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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. O'KENNEDY (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish to offer you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of our Assembly. Your election is a tribute to your country, Colombia, and also a reflection of the knowledge which delegations have of your valuable contributions to this Assembly and to important international conferences. We are confident that this experience and the fruits of your impressive career will allow you to follow the exemplary presidency of Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia with distinction and success.
2. May I also extend a very warm welcome to the one hundred and fiftieth Member of the United Nations—Solomon Islands. We are especially pleased that the right of the peoples of Solomon Islands to self-determination and independence has been achieved peacefully and with the full co-operation of the United Kingdom as the administering Power.
3. We begin another session of the General Assembly with a full agenda. The list of problems before us this year is long—as long as ever it has been. In all, we will debate almost 130 questions before this session closes in December.
4. It is evident from one look at this formidable list of complex international issues that the Secretary-General is right to say, as he does in his report on the work of the Organization, that global order is increasingly indispensable and that we need a sense of human solidarity which will find expression in a strong family of international institutions [*see A/33/1, sect. I*].
5. Will the work done here over the next three months show real evidence of this sense of human solidarity? Will

our debates and resolutions advance us further towards that global order which the Secretary-General says is now indispensable? These seem to me to be the fundamental questions underlying virtually all the individual problems on our agenda.

6. At the centre of many, if not all, of these issues is an injustice or conflict arising from the political or economic dominance of one group, of one country or of one interest, and the consequent exclusion or suppression of another. Such situations are by their nature unstable. In a world where all major problems are now interrelated and interact on one another, injustice leading to instability in any one area can be a danger to us all.

7. Clearly, efforts to maintain domination in human relations today are dangerous and wrong. Instead, we need, in every area of international life, to try to replace domination by participation and co-operation. In this way we can hope to create patiently and by stages a more just and a more stable world order. In doing this, we will need to use to the full all the possibilities offered by this great Organization and the family of international institutions, of which it is the core.

8. It is clear, of course, that this cannot be achieved all at once—and perhaps in a complex world it will never be wholly achieved. The Secretary-General has done well to warn us that there are many issues where, at best, we may be able to contain and defuse the problem and allow time for a settlement to evolve.

9. Many of these problems do not yield immediately to settlement because they have roots which go deep into history. But though the past constrains us in these cases, it does not wholly determine the choices now open to us. How we face these inherited problems in our day will decide what the next generation to ours will inherit in its turn. We can pass on or add to the burden which we have inherited, or, instead, we can begin to lift this burden—even if it takes years to remove it completely.

10. Some here, of course, carry greater responsibility than others for the origin of particular problems; and some will have to do more than others to contribute towards a solution. The contribution which each of us can make in any particular case will depend on our capacity and on our degree of involvement. But since we have a world Organization where these issues are debated and voted on, all of us have some responsibility, and all of us need to do what we can to contribute towards a settlement.

11. I would summarize as follows the principles which will guide my country on the issues before us in the United Nations.

12. First, we accept the fact that, though we are a small country, even distant problems and conflicts do concern us, because of a sense of human solidarity and because we know that many of the larger issues can be dealt with only on a global scale and by a common effort to which we all contribute.

13. Secondly, we reject relations based on domination by any one group over any other. Our aim, instead, is to see participation and co-operation take the place of domination in every area of human life, and we have tried to act accordingly ourselves.

14. Thirdly, we accept that peoples have a right to see to their own security, but not in ways which seriously threaten or endanger the security of others and contribute to the insecurity of all.

15. Fourthly, we want to see the resources of our planet shared more equitably and with due regard to the need for conservation where they are limited. The conspicuous waste which is a feature of some of the more advanced societies not only should not but cannot be repeated on a world scale.

16. Fifthly, we believe that peoples of diverse outlook and culture must be free to develop in accordance with their own traditions and their own understanding of their own needs. The structure of relations between communities and nations should be such as to help and promote this, and any structures or practices which inhibit or prevent it must be changed. But there can be no uniform model for development, and the international community should not try to impose one. Instead, it should promote conditions in which each people can develop, in its diversity, to its full potential.

17. Sixthly, our concern and our sense of human solidarity is directed not to States only but to people as individual human persons. We believe that there are certain minimum requirements for human dignity which cut across cultural differences and national boundaries, and which men and women everywhere are entitled to expect as of right. In a world of such diversity it will take much patient discussion and growth of understanding in various bodies to develop fuller agreement on these rights and on how they are best given effect. But, in my view, we have already gone well beyond the stage where any one of us could claim that the denial within our borders of a basic minimum of individual human dignity is a wholly private matter and not a legitimate concern of the whole international community.

18. Seventhly, we believe that progress can be made towards a better world order and a greater sense of human solidarity and interdependence where States of a particular region with a common outlook come together in a regional grouping or organization, provided that they also show a sense of wider solidarity and concern extending beyond their own group to humanity as a whole.

19. Ireland is one of the nine member States of the European Economic Community and this helps us to extend and deepen our relations with other countries and groups. The common viewpoint of the nine States on many of the issues on the agenda was expressed here two days ago

by our President, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Genscher [8th meeting, paras. 135-200], and we share fully in those views.

20. Eighthly, we believe that, however regional organizations or groups may evolve, we shall always have need of a world organization to deal with world problems: the political, economic and social problems of mankind as a whole. The United Nations, together with the family of more specialized organizations which has grown around it, is such a body; and for all its faults it has already done much, over more than 30 years, to promote that sense of human solidarity which its Secretary-General has asked us to show.

21. This, in broad outline, is the approach which the Irish delegation will take to the complex of issues before us at this Assembly. Some of these are global issues of direct concern to all of us. Some are problems of instability and conflict in particular regions which also present wider dangers. I turn now to indicate in more concrete terms our viewpoint on some of these specific issues.

22. This year, for the first time, the General Assembly held a special session on disarmament, its tenth. The session was attended by many Heads of Government, including my Prime Minister, Mr. Lynch, who set out very fully the views of the Irish Government.¹ One good result of the session was the establishment of new negotiating and deliberative bodies with wider participation. We hope that this will breathe new life into disarmament negotiations.

23. We welcome the positive outcome of the special session. But we believe that its success will be measured only by the extent to which States translate into concrete measures the principles and programme they accepted in the Final Document [resolution S-10/2]. All countries, and especially the nuclear Powers, must show the political will to take real steps towards disarmament, and to escape from the vicious cycle of competition which, instead of contributing to their own security, is in fact adding to the insecurity of all. All nations claim that their armaments and military power are purely for their own security. They ask others to accept this on trust. But the military strength so acquired can arouse distrust in others and can be an instrument for the domination of others or for intervention elsewhere. Military strength does not even have to be used; its mere existence gives power to those who control it, which others less powerful may have to respect.

24. The major Powers must accept that ever-increasing armaments, which they claim are purely for defence or basic security, promote such distrust and insecurity in others that they feel obliged in turn to build up their own military capacity. Some non-nuclear States feel that even the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is discriminatory and is designed to perpetuate the dominant position of the nuclear Powers. As representative of Ireland, a small country whose Foreign Minister first proposed such a treaty in a draft resolution presented to this Assembly as far back as 1958,² I cannot agree. But I do agree that the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 4th meeting.

² *Ibid.*, *Thirteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 64, 70 and 72, document A/C.1/L.206.

voluntary renunciation of nuclear weapons by countries such as my own which have signed the Treaty makes it all the more incumbent on the nuclear Powers to take steps to limit the build-up of armaments. Moreover, the nuclear Powers should give clear and unambiguous guarantees not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States. Such guarantees should be in a form which does not undermine or substitute for the non-proliferation Treaty but rather helps to strengthen it and promotes wider adherence to it as a treaty providing a régime of universal nuclear responsibility.

25. Apart from the particular problem posed by nuclear weapons, we have witnessed in the years since the Second World War an ever-increasing build-up and spread of so-called conventional weapons. The millions of dead and maimed in the many conflicts fought with conventional weapons remind us that it is not just nuclear weapons whose spread and use must be prevented. Moreover, it is a scandal that countries whose people live in poverty should be encouraged to buy arms and trained to use them against their neighbours, whose people, though just as poor, have been similarly armed and trained. The suffering of the poor and the innocent should be alleviated by the financial resources of the wealthy and powerful rather than aggravated by their destructive resources.

26. But although we should aim to divert resources from armaments to development, the poorer countries of the world simply cannot afford to wait until disarmament has been achieved. It is questionable whether even diversion of the whole of the world's expenditure on arms, vast as it is, would be enough to meet what is urgently required.

27. The figures are startling. One quarter of the population of the earth controls 80 per cent of its income and consumes 80 per cent of its protein. In contrast, 40 per cent of the world's population are so poor that they hardly even enter the world's economy as purchasers at all. The poorer countries have only 7 per cent of the world's industry, and more than half the output even of that industry comes from five countries only.

28. To the developed countries this huge disparity may once have seemed to be due entirely to the superior skills or abilities of their own peoples. It is clear, however, that, on the contrary, this disparity is in very large part due to distorted economic relations which have evolved over the centuries. Apart from the special case of oil, a study has shown that the 12 major primary products, which brought the developing countries about 80 per cent of their export earnings, brought them a total income of \$30 billion. Those same commodities, when processed in the developed world, were worth \$200 billion, nearly seven times what the developing countries earned by the sale of the raw materials.

29. There is no evidence that either God or nature has determined once and for all the relationship which should exist between the price of goods processed or manufactured in the developed world and the price which the primary-producing countries get for the raw materials. What has determined the relationship is the emergence of a serious structural imbalance in the world economy, which had its origin in the position of dominance which the developed

world established for itself and which now helps to sustain it. If interdependence and co-operation are to replace domination in international life we need now a serious commitment by the developed world to accept significant changes in the structures of international economic relations, changes which can help to bring about a more just and equitable international economic order.

30. The Secretary-General's call to all of us to show a greater sense of human solidarity applies here with particular force. The developed world must learn to accept major changes because it is dangerous and wrong that the international economic system should grossly undervalue the productive output which the countries of the poorer two-thirds of the world have to offer. The developing countries, on the other hand, must accept that change will have to be carefully made. The system may be unfair, even perhaps grossly unfair, but it cannot be dismantled all at once without the gravest damage to all. What is required is a genuine and urgent commitment to reform and a willingness to co-operate and negotiate the major reforms which are needed.

31. The developed countries are not themselves all of a piece. There are countries like my own which, prosperous as they are in proportion to the third world, are underdeveloped in many ways in comparison with their neighbours. As we rightly seek to develop our own economies for the benefit of our own people, we may have to face some difficult choices. In some industries we may find ourselves in competition with the more successful developing countries as they seek to industrialize, and we may have to weigh our international moral obligations very directly in the balance against the immediate economic interests of our own people. However, it must surely be recognized that it would not be equitable that within the developed world the main burden of the restructuring which is necessary should fall on the weaker part of it.

32. Some industrially developed countries have in fact opted out of their obligations. If we as a small and less prosperous country with limited resources, which was itself the subject of economic exploitation for so long, accept our responsibility, we cannot agree that other more powerful and technologically advanced countries should refuse to do so.

33. The developing countries, on the other hand, will, I hope, be wise enough to see that their aim cannot and should not be to recreate throughout the world that profligate waste of resources which is a feature of present-day industrialized societies. As I said earlier, the help which I believe these developing countries need is help to create conditions in their own societies which will be consistent with their own aims and their own traditions, and which, I hope, will show a greater respect than the industrialized world has yet shown for the natural limits of the resources and the environment of our small planet.

34. Economic and social development is but one aspect of the wider question of the achievement of human rights based on the acceptance of the dignity and worth of the human person.

35. This year we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Universal Declaration had, and continues to have, great moral force in the world. Its preamble and articles were a source of enormous hope to those who had survived the terrors of totalitarianism and world war, and its emphasis on the dignity of the individual human being was widely welcomed. Many countries have now incorporated its elements in their constitutions or basic laws, and it continues to provide an ideal for the aspirations of our citizens.

36. Of course, those who drafted the Declaration knew that it was only a beginning and that much further work would be needed to develop in more detailed and specific form the general principles which it set out. In the intervening 30 years a great deal of work has been tackled and a body of international law and practice on human rights has been built up.

37. I should like to comment on just one aspect of recent human rights deliberations in the United Nations system.

38. There is now wide agreement that situations which demonstrate a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights are a proper matter for international concern and are not within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction of States. This agreement is reflected in the large majorities of the General Assembly in recent years in condemning human rights violations in Chile and southern Africa. We welcome this general agreement and would like to see it apply consistently to the human rights problems everywhere.

