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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Guérina (Chad)	639
Speech by Mr. Simon (Seychelles)	644
Speech by Mr. Ieng Sary (Democratic Kampuchea)	647
Speech by Mr. Uribe-Vargas (Colombia)	654
Speech by Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon)	657
Speech by Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria)	660

President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GUÉRINA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, speaking for the first time before this Assembly, I have pleasure in associating myself with the tribute that preceding speakers have paid to you and to your country, Colombia, on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of our Organization. Repeated references to your wide experience as historian, economist and politician are, I am convinced, so many guarantees of success for our work. I wish to promise in advance the full co-operation of my delegation.

2. It is also with pleasure that I express appreciation of the very high qualities of your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who conducted the work of this Assembly with competence and devotion during his term of office.

3. May I also be permitted to recall the great dedication of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose acute awareness of the problems besetting countries like mine led him in August 1977 to visit Chad to see for himself what was going on in the country, because the situation we have been confronting for some time has a direct bearing on the question of international peace and security. Mr. Kurt Waldheim believes in fact, and rightly, that, as he said in his report on the work of the Organization:

"The United Nations was intended, among other things, to be the guarantor of justice and peace for all nations, and most especially for defenceless or small countries which would otherwise have no recourse in a world dominated exclusively by power politics." [*See A/33/I, sect. II.*]

4. The interest he therefore attaches to the development of events in my country has won him the appreciation and regard of the people of Chad.

5. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate Solomon Islands, which has acceded to independence, thus becoming a full Member of our Organization.

6. We have always declared our faith in the United Nations and affirmed our desire to make a real, albeit modest, contribution to its work. On this score our position remains unchanged. That is why, like other delegations, we wish to express our profound concern at the most topical questions of the moment: southern Africa, the Middle East, disarmament, the new international economic order, to quote but a few.

7. But first, we crave indulgence and hope not to tax unduly the patience of the Assembly if we mention once again our own special concerns.

8. As we have already stressed on repeated occasions both here and in other bodies, we have never concealed the fact that we have an internal problem in Chad and that that problem, alas, is at the root of the unfortunate events that have shaken our country for 15 years, seriously disrupting our economy and aggravating our country's poverty. Nor have we made a secret of our conviction that a return to peace and a harmonious life in Chad and the safeguarding of lives, property and resources depend first and foremost on the ability of the people of Chad to agree to settle the problem themselves in accordance with the wishes of the people.

9. Well aware as we are of the situation which we are best placed to judge, we have since the coup d'état of 13 April 1975 made considerable progress towards a rapprochement of all citizens of Chad and, first and foremost, towards national unity.

10. Since the Head of the State of Chad, General Félix Malloum Ngakoutou Bey-Ndi, made known the exact dimensions of the phenomena which were troubling the people of Chad, at the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], meeting in Libreville, Gabon in July 1977, and since the delegation of Chad echoed those feelings in the General Assembly of the United Nations at its thirty-second regular session,¹ many things have happened in Chad. The most outstanding event is that country's entry into a new transitional but decisive phase in its political evolution.

11. In fact, one of the principle objectives which the Supreme Military Council and the Provisional Government

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 25th meeting, paras. 44-85.

which followed the coup d'état of 13 April 1975 set for themselves was a return to a normal life through national reconciliation. Unremitting effective and positive efforts have been made to that end. Thus a number of emissaries have been dispatched, both to the Governments of friendly countries and to our fellow nationals in exile. Within the country itself the forces of order and all our leaders, wherever they may be, have been advised to preach national reconciliation and to be the messengers of peace. The Head of State himself, for his first contacts with his compatriots, was to choose the most troubled areas in the country in order to prepare the population for peace. He spoke to them in a friendly, frank and direct way, inviting them to reconsider their position and to participate in the search for a definitive solution to the crisis in Chad.

12. Convinced of the firm intention of the Supreme Military Council and the Provisional Government to respect the rights and aspirations of all the people of Chad without exception, the Governments we consulted encouraged us and granted us their assistance. It was thus that, thanks to the positive and frank support of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, as exemplified by its President, General Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, the policy of national reconciliation led to the signing in Khartoum, on 16 September 1977, of the historic agreement between the Supreme Military Council and the Northern Armed Forces Command Council. That agreement triggered the process of a return to peace in my country with the enacting on 29 August last of the Fundamental Charter of the Republic and the designation of General Félix Malloum Ngakoutou Bey-Ndi as President of the Republic and the appointment of Mr. Hissein Habré to the post of Prime Minister. The documents relating thereto are at the disposal of representatives and bear the following symbols: United Nations document NV/78/74 of 15 September 1978; and document S/12888 of 9 October 1978, of the Security Council.²

13. Therefore, there had been installed in Chad the Government of National Union which took office on 31 August 1978. It includes only two senior officers who have been discharged of all military functions or duties. That Government meets the deep aspirations of the people of Chad and has set as its main task, within the country, to fight by every means to defend our territorial integrity; to fight mercilessly against any secessionist trend in order to preserve the independence and unity of the nation of Chad; to have a constituent assembly elected which would establish new institutions; to institute a new democratic political life which guarantees the secular nature of the State, individual freedoms, fundamental human rights and the effective participation of all social strata in the administration of public affairs; and in external affairs, to guarantee the unreserved adherence of Chad to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Charter of the OAU; to practice a foreign policy of friendship and co-operation with all peoples that love peace, liberty, justice and progress.

14. It might be desirable to recall that Chad belongs to Africa. It is an African State which must maintain its place

in Africa and especially be understood by the African States. In this context the Government of National Union will spare no effort in the struggle for the total liberation of the continent, the strengthening of inter-African co-operation and African unity. It will pursue in particular its action for the development and the consolidation of relations of friendship and co-operation between Chad and its immediate neighbours, providing of course that the latter respect its independence, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

15. Chad also belongs to the third world and to the non-aligned group, and intends to maintain this position consistently and to play its role in the struggle for a higher world civilization. This means that the Government of National Union will practice a policy of non-alignment. This means that its policy will in no way be confused with that of any bloc, be it from the West or the East, and that its positions will not be dictated except by considerations of peaceful coexistence, the independence of States, just and equitable international co-operation, friendship and solidarity among peoples. That policy of non-alignment in no way precludes our taking clear-cut and firm positions on particular international situations, or the maintenance and strengthening of mutually privileged relations such as Chad maintains with certain friendly countries, relations that are justified by history, geographical considerations and mutual interests.

16. This has been a general account of the important changes that have taken place in my country and which represent, obviously, a decisive step towards the achievement of peace in Chad.

17. However, if difficulties still arise, they are entirely the fault of a neighbouring country, which seeks to retain the northern parts of the country, which it occupies and where it maintains, through its enormous military might, a fratricidal war in order to have its expansionist interests triumph. It goes without saying that only the interference, the intrigues and the greed of that neighbouring country delay the achievement of total national reconciliation. In truth, what our neighbour in question is conspiring to do within our country goes far beyond what it cynically calls the "Chad rebellion" or "the impossibility for the Government of Chad of living with its people". Moreover, the best refutation of these allegations comes from those whom it calls the "Chad revolutionaries" and for whom it sometimes claims to speak. Those "Chad revolutionaries", last month, in a letter addressed to the ambassador of Chad in Tripoli, stated the following:

"To His Excellency the Ambassador of the Republic of Chad to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in Tripoli.

"We, the members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the FROLINAT (Front for the National Liberation of Chad, Popular Forces of Liberation, Armed Forces), at present in Tripoli, wish to bring to your attention new tendentious Libyan manoeuvres which were decided on after the formation of the Government of National Union in the country and whose objective is to occupy by force the northern part of the national territory.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*.

"Thus over 6,000 Libyan soldiers and their allies equipped with heavy arms and the most sophisticated weapons have been sent to points in Zouar, Ounianga and Bao to organize large-scale surprise attacks in the regions of BET (Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti), Batha, Kanem and Ouaddai during the Ramadan festivities. We therefore ask that you denounce in radio broadcasts this new flagrant military invasion by Libya and take the necessary measures to stop it.

"Moreover, we inform you that we are under strict surveillance by the Libyan authorities and do not enjoy our full freedom. All roads leading to the interior of the country are blocked by the forces of aggression. We thought it our duty to bring this information to the notice of our Embassy, because regardless of our divergence of views in the conduct of the affairs of the country we feel that this is a matter that concerns the people of Chad only. For this reason we are more determined than ever to defend the territorial integrity of our fatherland and will not yield to any enemy a single inch of our territory. We believe the people of Chad are capable of settling their own problems among themselves and without foreign interference. Finally, it is our patriotic sentiments that have prompted us to provide you with this information in order to enable you to take in time the necessary measures to defend and preserve our homeland."

18. That denunciation of military aggression and Libyan expansionism clearly shows that the "Chad revolution is now seething" in Libya and not in Chad. In any case, the will to guarantee national unity and the indivisibility and secular nature of our country is something felt today by all true Chad nationals wherever they may be. They realize more and more the dangers of the Libyan manoeuvres. They feel that they are more and more involved in the national cause and will eventually triumph over the forces of evil.

19. The democratization of the country now under way, as shown by the installation of the Government of National Union, and national demands impose on us the sacred duty to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as recognized by all States, the United Nations and the OAU, while hoping that the support and understanding of peace-loving countries will prevail over the pressures of all kinds that are exerted against some of our brothers.

20. We do not want an armed confrontation with our adversaries although we have had imposed on us a war that conceals its true name. We simply wish to see our rights respected, to see respected with regard to us the same principles that others claim for themselves. In this context we shall be forced to fight vigorously against those who attack us and to respond with blows for every blow that we receive, in keeping with our aspiration to peace and our desire to live in peace and quiet, without which any idea of economic and social development would be illusory.

21. The Republic of Chad has clearly shown since 1973, the date of the occupation by Libya of Aouzou, an integral part of our national territory, its readiness to settle the border dispute with that country through peaceful means,

as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the OAU. Unfortunately, my country's wise attitude is interpreted by the other side as a sign of weakness. Thus, Libya continues, by means of ruses, blandishments and even bad faith, to deny that there is a border problem and always manages to ensure that any negotiations likely to normalize our relations with it fail. And yet it is well known that it has militarily invaded the extreme north of Chad, just as it is clear that it pursues an expansionist policy seeking to annex, in the long or short run, the whole Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti and Kanem region of Chad—approximately half the territory of Chad. That attitude of Libya, which we have denounced on many occasions, runs counter to the principles which govern relations between States. We wish to say clearly to our Libyan neighbours: put an end to your annexationist policy and to your aggression against Chad; put an end to your brutal interference in the internal affairs of Chad. Then and only then will we be friends, and that will be in the interest of the peoples of Chad and Libya and will also be in the interest of concord and entente in Africa.

22. We say too that it is the duty of all African States to understand, support and defend Chad's just cause, because the aggression of which Chad is at present the victim is not only contrary to the ideals of Africa, but also threatens other African States which are located very close to Chad.

23. The OAU, which has been seized of this question since the fourteenth session of its Assembly at Libreville in July 1977, continues to search for a settlement. We sincerely hope that a rapid solution will be found by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, made up of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, the Republic of the Niger, the United Republic of Cameroon and the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which was set up for the purpose at the fifteenth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly at Khartoum in July [see A/33/235 and Corr. 1, annex II, A/HG/Res. 94 (XV)].

24. Finally, we address a pressing appeal to the international community to do everything in its power to protect small countries such as mine against the desire for domination and hegemony of rich countries like Libya. Our Organization must assume its obligations and ensure for small countries like mine the peace and security they need to deal with the vital problems which beset them, namely, the fight against under-development and the poverty accentuated by the suffering caused by the recent drought. Chad has enormous potential, but that potential requires vast means for its exploitation, and above all it needs peace, public security and the protection of the life and property of our people.

25. We wish in particular to remind those of the great nuclear Powers, whose interests are more or less at the root of the kind of assistance and the massive supply of the most murderous weapons with which they provide Libya, that by virtue of the principles they defend here, sometimes with heat, they should not abandon the countries which have no resources and leave them at the mercy of those which have too much and whose warlike attitude is quite clear, as is the case with Libya. We have learned through the press the horrifying news that Libya, in its expansionist and warlike attitude, intends to build a nuclear plant. It is easy to imagine the apprehensions of my Government in the light

of such a prospect—particularly since that plant could use uranium from the Aousou region in the territory of Chad. We request the Powers which thus promote Libya's dangerous aspirations not to allow Chad and its people to be sacrificed to or enslaved by neighbouring countries.

26. To those internal and regional problems must be added another great concern: the constant threat to the survival of the whole of mankind. I wish to speak of disarmament.

27. The unbridled arms race of certain major Powers has led to the existence of incalculable means of destruction on our planet.

28. It was most appropriate that the General Assembly devoted its tenth special session to that disquieting problem. My country considers that that session was an important milestone in the disarmament process. It believes that the time has come to orient research on the use of nuclear energy towards peaceful ends and, above all, to invite the great Powers to refrain from imposing those weapons on certain States, as some recent agreements indicate is happening.

29. One of the criticisms we hear levelled most often at the United Nations concerns its inability to adopt timely, significant and effective measures to solve world problems. Threats to international peace and security which could have been prevented under the Charter have frequently degenerated into bloody conflicts difficult to contain. Yet, whenever crises arise, seriously endangering the stability of the world, it is generally the United Nations we turn to in the hope of finding solutions. What deserves criticism, in our view, is the fact that common decisions resulting from the concerns of the whole community yield in the long run to the limited interests of some, instead of representing a definitive settlement of a particular problem. That is the reason for the persistent contradiction between the desire for peace, security and co-operation and the constant danger of a general conflagration.

30. When we consider the reasons that led the nations to create this Organization we find that the United Nations remains a very valuable instrument for satisfying the legitimate aspirations of mankind. Therefore its successes or its failures depend first and foremost on the way we employ that instrument. To use it rationally we must make every effort to ensure that its system and principles, to which we have unanimously subscribed, prevail over rivalries stemming from selfish concerns. There are many cases which can be settled only within the framework of the United Nations if we sincerely want to avoid a war far more devastating than the Second World War. The time has come to learn the obvious lessons from the tribulations besetting the nations of the world and to take steps to safeguard it before it is too late.

31. Southern Africa in particular is experiencing an explosive situation which is becoming rapidly more and more serious. The task of the United Nations should be not simply to prevent war from breaking out by resorting to palliatives but rather systematically to eliminate its causes, so that the oppressed peoples may live in peace. In other words, the international community must make every

effort to assist them in their just struggle against the white racist minority régimes.

32. In Zimbabwe nothing has changed, in spite of the Anglo-American plan,³ which first and foremost had the objective of bringing to the negotiating table the main parties involved. Rather Ian Smith and his clique have been allowed to gain time and to use every ruse to render inoperative all the positions that do not satisfy them or their accomplices abroad. The delegation of Chad notes with regret the journey made by Ian Smith to the United States, which no doubt will enable him to obtain assistance from his friends in order to implement his "internal settlement" plan and thus stay in power. The lesson to be drawn from this attitude on the part of Ian Smith is that the manoeuvres of the Powers involved in the settlement of the crisis in Zimbabwe have made it impossible for them to face their responsibilities. For its part, Chad has not changed its position, which remains constant, and it expresses its total support for the Patriotic Front, which alone is carrying on a struggle that fully meets the desires of the Zimbabwean people.

