent world. That is true, and it might be said that the greatest achievement of the United Nations has been its promotion of the process of decolonization. However, I think that the point also needs to be made—and the Foreign Minister of Barbados should be reminded of this—that Guatemala was one of the 51 founding Members of the Organization and that in every effort to promote the freedom and independence of countries and in every resolution on that subject my country has made a definite contribution to the elimination of colonialism in terms of action and in terms of our votes on each and every case of a declaration of independence. Guatemala was also active and effective in the formulation and adoption of fundamental resolutions, including resolution 1514 (XV), which was the charter for the elimination of the colonial system. A reading of the records of the General Assembly and of meetings of the Fourth Committee held in 1960, when 89 States adopted resolution 1514 (XV), are clear proof of what I have said.

245. It may be seen in the records that when the General Assembly adopted that historic resolution, it also took the firm decision to preserve the territorial integrity of States Members of the Organization whose territories were marred by enclaves or had suffered colonial seizure by Powers from outside the continent. The General Assembly declared firmly that

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.

That was contained in paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV).

246. That guarantee has been interpreted in the very records of the General Assembly as applying to Member States whose territorial integrity had been undermined by the illegal occupation of part of their territory by an extracontinental Power, as in the cases of Iran, Belize and the Malvinas.

247. Naturally enough, the process of decolonization has progressed to such an extent as to allow the settlement of many, many cases. This has resulted in the extraordinary number of newly independent countries that have swelled the membership of this Organization. The remaining cases have, to be sure, encountered obstacles which have delayed independence, at times because of complicated political problems, at other times because of a clash of principles of equal value, such as that of the independence of a people and that of the territorial integrity of a Member State, as in the case of Belize. By their individual nature, historical and legal background, and so forth, such obstacles are obviously not always the same in every case. Clearly, no two cases of decolonization are alike. The problems of colonialism persisting in Asia, Africa or America are not

²¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, documents S/13450 and Add.1.

the same, nor are those which exist in the Caribbean comparable with those of Belize and Malvinas.

248. Delays in the settlement of the Belize dispute have surely stood in the way of a just and equitable solution of a problem that affects the territorial integrity of Guatemala with regard to a part of its territory—a problem for which a simple economic settlement is not sufficient. The legitimate interests of the peoples of Guatemala and Belize must be taken into account. The persistence—as the representative of Barbados put it—with which Guatemala defends its national unity and territorial integrity is our legitimate right, in keeping with the letter, spirit and principles of the United Nations Charter.

249. The General Assembly has been duly informed that the Belize dispute has been submitted to the peaceful procedure of direct negotiation between two legitimate parties—the United Kingdom and Guatemala—and that the settlement of such a legal dispute requires that there be no political interference, no matter how powerful the source, aimed at imposing a unilateral definition of that dispute, as has been wrongly attempted in the General Assembly by means of what we consider to be improper resolutions.

250. For that reason, we reject the accusation levelled at Guatemala that we are trying to impede the independence of Belize. That is clearly a self-serving statement designed to divert attention from what certain international political groups are doing to satisfy their own ambitions.

251. The interested parties—the United Kingdom and, particularly, Guatemala—are engaged in peaceful

negotiations in order to achieve as soon as possible an equitable solution that will take into account the legitimate interests of all parties, including those of Belize, with whose people Guatemala not only wishes to have, but must be bound by, ties of fraternity and co-operation, for historical, social, and economic reasons and because we are destined by geography to form an integrated whole.

252. Guatemala realizes that Belize and Barbados are closely related entities, but Belize is much more closely linked to us; indeed, for some time now, we have been trying to help it to develop fully. By way of example, Guatemala sponsored Belize's admission to and participation in ECLA, thereby recognizing its identity, and we pledge to continue lending our aid and co-operation to Belize in its efforts to become a member of our community of Central American States.

253. For that reason, my delegation deplores this new attempt at international pressure called for by the Foreign Minister of Barbados in this forum. The only thing he has achieved, as in the past, has been to make even more difficult the settlement of a dispute which Guatemala fervently wishes to terminate; for there can be no doubt that such a settlement would be consonant with the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Belize and Guatemala.

254. We trust that the Government of the United Kingdom will demonstrate good faith and a willingness to continue and conclude negotiations on the basis of the official statements received during this month of October in New York from officials of that country.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.