39. There are obviously other countries where civil authorities deliberately and constantly repress basic rights, even in defiance of their own publicly expressed and freely accepted international commitments. These failures threaten the process of détente and relaxation of world tensions in the interests of world peace. They must also adversely affect the confidence and support of international public opinion, which is a highly important factor in this process.

40. At the United Nations we are now at the stage where it is necessary to take every step open to us to establish and confirm the international will to investigate consistent patterns of gross human rights violations. An important advance in this area occurred this year when agreement was finally reached between the Government of Chile and the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile for the visit of members of the Working Group to Chile in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions. We await the report of that Group. On the other hand, the racist régime in South Africa continues to ignore our consistent condemnations of *apartheid* and massive violations of human rights in that region. My country utterly abhors and rejects racism, and my delegation will play its full part in our deliberations on this matter.

41. I said earlier that our aim was to strengthen the United Nations so that it can become a better instrument for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of justice. We have always considered that if there is a role for other nations in local or regional conflicts it is ideally exercised not by direct intervention, but on behalf of the international community as a whole as part of a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

42. My Government has demonstrated its commitment by supplying over the years some 17,000 Irish soldiers to nine different peace-keeping operations in turn, and this is from a very small Irish permanent defence force. Over this past year, United Nations peace-keeping activities have increased both in scope and significance. In order to support peace-keeping and the useful work of the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, Ireland, in common with its partners in the European Community, believes that it would be useful if the General Assembly were to adopt by general agreement a declaration of support for peace-keeping.

43. In keeping with our policy, Ireland in May of this year sent a battalion to serve with UNIFIL, and we have recently agreed to augment that force. We felt it our duty, and indeed are proud, to contribute in a practical way to making the United Nations more effective as an instrument in the cause of peace and to help a troubled country. In its first six months UNIFIL has indeed achieved a great deal, and in this context I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General and the Force Commander, Major-General E. A. Erskine, for their conduct of this operation, which called for a high degree of courage, judgement and resourcefulness. The Force has succeeded in exerting its control over most of its area of operation and has contributed to the achievement of peace and stability for many of the people of that area. The Secretary-General has, however, rightly pointed out that much remains to be done. It is vital that UNIFIL be enabled to operate freely throughout its entire area of operations, and that the Lebanese Government should re-establish its authority in southern Lebanon.

44. It is a cause of grave concern to my Government that certain armed elements, supported from outside Lebanon, continue to restrict the freedom of movement and the deployment of UNIFIL and likewise to resist the deployment within Lebanon of properly constituted elements of the Lebanese army. I would therefore appeal to all States with influence in the area to ensure that all parties give their full co-operation to UNIFIL so as to enable it to discharge its mandate and contribute generally to peace in the Middle East.

45. In common with other members of the European Community we continue to support the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Lebanon. The Lebanese situation is in itself inextricably linked with the over-all problems of the Middle East, and a satisfactory solution of Lebanon's problems requires progress towards a general settlement in the Middle East.

46. Since the situation in the Middle East was last debated in this Assembly there have been important developments. Some of them seem to offer hope of progress towards a stable and comprehensive peace in that area. Others again remind us just how complex and intractable the problems of that region are.

47. Along with our partners in the European Community we commended the courageous initiative taken by the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat last year, and more recently the important step taken at Camp David by the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, President El-Sadat and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Begin.

48. It is our hope that all of these efforts will lead in time to a just, stable and comprehensive settlement which will take account of all aspects of a difficult and complex problem. Such a settlement in our view will require careful and patient negotiation; and it must involve all of the parties and respect the rights of all of the parties.

49. In our view such a settlement should start from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and should also take full account of the principles which the member States of the Community, including Ireland, set out in the statement on the Middle East made by their Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers at the European Council meeting in London on 29 June 1977. In particular, as we have made clear, there should be acceptance of the rights of all States in the area to live within secure, recognized and adequately guaranteed boundaries; and there must be respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, which would include their right to participate in the determination of their own future and would take into account also their right to a homeland. I sincerely hope that what has been done may become a beginning on the difficult road toward such a settlement.

50. I have recently had the opportunity to learn at first hand in Africa the views of some African leaders, both in regard to the development of their own countries and in regard to wider political issues. It was made clear to me that the desire of Africans today is to create their own structures of society best fitted for African needs, drawing on and developing their own traditions, while accepting what seems valuable from outside. Africans wish, in other words, to be masters of their own destiny, and look to others to co-operate with them in this task, both economically and politically.

51. It is also plain that the wish of African States to assert their own individuality has not lessened their willingness to work together in the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and to co-operate at the world level in the United Nations. The high hopes for African unity and the OAU may not always have been fulfilled. It is not realistic to expect that all of Africa's problems, whether indigenous to the continent or bequeathed by colonial rule, can be easily or quickly overcome, but we support the desire of African States to seek African solutions for African problems. We in Europe know only too well how long it takes to create structures to enable us to pursue common interests and concerns together, despite all that we have in common, and indeed those structures that we have are as yet only partial.

52. The unfinished business in southern Africa remains one of the most likely causes of serious international tension today. The damage to Africa's development and the diversion of resources that stem from these unresolved issues are very great. The injustice of domination by one human group over another, the consequent instability and the dangers inherent in delay in resolving such issues are nowhere more evident than in southern Africa.

53. The folly of the white minority régime in Rhodesia in trying to maintain its rule by excluding the majority from any effective participation in government is clear for all to see. The consequences of allowing a situation to drift for too long, and a lack of zeal in carrying policies through, are

evident. A renewed effort must be made to bring all parties to the conflict in Zimbabwe together, so that the transfer of power to the majority may take place peacefully. The alternative is a continued and agonizing struggle which will bring further suffering and misery to all races in Zimbabwe and risk a wider conflict that will engulf surrounding countries. Ireland will continue to implement the sanctions which were imposed by the Security Council to bring effective pressure on the Smith régime to negotiate on a realistic basis.

54. In Namibia, we have in the past year had cause to hope that, in contrast, concerted action by the international community and by some of its members in particular, would lead to a just and internationally acceptable solution. The five Western members of the Security Council demonstrated by their efforts their commitment to peaceful change and acceptance of a responsibility to ensure the exercise of self-determination in Namibia. The Presidents of the front-line States, accepting the good faith behind these efforts, worked unceasingly to ensure their success. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] put aside its justifiable suspicions of South Africa. South Africa appeared to demonstrate a new realism. It is a grievous disappointment then that South Africa has drawn back by rejecting the Secretary-General's detailed proposals³. I am convinced that pressure on South Africa to change its mind must be maintained and that the South African Government should be left in no doubt as to the very serious consequences that will ensue if it further resists the will of the international community on this issue, in which the United Nations has a very particular involvement.

55. The root of the problems in southern Africa lies of course in South Africa itself, in the policies of systematic racial discrimination of *apartheid*. I do not propose to spell out in detail my views on the *apartheid* system, which I outlined to this Assembly last year.⁴ I would simply say in summary that it is criminal because it condemns millions of people to a second-class existence within their own country, to the destruction of their social and family life and to oppression when they resist; it is hugely wasteful because it deprives the country of the talents of many of its most gifted citizens; it is disastrous because it is bound to fail; and it is tragic because the descendants of those who successfully fought for self-determination against the then colonial Power now deny it to their fellows and claim to be acting in the name of Christianity and as defenders of Western civilization. I believe that we who hold these values have a special responsibility to reject this claim. The reality is that it is white South Africa that, in claiming to defend these values, does them the greatest outrage.

56. The problem we face is that those who hold power in South Africa and their supporters refuse to see the reality of the world around them. How do we get them to open their eyes? Unfortunately I can see no sign that they are prepared to make the fundamental changes in policy that are required to avert disaster or, indeed, even to take the

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 20th meeting, paras. 43-47*.

first step down such a road. No one should pretend that constructing a multiracial society is an easy task, but the longer it is postponed the more difficult it becomes and the greater the likelihood of violence. My Government is therefore fully convinced that co-ordinated outside pressure on South Africa is required to bring it to change its policies. We are determined to play an active part, both here in the United Nations and with our partners in the European Community, in the formulation and implementation of effective international measures to this end.

57. In the meantime the world also has a responsibility to show its concern in a practical way for those who suffer under the *apartheid* system and to support the United Nations funds for this purpose, particularly in this International Anti-*Apartheid* Year. The South African Government should, as this Assembly has so often requested, release those imprisoned solely for opposition to its *apartheid* laws—such as, for example, the young Christian workers recently arrested—and it should refrain from actions, such as the proposed execution of Solomon Mahlangu, which can only serve further to embitter the situation.

58. Finally, I should like to report to this Assembly, as successive Irish Foreign Ministers have done, on a problem of direct concern to us: that of Northern Ireland. I think it is important because for this Organization to maintain its credibility each of us must be ready to accept, in the case of problems which involve our own direct interests, the standards of conduct which we want to see applied to problems in which we are not directly involved.

59. This year, I am pleased to be able to bring to this Assembly a message of greater hope about Northern Ireland. It is true that it is violence generally which makes headlines in the world press. But it is important to look beyond the headlines to the fact that, in Northern Ireland, violence is now clearly seen as futile, and that it is rejected and repudiated by all except a tiny minority.

60. There are signs of new thinking on the part of all of those concerned with this problem—within Northern Ireland itself, in the island of Ireland as a whole, and in the United Kingdom, with which, on this difficult subject, my Government has regular and close consultation. The new thinking and the hope to which I referred derive in part from progress and new developments in Ireland. Today the Republic has one of the fastest growing economies in Western Europe. The problems of inflation and unemployment are being brought under control.

61. Now that both parts of the island are within the European Economic Community, we have become more conscious than ever of the extent to which the problems and opportunities we face are similar in both parts of the island. There is a new mood which recognizes that on many questions we have common interests which are best pursued in common. My Government would like to ensure that there is a clear awareness abroad of this new mood and of the new possibilities in Ireland.

62. I stressed at the outset of this statement my belief that relations based on domination or fear of domination by any one group over any other must be replaced by participation

and co-operation. In dealing with problems of divided communities anywhere, what is necessary is to build trust and reconciliation on a basis of respect for a diversity of traditions and outlook. In such cases, reconciliation can be promoted and encouraged by political institutions which are broad and generous enough to take account of differing aspirations while expressing and promoting common interests.

63. We have always believed that it would be in the interests of all of the people of Ireland and of good relations between the Irish and United Kingdom Governments if the people of Ireland were to come together by consent, by negotiation and under agreed structures. Without taking from the rights of the majority in Northern Ireland, we would hope to persuade the United Kingdom Government also of this point of view, so that it should indicate its interest in the unity of Ireland by agreement, in independence, and in a harmonious relationship between the two islands.

64. As we move into a new era of confidence and opportunity, both within Ireland and internationally, I am convinced that we will be able to reassess the relationships and attitudes which we have inherited from history and which in the past have been a source of tension and conflict.

65. This reconciliation that we hope to see in the island of Ireland would release new energies and open up new opportunities in a new and changing international economic environment. Our belief is that we can share a bright and hopeful future in Ireland and that in so sharing we would all be enriched and be able to play a fuller part internationally.

66. Here before our brother nations, I want to tell our brother Irishmen of old traditions—that we respect their past and have confidence in their future.

67. While the problems of Northern Ireland have been acute they can scarcely compare with the terrible human problems that have persisted elsewhere. I know that many people from all parts of Ireland are engaged in unselfish service in developing countries. It seems essential, then, that we should find new political understanding to encourage that service.

68. The voice of my Government is heard in the European Community, at these United Nations, and in our relations with these developing countries. We believe that the voice of Ireland will be all the more persuasive when, as we hope, it speaks on behalf of the people of the whole island of Ireland with their agreement and consent.

69. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): Mr. President, the annals of United Nations history show a long list of distinguished representatives of the Latin American group of nations who have made important contributions to the progress and development of our Organization. The current session of the Assembly has now, by electing you as its President, added another eminent name to that already impressive list. Your election, Sir, is indeed a manifestation of our high esteem for your outstanding qualities as a statesman and scholar, and this Assembly should indeed

congratulate itself for having you to guide its deliberations. My delegation would like to assure you of our full co-operation in the execution of the tasks entrusted to you in your high office.

70. With one regular session of the General Assembly and no less than three special sessions, the past year has indeed been a highly active and demanding one, not only for the Members of the Organization but particularly so for the outgoing President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who has discharged his responsibilities with great skill, patience and leadership, and has contributed substantially to whatever has been achieved during the past year. Mr. Mojsov's contributions will long be remembered with great appreciation by all who participated in those sessions.

71. As we enter the final decades of this century, we find ourselves at a crucial juncture in history. This is a time of rapid and often baffling changes, coupled with strenuous efforts for adjustment. It is a time of anxiety and disorientation, on the one hand, and opportunity and hope, on the other. In the midst of all this upheaval, the United Nations has not remained static; it has grown in size and complexity, and expanded its activities.