33. In Namibia the peace agreement arrived at with such great difficulty with the assistance of five Western Powers has been torpedoed by the Pretoria régime. The plan adopted by the Security Council⁴ and resolutions 431 (1978) and 432 (1978) will thus remain dead letters, as usual. It is equally true that Namibia is regarded by the whole international community as an international Territory. Therefore it is our duty to resort now to every possible means to implement the decisions of the United Nations—in this instance the Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session [see resolution S-9/2].

34. In South Africa it has become more and more obvious that not only have our decisions with a view to restoring the rights of the peoples not been implemented but the catastrophic situation in which the blacks have been placed is being aggravated. There is no doubt that, with a Vorster as President and a Botha as Prime Minister, the arrests, torture, assassination, hangings in prisons and machine-gunning of blacks in the streets, as in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976, will increase. The question is how long the world will put up with the *apartheid* régime, whose true intentions are only too clear. Those who, while frequently invoking human rights, at the same time refuse to apply the resolutions and sanctions against that régime will in the long run bear all the consequences of their perfidious attitude; because it is their attitude alone that ensures the survival of the *apartheid* régime.

35. In other parts of the world situations as disquieting as those I have mentioned are still unresolved while the populations suffer. On these questions, too, Chad has adopted a position which is totally unambiguous, whether in the OAU, the Conferences of non-aligned countries or the United Nations. Therefore it would be idle for me to repeat our position here, since it remains unchanged.

³ *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977, document S/12393.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

36. During the post-war period discussions concerning international economic and social activities were held in terms of the problems and needs of the developed countries. Nevertheless, it is already two decades since the United Nations began to devote a great deal of its time to the problems of the developing world. That international solidarity—or, I should say, that solidarity among Western countries—which, incidentally, was characterized by the implementation of the Marshall Plan, does not exist for the international community when it comes to assisting the peoples of the under-developed countries, whose problems are greater, more urgent and more dramatic than were those of Western Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War.

37. However, considerable progress has been made as regards ways of making the world aware of the situation of those poor countries. The proclamation of the First United Nations Development Decade and the first session of UNCTAD were part of that programme, which has been followed by three more sessions of UNCTAD, the proclamation of the Second Development Decade, the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and a number of regular sessions of the Assembly and many other organs of the United Nations family.

38. For two decades, as I have said, all the problems of development have been referred to in the texts adopted by the bodies to which I have referred, but today those problems still exist with the same acuteness. We shall mention but a few.

39. In the field of commodities the deterioration in the terms of trade, which President Senghor has rightly called "the new black slavery", still exists. Resolution 93 (VI) of UNCTAD⁵ concerning the Integrated Programme that was conceived to solve the problem, still comes up against delaying tactics on the part of rich countries, particularly in respect of the creation of the common fund, which is its main element.

40. We venture to hope that the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, which will resume its work on this question in November, will at long last find a happy solution to the problem. Similarly, we place our hopes in the fifth session of UNCTAD, which is to meet in Manila next year and which should bring in new elements.

41. While the developing countries themselves bear the major responsibility for development, external financial assistance is none the less indispensable. Regrettably, the 5 per cent rate of growth which the developing countries were to have achieved by the end of the First Development Decade, thanks to the transfer of external resources, has never been achieved. Under General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV), a target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product was set for transfer of public assistance for development by the developed countries to the developing countries, but it is already obvious that that target, too, will

not be met, although we are now on the eve of the third development decade. At present only three countries have achieved or exceeded that rate. We hope, however, that the States members of the European Economic Community will keep the promise they made to increase the volume and the quality of their assistance within the framework of a general strategy for development under which the poor countries in particular should receive an increased proportion of official assistance.

42. The debt crisis among the developing countries is a problem of great concern. The international community must take urgent measures to reduce the debt of the developing countries, in particular the least developed among them, whose development is already greatly jeopardized. On that point the ninth special session of the Trade and Development Board did not achieve the expected results. Nevertheless, we hail the welcome initiative of certain rich countries to cancel or reduce the debts of some developing countries. For our part, we wish publicly to thank the Federal Republic of Germany for its decision to transform the loans it had made to Chad into gifts.

43. Chad's position on international monetary problems is the following. All countries should participate effectively and on an equal footing in the decisions and management of international monetary institutions. That means that decisions and consultations on monetary matters, which inevitably have an impact on the economic and social development of the third world, should no longer be left solely to a small group of countries, even if they are the richest.

44. It is now recognized that technological backwardness widens the already yawning gap between the developed and the developing countries. Taking advantage of their progress in this field, the rich countries use the transfer of technology as an actual bargaining point, and this is contrary to the relevant provisions of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)], the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], and the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development.⁶ In this connexion, we place great hopes in the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, in the preparation of which my country is taking an active part.

45. Co-operation between developing countries has been the main concern of those countries since their accession to independence. Chad, for its part, is resolutely committed to this course, because we believe that strengthening such co-operation will lead the developing countries towards the collective autonomy that is one of the very bases of the new international economic order.

46. Technical co-operation between developing countries falls within that context. In this connexion, the recent United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries was a step forward. That is why we support what it has now been agreed to call the Buenos Aires Plan of Action.⁷

⁵ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A.

⁷ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

47. We hope that these problems that we have just mentioned, and many others affecting economic relations among developed and developing countries, will henceforth be discussed within the United Nations. That is why the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, was set up. We cannot understand why certain States refuse to admit that that Committee has this right to work jointly to activate the negotiations towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

48. My delegation is disappointed that a procedural impasse was reached in the Committee's work and that it was unable to agree on the interpretation of its mandate. The present impasse should not be used as a pretext by some delegations to take the North-South dialogue outside the United Nations. We must devote ourselves to reaching a clear definition of a new mandate so that the Committee may carry out the task of verifying the implementation of the agreements relating to the establishment of the new international economic order and the task of facilitating economic negotiations.

49. The international Organization has made considerable progress. Nevertheless, there are still many difficult problems confronting us and, therefore, urgent efforts are required to ensure that the appeals of the suffering peoples, of the peace-loving countries, no longer come up against a wall of silence. Let us, then, use the institutions we have and the tools available to us to achieve the goal we have been pursuing since the birth of the United Nations: justice, peace, security, co-operation and a better life for everyone, the powerful and the weak, the rich and the poor.

50. Mr. SINON (Seychelles): First, Sir, I offer you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. It is a well-deserved honour, reflecting great credit on both you and your country.

51. To Mr. Kurt Waldheim my delegation extends its sincere appreciation for another year of unremitting effort in executing the demanding responsibilities of his high office of Secretary-General.

52. My delegation would like also to add its congratulations to those of others to Solomon Islands on its attainment of sovereign independence and admission to this world body.

53. My delegation wishes to focus its contribution to this debate on a small range of questions—questions it considers to be of particular importance, indeed of urgent concern, to the United Nations and to the world at large and in need of early attention, decision and action.

54. As I am from Africa, I would turn first to that continent. Like others, it still has many problems, but those that command our gravest concern relate to Zimbabwe and Namibia, where minority régimes fly in the face of human rights and history and try to preserve their privileged and unjustifiable position—although they now seek to enlist the support of other minority groupings. To my country, progressive and socialist, the situations prevailing in Zimbabwe and Namibia are anathema.

55. The problem of Zimbabwe continues to exercise the minds of all right-thinking people. The illegal Smith administration endured for well over 12 years before it gave way to an equally unrepresentative régime following the so-called internal settlement of 3 March this year.^a We have seen how sterile this latter régime has been in the past six months, how virtually nothing has been achieved, and how either unwilling or unable it is to dismantle the structure of white minority rule. There may have been a few cosmetic measures, but the so-called internal settlement has, in fact, solved nothing.

56. It is regrettable that from month to month hundreds of people are killed and thousands suffer deprivation of one kind or another, while the millions who make up the Zimbabwean nation are not permitted the fundamental right of running their own country.

57. It is unfortunate but, it now seems, unavoidable that the Patriotic Front will have to prosecute the armed struggle even more vigorously so that the people of Zimbabwe may be liberated and take their rightful place in the comity of independent nations. All persons of goodwill had hoped for an early end to the fighting in Zimbabwe, but that hope now appears to have been vain. Since the endeavours of the United Nations as a whole and of individual Member States which have been concerned to settle this problem have been unsuccessful, one can only pray that there will be an early and fundamental change of heart on the part of those now in power in Zimbabwe so that the aspirations and rights of all Zimbabweans may be realized.

Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

58. If the Secretary-General does observe any glimmer of promise in this direction, I trust that he will, even at this late hour, renew his earlier efforts to resolve this tortuous problem. Further, I appeal to those Governments that are really in a position to exert influence, by one means or another, on the present régime to do so, so that the errors of its ways may be corrected in the quickest way possible, even at this late hour, and peace and justice for all may be achieved in Zimbabwe.

59. Namibia is another large, dark cloud in the African sky. The outlook appeared to be distinctly brighter following the ninth special session, which the Assembly held on Namibia in April and May this year and, indeed, until just a few days ago, when the South African Government decided to press ahead unilaterally and in defiance of the United Nations with its own programme for the country. It is difficult to see what South Africa hopes to gain from this step. Certainly, it will reap the odium of the international community. It appears to want to create a non-representative, puppet régime, which, inevitably will become another international leper alongside its bantustans. This South African action can only be denounced because it denies the people of Namibia their right to true self-determination and independence and will only prolong the period of misery that Namibia has suffered.

60. The resolution adopted at the special session of this Assembly [resolution S-9/2] should now be implemented.

^a See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63.

Control over Namibia should be handed over to the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]; South African forces should withdraw from the whole of Namibia forthwith; and, failing compliance by South Africa, economic sanctions should be applied against that country.

61. I now turn to another question, which in part relates to Africa. As we all know, this Assembly, in resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971, declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. That was a positive step in the right direction and in line with action long advocated by the non-aligned countries. And that declaration was followed by the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean charged with studying the implications of the Declaration.

62. The Committee has stuck admirably to its difficult task over the years. As Seychelles is one of the countries most directly affected, my delegation is concerned that some of the other States that can only claim a less immediate interest should not have co-operated as fully and as promptly as they might have with the Committee in its endeavour to give real and full effect to the 1971 Declaration.

63. There is now an urgent need to convene the long-awaited conference on the Indian Ocean, but we have not yet had the meeting of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, a prerequisite for that conference, as decided at the thirty-second session of the Assembly [resolution 32/86]. My delegation urges that that preliminary meeting be convened at the earliest possible time. Action is required before the Indian Ocean question becomes even knottier and more difficult to unravel. How long can the States of the Indian Ocean, which are the potential sufferers in a situation not of their own making, tolerate the build-up of military forces by the super-Powers when those States could become the victims of a holocaust brought about by that super-Power rivalry? As Seychelles has made quite clear before, it recognizes that States of the Indian Ocean have a legitimate right to guard and provide for their own interests, but the super-Powers should remove their military presence from the Indian Ocean, and whatever steps are necessary to achieve this with the minimum of delay should now be taken, in conformity with resolutions adopted here.

64. The States of the Indian Ocean heard and read that the super-Powers are discussing the question of their military presence in the Indian Ocean. We are neither invited to participate nor informed of the outcome of those discussions. Yet, we are the ones whose territory, seas and air space are involved. Where is the consideration and respect for the rights and interests of all nations, big or small?

65. There is an urgent need to act to make the Indian Ocean zone of peace a reality and not let it remain merely an admirable concept to which to pay lip service.

66. I now wish to advert to some of the issues in the campaign for the New International Economic Order. Economic issues may well be as far-reaching as political ones. But, first, I shall make a point about the New International Economic Order in general. It is a simple

point, but one that our friends in the developed countries seem to find hard to grasp despite the adoption of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order as long ago as May 1974. This is simply that the New International Economic Order means just that: a new and fundamentally different approach to economic relations between the rich and the poor countries. It does not mean that we are trying to negotiate one or two simple reforms that would leave the basic relationships unchanged. It means a commitment to altering a system that for too long has kept the developing nations in a situation of dependency and poverty.

67. With this simple thought in mind, let me turn to a few issues of major importance, and let us first consider progress on the UNCTAD Integrated Programme for Commodities and its common fund. This is an issue that we in Seychelles can examine from an unbiased viewpoint as we are not a major exporter of primary commodities. In 1976, at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi, agreement was reached and a firm commitment was made to negotiate agreements or arrangements on 18 primary commodities and to establish a common fund to finance those agreements. We, the developing nations, believed this to be a major step forward and a decision that would bring benefit, not only to developing countries, but also to developed countries, in the form of greater stability in the world's markets.

68. What has happened since then? Next to nothing has happened, and the developing nations are faced with increasing frustration at the intransigence of the developed countries when it comes to the negotiation of actual arrangements. Why is this so? My delegation believes that it is simply a case of misguided policy on the part of the developed countries to preserve what they believe to be their economic self-interest. Let us look at some of the issues and examine the arguments we continually hear from some of the developed countries.

69. First, we are told that the market system is the best method of fixing prices, so that any commodity agreement we reach must fit into that system and not seek to change it. And yet, what actually happens to the prices of goods? At times of low demand, the prices for primary commodities fall dramatically, often by half or more. Consider the plight of our brothers in Zambia and Zaïre and how they are affected by the ups and downs of the price of copper.

70. But what happens to the prices of manufactured goods and of technology? These prices continue to rise the same as ever and are completely unaffected by the fall in the prices of raw materials. But in times of high demand, when prices of primary commodities rise, what happens? The prices of manufactures rise once more, and fully reflect any changes in raw material prices.

71. How can this be so? The answer is that there is one rule for developing countries and another for developed countries, and I do not need to tell the Assembly who is the loser. If the free market is so efficient, tell me why the European Economic Community has developed its common agricultural policy, keeping prices of food-stuffs high but stable, and maintaining self-sufficiency behind a high wall

of tariffs and quotas that keep out the cheaper produce of other countries.

72. And then the developed countries tell us that these issues are very difficult and complicated, and need in-depth study. This is simply playing for time and stalling and just telling us that they have no real political will and no real commitment to change a system that for too long has acted solely to the benefit of developed countries. These are not difficult issues; they are issues that can readily be resolved if both sides determine that that is what they want to do.

73. But the simplest issues can be made complicated when one side merely wishes to prolong the discussion in order to avoid making a real commitment. So I appeal to all the developed countries here today to stop the time-wasting. We have waited too long. Let us see concrete results before we go to the fifth session of UNCTAD next year. It is really not so difficult once one makes up one's mind.

74. Let me turn now to another area of major importance, and of particular relevance to a small country such as mine, one that is geographically remote and has recently emerged into independence. This is the issue of aid and development assistance. There are three areas of particular concern to me: volume, terms, and conditions. Performance on volume by the aid donors we know about all too well. How many countries are anywhere near the 0.7 per cent target? They can be counted on the fingers of one hand—excluding the thumb. And some of those countries, albeit with a more enlightened attitude to development assistance, are relatively small compared with the major developed countries.

75. But look at the performance of the biggest countries. One will find that the biggest and richest countries have made the least progress, and they still spend far more resources on arms and defence than they do on helping the poor nations. It is time this stopped. It is my delegation's belief that development assistance has a major role to play in closing the gap between rich and poor countries, and that the closing of this gap will make a far greater contribution to world peace, security and stability than any amount of expenditure on arms.

76. There has been some improvement in the terms of aid. We are gratified to see that most donors now give grants instead of loans to the poorest countries, and that some countries have realized that the logical conclusion of this is that previous loans to those same countries should now be converted to grants. But what about those countries, such as my own, that do not quite fall into this category—countries for which the granting of development assistance is essential if they are to make real progress, but which at the same time, if they have to accept loans, face major debt-servicing problems?

77. To give grants instead of loans for all development assistance would not cause hardship to the aid donors, but would help to eradicate hardship for the recipients. This is a simple and painless reform that would bring major benefits.

78. But even for those countries that now receive grants there is a further problem. They have to buy goods and services from whatever donor happens to be assisting them in a particular project and they are not permitted to buy

from the lowest bidder. Why not? What are the donors afraid of? I will grant that if one donor unties his aid unilaterally it may reduce his exports by a tiny fraction over all. But if all donors were to untie their aid multilaterally, who would lose? I say that nobody would lose, but that the developing countries would gain, through a major improvement in the quality of aid.

79. In some areas, progress has been made on the terms of aid. We now receive considerable assistance from multilateral aid institutions on near-grant terms and virtually untied with regard to procurement. Are those institutions entirely satisfactory? In my delegation's opinion they are not, for both the bilateral donors and the multilateral agencies continue to impose conditions on their development assistance and to interfere excessively with our internal policies. We understand, of course, that donors have a public to answer to for their expenditure, but how far need this go? Essentially, it comes down to this: they do not trust us and they seem to believe that we are incompetent.

80. Development assistance ought to be financial aid to developing countries to help them to implement their own development plans and strategies in the way they believe is right for them. Do the aid donors really believe that anyone can know a country better than the people who live and work there? Yet the message seems continually to be that the developed countries know better than we do. We want to develop our countries in our own way, according to our own beliefs, and in a fashion suited to our own particular circumstances. We ask for assistance in achieving this aim, not for interference with it.

81. I have spoken of two areas where there is little progress so far in implementing the New International Economic Order. Let me finally turn to one aspect of the New International Economic Order that we in Seychelles believe to be of the utmost importance and where progress has been made. I speak of technical co-operation among developing countries. At the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries in Buenos Aires in September this year, a Plan of Action was adopted that could oversee the implementation of this most vital development in world economic relations. Technical co-operation among developing countries can make a truly significant contribution to the economic development of the poor nations and it will strengthen the individual and collective self-reliance of developing countries. It shows that we in developing countries are ready to help ourselves and each other, and are not simply sitting back expecting presents. We are all ready to work to bring about a better future for our peoples, and for all our brothers and sisters in other countries.

82. But let it be clear what we are talking about. It is not the case that we have simply invented the phrase "technical co-operation among developing countries" as a meaningless slogan nor that it is a flash of inspiration on the part of some economics professor about how to improve things. No, technical co-operation among developing countries has been going on for quite some time now. For instance, in Seychelles we count nearly half of our recent aid commitments as technical co-operation among developing countries. And if we look at the way in which we have spent our

allocation from UNDP we see that 55 per cent has been spent on projects involving technical co-operation among developing countries. We have received experts from other developing countries; we have sent young men and women to be trained in other African countries; and we have been to other developing countries to study some of their industries and institutions. I know that every other country has similar experience.

83. No, the point about technical co-operation among developing countries is that we have all tried it and we all know that it works. The significance of the Buenos Aires Conference and of its Plan of Action is that they attempt to establish the means of increasing this co-operation, and of ensuring that whenever a developing country needs assistance of some sort it will be available from the most appropriate source, whether this be a developed or a developing country.

84. Therefore there are two major points my delegation wants to make here today about technical co-operation among developing countries. First, if it is to succeed, then there has to be a central co-ordinating agency where requests, resources and available expertise can all be matched together. To achieve this, we believe that it is essential that the special unit within UNDP for technical co-operation among developing countries be strengthened, and that adequate resources be made available to the United Nations system as a whole for the implementation of this policy.

85. Secondly, this policy of technical co-operation among developing countries is not a rejection of the developed countries, nor is it in any way a substitute for other forms of assistance. Technical co-operation among developing countries is complementary to other forms of assistance, and developed countries have a significant role to play in its implementation. We look to the developed countries to co-operate with us in this strategy, and we express the hope that they will make sufficient resources available to ensure its success.

86. This brings me to the common strand in the three subjects I have been discussing in the context of the New International Economic Order.

87. We in the developing countries are ready to work hard to develop our countries and to improve the lot of our peoples, but we stand in a position of disadvantage. We find the economic system biased against us; we have scant economic power; and we are poor in financial resources. We are ready to help ourselves and each other to develop, and all we ask is that the developed countries assist us in doing so: to assist us by paying fair prices for our products, by accepting our products in their markets when they are cheaper than their own products, by not burdening us with excessive debt service problems, by letting us determine our own national policies, and finally by co-operating with us in helping developing countries to share their common experience and expertise for the benefit of all.

88. It is evident that the application of present criteria to small island developing countries when determining aid produces unreal and distorted results. Such States should be recognized as being in a special category because of their particular vulnerability, whether it be due to great dependence on one resource or industry, their isolation or their

need to set up minimum infrastructures regardless of the tiny domestic markets. We must not let inappropriate formulas stand in the way of solving problems which can be identified and put right in small island developing economies. It is encouraging to note that there is a gradual realization of this, and with other small island States we hope to work towards a recognition of the need for a more balanced approach enabling such countries to attain a degree of self-sufficiency, stability and relative prosperity.

89. If we can see real progress in these areas we can look forward to a better, fairer, more secure future, not just for the developing countries but for all mankind.

90. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea):⁹ During the past year the struggle of the non-aligned peoples and countries, the third-world States and the nations that love independence and justice has made ever-greater strides. The cause of defending national independence, State sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of peoples to decide for themselves their own destiny has made great progress. The imperialist and expansionist big Powers and their followers have been engulfed in greater difficulties in the face of the successive waves of revolutionary movements, movements for national liberation and movements for the defence of the national independence of peoples the world over.

91. In South-East Asia and in Asia the will for independence among peoples has defeated the interference, interventions and plan of expansion of the expansionist big Power and its followers. The latter have made an about-face and have striven to change their attitude towards the South-East Asian countries. Before, there was nothing but criticisms, insults and invective; now there is nothing but diplomatic smiles, affability and amiability. But, in face of all these efforts and manoeuvres, the peoples and countries of South-East Asia have remained constantly vigilant. The Sino-Japanese peace and friendship Treaty,¹⁰ with its article against hegemonism, is a new event which has strengthened the course of history. This clause against hegemonism has greatly encouraged and strengthened the struggle in defence of the independence and peace of the peoples and countries the world over, and especially those in Asia and the Pacific. The just cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean motherland and the reasonable measures proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in order to solve the Korean problem have been actively supported by peoples the world over. The struggle of the coastal countries of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea against the military presence and the threats of the imperialist and expansionist big Powers has also been strengthened. In this situation, when the movement for independence is in full development, Solomon Islands has attained independence and become a Member of our Organization. We should like to express here our warm greetings and welcome.

92. In the Middle East the struggle of the Palestinian people and all the Arab peoples to exercise their national

⁹ Mr. Ieng Sary spoke in Khmer. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

¹⁰ Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China, signed at Peking on 12 August 1978.

rights and recover their territories has not developed according to the will of the imperialist and expansionist big Powers. That struggle will be long and bitter. The Palestinian and Arab peoples have learned valuable lessons through their sacrifices. Their will to independence will continue to light the way of their struggle.

93. The OAU Assembly held in Khartoum last July reflected the common will of the 400 million Africans to prevent all intervention and interference on the part of the expansionist and imperialist big Powers and their followers, and to be responsible for their own destiny. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia, using revolutionary violence in their struggle for independence and for the right to decide their own destiny against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, are on their way towards victory, despite the obstacles created by the rivalries of the imperialist and expansionist big Powers.

94. The struggle of the countries of Latin America to exercise their national rights has also made progress. The victory won by Panama in recovering its sovereign right over the Canal is the result of the stubborn struggle waged by the Panamanian people. It is also the result of the solidarity among the peoples of Latin America.

95. The peoples of Europe have had to undergo great sufferings during two successive world wars kindled by imperialism. At present they have been made aware of the danger of a new war resulting from the rivalry between the expansionist and imperialist big Powers with the aim of taking possession of Europe and thereby dominating the world. That is why during the past year the upswing in the struggle of the peoples of Europe against the policy of hegemonism has become more and more dynamic.

96. As an anti-bloc force, representative of the will for independence of the struggling peoples of the third world, the non-aligned movement has always developed with dynamism. In Belgrade at the end of last July the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries crushed the manoeuvres of interference and division on the part of the imperialist and expansionist big Powers and their followers. In particular, the Conference defeated the attempts of that expansionist big Power and its followers that wanted to modify the principles of non-alignment in order to force the non-aligned movement to accept its ideology and to serve its activities of aggression and expansion. The non-aligned countries at present are waging an active struggle to prevent the expansionist big Power and its followers from taking advantage of the forthcoming Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to drag this movement into its bloc. If only a few Heads of State or Government participate in it, that Conference will not reflect the common concept and position of the non-aligned movement as did the previous Conferences in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo. The documents adopted by that Sixth Conference would be stamped with the ideology of the expansionist big Power. But this would not be a lasting factor. The permanent and fundamental feature of the non-aligned movement resides in the will for independence and the will to remain outside blocs, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the defence of national independence which encourage whole

peoples consisting of several billions of men and women and the truly non-aligned countries. This will and these struggles are developing dynamically from day to day.

97. Parallel with their struggle to defend and safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peoples all over the world have fought to demand that the imperialist and expansionist big Powers proceed to nuclear and conventional disarmament. They have not been misled by the propaganda of those big Powers because they know full well that it is precisely those big Powers which are over-arming themselves, are carrying out a policy of aggression, expansion and rivalry, are threatening world peace and security and are preparing for war. The relative peace which prevails in the world at present has been achieved because of the stubborn struggle of peoples all over the world and is not due to the imperialist and expansionist big Powers.

98. The victories won successively by the peoples of the non-aligned countries, the third-world countries and the countries that love independence and justice have thrown into confusion the imperialist and expansionist big Powers, the colonialists, the neo-colonialists, those who believe in *apartheid*, the racists, the Zionists and all the forces of aggression, exploitation and domination. The will of the peoples to be further united in solidarity in their struggle has crushed all manoeuvres to sow dissension. The peoples which wage their revolutionary struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle to defend their national independence have on the basis of equality and mutual respect, expressed their political and moral encouragement and support of each other and this has strengthened their determination to struggle. Such reciprocal encouragement and support are powerful material forces which have routed all the criminal activities of the demoniac forces.

99. This excellent situation is very favourable for the pursuit of the struggle of the peoples of the world. But it is normal that there should still be complex problems caused by the development of the struggle which brings the revolutionary forces and the forces that favour independence, peace and democracy into opposition to the imperialists, expansionists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and counter-revolutionary forces and also caused most specifically by the contradictions, which are becoming more and more bitter between the imperialist and expansionist big Powers that have confronted each other in the different regions of the world. At present, regional wars are still continuing in many places in the world. The possibility of a world war remains. Faced with such a situation the peoples of the world have constantly increased their revolutionary vigilance and readied themselves for all eventualities so that the cause of revolution, independence and democracy may triumph.

100. In this situation we believe our General Assembly has every opportunity to strengthen the cause of genuine independence and peace by contributing to the elimination of the illusions sowed by the expansionist and imperialist big Powers with respect to certain positions and concepts, such as the so-called need to depend on a big Power, the spirit of Munich, the false disarmament measures, and so on. The forces of many billions of people armed with an unshakable will for independence and an increasingly

awakened political consciousness are the immense forces which decide the future.

101. The great upsurge of the struggle of people all over the world has brought great encouragement to the people of Kampuchea, who are struggling to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and who are striving to build up the country during its new stage of revolution by abiding by a position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance under the just leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Comrade Secretary Pol Pot.

102. The situation in our country is excellent.

103. The people of Kampuchea, who were exploited, poor, oppressed, despised and downtrodden for a very long time, have put an end to that dark period forever. Through the glorious victory of 17 April 1975, which marked the total and definitive liberation of Kampuchea, our people, as masters of their country, have taken into their own hands the right to decide themselves their own destiny and that of their country. A new society where equality, justice and genuine democracy prevail, with neither rich nor poor, with neither an exploiting class nor an exploited class, has been definitively established in Kampuchea. In their capacity as masters of this society our people have enthusiastically waged a struggle to fulfil their tasks in the new stage of their revolution by establishing an immense and dynamic revolutionary mass movement throughout the whole country.

104. During the past year in the field of national construction, the people of Kampuchea have achieved new results. This year the total area of lands irrigated in all seasons has reached 700,000 hectares. Modern agriculture is beginning to develop. The new countryside has been changing from year to year. Cottage industries, industry in general, mass technology and science have begun to take form progressively on the basis of agriculture. The objective of the people of Kampuchea is to fulfil the plan of building up modern agriculture within 10 to 15 years and industry within 15 to 20 years. According to the first results achieved this plan will be entirely fulfilled within the framework of a collectivist, socialist society which is completely new in the history of mankind.

105. The living conditions of our people have changed greatly in all fields. Corruption, depravity and debauchery have been totally eliminated and have given way to a new, healthy society which is in keeping with the genuine national traditions of our people. In addition, 90 per cent of the population, including the poorest peasants, peasants who are not quite so poor, peasants at an intermediate stage of poverty and other workers who formerly lived a life of extreme poverty, now enjoy a very much improved standard of living, which is fully guaranteed. All enjoy to the same extent the advantages of the revolution and the new society; all eat their fill; all have decent clothing and shelter; all have medicines, medical care and hospitals in each co-operative and trade union. All also have every opportunity to improve their cultural level. The people are satisfied with the revolution and resolutely defend their new régime.

106. Therefore, is such a régime good or not? Does social justice prevail or not? Who has the right to judge this? It is

surely not the imperialists, the expansionists or the Vietnamese, who have an enormous debt of blood to pay to the Kampuchean people. Only the Kampuchean people have the right to judge, and the people have judged that this régime is good and just. That is why they support and defend it with such great determination. If this régime were not good and just the finest speeches and propaganda would not satisfy the people. If this régime exploited and oppressed the people the people would surely have no confidence in it and would rise up and overthrow it. The history of Kampuchea is filled with such experiences. The same applies to other countries.