72. The growth of the United Nations towards universality was given additional emphasis by the accession of Solomon Islands to membership in our Organization. Indonesia would like to congratulate the people of Solomon Islands once again on the attainment of their independence and warmly welcome them to membership in the United Nations. Solomon Islands is one of our close neighbours in the south-west Pacific and we look forward to mutually fruitful co-operation between our two countries within and outside the United Nations system.

73. In the face of the rapidly changing world situation and the ever-increasing political and economic problems that the Organization is called upon to solve, the present machinery of the United Nations has often proved less than adequate. While recognizing the short-comings of our Organization, I would be the last to say that it is nothing but a list of unsolved problems; nobody can deny that the United Nations has its problems, but it is far from being a failure. Apart from its role in peace-keeping in various parts of the world, mention must be made of the numerous achievements of the United Nations in the field of peace-building, especially its operational activities for development. None the less the fact remains that it is time to undertake concerted and comprehensive efforts towards adapting the United Nations to the increasingly heavy demands placed upon it.

74. As we begin the work of another session we find ourselves confronted by many lingering problems and the sudden re-emergence of old issues long thought to have been resolved. The general feeling that 1978 could be a year of progress in such crucial areas as the Middle East, southern Africa, the implementation of the New International Economic Order, and negotiations on the law of the sea has not been fully realized as yet. Although some progress has been made, further delay in solving those and other problems not only makes finding solutions to them more difficult, but could also create serious consequences for the international community.

75. At the same time we cannot but view with dismay additional problems which have recently reappeared on the international horizon, such as the revival of bloc politics, the deterioration of détente and the return of certain aspects of the cold war. In short, the international situation today is fraught with grave uncertainties, thereby threatening the already fragile structure of international peace and security. In that light my delegation would like to underline the efforts of the non-aligned movement to overcome bloc divisions and to help create conditions more conducive to international peace, security, and general progress, as was again manifested by the results of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade last July. The important contribution of the movement in convening the tenth special session, which was devoted to disarmament, and the results achieved at the session also merit mention.

76. The resurgence of a situation of conflict and tension in South-East Asia is a matter of grave concern to the region, which for more than one generation has been plagued by terrible bloodshed and immense suffering caused by a war inflicted upon it by outside Powers. After a short-lived peace another conflict has now emerged, this time between some countries in the region itself. It is in the interests of all nations in the region that peace should soon be restored so that they can devote their efforts to the task of national reconstruction and development.

77. It is my Government's sincere hope that all the nations in South-East Asia will soon be able to join hands in building a stable and peaceful region, in an atmosphere of peace, free from foreign interference and free from great-Power rivalry, so as to allow their peoples to progress together in freedom, dignity and common prosperity.

78. The South-East Asian scene is fortunately characterized not only by conflict but by other more propitious developments as well. The efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to establish a firm foundation for common action to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in its member countries have met with a large measure of success. ASEAN can now claim with justification that it has become a constructive force in the region. It has emerged as a dynamic entity which strives for peace, prosperity and stability, capable of opening new horizons for South-East Asia and the world at large.

79. The most important objective of ASEAN is the attainment and preservation of peace and stability in the area as a prerequisite for a continued and unhampered process of development in the region. It is within that framework that ASEAN member countries have reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts towards establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. They have extended their hands in friendship and for mutually beneficial co-operation to their neighbours in the region.

80. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace was an important step in our efforts to reduce great-Power rivalry and tension in the various regions of the world. Since its adoption in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] the Declaration has received growing sup-

port from the Members of the United Nations. To our regret, however, no progress has been made towards its realization. Indonesia will continue to participate in the efforts made to achieve the implementation of that Declaration.

81. The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament drew international attention to the problems of disarmament and reflected the desire of the international community to undertake measures through the United Nations to halt the arms race and to initiate the process of genuine disarmament.

82. As the Final Document of that session [*resolution S-10/2*] makes clear, mankind is confronted with a choice; either we halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or we face total annihilation. It is nuclear weapons that pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization. Therefore, the immediate goal is the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and the beginning of effective measures aimed at nuclear disarmament. Efforts must be intensified at the current negotiations to achieve the complete cessation of the testing of nuclear weapons. The resolution of these issues by the newly-constituted Committee on Disarmament, with the participation of all nuclear Powers, would contribute significantly towards solving other issues of nuclear disarmament and arms control. At the same time that would pave the way towards establishing control of conventional arms which have lately become increasingly sophisticated and lethal and approach the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons.

83. In considering questions related to disarmament, we should be mindful not only of the physical and spatial aspects of the problem, but also of motivational ones. It will be necessary also to focus our attention on the fundamental issues concerning the resolution of human conflicts. Through such an integrated approach, the process of disarmament can be dealt with in several of its aspects.

84. The situation prevailing in the Middle East still remains dangerous and highly explosive, posing a serious threat to international peace and security. That state of affairs is due to the persistence of Israel in its flagrant denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as recognized by the United Nations.

85. It is my Government's established position that the question of Palestine constitutes the core of the Middle East problem. There can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless the Palestinian people can exercise their legitimate rights, including the right to return to their homeland and their right to self-determination and to establish a national State. In that respect, my delegation strongly supports the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [*see A/33/35*]. It is regrettable that the Security Council did not endorse them.

86. An additional problem of concern to many members of the international community is the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, as well as the status of the holy shrines in Palestine. Because of its significance to three major world religions, Israel must respect the religious and historical status of the Holy City as well as its special characteristics. Jerusalem must be restored to Arab Islamic custody.

87. As regards the Cyprus question, my delegation hopes that an acceptable settlement will result from negotiations which recognize the legitimate aspirations of the two communities. We further hope that renewed efforts can be made towards the achievement of a peaceful settlement that would preserve the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus as a non-aligned country in which the two communities can live together in peace and harmony.

88. The situation in Namibia continues to warrant our grave concern. Our hope that at last the Namibian question was within sight of a peaceful solution appears to have been premature. South Africa's rejection of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia is another in a long series of condemnable acts by the Pretoria régime aimed at frustrating the achievement of genuine independence by the people of Namibia. My delegation condemns this act of South Africa aimed at nullifying the progress made by the United Nations so that it can continue its domination and exploitation of the Territory. Indonesia will continue to support the struggle of the Namibian people, of which SWAPO is the authentic representative, for sovereignty and independence within the entire Territory of South West Africa, including Walvis Bay.

89. Equally disturbing is the worsening situation in Zimbabwe, where the illegal Smith régime remains adamant in the face of the changing realities in that territory. It is in this light that I reiterate Indonesia's support for Security Council resolution 423 (1978)—endorsed by the OAU, the front-line States and the Patriotic Front—condemning the so-called internal settlement. The settlement of the problem of Zimbabwe should be based on the relevant United Nations resolutions, which provide for free and impartial elections on the basis of universal suffrage, United Nations supervision of such elections and the participation in them of all groups. In this context I should like to call upon the international community to tighten and expand existing economic sanctions in force against the Smith régime. I should also like to remind the international community that the struggle in Zimbabwe has forced thousands of people in that Territory to flee to the surrounding States, a fact that has created financial hardships for the States bordering Zimbabwe.

90. The situation in South Africa has continued to worsen as the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria has continued to carry out its policy of institutionalized racism. Indonesia would like to reaffirm once again its support for the people of South Africa in their fight for their right to self-determination and against *apartheid*. Indonesia supports any and all positive steps directed at the isolation of the Pretoria régime—in particular, arms and economic embargoes. My delegation calls upon South Africa to cease all persecution of opponents of its *apartheid* policy. Furthermore, Indonesia would like to reaffirm its support for the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

91. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea constitutes one of the most delicate and complex international endeavours yet undertaken. The Conference's mandate is to lay down a new and just international legal order of the oceans to be contained in one comprehensive convention. Indonesia, as an archipelagic State, situated at the cross-roads between two continents and two oceans,

attaches great importance to the successful outcome of the Conference.

92. The seventh session of the Conference ended a few weeks ago. Since the second session in Caracas in 1974, results have on the whole been positive, and significant progress has been made in many areas. Of course, certain hard-core issues have yet to be resolved, and we hope that the forthcoming session, to be held in Geneva next year, will complete the informal negotiations in order that we may proceed with a formal text.

93. My delegation wishes to express its full support for the statement made by the Chairman of the Group of 77 during the last session of the Conference concerning unilateral legislation on the exploitation of deep sea-bed resources,⁵ because such an attempt would only jeopardize the conclusion of the convention as a whole.

94. As the work of the Conference on the Law of the Sea is nearing its final stages, the time has now come to give more serious attention to the problems relating to outer space. In the context of rapidly developing technology, the peaceful uses of outer space have assumed growing importance against the background of increased activities and continued advances in the exploration of outer space. Several of these activities have extended the frontiers of space. This has resulted in a number of problems with far-reaching implications for the international community. Among them is the question of geostationary orbits, which are of great importance not only to space Powers but also to the equatorial and other States. While progress has been achieved in some areas, agreement on other outstanding issues has continued to elude us. Indonesia regards international co-operation as the only way to promote the peaceful uses of space and space technology and an enhanced role for the United Nations as the focal-point of such co-operation.

95. It has become a truism that the changes and portents that beset the world's political sphere will affect in an equal manner the world's economic scene. In view of the interrelationship and interplay of major global problems, there can be no lasting peace so long as economic imbalances and injustices prevail. The challenge of redressing these injustices has become a task of urgent relevance, since it will have a critical bearing on the fate of mankind.

96. The world has come to realize that the demands of equity and justice require fundamental changes in the international economic system to assure the developing countries of fuller participation in international economic activity and an equitable share of its benefits. This perception found its expression in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. For more than four years the international community has been engaged in negotiations concerning the fundamental restructuring of international economic relations. These negotiations have produced only

meagre and limited results. While there has been a growing realization of the interdependence and mutuality of interest and the need for structural changes, this has not been matched by commensurate practical action on the part of the developed countries.

97. We are witnessing a slowing down in world economic activities and world trade along with the re-emergence of protectionist policies in some major industrialized countries. These inward-looking policies have rendered the process of negotiation more difficult and made the attainment of the goals of negotiations set out at the seventh special session elusive.

98. It was therefore with a particular sense of disappointment and genuine concern that we noted the failure of the resumed session of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, to agree on the mandate and the functions of the Committee, which has precluded its finalizing its work in the area of the transfer of resources. My delegation would like to reaffirm the importance it attaches to the involvement of the United Nations system in the negotiations on economic issues of a global nature and the need for providing them with a central body which would serve as a negotiating body for the adoption of guidelines on central policy issues and the achievement of agreement on the resolution of fundamental and crucial issues related to international economic relations. It is our earnest hope that the General Assembly will be in a position to confirm in an unambiguous manner the right of the Committee to negotiate with a view to reaching agreements without in any way pre-empting the functions of other United Nations bodies. The supremacy of the United Nations system in regard to all negotiations relating to the establishment of the New International Economic Order should also be affirmed.

99. We are heartened to note that this concern is shared by a large number of countries in the United Nations. We are on the threshold of important negotiations which will have a critical bearing on our endeavours towards the successful creation of a more just and equitable world economic order. The UNCTAD negotiating conference on the common fund⁶ will be resumed shortly, and the multilateral trade negotiations have reached their final stages. It is of vital importance that these negotiations be concluded successfully in order to bring about a substantial improvement in the international trade of the developing countries. The successful conclusion of these negotiations would not only facilitate the work of the forthcoming fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila in May 1979 but would also have a very positive impact on its outcome and on the North-South dialogue in general.

100. Other important tasks that immediately lie ahead of us are, among others, the preparation of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, to be held in Vienna in 1979, and the further preparation and elaboration of the new international development strategy which will impinge on our efforts to realize the New International Economic Order. While much

⁵ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3), 109th plenary meeting.

⁶ United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

of the substance and approach of the previous strategy remains valid, the new strategy should have as its conceptual framework the establishment of the New International Economic Order and the promotion of collective self-reliance.

101. It is our strong belief that the United Nations is, with all its present inadequacies, still the only Organization which can bring peace, prosperity and progress in our present-day imperfect world. For this purpose the entire membership of the United Nations should unite its efforts towards making the Organization a more effective vehicle for the pursuit of our common purposes and for keeping alive our faith in a better future for mankind.

102. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, may I express to you, Sir, my great pleasure in extending to you, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, our warm congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We greet in your person a distinguished representative of friendly Colombia, a country with which Romania is so felicitously developing close relations of co-operation.

103. The current session of the General Assembly is called upon to consider issues of major importance for international life and to open up new prospects for the strengthening of peace, co-operation and security in the world, and for the solution of major problems confronting mankind today with the participation, on an equal footing, of all States.

104. The problems of peace, security and international co-operation, the establishment of new, democratic relations among States and the strengthening the role of the United Nations occupy a central place in the political thinking and prodigious international activity of the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. The attention and particular interest of the President of Romania in the problems that now confront the world community of States have found new expression in the speech he delivered at the beginning of the month of August. That is a document which expresses the very essence of the whole international policy of my country.

105. The foreign policy of Romania stems from the very nature of the socialist society, to the building of which the entire people are devoting their best efforts. It is consistent with the general development needs of the country on the path of economic and social progress and of the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society. Based on the permanent concern for defending and strengthening its sovereignty and independence as fundamental factors of its progress, our foreign policy at the same time attests to our devotion to the cause of freedom and equality of peoples and of peace, friendship and co-operation among all nations.

106. As a socialist country, Romania naturally develops political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations with all socialist countries and actively co-operates with those countries both bilaterally and in international life. That serves both the interests of our peoples and those of the general cause of peace, security and socialism all over

the world. At the same time, the relations of friendship, co-operation and solidarity between Romania and the developing countries and the non-aligned States are expanding constantly. In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania is developing relations with all the States of the world, irrespective of their social system, and takes an active part in the international division of labour, as well as in the world-wide exchange of material and spiritual assets.

107. A particularly important role in the development of the international activities and relations of my country was played by the visits and talks that the President of the Republic had with Heads of State and Government, and political leaders from many countries, as well as by the agreements reached on those occasions which laid down solid foundations for Romania's relations with the respective countries.

108. Romania consistently places at the basis of its relations with all States the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-use of force or threat of force, and the safeguarding of every people's right to independent development according to its own will and aspirations. We hold the view that it is only on the basis of those principles that relations of a new type, of peaceful and equal co-operation among States, can be achieved. It is only on such grounds that confidence and stability in international life and peace and security in the world can be assured. That is why it is imperative that the United Nations and all States act with a sense of high responsibility for a wide international recognition and full observance of those principles.

109. In evaluating the international situation, my country proceeds from the fact that profound political, economic, social and national changes are continuing to take place in the world. A new impetus has been given to the will and struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, for the complete liquidation of the old imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of domination, aggression and *diktat*, for becoming masters of their natural resources and of their own destiny, for ensuring a free and independent economic and social development and for the establishment of a new world economic and political order. At the same time we witness a sharpening of contradictions in international life, the intensification of tendencies towards a redivision of spheres of influence, a strengthening of domination in various parts of the world and of interference in the domestic affairs of other States. We witnessed recently the intensification of tendencies towards the use of force and of military ways to promote domination to obtain and consolidate zones of influence. We have witnessed also the intensification of tendencies to use economic means, in various forms, for strengthening the domination of monopolies and multinational corporations and for consolidating the influence of certain States in various regions of the world. Protectionist, restrictive measures which create obstacles to economic exchanges and co-operation among States have multiplied and thus have negatively affected the normal course of international relations.

110. Romania deems that those negative trends and phenomena in international life constitute a serious threat

to the independence and sovereignty of peoples, generate and maintain situations of tension and conflict, aggravate the state of insecurity and instability in relations among States, and endanger the peace and security of all mankind. These trends confirm that the détente in international relations which began to take shape during the last several years is extremely fragile and is still in an incipient stage.

111. That is why Romania thinks that no effort should be spared at this moment to lessen tensions in international life, and that all States and the United Nations must act for the political solution of all disputes, completely renouncing the policy of force and interference in whatever form in the domestic affairs of other States, and for the firm promotion of the policy of détente, peace, co-operation and security in the world.

112. One of the cardinal problems of mankind—namely, general disarmament, and in the first place nuclear disarmament—has figured for many years on the agenda of the Assembly. This reflects the apprehensions of mankind about the unabated arms race and points to the responsibility of the United Nations to save mankind from the nightmare of a new world conflagration.

113. This year Romania took an active part in the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, and considers that its results are positive. Romania believes that it is now essential that responsible action be taken to start implementing the recommendations and measures envisaged in the Final Document [resolution S-10/2].

114. While again affirming the proposals contained in the document submitted by Romania to the special session,⁷ we consider it necessary that the new United Nations bodies for deliberation and negotiation, namely, the Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament, should examine with the utmost care the opinions, suggestions and proposals submitted by various States. These constitute, on the whole, an important source of ideas and measures whose implementation could bring the disarmament process out of its impasse. It is imperative that the activity of these bodies be firmly oriented towards negotiating and concluding comprehensive agreements establishing concrete measures able to bring about the reduction of military expenditures and the cessation of the production of new weapons, both nuclear and conventional, thus creating conditions for starting the disarmament process and, first of all, that of nuclear disarmament under an adequate international control.

115. The supreme interests of the peoples require that disarmament measures should be firmly carried out, that firm commitments not to use nuclear weapons and, in general, not to use force against the non-nuclear-weapon States should be made. Considering that this is a major duty of the United Nations and of all States, Romania is firmly determined to spare no effort to bring about general disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament; the reduction of military budgets, armaments and troops; and the allocation of part of the funds wasted on arms to the

economic and social development of every nation, to permit more rapid progress in the developing countries.

116. We are, all of us, in agreement that one of the fundamental problems of mankind, upon the solution of which depends the very peace and security of the world, is the eradication of under-development, and the building of a new international economic order that could ensure the establishment of relations of equitable co-operation among all States, stimulate the more rapid development of less developed countries and further the economic, technological and social progress of mankind as a whole.

117. Therefore, Romania attaches great importance to the intensification of international efforts aimed at the achievement of this objective. The Romanian Government deems that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1980 devoted to the new international economic order should adopt a clear strategy for development to be elaborated with the participation of all States and to include principles, guidelines and ways for the elimination of under-development and of the serious delays in the development of some countries, and for the establishment of international relations of a new type based on full equality and equity. We consider that even at the current session of the General Assembly we should agree upon ways and means for the preparation and work of the special session, including the beginning of the elaboration of the documents that will be submitted for discussion. With the special session in view, it becomes necessary for the developing countries, which have played and will continue to play a role of primary importance in the efforts to establish a new international economic order, to strengthen their unity of action, to co-operate more closely in this sense and to agree upon working out a clear concept and a programme of concrete measures.

118. As a socialist country and at the same time as a member of the Group of 77, Romania is determined to contribute actively, together with the other developing countries and with all countries, to the thorough and adequate preparation of the special session so that the latter may give a strong impetus to the efforts at liquidating under-development and at establishing equitable economic relations.

119. We attach particular importance to measures intended to establish a more equitable proportion between the prices of industrial products and those of raw materials and to open unrestricted access to science and modern technology with a view to accelerating the progress of economically retarded countries. As initiator and host country of the European regional preparatory conference, Romania will fully contribute in the future as well to the adoption of such measures at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, which is to take place in 1979.

120. As a European country, Romania attaches particular importance to the achievement of security and the development of co-operation on the continent of Europe, and to the furtherance of the implementation of the commitments assumed under the Helsinki Final Act.⁸ Taking into

⁸ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

account that the Belgrade review session ended with unsatisfactory results, it is necessary for all States that participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to intensify their activity with a view to developing relations in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields, and to improving the political climate on the continent. Since Europe is the area in which the most powerful military forces in the world, including nuclear armaments, are at present concentrated, it is particularly necessary to proceed to take concrete and effective measures for reducing armaments and troops, for achieving military disengagement and disarmament, without which it is not possible to guarantee peace and achieve security in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

121. In this spirit, we consider that all attention should be focused on the thorough preparation of the next session of the Conference, to be held in Madrid in 1980, which should live up to the expectations of the peoples and lead to the adoption of measures capable of ensuring the acceleration of the process of détente, security and co-operation in Europe.

122. In the process of achieving security and developing co-operation, we attach particular importance to the transformation of the Balkans, and other areas of the continent, into zones of peace, understanding and good neighbourliness, without nuclear weapons. As a Balkan country, Romania pays steadfast attention to, and acts constantly for, the development of bilateral and multi-lateral co-operation between the Balkan countries and the strengthening of peace in that region.

123. With regard to the situation in Cyprus, we advocate a political settlement of the conflict by negotiations between the representatives of the two communities on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, which would ensure the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of the two communities.

124. As is known, Romania is consistently in favour of the political settlement by negotiations of all litigious international problems, since it is convinced that this is the only way to avoid the aggravation and extension of conflicts and to find solutions acceptable to all States concerned. It is our considered view that the United Nations and all States must act with determination for the elimination of force from international relations and for the peaceful settlement, by way of negotiations, of any dispute between States.

125. Being situated as it is in the immediate proximity of the Middle East, Romania is directly interested in the achievement of a just and lasting peace in that area of the world. In this spirit, Romania has consistently called, and continues to call, for a political settlement, through negotiations, of the Middle East conflict, which would ensure the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the war of 1967, the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people, the recognition of its right to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, and respect for the integrity and sovereignty of all States in the area. In our

view, in order to make progress towards the effective and judicious solution of all Middle East problems and to achieve a comprehensive settlement, it is now necessary to carry out negotiations, with the full support and active participation of the United Nations. The participants in such negotiations would consist of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan, Lebanon, the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate and recognized representative of the Palestinian people, Israel, and the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East—the Soviet Union and the United States—together with other States wishing to contribute to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area.

126. The long colonial domination has left unresolved a series of problems, including territorial ones, which of late have led, particularly in Africa, to tensions and armed conflicts. In accordance with its constant position, Romania has held that the African peoples must be allowed to solve their problems themselves, through negotiations and by excluding any outside intervention, and has stressed the particular importance of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the African States, which is an essential prerequisite for the defence and consolidation of their national sovereignty and independence.

127. Considering that the unification of Korea is a problem to be dealt with by the Korean people itself, Romania supports, as in the past, the constructive initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at achieving the great national ideal of the Korean people, which is the peaceful and democratic independent reunification of the country, without any foreign interference.

128. An imperative of our time is the complete liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, and of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Romania lends its full support to the national liberation movements, and to the struggle of the Namibian and Zimbabwe peoples for the achievement, as soon as possible, of their total national independence. Romania supports and expresses its solidarity with the people of South Africa in its struggle for the liquidation of the policy of *apartheid* and of any racial discrimination.

129. We consider that the United Nations and all Member States must do everything in their power to put an end to any manifestations of colonialism, and to any policy of oppression of one people by another, and to liquidate completely the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies everywhere on our planet.

130. The international community has for a long time been confronted by a major problem of our days, namely, the free and full development of human personality. Socialist Romania has taken an active part in the efforts made within the United Nations to promote human rights and freedoms, and to work out international documents aimed at ensuring the effective exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

131. Romania guarantees full political, economic and social equality to its citizens, as well as equitable economic and social relations, and it strives to create favourable

conditions so that every citizen, irrespective of nationality, can live a dignified life.

132. Romania has achieved equality of rights and free access to work, education, culture and science, and the participation, without political, national, sex or racial discrimination, in running the affairs of the society. According to my country's concept, genuine democracy and real humanism are incompatible with the maintenance of grave economic, social and political inequalities, and of national, class and racial discrimination between peoples. We are convinced that individuals can be truly free only when social and national exploitation and oppression are abolished, and when conditions are created for the full development of the human personality. It is precisely on such fundamental rights, which define real human freedom, that the attention of the world community of States must be focused, and not on secondary elements and superficial aspects, which only divert attention from the grave social anomalies fundamentally affecting the status of the individual in certain countries.

133. Being deeply devoted to its international commitments and proceeding from its philosophical concept of revolutionary humanism, on the basis of which it is building new social relations, socialist Romania acts for the real solution of the basic requirements of the individual's existence and for the continued development of democracy in social life, as well as for a wide democratization of international relations, and for the full sovereign equality of all States.

134. As is well known, Romania attaches particular importance to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in the solution of the complex problems of our time. President Nicolae Ceausescu has stated:

"Under the present circumstances, these bodies provide the best organizational framework for the active participation of all States in solving the problems, and for the strong assertion in the world of the principles of international law and the policy of equality among all the world's countries."

135. Committed as we are to the continued improvement of the work of the United Nations, we consider that it is necessary to intensify efforts in order to finalize the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and find new practical ways and means of raising the United Nations to the level of the responsibilities with which it is entrusted in the defence of international peace and security and the development of co-operation between all States. To this end, we believe it would be appropriate for the General Assembly to proceed even at this stage to the consideration of those proposals and actions which are likely to meet with the general agreement of the Member States.