107. As for those who had an easy life in the old society—that is, nearly 10 per cent of the population—their material living conditions have been cut down more or less to the level of everyone in the country. They can therefore live like everyone else. They participated in the revolution for they, too, are patriots. They are becoming increasingly more aware that it is only under this new social régime that the nation of Kampuchea can live as it does today in genuine independence, national honour and dignity. Moreover, they see that justice and equity prevail and that the exploitation of man by man does not exist any more in this society. They are increasingly aware that this régime is genuinely democratic, in accordance with their wishes and guarantees the democratic rights of the poor, who constitute the overwhelming majority, as well as of all the other strata of society.

108. What is the basis of democratic rights? What rights had the poor in the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of Kampuchea? In the imperialist, expansionist and Vietnamese societies, where the system of exploitation prevails, what rights have the immense majority of the population, such as the poor and the workers, if they have no means of production at all? Indeed, they have only the right to be exploited and to sell themselves and their labour. This being so, where are the democratic freedoms? They exist only in form and on paper. As for the reactionary, exploiting feudal and capitalist classes, they have the right to exploit, to oppress, to suck the blood of the people, to kill them in indirect and camouflaged ways. They live in opulence and affluence paid for by the sweat and blood of the people. Several million poor people live in misery and suffering; they have no work, they are forced to sell themselves, their sons and their daughters, and they have no future at all. And those who dare to struggle in order to overthrow the régime of exploitation are repressed in the most atrocious Fascist manner.

109. In Democratic Kampuchea, where there is a collectivist régime, the people are masters of all the means of production. Every peasant is master of the rice fields and the land. The workers are masters of the factories. Thus they exercise the right of decision, management and administration. These are genuine democratic freedoms; the genuine guarantees of a life as real masters of their own destiny. The old relations of production and exploitation and oppression have been totally abolished. Under the new régime, the new independent, equal, socialist and collectivist relations and production have been developed and strengthened. The production obtained as a result of the sweat and the blood of the people is entirely in the hands of the people.

110. That does not mean that there are no longer any contradictions in Democratic Kampuchea, but if there are contradictions, that is normal. However, 99 per cent of the people of Kampuchea agree fully with the policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which is to defend and build up the country and a new society and constantly to improve the people's living standards. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is constantly concerned to ensure the moral and material happiness of all the people of Kampuchea and is working to this end. It considers this noble duty to be a revolutionary virtue and is mobilizing all the national forces and the people to fulfil it. As for the existing contradictions, we are resolving them fundamentally through education by relying on the forces of the collectivist people, because our motivations are reasonable, legitimate, realistic and known to everyone, for our movement of national defence and construction and of the improvement of the people's standard of living is powerful. As for the enemy's agents who are obstinately fighting against the revolution and the people of Kampuchea, there are a mere handful of them and they are isolated from the nation and the people; they are firmly under the control of our people, who are armed with an awakened political consciousness.

111. During these more than three years our people have successfully defended and safeguarded the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. They have successfully solved the weighty and important post-war problems, such as that of food, without begging from anyone, as Viet Nam has done. They have successfully built up and developed their country in full independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. That has been achieved thanks in part to proper leadership, but the fundamental and decisive factor has been the people. If revolutionary Kampuchea has defeated the United States imperialist aggressors in the more than five-year-long war for national liberation, it is because the entire people took part in the revolution. At present, if Kampuchea can be self-sufficient in food, develop through its own means and struggle successfully against the intervention and aggression of its enemies of all kinds, and especially against the Vietnamese aggressor, which is annexationist and a swallower of territories, it is again thanks to the active participation in the revolution of the people as a whole. Thanks to the firmly united people of Kampuchea, deeply devoted and faithful to the collectivist régime, and their successful and enthusiastic struggle to defend and build up the country in an immense and dynamic mass revolutionary movement, the future of Democratic Kampuchea can be no less than brilliant.

112. In this situation, when Democratic Kampuchea is continuing to develop and advance and there is not a single expansionist or imperialist on its territory, it is natural that all its enemies should feel a deep bitterness for Kampuchea and carry out a feverish campaign of slander against it. In the history of mankind have the imperialists, expansionists, colonialists and neo-colonialists ever expressed their satisfaction and congratulations to the countries and peoples which have conducted their revolution and conquered their independence? They not only oppose revolution and independence in words, but at the same time as they have uttered insults and expressed disparagement and contempt they have also massacred millions of people. Among the

countries of the third world is there a people which has succeeded in escaping those massacres? More specifically in regard to Democratic Kampuchea, from 1970 to 1975 the aggressive barbaric war of the United States imperialists who wanted to place Kampuchea under their neo-colonialist yoke killed and wounded more than 1 million inhabitants and devastated 80 per cent of the country. At that time was there a single imperialist country which so much as expressed its concern for the people of Kampuchea? The imperialists, expansionists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and all the forces of exploitation and domination have always been at all previous periods, in the present as in the future, will always be the implacable enemies of revolution and independence. The great leaders of the world revolution, including Lenin in the Great October Revolution have also been the subject of attacks, accusations and slander by the enemies of the revolution, which mobilized in order to attack them savagely.

113. But the problem that our General Assembly must take into consideration is that of determining whether or not we have to let the imperialists, expansionists and their followers continue to attack, despise and slander the other countries, interfere in the internal affairs and violate the sovereignty of independent countries. Must we let them continue to use the United Nations forum to propagate their logic of exploiters, of brigands and murderers—in complete contravention of the United Nations Charter—or not?

114. In order successfully to build up a new society and improve their standard of living, the people of Kampuchea have to wage a stubborn and bitter struggle to defend the gains of the revolution and of Democratic Kampuchea. Since 17 April 1975, the date which marks the complete and final liberation of that country, enemies of all kinds have not only slandered and disparaged Democratic Kampuchea and its revolution but they have also implacably sought to thwart and destroy the peaceful efforts of the people of Kampuchea and the results that they have achieved.

115. The United States imperialists who have never digested their defeat have continued to foster the ambition of retaking Kampuchea and transforming it once again into a neo-colony of theirs. Their activities designed to destroy the gains of the revolution of Kampuchea have all been defeated by the people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea. Since the middle of 1977 their strategic forces, present both inside and outside Kampuchea to foment coups d'état and overthrow Democratic Kampuchea in co-ordination with the attacks launched from outside, have collapsed. The hopes of the United States imperialists to take possession of Kampuchea once again have died away.

116. Working in a parallel direction with the activities of the United States imperialists, the Viet Nam aggressor and swallower of territories has carried out feverish and most barbarous activities to destroy Democratic Kampuchea.

Mr. Liévano (Colombia) resumed the Chair.

117. The reason is that Viet Nam has for a long time had the ambition of annexing and swallowing Kampuchea and exterminating the Kampuchean race. It was not only since

the liberation of Kampuchea that Viet Nam started to seek to destroy our country. In the recent past—before the beginning of the Second World War—Viet Nam had swallowed the Kampuchean territory called Kampuchea Krom, an area of 65,000 square kilometres, with a population at present of nearly 4 million inhabitants. That territory makes up the south-western part of the present Viet Nam, from the region of Prey Nokor—at present Saigon—to the west, and the Mekong River delta. Is the Viet Nam of today any different from the Viet Nam of feudal times or of the time when it was under the colonialist or imperialist yoke? Is there any change in its ambition with regard to Kampuchea? The only difference is that the Viet Nam of today has hidden itself behind the so-called banner of revolution in order to attack and try to take possession of Kampuchea. In 1930 Viet Nam founded a party to which it gave the name “Indo-Chinese Communist Party”. Its aim was to create a Vietnamese “Indo-China Federation” to replace the French “Indo-China Federation”, that is, to gather the three countries in that federation to be ruled with a rod of iron by Viet Nam. In that way Viet Nam would swallow up Kampuchea within a given period of time. But as the label “Indo-China Federation” could not achieve the anticipated results, in 1975 Viet Nam renamed its plan “special friendship and special solidarity”, while maintaining the same objective, that is, to make Kampuchea a puppet of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese plan is, first of all, to take possession of Kampuchea and subsequently to extend its expansion over the other countries in South-East Asia.

118. Viet Nam's ambition for regional hegemonism squares with the expansionist plan in South-East Asia of the expansionist big Power, which has an ambition for world hegemonism. The principal aim of that expansionist big Power is to dominate Europe, which is the key for its world domination. To that end it has striven to mobilize all its main strategic forces to take possession of Europe, strangling it from the north and the south. In parallel with that, it has intervened in many countries in Africa and in the Middle East. However, as it has world ambitions, it has already tried several times to dominate Asia through what it calls the “Asian Collective Security System”. Within that framework South-East Asia is the zone that it wants to dominate politically, militarily and economically. Most specifically, it wants to control the sea lanes passing through the Malacca Straits, which link the countries of Asia, Europe and Africa. In order to carry out that strategic plan, the expansionist big Power has used Viet Nam as its pawn in South-East Asia. Viet Nam itself has proclaimed that in South-East Asia it is the “puppet” of the bloc which it calls “socialist”, that is, the bloc belonging to the expansionist big Power. The mad persecutions carried out by Viet Nam against Chinese nationals and its frenzied and impertinent provocations of China along its borders, as well as the efforts of the expansionist big Power to strengthen its naval base and missile bases in Viet Nam—all those are part of the plan to encircle China and dominate South-East Asia. The numerous Vietnamese divisions stationed on foreign territories are supplied by the expansionist big Power; indeed, they occupy that country and are used to intervene in others.

119. But the expansionist big Power and Viet Nam can dominate South-East Asia only if they succeed in taking

possession of Kampuchea. Our country is not a big one and has no very great abundance of natural resources; however, its geographical situation in the middle of South-East Asia constitutes a key position in the plan of the expansionist big Power and of Viet Nam. If they succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea they would have additional forces and a spring-board to carry out their expansion throughout the whole of South-East Asia.

120. From 1970 to 1975 the Vietnamese plan to take possession of Kampuchea was defeated on a number of occasions, although during that period the people of Kampuchea had to deal with the war of aggression of the United States imperialists. After the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese army unceasingly provoked incidents along the borders. At the beginning of June 1975 Viet Nam attacked and occupied the Koh Wai islands belonging to Kampuchea. The world was then beginning to understand the true annexationist nature of Viet Nam. However, more important than these border attacks was the fact that Viet Nam and the expansionist big Power relied on their agents who had been infiltrated into the army and State administration of Kampuchea to foment coups d'état, overthrow Democratic Kampuchea and set up a puppet régime in Phnom Penh. The attacks launched from outside by the Vietnamese army along the borders were designed to encourage those accomplices inside and also to sabotage the efforts of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to prevent it from solving its great post-war problems and from attending to the national defence, although those attacks did not leave aside the possibility of encroaching on one or two kilometres of territory inside Kampuchea's borders. However, that Vietnamese plan has been defeated on a number of occasions, thanks to the revolutionary vigilance of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. We did not inform the people of the world of this at that time because we sought to solve the problem peacefully, in a spirit of solidarity with Viet Nam; but Viet Nam took advantage of this to carry out a campaign of odious slander against Democratic Kampuchea throughout the world.

121. In the middle of 1977 Viet Nam exerted great pressure on Kampuchea to accept the “special friendship and special solidarity” that Viet Nam has been successful in selling in other places. It launched attacks along the ground and sea borders. Its aircraft carried out savage bombings of the south-west zone of Kampuchea. At the same time, it was preparing its strategic forces to launch against Kampuchea lightning attacks of the kind launched by the expansionist great Power in 1968 in central Europe. At the end of 1977, 14 Vietnamese divisions, including 5 élite divisions, launched large-scale acts of invasion and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. The expansionist big Power, which was the master of Viet Nam and which took part in the preparation of that plan, hoped to win a victory. That is why its nationals took part in the aggression against Kampuchea as advisers and members of tank crews.

122. However, the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea most judiciously followed the line of the people's war of the Communist Party of Kampuchea by waging everywhere an essentially guerrilla war and by using conventional war to destroy the vital forces of the enemy. Thus they destroyed the large-scale aggression of Viet Nam

and inflicted on it an ignominious defeat on 6 January 1978. This strategy of "lightning attack and lightning victory" of Viet Nam and the expansionist big Power was thus totally crushed. Nevertheless, Viet Nam tried to continue to attack Kampuchea from outside at the beginning of February and in March, April and May 1978, and each time it suffered defeat. Being desperate, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Party gave direct instructions to a member and many assistants of its Central Committee which led to their personally organizing, with their remaining agents in Kampuchea, a coup d'état aimed once again at overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea. This was towards the end of May 1978. However, Viet Nam was once again most ignominiously defeated. Since the middle of 1978 Viet Nam has been driven to the strategy of the protracted people's war against Kampuchea, a strategy which will exhaust more Vietnamese forces militarily, politically and economically, as well as internationally, until such time as it is annihilated, if it persists in its aggression against Kampuchea.

123. In the fight against the Vietnamese acts of aggression and annexation the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have overcome all obstacles. They have firmly adhered to the position of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and control of their own destiny in their country. They have endured all difficulties and accepted many sacrifices. This is a noble national task that they have to carry out. Our people and our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have made all of these sacrifices in the sacred interests of our country, for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and their right to control their own destiny. That is unquestionable: If the people of Kampuchea had not held high the banner of independence, national honour and dignity, if they had not struggled with determination to tear down the banner of aggression and annexation, the banner of "Indo-China Federation" and the banner of hegemonism, what would have been the situation in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole? The expansionist big Power and the annexationist and territory-swallowing Viet Nam would have been even more arrogant and presumptuous and they would have continued their expansion in South-East Asia. Consequently the interest of many countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and America would have suffered.

124. Therefore the victory won by the people of Kampuchea against Viet Nam's acts of aggression and annexation, and the position of Democratic Kampuchea as an independent, neutral and non-aligned country, with no foreign troops or foreign military bases in its territory, are favourable factors in the cause of independence and peace, particularly in South-East Asia, and the interests of Asia and the world in general. Indeed, the struggle of the people of Kampuchea does not concern Kampuchea alone; it is also the struggle against the strategies of the expansionist big Power in Asia. That is why the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of Asia and South-East Asia, have expressed their sympathy and their encouragement and have given their active and sincere support to the present struggle of the people of Kampuchea to defend their national independence. We are very grateful for this just stand and we wish to take this opportunity to express to them our warm thanks.

125. After being defeated on the Kampuchea front, Viet Nam has to face insuperable difficulties at home and internationally. Having been driven to the strategy of a protracted war, the Vietnamese forces are being worn down more and more. The Vietnamese people have to face increasingly more severe starvation and are rising against the Vietnamese administration. Insecurity is growing in south Viet Nam and is reaching the northern part of the country. In the international area the peoples of the world have clearly discerned the perfidious and hypocritical face of the aggressor, Viet Nam, which is an aligned country and an instrument of the expansionist big Power.

126. Foreign and United Nations aid has been used directly or indirectly by Viet Nam to maintain and develop its forces so as to carry on its aggression against Kampuchea and thereafter to continue its expansion in South-East Asia. An increasing number of countries are now asking themselves the following questions: Will not the co-operation and the moral, political, diplomatic, economic and financial assistance they give to Viet Nam help Viet Nam to take possession of South-East Asia? Will they not serve the strategy of the expansionist big Power in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole? Viet Nam is receiving aid from various sources, but this does not mean that it is independent. Its master, the expansionist big Power, has told it to receive such aid, for that Power has not enough bread for itself and therefore is not able to give Viet Nam enough assistance. The countries and international organizations which have given aid to Viet Nam are becoming more cautious and are reconsidering the question of their aid. At present Viet Nam is trying to mislead various countries by begging them for aid on its knees which it uses to strengthen its forces and continue its aggression against Kampuchea.

127. Before it was defeated in its aggression against Kampuchea, Viet Nam was very arrogant and presumptuous. It bragged about the power of its army and engaged in threats and insults against the countries of South-East Asia. But since the defeats they suffered on 6 January 1978 and during the entire first half of 1978, the expansionist big Power and Viet Nam have been forced into a 100 per cent change in their strategy, their tactics and their attitude towards the countries of South-East Asia. Before, for them, all was bad; now, all is good. They are trying to carry out diplomatic manoeuvres in South-East Asia and, like a cat that pulls in its claws, they are all smiles. Their objective is to rid themselves of the guilt for their aggression against Kampuchea and for the insults they have hurled against the South-East Asian countries, and they aim also at isolating Kampuchea from the other countries in South-East Asia, surrounding it from behind so that when the situation is favourable to them they can launch a new large-scale attack against Kampuchea. The diplomatic manoeuvres of Viet Nam and the expansionist big Power are all too obvious. They have failed even before they have been carried out; thanks to the vigilance of the peoples of South-East Asia, who are fully aware of the perfidious nature of Viet Nam and of the expansionist big Power.

128. Like all other aggressions, the Vietnamese aggression will never pay. That is the lesson of history.

129. The people of Kampuchea want only to live in peace in order to be able to mobilize all their time and forces to

build up the country, to build a new and prosperous society, in national honour, dignity and independence.

130. Democratic Kampuchea does not set any conditions on Viet Nam for the solution of the problem. It is, rather, Viet Nam—the aggressor, the annexationist, the swallower up of territories—which, in the style of Hitler, has placed conditions upon Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, when he threatened and committed aggression against the countries of Eastern Europe, Hitler forced those countries to negotiate, to capitulate and to put their territories under his rule. Viet Nam acts in much the same way. It has committed aggression against Kampuchea in a savage and Fascist way, and it says that Kampuchea has to negotiate with it. Such are the conditions of Viet Nam, which, on the one hand, wants to force Kampuchea to capitulate and come under its yoke and, on the other, wants to hide its face of an aggressor and swallower of territories, to mislead world public opinion and to legalize its acts of aggression and annexation in the world's eyes. If the problem created by the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has not been solved, it is not because there has been no negotiation or intermediary. From 1970 to 1977, before as well as after liberation, negotiations between Kampuchea and Viet Nam took place almost 100 times, at the summit as well as at the level of the Central Committee, in the revolutionary bases of Kampuchea, in Hanoi and in Phnom Penh. Moreover, many negotiations were held along the borders at the level of the zone, regional and district committees. But the problem could not be solved. Solving the problem would require eliminating the root—that is, eliminating the Vietnamese ambition to swallow up Kampuchea and the Vietnamese strategy of an "Indo-China Federation".

131. If Viet Nam were immediately to cease its aggression against Kampuchea, the war would automatically stop. If Viet Nam were to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and abandon its strategy of an "Indo-China Federation" and the annexation of Kampuchea, if it were to do that by means of concrete acts, in conformity with the principles of non-alignment, the *Pancha Sila* and the United Nations Charter, then friendship between the two countries, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, and between the two peoples, would be born automatically and would be developed and strengthened progressively. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has already put forward this position on a number of occasions.

132. In June 1975, during the visit of the top delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to Hanoi, the Kampuchean side officially proposed to the Vietnamese side that a treaty of friendship and non-aggression be signed between the two countries. But the Vietnamese side did not take this proposal into consideration and did not respond to this gesture of goodwill on the part of Kampuchea. Despite that, if today Viet Nam were to cease its aggression against Kampuchea and to agree to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and if it were to do that by means of concrete acts, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would propose once again to Viet Nam that a treaty of friendship and non-aggression be signed. The high-ranking leaders of Democratic Kampuchea will sign this treaty either in Phnom Penh or in Hanoi, or elsewhere, if Viet Nam shows

that it really wants to have relations of friendship with Kampuchea.

133. But, as in the past, Viet Nam has not taken any account of the goodwill shown by Democratic Kampuchea. It persists in committing acts of aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea. At present the Vietnamese army is constantly launching its aggressive attacks all along the borders. Moreover, Viet Nam is now actively mobilizing its forces in preparation for the launching of a new large-scale attack during the forthcoming dry season—that is, beginning next November. The diplomatic activities that Viet Nam has been feverishly carrying out in South-East Asia, Africa and other regions of the world are also part of its plan to attack during the forthcoming dry season. Several divisions of the Vietnamese army which are stationed on foreign territory are also getting ready to carry out this plan. The activities of the expansionist big Power, which is increasing the number of its advisers and the quantity of its armaments in order to reinforce Viet Nam, are an integral part of this plan.

134. In such a situation, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are maintaining their vigilance at a high pitch. They are closely united with the Communist Party of Kampuchea, led by Comrade Secretary Pol Pot, in their resolute struggle to defend Democratic Kampuchea and ensure that it will live forever.

135. The present struggle of the people of Kampuchea cannot be separated from the struggle of the peoples the world over. The people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea continue to mobilize all their physical and moral force to express their solidarity with and their support for the revolutionary struggles, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles for the defence of national independence that are being waged by the peoples the world over, the non-aligned countries, the third-world countries, and all the countries that love independence, peace and justice. Along side our efforts to defend and build up our country so that it can be rapidly strengthened and developed during the new stage of the revolution, we consider this solidarity and support to be a noble duty. Our country is small, our people are still poor; they have just come out of a devastating war and still have to face the war of aggression by Viet Nam. However, that may be, we shall use all our possibilities and capabilities to demonstrate our support, especially in the moral field and in the determination to struggle against imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism.

136. The problem which is before this session of the General Assembly, as it has been before other sessions, is the following. Must all these demonic forces be allowed to cast a slur on and destroy the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of various countries in the world, to sow dissension and to trample under foot the inalienable right of the peoples to decide their own destiny?

137. Take, for example, the Korean problem. In 1975, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3390 B (XXX). The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung, proposed certain reasonable measures to solve the Korean problem

independently and peacefully, without foreign intervention. But the United States of America is obstinate in carrying out its policy of aggression and division of Korea, violating with impunity the provisions of resolution 3390 B (XXX). We demand that the United States of America withdraw all its troops and dismantle all its military bases in South Korea, that it stop interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and carrying out its policy of "two Koreas", and that it dissolve the so-called "United Nations Command" and transform the military Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement. The problem of the reunification of Korea has to be solved by the Korean people themselves.

138. Another example is that of Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia. There should be no ambiguity that would make it possible for the colonialists and racists of South Africa to continue to control that port. Namibia has to be independent in the enjoyment of its territorial integrity. We have always resolutely supported the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania for independence and the right of those peoples to decide their own destiny.

139. The independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and the right of each people to decide its own destiny are sacred and inalienable.

140. We think that our General Assembly can carry out its task only if it stands firmly on the side of the peoples which are struggling and resolutely opposes all acts of expansion or dissension directed against a country and all acts that cast a slur on its independence.

141. We have always firmly supported the struggle of the Palestinian people and of all the Arab peoples. We understand perfectly well the struggle against Israeli Zionism, for at present our people are shedding their blood to prevent Viet Nam from annexing and swallowing Kampuchea's territory and exterminating the Kampuchean race as the Israeli Zionists have acted against the Palestinian people and annexed Arab territories. The true nature of Viet Nam is identical to that of Zionism. The Palestinian people must be allowed to exercise their national rights, in particular the right to return to live in their motherland, the right to decide their own destiny and the right to create an independent State on Palestinian land. The Arab territories must be returned to the Arab countries.

142. We have always resolutely supported the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, for their right to decide their own destiny for themselves, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

143. In a situation where the forces of the imperialist and expansionist big Powers have been everywhere attacked and paralysed by the peoples the world over, the struggle to defend and safeguard independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the right to decide one's own destiny has continued to develop progressively. The people of Kampuchea, who are shedding their blood so that the banners of national independence, national honour and dignity may always fly high over the soil of Democratic Kampuchea, are resolutely in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples the world over for the triumph of the cause of

the revolution, the cause of national liberation and the cause of national independence. The future of the struggle of the peoples the world over is brilliant.

144. Our present session of the General Assembly can make a direct contribution to this struggle. In this sense, Mr. President, you have assumed an important role in our work. We should like to express to you our congratulations and to wish you great success in the fulfilment of your high functions.

145. Mr. URIBE-VARGAS (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is especially gratifying to my country to greet and to congratulate you upon your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its thirty-third session. Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, whom I have had the honour to succeed as Minister for Foreign Affairs, is a distinguished Colombian singularly well endowed by his training and character for the conduct of diplomatic affairs. His election to the presidency of the highest international forum is a recognition of his praiseworthy activity in that field. With his election, the people and Government of Colombia feel honoured.

146. My country has consistently given its support to those international organizations which seek to preserve peace and security and to develop co-operation in all spheres. It may be said that our country emerged into independent life calling for the united efforts of its liberators to protect the recently won independence of our hemisphere. Then, as now, we reaffirmed our sincere conviction that the best guarantee of self-determination of peoples is to be found in strengthening of an international regulatory order so as to defeat the new and refined forms of domination which today subjugate medium-sized and small nations.

147. Since the creation of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, successive Colombian Governments have expressed their unequivocal will to turn all endeavours for peace into a common task and duly to shoulder their share of the responsibilities that each new situation has imposed.

148. The Government of the new President of the Republic, Julio César Turbay Ayala, notes with concern the attempts that have been made to transfer to other forums than those established for the purpose the consideration of many of the conflicts that threaten security among nations. The desire, particularly in the case of the United Nations, to take control again over situations that have been slipping away from it should become a driving force for all Members of the Organization. In the light of these considerations, Colombia has always sympathetically viewed the ideas put forward in this body and will seek to strengthen the role of the United Nations, either by changing the structure of the Charter or by developing its precepts through specific but parallel instruments. The problems that have come to the fore in our time, and which combine political, economic and social factors, compel us to think that the legal order elaborated in 1945 has been overtaken by events. No regulatory régime, if it purports to be the expression of existing social reality, can remain static or it will lose its effectiveness. Thus, it would be desirable to speed up the

evolution of a large number of institutions that were created under the aegis of the United Nations and even to attempt to complement that process with elements that would assist in the investigation of particular situations, while making it easier to solve certain conflicts.

149. The need for the United Nations to become again the indispensable forum for the settlement of situations threatening peace, far from distressing the great Powers, would be the logical consequence of the new dimensions of world solidarity, where all efforts would lead to a more just and more harmonious order.

150. There would be more promising prospects of solving the Middle East problem, so fraught with anguishing forbodings, if we reverted to the spirit and letter of resolution 242 (1967), adopted by the Security Council on 22 November 1967, which condenses what is still, 10 years after its adoption, a good point of departure for ensuring peace in the region.

151. Since the creation of the United Nations, Colombia has maintained a balanced and equitable position with respect to the Middle East problem. The elements embodied in the resolution that I have just mentioned imply recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories; the termination of all states of belligerency; and respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. In this context, and as a first step towards the implementation of those elements, my Government has noted as a constructive achievement the Camp David agreements between the Presidents of the United States and Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel.¹¹ The recent Security Council resolution on Lebanon, resolution 436 (1978) is another important step forward.

152. New Security Council decisions and new General Assembly resolutions that might be adopted or formulated this year would be received by international public opinion as the best response to the vigilance we demand of the United Nations in the exercise of all the functions that fall within its institutional framework.

153. Similarly, the Colombian Government attaches particular importance to all attempts to expedite agreements on disarmament and the limitation of means of mass destruction. There is no doubt that the policy of détente put into effect by the great Powers slowed down the arms race. The sophisticated nature of certain types of missiles and new scientific discoveries to improve them counsel us not only to contribute to détente among the great Powers but to strive to ensure that it extends to other areas of the world which that détente has not yet reached.

154. The proliferation of weapons not only could result in a nuclear holocaust but affects the development process of

many countries by absorbing resources that could well be devoted to infrastructure projects that would help improve the living standards of their peoples. We should note, further, that for the nations of the third world the arms trade, including trade in conventional weapons, represents a heavy technological burden that could well lead to limitations in economic growth targets and in social progress.

155. In his inaugural address President Julio César Turbay Ayala emphasized how important it was for Colombia to play an active part in the preparation of the new international economic order. This implies, first, that we strengthen diplomatic and trade relations with the countries of the third world and that in the various international forums we help to reinforce their positions while creating new ties with nations that are necessarily engaged in the task of overcoming the external factors that condition their progress. Perhaps the first and most important aspect is the technological one, which has become the new dividing line between the very poor and the very rich. The changes that have occurred as a result of the displacement of financial resources in the past decade have shown clearly that the acquisition of technology has become in our time the most costly and dominant element dividing nations, and is the key to the liberation of the developing world. The best programme for the developing world is the transfer of scientific knowledge, the exchange of information, so far as possible, and the conception of the new order not as a mere system of financial mechanisms but rather as a concrete opportunity for the acquisition of science and technological resources.

156. The undertaking of the third world, with which the Colombian Government wishes to identify itself further, is not only to act to protect raw materials and to promote the expansion of trade and new sources of finance but to participate in making the big decisions on monetary policy that so decisively affects the domestic situation in all countries.

157. The new international economic order should prevent spectacular falls in the prices of primary commodities, on whose stability peace among nations depends to a large degree. The unquestionable relationship between security, both internal and external, and the equitable price of primary commodities has been shown on numerous occasions. A people condemned to live in squalor and poverty cannot prevent the spread of discontent among the population, discontent that can easily explode into a conflict with international repercussions. The parallel between adequate terms of trade and world security is the new dimension in relations between the industrialized countries and the producers of primary commodities, and the necessary point of departure for the economic claims that the third world so justly makes.

158. The resumption of the North-South dialogue, despite the set-backs it suffered in the last attempts to continue it, is another goal in the achievement of which we should unreservedly co-operate, although we would prefer that its base be extended and that it be placed squarely within the framework of the United Nations.

159. Colombia co-operated in the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the

¹¹ 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.

seventh session of which ended last September, from the only preparation of the Conference. We would recall the participation of our country in seeking to promote the Maltese proposals when the present President of the Republic, Mr. Turbay Ayala, was the head of our mission to the United Nations. That process was later to culminate in the General Assembly's declaration of the sea-bed and the ocean floor as the common heritage of mankind [see resolution 2749 (XXV), para. 1]. Despite the interest of many Governments in speeding up the completion of the Conference, we now hear with alarm the announcement by some Powers of their possible unilateral exploitation of what is regarded as an area reserved for the benefit of all peoples. I wish not only to insist here on the need to protect the moratorium that we achieved on the exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor but to warn of the risks of excessive delay in the negotiations within the Conference, which may well thwart our attempts to create a new code of the sea, an instrument that would prevent a new colonization of the seas and oceans.