136. We are of the view that the United Nations can make a valuable contribution to the peaceful settlement of international problems. This is precisely why we reaffirm, on this occasion as well, the proposal by Romania to proceed to the conclusion of a general treaty under which

all States would undertake to settle any disputes between them exclusively by peaceful means,⁹ and we are ready to co-operate with the delegations of other States towards this end.

137. We believe that the setting up of an organ of good offices and conciliation, responsible to the General Assembly, could make a noteworthy contribution to the prevention of situations of tension, and support the States concerned in finding solutions in a spirit of good neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence.

138. Romania also stands and strives for the active participation in the solution of international problems of all States, particularly of small and medium-size countries, which must take part, on a footing of equality, in the settlement of those problems in the interest of each nation and of the progress of mankind as a whole.

139. Romania takes part in this session of the General Assembly convinced that under the present international circumstances, the United Nations should engage itself more directly in the just and lasting settlement of major international problems, particularly in the prevention and the elimination of crises and conflicts between States, and in the initiation of effective actions to contribute to understanding and peaceful co-operation among all States.

140. Romania cherishes an unshakable confidence in the political will and capacity of States, of the peoples, and of the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world to settle by political means in the interests of all nations the complex problems mankind is faced with, and to eliminate the situations of tension in the interest of peace, détente, security and co-operation between all States of the world.

141. In conclusion, I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and to assure the representatives of States attending this session that the delegation of Romania is determined to play its part, together with all other delegations, in finding just and equitable solutions to the problems with which the United Nations is confronted in order to hasten the achievement of a better and more just world.

142. Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the representative of a country which is traditionally united with yours by the most cordial and brotherly ties, I have particular pleasure to congratulate you on the honour conferred on you by your election to preside over this General Assembly. The lofty responsibilities entrusted to you are a just recognition of your eminent personal merit and the constant observance of the legal rules and procedures which has been characteristic of Colombia.

143. I also wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who so intelligently and wisely guided the work of the General Assembly at its previous regular session and during the three special sessions which were evidence of the dynamic work of the world Organization during the past year.

144. On behalf of the Government and the people of Ecuador, I greet and welcome the new State of Solomon

⁹ See document A/S-10/AC.1/23, annex, para. 13.

Islands which joined the community of 150 free and sovereign nations of our Organization.

145. As a basis for its participation in the international community, Ecuador has maintained fundamental principles which are at the very root of our tradition—principles such as that of the legal equality of States and that of non-intervention, which is derived from the former. All States being equal, none can claim that it can impose its will over others. Accordingly, no pressure and no use of force in international relations can be accepted, nor is it possible to recognize territorial acquisitions obtained by the use of arms.

146. Being in favour of the principle of self-determination, Ecuador firmly supports the prompt accession to independence of peoples who are still under the colonial yoke, condemns every form of racial discrimination and, in particular, the shameful policy of *apartheid*, and strives to see to it that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms will become a universal, effective and permanent practice.

147. By the rejection of recourse to the use of force, a decisive moral character has been given to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes. Ecuador believes in the effectiveness of this principle in the solution of any problem, bilateral, regional or universal, and further believes that in this respect the community of nations have a serious responsibility. It was with this sense of responsibility that we actively participated in the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations, the mandate of which will be reaffirmed at this session of the Assembly so as to strengthen the Charter and make this way of settling conflicts compulsory.

148. We have participated in the United Nations since it came into being. We have always sought to make it and the specialized agencies stronger in the certainty that these are the best forums for discussion and action for all countries. Within a community of nations which is increasingly interdependent, each must make its contribution to strengthening peace, lessening international tensions, and seeking equitable solutions to the far-reaching economic, social, humanitarian and cultural problems which the troubled world of today faces.

149. Our Organization is one of the instruments best suited to the achievement of mutual understanding and joint progress. It is the appropriate forum for constructive dialogue, setting aside hegemonic positions or claims of privilege, with the aim of establishing a new political and economic order as the result of the concerted action of all people on earth.

150. A constructive spirit of understanding, and not of imposition of one's will, is the only means to attain international peace and security on a genuine basis of justice, international peace and security, the universality of human rights, the end of all colonialist or neo-colonialist manifestations, and the urgent establishment of the new international economic order, leading to the final elimination of the existing difference between the standard of living of the developing countries and that of the industrialized countries.

151. This year there have been some results regarding disarmament questions. The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has left us a Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*], which was adopted by consensus. That document comprises a Declaration which ratifies general and complete disarmament under effective international control as the ultimate objective of the efforts of States, and a Programme of Action containing priorities and measures to be adopted urgently to halt and put an end to the arms race. The Final Document also establishes machinery which combines a body in which all States participate with a limited-membership negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament, in which changes have been introduced which make it more democratic and, it is to be hoped, more effective in performing the work entrusted to it.

152. As regards nuclear disarmament, it is worth while to point out the growing importance of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), the full implementation of which has been recommended from this rostrum by the most responsible spokesmen of the peoples of the world and mentioned as a desirable example for other regions which are equally interested in the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. We are particularly pleased to hear statements of support for this Treaty and the announcements of the nuclear Powers, as well as those of the Latin American countries which are still not parties to the Treaty, regarding their intention to adhere to that instrument.

153. A preparatory meeting has just been held in Geneva for the United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. That Conference no doubt will be held in 1979. The prior work done and future efforts designed to achieve prohibitions or effective restrictions in the use of weapons of this type have received and will receive every support from the Government of Ecuador.

154. World-wide attention on what has been the fundamental item of the United Nations since it came into being have had special characteristics in the Latin American regions. On 22 June 1978 the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries signatories to the Declaration of Ayacucho¹⁰ in Washington signed the text of a declaration on regional disarmament, in which:

“They reaffirmed the importance which they attribute to the postulates of the Declaration of Ayacucho in respect of the limitation of armaments in Latin America, and reaffirmed the need to redouble efforts to bring about conditions which will be conducive to effective arms limitation in the region and to devote all possible resources to the economic and social development of each and every one of the countries of Latin America;

“They agreed that the continued existence of problems in the international field is one of the major causes of armaments and they accordingly reaffirmed their will to seek the solution of all disputes by peaceful means, thus

¹⁰ Signed on 9 December 1974 (see document A/10044, annex).

contributing to the elimination of tensions and to the preservation and strengthening of peace".¹¹

155. Ecuador is pleased that the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly has taken up this concept of the peaceful settlement of international disputes as an effective means to lessen the causes of the arms race.

156. In connexion with the foregoing I believe that it is vital for the international community to pay due attention to all the problems which constitute or might constitute a reason for the emergence of tensions or breaches of the peace. The pacifying action of the international community must prevent conflicts from becoming more serious. It is the responsibility of all to preserve and maintain international peace and security. It is our common duty to see to it that differences among countries are settled in accord with reason and justice.

157. Another of the efforts made by the countries of my region in disarmament was the beginning of a historical dialogue at the informal meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean on conventional weapons, which was held in Mexico in August of this year, the gradual and balanced continuation of which will, it is hoped, make it possible to progress with the participation of all the States of the region.

158. The alternative whether to settle disputes by peaceful means or whether to use force in international relations is tied to the very destiny of human beings, whose essence is transcendent and who are the basic nucleus of societies and of States as their efficient cause and final cause. In this respect the arms race is also a clear negation of human rights and a distortion of the most profound philosophical concepts.

159. How is it possible to speak of the full enjoyment of human rights when the prosperous and large Powers allocate for assistance to economic and social development barely four cents for each dollar devoted to arms? How is it possible to promote the social and economic well-being of peoples as an urgent duty of international co-operation when investments are made or favoured in vast amounts of war material which sometimes have no security purposes and are not in accord with the real interests of peoples? Nor can complete progress and the full enjoyment of human rights be attained as long as practices of economic domination are maintained which are obviously discriminatory.

160. The integral protection of human beings and of the inviolable nature of their rights is possible only if there is an end to the chain of injustices which overwhelm the developing countries, if the industrial Powers decide to adjust their conduct to the principles which they have proclaimed domestically and internationally in favour of human rights, and if they assist in building a democratic international society wherein inhabitants of all nations will enjoy equal civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

161. Consistent with the traditional legal structure of the State of Ecuador, the Government of my country condemns racial discrimination and energetically repudiates *apartheid* as a crime against mankind. Ecuador, the fundamental Charter of which recognizes "the right of peoples to be liberated from these oppressive systems", is a party to the international conventions on those subjects and renews its confidence that by means of international action mankind will be freed from every kind of racism and racial discrimination.

162. Being convinced of the validity of the principles which were proclaimed at a time similar to this, Ecuador reaffirms its rights over the segment of the geostationary synchronic orbit which, because of its geographical location, belongs to us. Together with other States on the Equator my country has said in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that it is willing to comply with the obligation to protect this natural resource which is a limited resource and one of potential benefit for the social and economic development of peoples through multiple peaceful applications now opened up by the era of satellites, particularly in the field of education, communications and energy.

163. As regards the law of the sea, Ecuador has been contributing substantially to the quest for agreements which will enable a consensus to be reached so as to conclude a universal convention. This is one of the most intractable questions mankind now faces because there are many aspects involved. Ecuador will continue to maintain that to arrive at this consensus the rights of States in maritime spaces must be respected. These rights in many cases are derived from historical legal precedents which cannot be ignored without the risk of vitally affecting vital interests which States cannot nor should not renounce.

164. One of the basic principles on which the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been working is respect for the common heritage of mankind which is the sea-bed beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction of each country. Therefore there was grave concern internationally when it was announced that the sea-bed might be explored and exploited unilaterally without awaiting approval of the rules which the Conference is preparing. That policy, besides running counter to principles and decisions already adopted by the United Nations, would be a serious setback in the formulation of a new international law in which all States would participate on an equal footing.

165. The exchange of the instruments of ratification of the new Panama Canal Treaties was the successful conclusion of a process of affirmation of the principles of mutual respect and co-operation among States. At the same time, those Treaties were the result of negotiations which contributed to strengthening the fundamental principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In that respect, bright hopes emerge that all remaining problems on our continent may, through cordial and objective dialogue, find adequate and just solutions. Ecuador, true to its peaceful tradition and in a spirit of frankness and goodwill, as I said a year ago at this rostrum, is persistently seeking "a goodwill agreement [with Peru] that would effect a satisfactory solution to its territorial claim, in line with the

¹¹ See document A/S-10/AC.1/34, annex.

requirements of its national honour and of its destiny in the Amazon river basin".¹²

166. In the same spirit, we hope that appropriate solutions will be found for other existing problems in Latin America which affect regional solidarity and development.

167. Since peace is essential for the progress which the peoples of the American family need so much, Ecuador is seriously disturbed by the situation in Nicaragua. Observing the fundamental principles that inspire the regional system and the United Nations Charter, notably the principles of non-intervention, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for human rights, all countries, particularly in the Americas, must give their humanitarian assistance in this crisis, and the parties directly concerned should, by efforts at conciliation, effectively contribute to a solution of the problem—all this within the basic spirit of the resolution recently adopted at the seventeenth meeting of consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States.¹³

168. As regards the Middle East question, Ecuador's position is well known, it having been reiterated at this rostrum on many occasions. I now express my sincere hope that the recent Camp David talks and the subsequent stages of that process will yield a just and lasting solution that will include all the parties affected by this explosive dispute and, of course, recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and settle the various pending questions so as to arrive at an agreement that will guarantee peace and security for all countries of the region.

169. The restoration of peace and normal living conditions in Lebanon is imperative. UNIFIL can discharge its lofty mission in that country only if it receives the full and appropriate co-operation of all the parties concerned.

170. Ecuador views with constant concern the situation prevailing in Cyprus and wishes to see a prompt and complete solution by peaceful means, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and in particular without the use of force as a determinant of rights—that is to say, a solution based on justice and on the interests of the inhabitants of that friendly country.

171. The persevering action of the United Nations in the field of decolonization must go on until the last vestiges of foreign domination have been removed from Territories that have not yet attained self-determination and independence. The continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia must come to an end as soon as possible. It is urgent that free elections, under United Nations supervision, be held to decide the political future of that country, whose territorial integrity includes Walvis Bay. The United Nations must prevent the failure of the negotiated solution of this problem which is now under way. Another challenge by South Africa to our Organization's resolutions would be intolerable and should be

duly considered by the competent organs of the world Organization.

172. Similarly, my country believes that we cannot postpone a peaceful and equitable solution of the problem of Zimbabwe which will ensure the establishment of a government based on majority rule.

173. Ecuador condemns all terrorist actions and agrees that it is necessary to ensure proper punishment for those who try to make terror and intimidation permanent weapons against the international community. We especially repudiate aerial hijacking and are therefore a party to the international Conventions of The Hague,¹⁴ Tokyo¹⁵ and Montreal¹⁶ and have supported the relevant United Nations resolutions. We further believe that it is the duty of the world Organization to adopt more effective measures in this respect.