160. As Colombia has stated before the United Nations, the international community should delay no longer a legal definition of outer space and of geo-stationary space communications, because the experiments we have seen, and foreseeable developments in the next few years, highlight significant lacunae in the existing agreements for their exploitation and peaceful utilization. Indeed, as you stated, Mr. President, during the thirtieth session of this Assembly in your capacity as Foreign Minister of Colombia, those agreements do not take into account the exploitation of the geo-stationary orbit for profit, or the juridically and physically immutable existence of the segments of that orbit permanently located within the space of the equatorial States, to which you added later:

"Colombia does not object to free orbital transit or to communications... as long as those devices ply the territorial sky in a gravitational flight, from any practical height to infinity. But a clear exception is to be made in the case of devices which are to be fixed on a segment of their stationary orbit..."¹²

161. The Government of President Julio César Turbay Ayala has given full support to this position so as to protect a natural resource which is located over the territory of equatorial developing countries, in keeping with the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2692 (XXV), entitled "Permanent sovereignty over natural resources of developing countries and expansion of domestic sources of accumulation for economic development" and with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States proclaimed by the Assembly in its resolution 3281 (XXIX).

162. Thanks to the support of a large majority of delegations in the United Nations, the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was increased [resolution 32/196B] in order to give adequate representation to the space interests of the equatorial countries.

163. We consider that the staggering progress of space technology makes imperative the progressive development

of international law in order to take into account the rights of the equatorial countries in their respective segments of the geo-stationary orbit.

164. Colombia rejects as inadmissible from every point of view attempts arbitrarily to modify any international statutes, as long as the United Nations has not produced a precise definition of outer space and of the legal régime of the geo-stationary orbit within the framework of an international agreement.

165. The protection of human rights is one of the objectives of the United Nations most often repeated in the Charter and in various resolutions of United Nations bodies and specialized agencies. There is, no doubt, a close link between peace and the protection of human freedom. Disregard for the most elementary guarantees of the rights of the individual unleashes conflicts transcending national boundaries and weakening harmony among States. The philosophy condensed in the United Nations Charter concerning the duty to preserve and protect the fundamental rights of the individual, must be regarded as an obligation on each of the Members of the Organization, and as a concomitant raised to the status of an imperative rule in the law of peoples. Respect for human rights, which are regarded as part of the *jus cogens*, has become compulsory for all Governments and peoples on earth.

166. Those who drafted the San Francisco Charter and subscribed to it as founding Members, as well as those States which have subsequently joined the Organization, are convinced that, without the obligation to protect life and the dignity and well-being of peoples, the United Nations would lack stature and a very *raison d'être*.

167. For that reason, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been supplemented by many instruments in order to endow it with the means to make it binding. Among them, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol represent perhaps the most daring and advanced effort to date. The diversity of circumstances and the imperative need to draw a distinction between procedures for the safeguarding of civil and political rights and those for economic, social and cultural rights have led to the conclusion that in this area we cannot have one single procedure; rather, we must establish multiple and parallel means of recourse.

168. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex], as well as the special procedures developed in the specialized agencies, such as UNESCO and the ILO, clearly shows that the protection of human rights is incumbent upon all United Nations bodies, without distinction.

169. A similar phenomenon occurs in regional bodies, where the procedures evolved, in the case of the European Community, for example, have led to favourable results. Within the Organization of American States we have also noted some progress, especially since the Pact of San José, Costa Rica,¹³ entered into force.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2376th meeting.

¹³ See *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

170. When the lives of defenceless people are threatened, so long as there exist countries where fundamental freedoms are systematically violated and from the moment when individual guarantees disappear in any place, giving way to barbarism, the United Nations is required to act urgently through the many channels it has developed for the purpose.

171. The President of Colombia and Venezuela, Julio César Turbay Ayala and Carlos Andrés Pérez, on 27 September last, addressed a communication to the President of this Assembly to denounce the serious violations of human rights that were occurring in the Republic of Nicaragua. The two Presidents stated the following:

"In denouncing the tragic and dramatic situation of vast segments of the population of Nicaragua, whose essential rights are being violated, we respect the principle of non-intervention, which is by no means incompatible with the task of internationally safeguarding human rights which the United Nations is required to perform..."
[see A/33/275, annex.]

In this appeal to the world's conscience they sought to put before the United Nations clear information on the serious events taking place in Nicaragua so that the various institutionalized mechanisms for the true protection of human rights could immediately be put into operation and greater loss of life be prevented.

172. The Commission on Human Rights, as an organ of the Economic and Social Council, will also provide adequate measures, although that would not exclude the possibility of the United Nations promoting concerted humanitarian action at all other levels; nor does it preclude the participation of regional mechanisms.

173. With respect to the protection of human rights, there cannot be any principle of exclusion. Therefore, in various similar ways, the Colombian Government will lay stress on this matter in order to mobilize world public opinion to the fullest in support of the victims of the Nicaraguan tragedy.

174. The work of international bodies in the field of human rights cannot be regarded as an activity which violates the principle of non-intervention, because whatever work they do is carried out in compliance with their treaty obligations.

175. Colombia, as it observes the serious problems threatening peace and the security of peoples, and convinced as it is that only a strong Organization can preserve us from the scourge of war, voices its sincerest wishes that the present session of the General Assembly may help to strengthen the institutional power of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its contribution to the protection of life and the dignity of human beings everywhere on earth.

176. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, as we come to the conclusion of our general debate today I am pleased to follow the example of my colleagues by congratulating you on your election to the presidency, though I may digress from the conventional phrases which you may have heard too often, to say something about your country, Colombia, which is so dear

to us. In fact, there is much that we share. The election of Julio César Turbay, the son of a modest Lebanese immigrant, as President of your Republic serves to indicate two important facts: first, that the free democratic spirit which characterizes your Government, and which is enviable, is the only means of building strong, impregnable and stable societies; secondly, that Lebanon, the tormented Lebanon that seeks peace from the nations of the earth, is the same country that has given to many of those nations, indeed to all nations, not only great men but also a great number of modest, steadfast and diligent builders who contributed to great achievements and who, generation after generation, have participated in the building of civilization everywhere.

177. Now the nations which you represent are, in this session as in previous sessions, testifying for Lebanon in return for Lebanon's testimony to mankind. One after the other your voices have rung out loud and clear speaking in the name of the ties that bind us together, demanding that we have peace, security, freedom and stability.

178. Yet Lebanon has been not only a country from which people emigrate, but also a haven for strangers seeking knowledge, freedom and beauty. The Roman philosopher, Pliny the Younger, once said of Lebanon: "O Stranger, remember that the country you now visit is the country beloved by the gods." We do not believe that the gods have forsaken our country or ever will.

179. Our faith in the land and in man remains unshakable, as does our faith in God and our faith in human rights. This year in fact we are celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Lebanon played a big role in the drafting of that Declaration. We will not forget that role and, similarly, we cannot imagine that the international Organization will forget that role or, indeed, forget us.

180. These are not words emanating from a bleeding country which feels alone among the tormented, for the agenda of this session of the General Assembly is full of issues that reflect tragedies that have been, and continue to be, experienced throughout the world ever since the inception of this Organization. Indeed, some of these tragedies continue to haunt us year after year as we continue to seek a just solution for them, and yet meet only with illusions. Today, from across heaps of ruins, the voice of my country is trying to be heard above the noise of bullets, cannons and rockets; trying to say, on behalf of the widowed and the orphaned, the wounded, the disfigured and the homeless: "Enough. Enough of bloodshed and tears; enough of destruction and anguish; enough of ruins and wars."

181. Such was the passionate appeal which the President of Lebanon made on 23 September 1978 [see A/33/266-S/12863, annex], the second anniversary of his assumption of that most onerous office in that most complex, yet most ancient and beautiful republic.

182. I am echoing that appeal at this high rostrum from which the President of the Lebanese Republic would have wanted to address you, as have other Heads of State, because we in Lebanon believe, with President Sarkis, that the international community was responsible for our wars.

Having carried its conflicts into our land, it now owes us a commensurate debt of peace. So let those who are without sin cast their stone at Lebanon.

183. May I now clarify some of the realities of the Lebanese question as it concerns us today. The first fact is that the war in Lebanon has been both Arab and international. Peace in Lebanon, therefore, should be achieved through Arab action and with international guarantees. This fact has been stated very often by many of us and was again reiterated by the President of Lebanon in his most recent message to the Lebanese people, circulated here as an official document [*ibid.*] and on file in the Secretariat.

184. Evidence of this fact is quite abundant and comes from many sources and appears in many forms. However, I shall content myself with saying that the geographical position of Lebanon at the cross-roads of the world has made it the object of international ambitions and an arena for international conflicts—sometimes through pacts and alliances, and sometimes despite them. A cursory look at our recent successive and interdependent crises is sufficient to show that violence always erupted whenever the Middle East was going to war or preparing for peace—peace to which the road was often paved with war or pseudo-wars. Our free and open system of government and our pluralistic society have provided a pretext as well as an opportunity for starting conflicts, wars and revolutions which have torn our society asunder and caused our Government to disintegrate. That has been occurring ever since the United Nations adopted its resolutions partitioning Palestine in 1947, and through successive wars up to the October War of 1973, not to speak of all that has been—and still is—happening in the course of peace negotiations, when Lebanon has again been the victim.

185. Simple arithmetic shows clearly that what has been invested in Lebanon on terrorism and destruction far exceeds the financial capacity of the Lebanese. Furthermore, that price would have been exorbitant for whatever they were fighting for, if it were true that the Lebanese were indeed fighting one another.

186. At this juncture, from this lofty rostrum, I should like to state the position of Lebanon on the recent peace accords. On 20 September 1978 the Lebanese Cabinet "expressed deep concern at the implications that these accords may have on Arab solidarity, as well as their disregard of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—the right to their own land, their homeland, and their future". The Cabinet also expressed "its special concern that these accords may be conducive to the settlement of the Palestinians outside their own land".

187. In his message to the diplomatic corps on 1 January 1978, the President of Lebanon had already warned against any attempt to settle the Palestinians in Lebanon. Again, in his address of 23 September 1978, he drew attention to

"... the difference, in approach and attitude, between the adverse effects of the armed Palestinian presence in our territory and our total commitment to the just cause of the Palestinian people and its right to return to its own

land and to self-determination". [*see A/33/266-S/12863, annex.*]

188. Is it not strange, indeed, that the war of Israel against peaceful Lebanon, in all its forms, should have inflicted greater losses, in terms of both casualties and material destruction, than the sum total of the losses of all the Arab countries that participated in all the Palestine wars?

189. While the Security Council, in its resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) of March 1978, made a valiant effort to assist Lebanon by dispatching peace forces which have made great sacrifices, the international community has been unable to help the country extend its authority over its entire territory or to defend its internationally recognized boundaries. Quite the contrary, we find Israel, as well as other parties, still utilizing the Lebanese arena to implement its diversified political and military strategies.

190. The second fact is that the role of the Arab deterrent forces has to be reassessed and redefined. This fact, which emerges from the events taking place in Lebanon is what prompted the President of the Lebanese Republic to go to Damascus and the capitals of the Arab States directly concerned. We all hope that his visit will culminate in a conference of Foreign Ministers, to be convened in Lebanon next Sunday, that will seek to find a satisfactory solution.

191. Such a solution has been the subject of a number of dramatic speeches made from this rostrum and in other important bodies. Many of Lebanon's friends have studied, in consultation with it, projects and initiatives which will, we all hope, lead to what President Sarkis has called a "new security plan", which he already outlined in his messages to the Lebanese people on 23 September and then on 2 October.

192. That is why we requested the Security Council not to hold a debate when it convened its 2089th meeting, on 6 October 1978, to call for an immediate cease-fire. The resolution proposed was adopted with unprecedented and unparalleled unanimity. In this same spirit, we now restate that this is not the time for the settlement of accounts or discussions.

193. Suffice to say, as an end to long-standing controversies, that emphasis must be placed today on the necessity of allowing the Lebanese Army to perform its national role wherever conditions are such that "deterrence" has been transformed into "repression". In the words of President Sarkis, we view this army as being:

"... composed of the elements of the homeland as a whole and for the homeland as a whole, thus depriving any faction whatever of any pretext for taking up arms illegally and enabling us to relieve Arab and international forces of their responsibility to safeguard peace and security in our territory." [*Ibid.*]

194. In taking this attitude, we draw strength from the following. The summit conference convened in Cairo by the League of Arab States—a regional organization whose responsibilities and rights are recognized by the United Nations Charter—on 26 October 1976 endorsed the resolutions already adopted in the summit conference previously

held in Riyadh on 18 October of that year. Those resolutions clearly defined the role of the Arab deterrent forces after their entry into Lebanon. This role has since become impossible to perform in the context of current Arab and international circumstances.

195. The President of the Lebanese Republic reflected this fact unequivocally and with the utmost frankness in his address to the Lebanese people, when he rescinded his decision to resign on 16 July 1978. He said:

"International conflicts and Arab paradoxes have since been reflected in the Lebanese arena, making it impossible to pursue the implementation of the resolutions of the Riyadh and Cairo Conferences. Those conflicts and disputes make it impossible to collect arms from the Palestinian organizations and to remove all armed presence. Hence collecting arms from the Lebanese has become a thorny issue that does not lend itself to an immediate solution."

196. If we, with our Arab brethren and the whole world, have been eager to reach an immediate decision on a cease-fire, it is because "the tragic issue, without parallel in the whole world", of which President Sarkis spoke, could not be allowed to continue, and with it the bloodshed, destruction and dispersal. Let us all try, therefore, in a spirit of Arab brotherhood, to search for a new concept of security that would ensure, as the President himself expressed it, "both the safety of the citizens of Lebanon and that of the Arab forces".

197. Before I proceed to the third fact of the Lebanese situation, allow me to say that our concern for the Arab deterrent forces, especially for the Syrian Army, also has another dimension. We are, indeed, eager that these forces should retain the heroic image they acquired in the October war of 1973, which enabled them subsequently to become a positive factor of stability in the region. It is our concern that they should not be led into pitfalls and quagmires unknown to them, which, no doubt, they, too, wish to avoid.

198. The third fact is that Lebanon can only be saved through a national, political solution.

199. This fact has now been internationally recognized in the appeal of the Security Council in its resolution 436 (1978). It has also acquired sufficient force and effectiveness, we hope, to break the vicious circle created by the projection of international and Arab conflicts into the Lebanese arena.

200. The international community addressed an appeal to us, which President Sarkis accepted as a challenge, "calling on the Lebanese people to close their ranks and unite their voice in order to preserve Lebanon". Indeed, this challenge, for us, is a question of survival. Lebanon will either survive or dissolve. We state this fact unequivocally—not out of fear, nor out of weakness.

201. However, we know of no other State in the world, large or small, that could have faced what we have confronted throughout five years of war and 25 years of conflict and continued to exist by its own sheer determination.

202. Furthermore, the appeal of the Security Council corresponds to the resolution that was adopted unanimously on 23 April 1978 by the Lebanese Parliament. That parliamentary consensus might well be considered as a basis for the new "national charter" which Lebanon needs today.