174. The efforts of the international community for the maintenance and strengthening of peace would be sterile were they not directed towards the establishment of a new international economic order wherein the well-being of and respect for the individual were the essential objectives. We therefore believe that the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 is of vital importance. Now that its work has unfortunately been suspended, we must reaffirm the mandate of the Committee so that, through genuine negotiations, it will be able to adopt guidelines on matters of general policy and arrive at agreements on action that will produce specific results, within specified time-limits, on the priority questions of development and international economic co-operation. To consider the Committee merely as a debating society for general statements would be discouraging to those who have placed in it their hope of strengthening the North-South negotiations.

175. Only when there is a genuine will to reach understanding among the rich and the poor countries will it be possible to find gradual methods of international co-operation for the establishment of more equitable and stable relations among all nations and ensure the lessening of the tensions which jeopardize peace.

176. Therefore Ecuador has maintained that the transfer of resources to developing countries in real terms must cover every aspect which, in one way or another, represents foreign financial transfers, not only by means of official aid to development but also by the application of just terms of trade and the elimination of restrictive trade practices such as tariffs or closed markets or shipping restrictions, which will enable primary-producing developing countries genuinely to enjoy the fruits of their labours without lowering the purchasing power of their exports. The countries of the third world must also participate adequately in establishing a new monetary liquidity, and capital-exporting countries should make it available to developing countries on favourable and adequate terms.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, para. 26.

¹³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12861.

¹⁴ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on 16 December 1970.

¹⁵ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

¹⁶ Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

177. The means made available by international financial institutions such as IMF must also be increased so as to provide the resources needed by the developing countries in accord with their respective national priorities.

178. I reiterate my conviction that the Economic and Social Council must be strengthened. Its functions of co-ordination and political guidance must be carried out with the effective co-operation of all countries in accordance with the commitment undertaken in the Charter and, above all, with a greater contribution by the great Powers in all actions of the system.

179. There is a profound imbalance in national access to contemporary science and technology. The Vienna world conference to be held in 1979 on the subject¹⁷ offers an opportunity to study and solve problems regarding the transfer of that knowledge in such a manner that the developing countries will find the most just and secure ways to progress.

180. One of the most concrete channels for the transfer of technology, of effectively opening up investment and encouraging self-reliance, is to be found in the operational programmes of the United Nations, particularly in UNDP, there can be no further delay in the broadening of its objectives and in an increase in real resources for UNDP. It is up to the rich countries to make an effort to commit 0.8 per cent of their gross national product so that UNDP may meet the needs of countries at their various levels of development. If, as a first step, all the major contributors matched the contribution levels of the Scandinavian countries, that would be a considerable and appropriate step in the direction of universal benefit.

181. The major part of our agricultural production is being transformed gradually into an agro-industry; in that process the developing countries must achieve the goal of a 25 per cent share of world industrial production by the year 2000 in accordance with the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development Co-operation.¹⁸ In that way it will be possible to redefine next year the development strategy for the decade of the 1980s so as to arrive at a better ratio between resources and consumption for the benefit of the less favoured nations of the world.

182. Another matter of general concern is the disquieting resurgence of protectionist measures on a world-wide scale adopted by the industrialized nations which have reached a level which has not been registered for many years, to the detriment of commitments to liberalize trade as provided for in the 1973 Tokyo Declaration.¹⁹

183. One of the fundamental mechanisms for the establishment of the new international economic order is the Integrated Programme for Commodities²⁰ which was

¹⁷ United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.

¹⁸ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

¹⁹ Declaration of 14 September 1973, approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

²⁰ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

approved at the fourth session of UNCTAD, held in Nairobi in May 1976.

184. The lack of political will of the developed world has so far made it impossible to advance suitably in the negotiations and in the establishment of the common fund which is the backbone of the programme. Ecuador is pleased with the announcement that the negotiating conference for the common fund will be resumed and reaffirms its integrated approach which is to be found in UNCTAD resolution 93 (IV) both regarding the negotiations on the products included in that resolution as well as in respect of the nature of the measures to be adopted for each product.

185. Ecuador reiterates its faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and expresses its certainty that all that contributes to the qualitative improvement of human society, to the strengthening of peace and of the rights of peoples and to the consolidation of the dignity of man will be firmly supported so as to make a reality of an international society whose greatness is based on the supreme needs of peace with justice and justice with freedom.

186. Mr. CORRÊA GAGO (Portugal):²¹ I should like first of all to address to you, Mr. President, my warmest greetings on your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is with the greatest pleasure that we see presiding over the General Assembly the representative of a Latin American country, a friend of Portugal, to which we are united by so many common traditions and historical links. We are sure, Mr. President, that you will bring to this debate the invaluable experience of a career devoted to international affairs in the rich juridical tradition of Latin America and in particular that of Colombian diplomacy, further strengthened by the spirit and love of freedom that inspired the heroism of Bolívar.

187. Allow me also to pay a tribute to the eminent qualities of your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who presided so ably over the activities of the last regular session and the three special sessions of the General Assembly with his great political and diplomatic qualities during the whole year.

188. I wish also to salute the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. I recall the interested and devoted manner in which Mr. Waldheim followed the Portuguese decolonization process, and the constant efforts he has made in the same spirit towards peace which reveal the dedication, the competence and the human qualities he has always shown in the exercise of his high functions.

189. I should like also to extend our fraternal greetings to Solomon Islands upon its admission this year to the United Nations, bringing the number of United Nations Members to 150, almost three times as many countries as belonged to this Organization at the time of its founding. Thus the United Nations takes a considerable further step towards accomplishing one of its most noble aims, universality. Since I have referred to universality I believe it appropriate

²¹ Mr. Corrêa Gago spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

to consider the United Nations position within the world at this time when we are beginning our work in this General Assembly.

190. In this context, I should like to emphasize how strongly my delegation shares the concerns expressed in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]: namely, regarding the necessity of strengthening the prestige of the United Nations, of bringing greater efficiency to its activities, and of providing this Organization with the means that will enable it to exercise a decisive influence in the situations of conflict that our world faces.

191. As the Secretary-General says in his report, which was written with his usual firmness and clarity that are the fruit of his experience and knowledge of the problems, the essential purpose of the United Nations at the time of its creation was to ensure justice and peace among nations and especially to protect the small countries or those deprived of sufficient means of self-defence [see A/33/1, sect. III]. We must admit that the United Nations has not always been able to fulfil this essential function or, what is perhaps more important, to guarantee the enforcement of its own decisions. This state of affairs affects the confidence that the Member States should have in this Organization, and therefore needs to be corrected. We firmly believe in the advisability of granting the United Nations the necessary means to enable it to exercise immediately and permanently its role of guarantor of the peace. Portugal especially supports all initiatives aimed at strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping forces and in particular the creation of a reserve force to be available in an emergency. Although we acknowledge that the task of the United Nations peace-keeping forces has been a difficult one throughout the years, we are convinced that such United Nations operations, in many grave moments of international life, have been invaluable.

192. The agenda of this Assembly presents us with a long series of problems that assume a global dimension in our interdependent world—problems whose gravity so often jeopardizes peace and international security. As representatives of the community of nations, we have the duty, when confronted with the responsibility of studying, analysing and discussing those problems, in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Charter, of sparing no effort to contribute to their solution. This political will and determination that inspires my delegation is directly in line with the ancient traditions of Portuguese diplomacy. Throughout history, with a profoundly humanistic vision of life, we have preached and practised arbitration, conciliation, dialogue and peaceful negotiation as methods for the settlement of conflicts; and we believe that the moment has come for us to seek to make its presence felt, within this Organization, in such a way that will enable Portugal to continue that tradition in an efficient and fruitful manner for the international community.

193. Ostracized here for almost 25 years, Portugal, having now completed its process of decolonization and fully strengthened its democratic institutions, today has a just and legitimate claim to participate fully in international life and to collaborate openly at all levels with the organs and agencies of the United Nations. It is our belief that the long human experience acquired by my country throughout its

history could be a valuable asset to the cause of better understanding among the peoples of so many different origins and cultures which today form the community of nations. As an eloquent sign of the richness of that experience, let me point to the fact that I am quite naturally able to address you here in Portuguese, a language spoken today by about 150 million people, represented here by several sovereign States, to which from this rostrum I address my most fraternal and warm good wishes.

194. It is in the light of the ideals I have just mentioned that we follow the serious situation in the Middle East and welcome all the initiatives that have been taken to bring peace eventually to that part of the world. These initiatives, which, in our opinion, should be pursued, with the necessary moral and political courage, have brought hope to all those who recognize that the continuation of tensions in that area could easily lead to a new war of incalculable proportions, resulting in great human suffering and material destruction. Despite the obstacles and difficulties still to be overcome or the understandable doubts and suspicions, the echo that these gestures of peace have found in the very peoples most closely affected by the problems of the region and their repercussions in the world lead us to foresee the possibility of a less arbitrary solution which would be more just for the peoples, the values and the interests at stake. We support the full implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by this Organization on this matter. As we are bound by significant cultural and historical ties to the various peoples of the Middle East, it is with the greatest attention and care that we follow all the steps taken towards a solution that could ensure for all the States of the region the right to exist in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

195. For us, that solution should obviously respect the rights of the Palestinian people and assure the fulfilment of their legitimate hopes and aspirations. Let us not forget that the Palestinians are, after all, in their own land at this very moment the major victims of a conflict that has lasted over 30 years. But one point has to be made clear: never will there be peace in the Middle East—because peace implies the mutual recognition of States and full respect for their boundaries—as long as alien territories remain occupied by force. As soon as peace is reached, on the other hand—with all its implications, with all its guarantees—the abusive and unnecessary nature of occupation will become obvious to all.

196. Nevertheless, it is only with a genuine political will on the part of all the interested Governments and peoples and their effective participation that it will be possible to find and implement a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict.

197. We would be happy to believe that we are heading towards such a solution, a solution which could bring peace to the peoples in the Middle East in the not-too-distant future, thus crowning with success the patient efforts that have been made and continue to be made, the latest of which was the courageous and noble initiative of the President of the United States to call the Camp David summit meetings. However limited they may be, all steps towards diminishing the risk of violent confrontation during the period still required for bringing about definitive solutions deserve our support.

198. But let us not expect miracles from them. For it would indeed be a miracle if it were possible in a meeting of a few days to find a definitive solution for a problem that for over 30 years has gradually become more complex and more difficult. In an area where so many national interests, so many divergent—if not opposing—ideologies meet or are in conflict, where so many vital interests of the whole world community are at stake, where all the questions under discussion have become emotional issues making a rational approach almost impossible, we can only expect the road to peace to be long, sinuous and full of obstacles. We therefore welcome the steps aiming at peace, but we do not overrate them, nor do we entertain the dangerous illusion that their results—however encouraging—lead, or will in a short while lead, to the over-all settlement required in the Middle East in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the question.

199. It is in the same spirit that we have been following the developments of the situation in Africa—in the same spirit, but perhaps with additional concern due to the sentimental association and cultural and historical links that irrevocably bind us to that continent. This we do with no aim other than the solidarity which the struggle that continues to be waged there against colonialism and racism in their most intolerable forms deserves.

200. It has always been our view that only through an open discussion of ideas and problems between Africans would it be possible to find lasting solutions for the problems of the continent; and for the first time after the decolonization and the return of democracy to my country we were invited this year to attend the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Khartoum, where we enjoyed the generous hospitality of the Government of Sudan. And, indeed, we were gratified to witness how creative, fertile and dignified a debate can be when it brings face to face men, albeit of diverse cultures and backgrounds but nevertheless united in the just and lawful defence of the causes which they believe can best enhance the prestige of Africa, its peoples, its traditions and the vitality and richness of its future.

201. We believe in the prospects of that future and in the determination of the African peoples and Governments in defining the patterns of their national destinies through the exercise of the full powers of their sovereignty, a sovereignty often conquered at such high cost. We are therefore increasingly worried to see that Africa may once again become a ground for confrontation between great-Power blocs alien to the realities and, indeed, to the very interests of Africa. We therefore express all the more strongly our hope for the stability of the African Governments, legitimized and sanctioned by their peoples through a prolonged and arduous struggle for independence and for the definition of their national identities.

202. We follow the problems that are a source of concern to the majority of African countries with strict respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of third countries. Nevertheless, we cannot avoid viewing with deep concern the situations which in theory or practice institutionalize racial discrimination or other forms of oppression which are a blatant denial of the most funda-

mental human rights. No historical argument can be invoked to delay the solutions which the conscience of the international community and the very dignity of man demand.

203. Thus in relation to southern Africa we express our hope that within this Organization or through machinery created by it quick solutions will be found for the following problems which mankind finds more intolerable every day: *apartheid*, the utmost form of racism, iniquity and injustice; the independence of Namibia, with full respect for its territorial unity and integrity—an independence almost attained thanks to the good offices of the five Western members of the Security Council, to whose perseverance we wish to pay a tribute, but an independence which, unfortunately, today still remains a promise loaded with risks of failure; and, lastly, the drama in Zimbabwe where, despite all efforts, it has still not been possible to find a formula that could put an end to a doubly fratricidal war, a war of tragic consequences not only for the people of Zimbabwe but also for the neighbouring countries.

204. Still in the realm of problems that most directly concern us, we cannot refrain from mentioning the case of East Timor, where we believe the United Nations should promote compliance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at allowing the people of the Territory to exercise their legitimate rights to self-determination. The innumerable and relevant resolutions regarding the rights of people to self-determination adopted here in accordance with the principles contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) have been the basis of the decolonization process that my country has carried out since April 1974. However, the trend of events in the specific case of East Timor has not enabled its people to exercise that right. We therefore urgently appeal to all those who can to intervene in this matter so that the population of the Territory of East Timor may freely express itself regarding its own future.

205. On another level we wish to join our voice to those of many others that, here and in other organs within the United Nations and in the specialized agencies, insistently ask how it is possible that in a world of growing scientific and technological progress, dramatic and alarming situations of poverty, anger and inequality continue to persist if not to multiply. We therefore support all the initiatives aimed at developing a new international economic order. But we cannot hide our disillusionment at seeing how little progress has been made towards that aim. The difficulties that have arisen must be faced clearly and courageously and adequate remedies must be sought.

206. For, despite the sincere will of the sponsors and supporters of resolutions and initiatives and the gravity of the problems under consideration, nothing concrete can possibly be achieved without the creation of a vast and comprehensive movement of political solidarity; a movement that would recognize the aspirations of the least favoured nations of the globe, interpret them and compel the main decision-making centres, whose action will be decisive, to take them into account.

207. In this context, Portugal attaches the greatest importance to the continuation of the North-South dialogue. It is

with serious apprehension that we view the recent stalemate in the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. We hope that this can be overcome during the present session of the General Assembly, thus accelerating the process which will ensure, through the establishment of the necessary new international economic order, a fuller and more balanced economic growth, whose fruits will be shared equitably by the richer and the poorer members of the world community. In the same context, Portugal welcomes the efforts undertaken over several years by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The convening of the Conference was certainly one of the historic initiatives of the United Nations. Its efforts are destined to find just and balanced solutions for the preservation and exploitation of the wealth common to all mankind constituted by the resources of the sea.

208. In other areas also, the United Nations has a fundamental role to play. I wish to refer specifically to disarmament and human rights. Portugal supports general and complete disarmament, a principle expressed in its Constitution, and for this reason is pleased at the step that was taken in this direction at the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The fact that that session was held was also significant for the United Nations, for it is within this Organization that important negotiations will take place. Without considering them to be spectacular, we appreciate the results achieved at the special session, in so far as we now have a rational framework. Organs which we hope will be effective have been created and will begin functioning according to a strategy for disarmament, as stated in the Declaration approved at the special session [resolution S-10/2, sect. III]. Principles and priorities were defined; a document was drafted to guide us in our tasks in this area; ideas were expressed and many have developed into the proposals that we must now examine and discuss. Finally there is a Programme of Action [*ibid.*, sect. III]. All these efforts must have our support, given the danger of a nuclear war, the seed of which is contained in every conflict, and given the contemporary absurdity represented by the under-development of such large regions of the world, and the volume of technical and financial resources absorbed by the arms industry and the arms trade.

209. This year we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the activities of the United Nations in this field are therefore especially in the limelight. In view of its importance to us—an importance all the greater since Portugal was elected this year for the first time to the Commission on Human Rights—I shall devote a few moments to this matter, in particular to two aspects which, to my mind, are particularly relevant: the eventual contradiction between the need to protect human rights in all countries and the obligation to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of any State; and the hierarchy, or relative importance, of the various categories of human rights.

210. With respect to the first problem, I believe we can accept the following premises or fundamental principles: first, the theme of human rights is the object of treaties and international conventions, including the very Charter of the United Nations; thus it cannot be said that the protection of those rights is a matter only for the internal jurisdiction of each State.

211. Secondly, the boundaries of international law and those of the various rights guaranteed by internal law in matters of human rights do not necessarily coincide. It is not to be wondered at that the internal legislation of some States has a wider field of application or contains a more effective machinery for the protection of human rights. Thus, not all that may be protected by the laws of a particular State necessarily falls under the authority of international law. But this jurisdiction exists; it has a specific area of application and means of application which are proper to it.

212. Thirdly, the existing situation regarding human rights in the various countries involves questions and aspects which, although not irrelevant from the point of view of the exercise or protection of those rights, are, in fact, internal questions within the exclusive jurisdiction of every State. We are of the view that consideration of the internationally relevant aspects of human rights should not constitute a pretext for interference in internal affairs, but we also understand that the prohibition of interference should not impede the consideration of those rights.

213. In accordance with these premises, Portugal does not consider valid as a general argument the allegation that discussion of the existing situation in the field of human rights in a particular country necessarily constitutes interference in its internal affairs. We are aware, on the other hand, of the risks of overstepping the boundaries of the area of international concern, for once we had crossed those limits we would effectively be interfering; and we are well aware of the dangers, already evident in certain circumstances, of using the matter for political purposes. For our part, we intend scrupulously to respect the boundaries of international law in these matters, and we shall never manipulate the question of human rights as a means to other ends.

214. Another aspect which at times becomes a matter of polemics in the debates on human rights is that of the existence of a hierarchy in the various types or categories of such rights. Listening to such debates, one would think that there was a competition between civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights, on the other.

215. As far as we are concerned, this is a false problem, for we believe that what is fundamental is the protection of each and all. Historical situations may make people more sensitive to a certain type of right. Social and political conditions may reveal that certain rights are more vulnerable and therefore require more protection. Social and economic conditions can, at a specific moment, require that more urgent attention be directed to one category of rights, because only when these are secured can the peoples truly believe in the observance of others.

216. But there are no such things as first-class and second-class rights. Because some laws give insufficient protection, that does not legitimize or justify the non-recognition of others. And, lastly, because the historical importance of some laws is emphasized by struggles carried out on their behalf, that does not mean that other rights, of equal human importance, can be forgotten.

217. The problem is not that of a hierarchy of rights, but rather that of trying to ensure an increasingly wider and

more effective protection of all rights, and of remaining hopeful that the progress of human society will continue to widen the field of human rights, establishing concepts which today are only hopes or whose weakness is blamed on the imperfections of society.

218. We must begin by achieving this on an internal level in each of our countries, and I declare that Portugal, with its Constitution, its laws and its day-to-day practices, cannot be accused of not practising what it preaches. Conscious of the solidarity among all the peoples of the world, we must also give our full co-operation to the international bodies for the universal protection of human rights. The methods of doing this in any given case, on the internal or the international level, will certainly be different, but the objective is the same, as should be our determination.

219. In reiterating the desire of my country to continue and to strengthen its co-operation with the United Nations, I wish to confirm once again, albeit briefly, what we have declared in this forum since my country again became governed by democratic institutions.

220. We have clearly assumed and shall continue to discharge our responsibilities as a European nation whose most significant historical links place us today with full rights in the group of countries that have found, through institutionalizing ideological pluralism, the type of social and political organization that best serves their peoples.

221. Although we are Europeans, as a result of the spirit of enterprise and scientific risk that has always been a notable characteristic of Western life we have been led by historical destiny to maintain a secular and continuous presence in other latitudes and other continents. Having now returned to Europe, we feel we have left throughout the world—in America, in Africa, in Asia—cultural ties that impose on us obligations, an appeal and an identity to which we cannot be indifferent. We have gained opportunities for living together in harmony that we should like to realize fully.

222. We shall strive consistently, through our participation in international life and particularly in the United Nations and its specialized bodies, to shoulder the complex responsibilities that we happily claim and to make our contribution to the establishment of a better understanding between peoples and the maintenance of peace.

223. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): I would like to begin my speech by congratulating Mr. Indalecio Liévano on his election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I would also like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to Solomon Islands on its admission to membership in the United Nations and sincerely to wish it new successes in advancing independently along the road to progress.

224. Since the thirty-second session of the General Assembly last year, there have been new developments and changes in the international situation. The struggle of the people of all countries to win and defend national independence, safeguard international peace and security and oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism has developed vigorously and scored new victories. In this struggle the countries and people of the third world have played the major role. Some Asian and African countries

and peoples have succeeded in defending their national independence and territorial integrity by repulsing military intrusions engineered by a super-Power and frustrating its schemes of subversion and sabotage. The African countries have voiced strong opposition to foreign interference in African affairs. The struggles of the people in southern Africa against racism and for national liberation have developed in depth. The people of the Arab countries and Palestine have fought persistently and resolutely against Israeli Zionism and the rivalry between the super-Powers in the Middle East. The people of the Latin American countries have achieved important successes in safeguarding their independence and sovereignty, developing their national economy and strengthening regional co-operation. The non-aligned movement, withstanding super-Power pressure, has maintained its basic orientation and become an important force in the present struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. There is a clear trend growing among the Western European and other second-world countries towards strengthening their unity, expanding their co-operation and opposing super-Power interference and domination. All these are signs that the international situation has continued to develop in a direction favourable to the people of the world.

225. However, we must not fail to notice that over the past year there has been great turbulence in the international situation, and world peace and international security have been seriously threatened. The two super-Powers have intensified their struggle for world hegemony, with one striving to preserve its vested interests and the other trying hard to extend its spheres of influence. Strategically the focus of their rivalry is in Europe, where the two sides are locked in sharp confrontation as before. To outflank and encircle Europe, social-imperialism has stepped up its aggression and expansion in Africa, the Middle East and the Gulf region, seizing positions and resources of strategic importance and trying to control transportation routes, and this constitutes an important component of its strategy for world domination. Meanwhile, in an effort to strengthen its position in seeking domination in the Asia-Pacific region, it has stepped up its expansion and infiltration, created frictions and conflicts, and thus posed a direct threat to the security of the countries involved. In this period, the salient features of the tactics used by this super-Power in its offensive were as follows: in an increasingly flagrant way it has employed agents, has organized mercenaries and has incited Africans against Africans and Asians against Asians so as to make them pull its chestnuts out of the fire for it. It even has no scruples about using terrorist means of assassination and creating shocking incidents of subversion and disturbance. The social-imperialists' unbridled acts of aggression and expansion constitute a new trend in the international arena which calls for attention. They prove once again that social-imperialism is the more aggressive and adventurous of the two super-Powers and is the major threat to world peace and security.

226. As a result of the intensified rivalry between the two hegemonist Powers and the accelerated global strategic deployment of social-imperialism, there have been more local wars and the danger of a world war has increased. Therefore, putting off a world war and maintaining world

peace has now become an important task for the people of all countries.

227. Over the past year, the people of the world, in the face of the threat of a new war, have been increasingly awakened and have waged struggles in many fields. In order to safeguard their independence and security, many countries have been striving to strengthen their defence capabilities. People all over the world have condemned the super-Powers for their arms expansion and war preparations and have voiced a loud demand for a halt to the arms race. A growing number of discerning persons have urged a sharper vigilance against war. All this is no doubt of positive significance for preserving peace and delaying war.

228. The super-Powers are busy spreading illusions of peace to lull the people of the world in an effort to cover up their plans for war. The social-imperialists babble that "détente has been a dominant feature" in the international political climate. If this were so, why should they spend colossal sums of money every year hectically expanding their arms? Why should they desperately seek an edge in nuclear weapons after establishing a superiority in conventional armaments? Clearly, the social-imperialists have ulterior motives when they foster a false sense of détente.

229. A correct path must be followed in order to win and maintain world peace and put off the outbreak of war. The approach we stand for is that, first, it is necessary to tell truthfully the people of all countries about the growing danger of war, so that they may heighten their vigilance and make all preparations to combat the aggressor. Secondly, efforts should be made to reinforce the struggle against the warmongers, frustrate every act of aggression and expansion of theirs, and upset in good time their deployment for war. Thirdly, there should be continued opposition to the policy of appeasement, which means compromises and concessions in dealing with the aggressor. Because, like rearing a tiger and suffering for it later on, such a policy is harmful and simply augments the danger of war. China has been acting on these three principles and will continue to do so in the future.