203. It may be considered futile to speak of a parliamentary recommendation at a time when Lebanon is in the throes of war and the House of Parliament can hardly even meet. Nevertheless we are anxious to preserve our legitimate constitutional institutions and desire that our political and national development be attained through those institutions, rather than through two other courses—both of which are objectionable—revolution and internationalization.

204. Revolution we accept, but only in spirit, for we reject the terrorism which it inevitably breeds, and the hatred we fear remains with us as an offshoot of all the wars and all the revolutions that have saturated us in bloodshed and destruction.

205. Internationalization we also reject, as long as there is one responsible voice in Lebanon to proclaim its confidence that the Lebanese people, once left to themselves, are capable of settling their disputes, as they have always done in the past, even during wars, when they were able to coexist and survive in unity. From internationalization, however, we will accept what it has given us at its best on previous occasions, such as in 1943, safeguarding our rights, guaranteeing our independence and confirming our sovereignty, for if small nations cannot receive from the international Organization such protection and guarantees, what, then, can they expect?

206. My statement has perhaps been long, but the ordeals of my country are such that they have preoccupied all of us here. This question is not on our agenda, and I hope it will never be on the agenda as one of those items that remain there for many years, session after session.

207. Before concluding, I feel that I must call attention to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] and to his special report to the Security Council of 13 September 1978 on UNIFIL.¹⁴ In both reports the Secretary-General deals with the Lebanese crisis, its relation to peace in the region and to the peace-keeping operations. Mr. Kurt Waldheim is now the world's foremost soldier of peace, besides being a wise friend. Rarely have friendship and wisdom been so combined in one man as they are in his unique personality.

208. May I candidly state that the Lebanese people reject categorically the idea that peace in Lebanon is contingent upon the achievement of peace in the region. However, we find ourselves in full agreement with the Secretary-General concerning the necessity of exploring further the various options provided by the United Nations Charter should UNIFIL, despite its excellent performance, not be allowed to protect our land, guarantee our rights and assist us in restoring our sovereignty.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12845.

209. I should like, if I may, to quote what the Secretary-General said in his report:

"To resort to force is the last and least desirable course for a peace-keeping force. Negotiation and persuasion must be the primary method for achieving its objectives. However, if such methods prove unavailing, the Security Council may well have to consider what other approaches are open to it under the Charter." [See A/33/1, sect. IV.]

That is the tremendous challenge the world community is faced with.

210. I stand here before this Assembly—on this last day of this very long general debate during which all the issues of war and peace in the world have been discussed—to say on behalf of our bleeding country that the dignity of the United Nations is at one with the dignity of our land. The future of the United Nations, to us, can only mean the future of our liberty. We see no integrity guaranteed to the human being outside the guarantees that the United Nations can offer to each and all of us, individuals and States alike.

211. We must all reject a vision of a world community in which our homelands can be bartered as negotiable pawns in the game of nations, whether united or disunited.

212. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, this year, according to tradition, it is Latin America's turn to fill the presidential chair, and Colombia has received the honour. Over and above the tribute paid to your people of a long-standing and brilliant civilization and your friendly country, it is doubtless your eminent qualities as statesman and enlightened diplomat that the General Assembly wished to recognize when it confided to you the leadership of its work for this session. I am very pleased therefore to convey to you the very warm congratulations of the delegation of Algeria and to express the conviction that you will discharge your duties with the talent and skill that we all know you possess.

213. You have succeeded in this responsible post our old friend Lazar Mojsov who, throughout a number of sessions this year, won the respect and esteem of us all. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to him and, through him, to Yugoslavia for its continuing contribution to the progress of the non-aligned movement.

214. To our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I should like simply to reaffirm our sincere appreciation of his tireless efforts for peace throughout the world and of his devotion to the cause of justice and the strengthening of the role and prestige of our Organization.

215. Since I have mentioned our Organization, I cannot but be gladdened by the strength it has gained from the arrival in our midst of the delegation of the Republic of Solomon Islands. I should like to express our warm welcome to that country, wish it every success and extend to it the best wishes of Algeria for the well-being and prosperity of its people.

216. At a time when numerous attempts are being made to call into question the movement for the liberation of

peoples, this session seems an appropriate moment in which to assess the real determination of the forces which profess themselves ready to promote the necessary changes. The changes that we have recently observed in international relations are so little compatible with the spirit and requirements of our time that they lead us to believe that those whom we thought to be our partners, far from truly favouring consultations and constructive co-operation with the third world, continue to be deeply attached to obsolete notions of power. Fully aware of the weaknesses and contradictions of the third world, constantly a prey to difficulties for the most part inherited from the colonial past, the imperialist Powers, rather than proceeding to make the necessary structural changes, appear in their actions to be preoccupied with finding ways of overcoming the effects of the economic crisis which afflicts them, while at the same time endeavouring to refine a new strategy to impede the process of national liberation.

217. The manifestations of this strategy are particularly visible in Africa and throughout the Arab world and openly betray the true purpose that certain countries are seeking to achieve through the dialogue that is now going on.

218. In addition, recent events have not failed to reveal that the true motive of outside intervention in Africa, and of actions directed against the Arab nation is obedience to a tenacious determination to safeguard and consolidate at all costs the last bastions of colonialism and racism and to weaken progressive positions and acquire control over those regions and their resources.

219. Such conduct in fact is aimed at jeopardizing our independence as well as wiping out the results obtained in the area of decolonization and co-operation. Even within the third world certain countries are working out theories that are in absolute contradiction with the principles and ethics of the United Nations and that, because they are the negation of coexistence between nations, can only exacerbate crises and sidetrack us from the true course of development. Thus recently colonized countries are opposed to the process of decolonization and the peoples' right to self-determination and go so far as to return to the divisive policies practised unsuccessfully in the past by others much more powerful than themselves.

220. Such ventures naturally foster the greed of powers whose constant objective is to injure the movement of solidarity which the sacrifices which the third-world peoples have made for the cause of peace and economic and social progress.

221. Thus the situation imposed upon Africa and the Arab world results from the imperialist aim which is at the least to maintain unchanged the relations of domination and exploitation. The fact is that imperialism has changed neither in its nature nor in its methods. It persists in inventing many new manoeuvres aimed at division and diversion and does not hesitate to fabricate a situation that can give credence to the notion that our regions exist for no other purpose than to be private preserves for external rivalries.

222. It was therefore in a context fraught with uncertainty that the United Nations special session on disarmament

ment, the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries were held. The last two gatherings in particular made it possible to evaluate the international situation engendered by the importation of policies of division and provocation into the non-aligned movement and the OAU.

223. Thus the determination to attenuate differences and to preserve the necessary cohesion was reaffirmed.

224. The efforts made in various parts of the African continent to put an end to disputes between brother countries or to seek out ways and means of completing decolonization attest to the beginning of an awakening. These efforts at any rate reflect the determination of the third-world countries to arm themselves against foreign intervention and manipulation and at the same time to make their full contribution to the search for solutions for the problems of our era, out of a conviction that peace and détente will continue to be precarious as long as their field of application does not encompass all the regions of the world. Inasmuch as our concerns are closely linked with the problems that afflict Asia, Africa and Latin America I should like without any further delay to express our fraternal solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its legitimate struggle for the peaceful reunification of the great Korean country. Inspired by the same ideal of justice and liberty I should like to reiterate here the full support of the Algerian people for the Puerto Rican people struggling for the free exercise of their right to self-determination.

225. General and definitive decolonization is the *sine qua non* condition for a return to peace and for the promotion of relations of trust that will be conducive to development and co-operation. The exercise of a people's right to self-determination and its right to adopt the economic and social system of its choice is an incontestable achievement of mankind. The United Nations, more than any other body, must assume its responsibilities in this area and cannot lay them aside without great detriment to the integrity of peoples and the safeguarding of international peace and security.

226. For obvious reasons the situation in Africa is of great concern to us. To colonial problems are added those of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and the intervention of foreign Powers which are seeking to re-establish themselves in our continent and reconquer lost positions.

227. How, then, can we fail to remain sceptical about the concern those same Powers show—or so we are told—for the search for solutions that can fully satisfy the aspirations of African peoples in the southern part of their continent?

228. Certain Western countries have in fact never tried to make their protégés in power in South Africa and in Rhodesia see reason nor taken any action to moderate their arrogance and aggressiveness vis-à-vis the people they oppress or to prevent their committing aggression against independent neighbouring States.

229. This attitude of complicity that has so many times been condemned by the United Nations has no doubt

prolonged the survival of the illegal and racist régimes and enabled them to grow in strength in full disregard of the principles of law and international morality. For various reasons, however, and in each case inspired, we hope, by the lofty ideals of the Charter, those same countries have recently been very active. Today they seem to be working for a negotiated settlement of the problems of decolonization which have ripened to such an extent that the end of the process can no longer be in question

230. In Namibia it is no longer for us to pass any judgement on the positions taken by the five Western countries that since last July have become the United Nations' settlement plan. We should like to note that throughout the lengthy course of this process that today has entered the phase of execution the Secretary-General and the United Nations Council for Namibia have always made clear the true dimensions of the Namibian problem. Therefore it is for the people of Namibia and SWAPO, its only authentic representative, to thwart any attempts to despoil them of the results of their struggle and their sacrifice. The international community, for its part, will follow closely the implementation of the modalities that are accepted by SWAPO in the settlement plan, so that the objective remains full decolonization which would safeguard the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

231. In Zimbabwe we have witnessed diplomatic initiatives to promote a settlement of the problem. The change in attitude cannot make us forget the indifference and the responsibility of those who for a long time went along with the rebellion and government of the white minority. There again, a plan for a negotiated settlement was proposed. We hope that it will not have as its only merit that of revealing to the international community the nature of the links that exist between the situations prevailing in Namibia and in Rhodesia.

232. Here and there the United Nations continues to be the guarantor of true decolonization, despite the manoeuvres of Ian Smith, who is trying to legitimize abroad a neo-colonial solution which the people of Zimbabwe, as well as the Patriotic Front, its sole representative, could never accept.

233. So that the process of decolonization and the restoration of national dignity to the peoples of Africa may be concluded, the situation that prevails in South Africa should not remain on the periphery of events in southern Africa. It is an aberration that the international community, which has proclaimed this year the International Anti-Apartheid Year, should not be consistent in its approach to the problem of South Africa as a whole and in the search for true political solutions that would safeguard the national rights of the South African people. The incompatibility of the Pretoria régime with the promotion of freedom and peace in Africa is attested to by its systematic identification with all oppressive régimes throughout the world. It would be futile to continue to wish to limit a condemnation of that system to a mere reference to violations of human rights, just as it would be illusory thus to elude the imperatives of national liberation and independence. The United Nations, which has relentlessly stepped up its efforts to eliminate *apartheid*, will no

doubt be able to thwart the current attempts at partitioning South Africa, whose objective is to perpetuate the existence of the racist régime and the defence of the foreign privileges and positions in Africa. For its actions to be commensurate with the general condemnation it has aroused, and channelled against *apartheid*, the United Nations should immediately see to it, as an extension of the action it has initiated in Namibia and Rhodesia in particular, that all conditions are met that would make it possible for the oppressed people of South Africa to achieve their national aspirations and recover their dignity while maintaining their unity and territorial integrity.

234. Any attempt against decolonization and the principles of the United Nations with regard to the safeguarding of peace and security, any policy of fait accompli and military occupation, any annexation of territory by force, or any action based on the negation of a people's existence, or even its extermination, inevitably engenders conflicts, insecurity and instability. Because we have departed from the path charted by the Organization for resolving the problems of Non-Self-Governing Territories, certain regions, including Timor, Belize and the Western Sahara, have entered a dangerous phase. The United Nations, which remains seized of these questions, has regularly indicated its concern at this state of affairs, both from the standpoint of respect for the principles of the self-determination of peoples and from that of the still unforeseeable consequences of violation of that principle. Drawing inspiration from the Charter and from its resolutions, the OAU has endeavoured to make its contribution to a solution of the problem of Western Sahara in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations; naturally. These joint efforts, however, have not made it possible to register any progress in this area, and the problem of Western Sahara continues to persist in its entirety.

235. The invasion and splitting up of the territory in conditions well known to us, aside from the fact that they constitute a strong challenge to the entire international community, have totally distorted the process of decolonization. Events have shown that the proponents of the policy of fait accompli have provoked an escalating chain reaction, as well as the determined resistance of the Saharan people, the intensification of the war, foreign interference and a deterioration in relations among a number of States in the region and the western part of the Mediterranean. This attests to the extent to which our Organization remains responsible for implementing a solution that would enable the Saharan people fully to exercise their inalienable rights which the General Assembly has guaranteed to them as it has to all other colonial peoples.

236. On another level, it was not Algeria's fault that the climate in the Maghreb, which in the past was one of co-operation and entente, has become a subject of concern not only to the peoples of the region but to the entire international community.

237. It is because Algeria is being periodically involved and placed in a situation which all its actions were intended to prevent. The situation today is such that an awareness of the well-understood interests of all requires a sense of responsibility, and the courage that implies should lead to

humility and circumspection rather than obstinate persistence in an adventure as futile as it is disastrous.

238. Morocco and Mauritania have, before this Assembly and without any reservations whatsoever, subscribed to the principle of self-determination for the Saharan people, and much as they feign ignorance of this now, the United Nations, the movement of non-aligned countries and the OAU know that the question of Western Sahara is part of the decolonization process and that the conflict taking place in that Territory is a war of national liberation waged exclusively by the Saharan people. Thus no one can take seriously the diversionary manoeuvres which would have Algeria endorse the consequences of a policy of conquest which, from the outset, in faithfulness to ourselves and to the principles of the Charter, we have denounced vigorously. Whatever might be the subterfuges and the manipulations of facts, nothing can hide the true nature of a fundamentally political problem which, as such, can be settled only through a political solution. The fighters of the Frente POLISARIO,¹⁵ it will be recalled, twice came to the gates of Nouakchott. In turn they operated at Tifariti, Chenguiti, Jdiria, El-Ayoun, Boukraa, Smara, Ain-Bentli, Dakhla, Guelta-Zemmour, Tantan and many other places. In other words, according to the requirements of the struggle, being masters of the terrain and of the initiative, they have chosen and imposed their battlefield and, for reasons inherent in the consequences of aggression, they have also caused harassment where they could do so, that is to say, both in Mauritania and in Morocco.

239. That is an undeniable fact. But, in all justice, who would have cast a stone at Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau for waging their struggle for liberation inside what was then called the metropolitan country?

240. Changes did occur in Mauritania and a unilateral cease-fire was decided upon by the Frente POLISARIO—indications, albeit still slight ones, of a movement towards the peace that all the peoples of the region wholeheartedly desire—but it became clear to everyone that there would inevitably be tension and confrontation again, and in increased measure, between the Royal armed forces and the Saharan fighters. That situation is all the more deplorable because, in contrast to this, everyone seems to desire to offer—each in his own way—his good offices in the search for the establishment of a just and lasting peace, within the framework of the United Nations and the OAU. Those, in our opinion, are the elements of a policy worthy of those who know that self-criticism is a virtue, that a return to justice can only make just men greater, that the denial of the existence of peoples is not necessarily synonymous with peace, that realism and evasion of responsibility are contradictory concepts and, above all, that no one has the right to sacrifice the joint future of the peoples of our continent to the euphoria of vain momentary glory. We make another fraternal and sincere appeal from this rostrum to Morocco to help the Saharan people to exercise their inalienable rights.

241. Convinced that such an approach is the only one likely to lead rapidly to peace, harmony and stability in the

¹⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

region, Algeria once again expresses its will to make its modest contribution, as soon as the objective conditions are met, to the settlement of this painful matter, which daily becomes more tragic and soon will be out of control.

242. It is obvious that the situation in the Middle East is continuing to deteriorate, despite diplomatic action which some seek to picture as a decisive contribution to the quest for a just and lasting solution, while they stubbornly refuse to recognize the true nature of the problem and concentrate on the consequences of the crisis rather than on its origins. Need I recall here that the origin of the Middle East crisis is, above and beyond anything else, the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to its national existence, and that the constant aggravation of the crisis is essentially the result of a deliberate will to ignore the core of the problem which is the restoration to the Palestinian people of its national rights. That is why all the recent initiatives taken outside the framework set by the United Nations can only lead to undermining the Arab solidarity that is so necessary, to promoting attempts at a separate peace, and to encouraging the Zionist occupier in his policy of aggression, expansion and defiance of the international community.

243. It is a strange plan—to say the least—to create at the outset the conditions for a false solution, to overlook the basic fact of the problem by invoking so-called immediate political requirements, and to conceal the contradictions inherent in the very nature of the undertaking by claiming that the only possibility of achieving peace is to give in to the policy of abandonment.

244. But events will destroy all these illusions; one by one, the instruments forged in order to stifle the voice of Palestinian resistance will be broken. The Palestinian resistance will be able to free itself from the web of these manoeuvres and clearly affirm the right of the Palestinian people to its national existence.

245. The approach to which I have been referring was doomed to failure from the start because it falls squarely within the logic of the aggressor. Thus, the reply the Zionist State has given to these initiatives that everyone is trying so hard to present to us as steps towards peace has been an escalation of its policy of aggression and its efforts to liquidate the Palestinian people and to destroy another Arab State, Lebanon. Proof of this is the frenzy with which the Tel Aviv régime is trying to make its territorial gains permanent by implanting new settlements on Palestinian soil and—as recently as yesterday—by occupying a part of Lebanese territory. Thus we see Israel's true nature constantly revealed, its role as a relay point in a policy of domination that obviously is part of the imperialist strategy.

246. Confronted by these challenges, the Palestinian resistance, strengthened by the solidarity of all the peoples of the world, continues to embody—despite all the plots—the will of the Arab nation to free itself from the grasp of imperialism. It constitutes a tangible fact, recognized by the entire international community. It is precisely because of its struggle and the irreplaceable instrument in that struggle with which it has endowed itself through the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole representative, that the Palestinian people has been able to impose the fact of their

existence and the correctness of their cause, as well as their determination to regain their rights.

247. No undertaking truly designed to encourage a just solution can be viable if it does not satisfy the national rights of the Palestinian people and if it does not provide for the recovery of all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. Of course that goal requires that the international community be faithful to its own decisions; of course it requires that unity in the Arab ranks be re-established; of course it requires that there be a constant affirmation of an international solidarity capable of responding to the vast plot being hatched against the Palestinian people.

248. Algeria, for its part, is faithful to the decisions taken by the Arab summit meetings in Algiers and Rabat and endorsed by the international community through the United Nations, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization has been a permanent observer since 1974. From this very rostrum we have repeatedly expressed our determination to promote, by all the means at our disposal, a solution in conformity with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of our Organization. We greeted with satisfaction the United States-Soviet communiqué of 1 October 1977. All this means that we intend, in the search for solutions, to abide by international legality. And, in any case, no deviations, no personal initiatives, no isolated acts, no separate peace can shake our faith in the justness of the cause of the Palestinian people and in the inevitable victory of the Arab peoples, like that of other peoples of the world.

249. Still on the subject of the Mediterranean region, where a general conflagration could break out at any time, the absence of progress in the search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus is another source of concern. The intercommunal talks being held under the aegis of the Secretary-General have still reached no results. But these efforts must be pursued so that a satisfactory settlement may be reached that will guarantee the rights of each community, while preserving the political unity and territorial integrity of an independent and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

250. For the rest, the persistence of these hotbeds of tension is not likely to promote the extension of the policy of détente beyond the rivers of Europe to the Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, despite the reluctance and resistance of some, the idea is today gaining ground that global considerations and systematic opposition must progressively yield to regional concerns and to the rapprochement of the coastal States. The idea is certainly not taking shape because of the vast obstacles interposed, but the very importance of the road to be traversed should prompt us to unite our efforts so that understanding and co-operation may replace suspicions and divergent actions. Then, when a climate of confidence is restored and peace and security are strengthened by the development of common and complementary interests, each coastal country will be able to assume, in harmony with its neighbours, its natural role. Thus, moving from pacification to stabilization, and from stabilization to co-operation, the constant aspiration of all peoples of the region to make of the Mediterranean a lake of peace will be realized. My country here reaffirms its willingness to make its contribution so that this cross-roads

of civilizations may finally recover its vocation of linking all peoples.

251. It was in this spirit that we participated in the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. Of course, on the basis of past experience we had not expected concrete and effective measures that would have made possible the beginning of a genuine process of disarmament, but we had expected of the nuclear Powers a more positive reaction to the concern of our countries at the reluctance shown so far to give real guarantees regarding the security of non-nuclear-weapon States and their access to nuclear technology. The persistence of this reluctance made impossible the inclusion in the Programme of Action that was adopted last June [resolution S-10/2, sect. III] of measures likely to meet our legitimate requirements regarding the security of our States and the removal of the unilateral restrictions and restraints that are always a barrier to the free transfer of nuclear technology to countries that urgently need it for their development. And yet the very fact that for the first time a special session devoted solely to the problem of disarmament was held is an encouraging event in itself. The central role and primary responsibility of our Organization in this field has been reaffirmed. The deliberative and negotiating mechanisms have been renewed; they have become more democratic and there is better geographical and political representation, thus making possible the participation of all countries, and primarily all the nuclear Powers, in the drafting and implementation of the solution of one of the most serious problems that our peoples face. This is a first step, however timid, that will promote the establishment of the necessary framework for the affirmation of a genuine political will to disarm Algeria, which is pleased to be a member of the new Committee on Disarmament, is determined to spare no effort to make a modest but effective contribution to the attainment of what constitutes the ultimate goal of our Organization: to ensure international peace and security through general and complete disarmament.

252. International peace and security also depend on the solutions that are found for the problem of the profound crisis that affects the world economy. There seems to be a great deal of emotion everywhere because of this crisis in the world economy, as though it was of alien origin and imposed by occult forces that could be conjured away by incantations, the privileged site of which would be the General Assembly. But such powerlessness is by no means the powerlessness of the international community as a whole. It is the result of what can best be termed a lack of foresight on the part of some of its members. This is in singular contrast to the foresight shown in the resolutions adopted at the special sessions devoted to the new international economic order which, starting with a diagnosis that still remains valid, advocated remedies that have yet to be applied.

253. For their part, the developing countries bear no responsibility for that crisis. As proof I need only mention the failure of theses that were represented to us as being strictly and scientifically accurate and according to which the prices of the exports of third-world countries caused the present price fluctuations because, it was alleged, they were either too high or too low. And yet these same

countries had had to bear an unjustifiable part of the burden of the adaptations imposed by the crisis in the world economy. At some sacrifice, because of their imports from the rich countries of inflation and unemployment as well as of products, they have played a recognized anti-cyclical role, which has undoubtedly lessened the impact of the recession in those countries.

254. One cannot, however, find a permanent solution to a crisis that is exacerbated by excessive stimulation of consumption in the developed countries and by the unprecedented growth of international liquidity, on the initiative of the latter and for their benefit alone. Inflation, which used to be a national phenomenon, has become since the end of the last decade a permanent feature of the world economy. The mechanisms which transmit this inflation from the industrialized countries to the third world have proved more effective than the pseudo-mechanisms for the transmission of prosperity so dear to those who believe in the automatic fall-out of growth.

255. Equity as well as effectiveness require that we take into account in the equation of the global balance, as an autonomous factor, the rights of the third world because of its contribution to world economic activity.

256. Up to now the industrial Powers have deliberately attempted to manipulate the cycle of economic activity. This is based on the selfishness of the rich and, if experience is to be believed, is inevitably doomed to failure because everyone knows that the crisis is really the result of structural imbalances in the world economy, of which the third world, we must repeat, is the principal victim.

257. Support for the new international economic order implies, of course, a recognition of the structural character of these imbalances, but this has rarely gone beyond the stage of rhetoric. While appetites for our natural resources grow and strategies are devised to recover our raw materials, and while our just claims to an equitable share in the resources of the world economy are challenged, it is difficult to believe that the widespread acceptance of the term "new order" has effectively dispelled misunderstandings and ulterior motives. Otherwise, how can one explain the continued deterioration of an economic environment that is already hostile to developing countries?

258. Thus the wave for protectionism has reduced almost to nothing the prospects for exports from the third world. Similarly, the constant decline in official resource transfers from the developed to the developing countries, the aggravation of the latter's food deficit, the limitations imposed on their access to technology and the delays in negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities and in the conclusion of commodity agreements have constituted obstacles to the restructuring of international economic relations.

259. No new structure can be viable if it is distorted by unilateral manipulation of the principal reserve currency and by failure to adapt the international monetary system that it supports, in particular in regard to the fundamental interests of the developing countries.

260. The obstacles to setting up such structures show the imperative need to include in the same dialectic the struggle of the third-world countries, in which they demonstrate their solidarity—within the framework of strengthening their collective self-reliance, which does not mean autarchy—and the need for a world-wide dialogue to establish healthy international economic relations.

261. True, very few have failed to acquiesce in the ritual of reaffirming the inevitable nature of interdependence, the recognition of which should be the point of departure of a true dialogue. But has it not too often been invoked simply to justify the application of the same procedures as made it possible to ensure post-war progress in the industrialized countries, whose present crisis shows the limits to growth? Has there not been an attempt, in the name of a certain interdependence and so-called shared responsibility, to bring the developing countries that challenge the established order back into line? Further, do not some seek under the cover of interdependence to thwart the objectives of the third world by setting as a global priority for all the developing countries solutions that would serve only to legitimize and systematize the external economic, financial and even political pressures to which they are subjected?

262. In such circumstances, the concept of interdependence would only serve to perpetuate relations of domination. We are bound to recognize that in truth it is futile to try to rediscover this interdependence while our task obviously consists, rather, in ascertaining its true implications.

263. The present chaos in negotiations to establish a new framework for international economic relations raises the problem of the very purpose of the dialogue. The reverses suffered in the dialogue in past years prompt scepticism. Instead of serving as a catalyst for setting up the new international economic order, the dialogue seems, paradoxically, to have served as a pretext for certain developed countries to erode the gains that constituted the premises of the new order. Because those premises are part of this approach by the developed countries, their professions of faith in favour of a dialogue can only mask the absence of political will to take real action. Thus we witness attempts to question the right to collective self-expression of General Assembly bodies while elsewhere the developed countries proclaim the imperative need for democratization in the international decision-making process.

264. Having first challenged the value of any majority decision and then of decisions taken by consensus, which are alleged to be less "authentic" than others, the developed countries do not hesitate over the idea of eliminating the very principle of adopting decisions in global economic bodies by alleging the risk of duplicating the positions taken up by specialized organs. The effect of this attitude, if not its objective, is to remove any meaning from the dialogue by limiting it to a simple exchange of views, with no commitment and no future, while the real decisions continue to be taken in forums where the industrialized countries predominate.

265. These are the thoughts that come to mind, given the deadlock in the dialogue both outside the United Nations and within it in the Committee of the Whole of our

Assembly, that is, the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. The Committee's work was deliberately interrupted even at its very start by an opposition that had its origin in the patent absence of real political will to bring about change.

266. What is at stake, and what is ultimately being challenged, is the General Assembly's central role in any global negotiation about the establishment of the new order. In the light of these considerations, should we not question the use that might be made of the dialogue in future negotiations? In particular, at a time when our Assembly is about to begin drafting a new international strategy for development, it is to be feared that in this dialogue the developed countries might try to replace the framework already drawn up in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] by a highly questionable substitute strategy.

267. Such a strategy, in the name of I know not what "pragmatism", would renounce a global approach to international economic problems in favour of piecemeal and isolated measures. Further, in the guise of "good Samaritans", its advocates would attempt to blame underdevelopment on the internal system of distribution while ignoring its external causes, which are far more constraining.

268. The better to overcome the resistance that this action might arouse, the resources of economic science would be mobilized to cause the division of the developing countries into a growing number of autonomous categories, which the developed countries would hope would even oppose one another. Thus they would pretend to ignore the fact that the unity of the third world is based on the common political will of its members to put an end to the relations of domination and exploitation from which all suffer and not on the affirmation of any similarity in their respective levels of development. Such action would support a hazardous thesis designed to reduce the dialogue to a diversionary operation that would, at best, attenuate the erosion of positions already gained and polarize attention towards marginal problems.

269. How much longer will the peoples of the world agree to be lulled by this illusion of a dialogue, which makes light of problems that nevertheless condition their future? Is there still time for the international community to make a fresh start so that the 1980 special session of the Assembly will constitute a decisive phase on the way towards restructuring international economic relations, rather than a prelude to a new era of crisis and confrontation?

270. In a world haunted by the limits to growth, whether they are in the nature of things or in the mind of men, this restructuring would make it possible to promote genuine international co-operation, which certainly constitutes a challenge but also contains generous promises. Indeed, the North-South dimension opens to the world economy this "new frontier", capable of ensuring the real prosperity of all, a prosperity that consists in greater well-being as much as, if not more than, in simply having more.

271. In the troubled world in which we live, and given the critical state of international relations, it is not superfluous

to emphasize once again the role incumbent upon the United Nations. It is obvious that the factors at the root of the situation are the manifestation of a refusal to accept the changes required by the evolution of the world, thus delaying the emergence of a new system of international relations. Yet the United Nations is the appropriate instrument whereby we may overcome this fundamental contradiction of our times. For the solution of the problems that mankind faces, and therefore the elimination of present tensions and uncertainties in international life, urgent decisions and bold measures must be taken, based on respect for the principles that give our Organization its *raison d'être*.

272. Furthermore, the future of the Organization is linked to its ability to adapt to the realities and requirements of our era, taking into account, in particular, the ever-growing role that the third-world countries should play in seeking peace and security and in promoting just and equitable

international co-operation. This ability to evolve will depend above all on the political will of States, regardless of their economic strength or military power, to transcend narrow selfishness, strategic concerns and divisive and interventionist policies, so that they may take action with respect for the Charter principles and ideals and unite their efforts for the greater good of mankind. That is the fundamental condition for strengthening peace and security throughout the world. It is our joint responsibility.

273. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the lateness of the hour and the likelihood that at least 12 delegations will wish to exercise their right of reply, I suggest that we meet tomorrow morning to conclude the general debate. If there are no objections it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.