230. The super-Powers are outwardly strong but inwardly weak. The more aggressive they are, the stronger the resistance they meet from the people of all countries. Over the past year, social-imperialism has stepped up its aggression and expansion only to teach the people of all countries by negative example and arouse them to a more resolute struggle against it and to bring about the further consolidation and broadening of the international anti-hegemonist united front. Such is the logic of history. The strength of the people is great. It is entirely possible to put off the outbreak of a world war so long as the people of the world get united, wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the super-Powers' war plans and constantly thwart their schemes of war.

231. The rivalry between the super-Powers endangers world peace and poses a direct threat to the independence and security of various countries. So it has become an urgent task for the people of all countries to defend national independence and State sovereignty.

232. At present, the countries of the third world find themselves in a new and complex situation in their struggle to safeguard national independence. To further its aggres-

sion and expansion, social-imperialism is trying to fool people by flaunting a signboard saying "a natural ally of the developing countries" who "supports the national liberation movements". Besides, it is doing its utmost to sow discord among third-world countries. It confers on you the title "progressive" one day, but labels you "reactionary" the next. Now supporting one against another, now the other way round, it stops at nothing in creating dissension and undermining the unity of the third-world countries. The people of the third world have come to realize through their own experience that upholding unity and struggling jointly against the enemy are an important guarantee for victories in the fight to defend national independence. Over the past year, when confronted with the arch-enemy, they have attached importance to the general interest and have sought common ground on major issues while putting aside minor differences. They have upheld unity, opposed division and foreign interference, and have persevered in the struggle against hegemonism. At the fifteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Khartoum in July and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade also in July, satisfactory results were achieved in the teeth of super-Power interference and sabotage. The Khartoum summit meeting strongly condemned any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the African continent, decided to strengthen African-Arab co-operation and laid stress on the peaceful settlement of disputes between the member States of the OAU and on strengthening unity and economic co-operation. The Belgrade Conference maintained the unity of the non-aligned movement by frustrating super-Power designs to split it. The Conference once again affirmed and safeguarded the nature and principles of the movement, stressed the fight against "all forms of foreign domination and hegemony" [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 10] and kept to its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonist orientation. The two Conferences fully demonstrated the great vitality of the non-aligned movement and the OAU as well as their significant roles in current international relations, and they were an important indication of the further development of the united struggle of the people of the world against hegemonism.

233. The grave danger of social-imperialist aggression and annexation has also prompted the countries of the second world to pay ever greater attention to the defence of their national independence. Faced with this super-Power's military threat and divisive schemes, the Western European countries and some other second-world countries have further built up their national defences, harmonized their mutual relations and strengthened their economic, political and military alliance. This not only conforms to the interests of these countries in safeguarding their independence and security, but it is also in the interests of the people of all countries.

234. The situation in the Middle East merits serious attention. The Israeli Zionists now still adamantly refuse to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories or to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, and they are carrying out new threats of war against the Arab and Palestinian peoples. Such truculence on the part of the Israeli Zionists is closely related to the support and abetment given them by the two super-Powers. One super-Power has always been shielding Israel. The other

super-Power, while trying hard to maintain a state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East, has been stirring up trouble and sowing dissension among the Arab countries in order to undermine their unity and sap their fighting strength so as to fish in troubled waters.

235. The Chinese Government and people have always held that the Arab and Palestinian peoples are the immediate victims of the fierce rivalry of the super-Powers and the aggression and expansion committed by Israel. The settlement of the Middle East question can be realized only when it truly leads to the recovery of the lost territories of the Arab people and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people, and only thus can it bring peace to the Middle East. The struggle of the Arab countries and people against Israeli Zionism is perfectly just, and it is closely linked with the struggle against hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people consistently and resolutely support the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their struggle to recover their lost territories and to regain Palestinian national rights, and we are firmly opposed to the two super-Powers competing for hegemony in the Middle East and grossly trampling upon the interests of the Arab people. We strongly condemn the Israeli Zionist policies of aggression and expansion. We do not recognize Israel and will have nothing to do with it. It is our sincere hope that through patient consultations the Arab and Palestinian peoples will eliminate their differences, ceaselessly strengthen their unity, gradually overcome the difficulties on their road to progress and finally win great victories in their struggle against aggression.

236. Southern Africa remains the biggest colonial region in the world today. Abetted and backed by the imperialists, the reactionary régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia are still zealously pushing their colonialist and racist policies. This state of affairs must not continue but must be thoroughly changed. Under heavy blows from the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples rising in armed struggle, the racist régimes are heading for their doom, but they are still putting up a last-ditch fight by pressing ahead with such political tricks as the so-called "internal settlement" and making incessant incursions into neighbouring African States in an effort to maintain their reactionary rule. Moreover, there is no slackening in the rivalry between the two super-Powers in this region. The late-coming super-Power, in particular, is carrying out infiltration and expansion by every possible means. We have always held that all countries which uphold justice should strongly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their struggle for liberation. Zimbabwe and Namibia should attain genuine national independence free from any outside interference and on the basis of territorial integrity and unification. South Africa's policy of *apartheid* must be abolished. The United Nations must follow the historical trend and perform its bounden duty of putting an end to the colonialist and racist rule in southern Africa in accordance with the eager desire and just demands of the African people. China firmly supports the just struggles of the Azanian, Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples. We are sure that the great African people will shatter the last stronghold of colonialism and racism and win complete independence and liberation for the whole of Africa.

237. The Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has won

the sympathy and support of the people of the world. At present, the key to a solution of the Korean question is that the United States must withdraw all its troops and armaments from South Korea and that the so-called "United Nations Command" must be disbanded. The United States and the Park Chung Hee clique of South Korea must stop all their scheming activities to create "two Koreas". We firmly support the position and efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The resolution for promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] should be implemented in earnest and without delay. The Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any foreign interference.

238. Disarmament is one of the important items on the agenda of the current session. The tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, convened not long ago on the proposal of the non-aligned countries was the first of its kind in the history of the United Nations. At the session, many countries strongly condemned the imperialist and hegemonist policies of aggression and war. Rightly pointing out that the real cause of the intensifying arms race between the super-Powers was their increased rivalry for world hegemony, these countries demanded that the super-Powers carry out genuine disarmament. They also put forward a number of reasonable ideas and proposals. The special session on disarmament has a positive significance inasmuch as it exposed the super-Powers' arms expansion and war preparations and demanded that they be the first to carry out disarmament. But the super-Powers were very obdurate. They rejected any genuine nuclear or conventional disarmament. The facts show that the struggle for genuine disarmament is most arduous.

239. Under the pressure of the people of the world for disarmament, the super-Powers have been playing the tricks of sham disarmament to deceive the public. Recently, the Soviet Union put before the current session a new proposal entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States" [*A/33/241*]. Under the signboard reading "guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States", this proposal is designed to bind hand and foot the numerous small and medium-sized countries and deprive them of their capabilities for self-defence. Not contented with the large amount of nuclear weapons in its possession, the Soviet Union is desperately expanding its nuclear armament. Instead of undertaking the obligation not to use nuclear weapons under whatever conditions against the large number of non-nuclear countries, the Soviet Union wants those countries to abandon their right of possessing nuclear strength for self-defence. This proposal of the Soviet Union is simply designed to allow itself alone to possess large numbers of nuclear weapons, while forcing the non-nuclear countries to act according to its dictates in all docility. Otherwise, those countries would be exposed to its nuclear attacks at any time. Is this not pure gangster's logic, undisguised nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat? We have consistently held that the most effective means of eliminating the danger of a nuclear war and of guaranteeing the

security of all countries is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Moreover, we have reaffirmed on many occasions that at no time and under no circumstances shall we use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries. If the author of the proposed "international convention" had the slightest concern for the security of the non-nuclear countries and for international peace, it should at least undertake the obligation not to use nuclear weapons under whatever conditions against the non-nuclear countries, instead of playing tricks of one kind or another.

240. During the current session, a further decision is to be taken on the machinery for disarmament. It is entirely legitimate for the numerous small and medium-sized countries to demand strongly a change in the super-Power manipulation of the disarmament negotiations and a reform in the disarmament machinery. The decision of the tenth special session to reform the disarmament machinery reflects to some extent the aspiration of these countries. However, the new negotiating body still falls far short of the demand of many countries, and it can hardly free itself entirely from super-Power control and ensure the realization of the reasonable propositions of various countries on disarmament. Of course, the progress of the struggle for disarmament does not depend entirely on the negotiating body; rather it depends essentially on whether the super-Powers can be forced to change their intransigent stand. The struggle for disarmament must be closely linked with the struggle to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and combat hegemonism. We are ready to continue to work together with the large number of small and medium-sized countries for genuine disarmament.

241. In the past year, the third-world countries have continued their unremitting struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. United as one, they have made great efforts for the realization of their just proposals in disregard of the threats and promises of the super-Powers. They have greatly expanded their economic and technical co-operation, and various organizations of raw-material-producing countries and regional co-operative bodies have been established and steadily consolidated. The third-world countries have also increased their economic and technical co-operation with many second-world countries. Some developed countries have taken measures to reduce or cancel some debts owed by developing countries. All this has a positive effect on the reform of the old international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order and on the development of the national economies of the third world.

242. However, owing to super-Power obstruction and sabotage, no real progress has been made in destroying the old and establishing the new in the international economic field. One super-Power is playing with the words "new order" but is in fact still obstinately defending the old order. The other super-Power has put up the slogan of "democratic reform" but has tried to make international economic relations serve its interests in gaining world hegemony so as to extend and aggravate its exploitation and control of developing countries. This is the main obstacle to the establishment of a new international economic order.

243. The urgent desire of the developing countries for establishing a new international economic order has become a great historical trend. At the same time, it must be noticed that arduous and complex struggles have to be waged before this goal can be attained. We believe that, so long as the third-world countries keep to the correct principles and orientation of the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, persist in solidarity and unite with all forces that can be united and wage a long and unremitting struggle, they will surmount all difficulties and win successive victories. The Chinese Government resolutely supports this just struggle as well as the reasonable proposals of the developing countries, such as an integrated programme for commodities and its common fund, the reduction or cancellation of debts, an increase in funds for development, and better conditions for the transfer of technology so as to promote production and scientific and technological progress in the developing countries. It is also our hope that the second-world countries will all adopt a correct attitude to strengthen their co-operation with developing countries on an equal footing and contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order.

244. At present, China is in a new period of development. Following the behests of our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and beloved Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese people have set off on a new Long March and are determined to turn China into a prosperous socialist country with modernized agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century. In high spirits, the Chinese people are working hard to attain this magnificent goal.

245. In international affairs, China will pursue, as always, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Firmly adhering to Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, we will strengthen our unity with the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and with all third-world countries, and unite with all countries which are subjected to super-Power aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying to form the broadest possible united front against super-Power hegemonism. We will establish or develop relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence. We will support all the oppressed peoples and nations in their revolutionary struggles and all countries struggling to safeguard their independence and sovereignty and to defend international peace and security, and we are opposed to all forms of foreign rule, domination and hegemony.

246. The past year has witnessed great progress in our friendly relations with many countries. We have warmly entertained on friendly visits many State leaders from whom we have received much encouragement, sympathy and support. In the current new situation, our State leaders, out of a sincere desire for friendship, peace, understanding and co-operation, have taken the initiative of visiting many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. Our friendship with many countries and our mutual understanding have been enhanced through sincere and candid talks based on mutual respect. With joint exploration and endeavour, our economic links, scientific and technological co-operation and cultural exchanges with them have been

markedly strengthened. Our friendly contacts with other peoples have also become more frequent. The Chinese people, and the people of other countries likewise, are happy to see the growth of friendly relations between them. We will continue our efforts in this direction.

247. This year, our supreme leader, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, has visited Korea, Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran. These visits, which have had satisfactory results, constitute a major event in China's relations with foreign countries, have received wide attention and have been given a positive appraisal by international opinion. These historic visits have greatly deepened the sincere understanding between China and the countries concerned, have opened up broader vistas for bilateral friendly co-operation, and are conducive to world peace.

248. Recently, China and Japan signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship after making prolonged efforts and overcoming various obstacles. This treaty records the desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples to live in amity from generation to generation. It includes the explicit stipulation that "... neither of them should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony". This is the first time that such a stipulation is included in an international treaty. The treaty is of great importance both to the development of relations of peace and friendship between China and Japan and to the defence of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

249. The Chinese people ardently love peace and are opposed to a new world war. Moreover, we need an enduring, peaceful international environment in which to build up our country. Faithful to Chairman Mao's teachings, China will never seek hegemony or act like a super-Power, neither now nor in the future, when China becomes a powerful modernized socialist country. Confronted with the growing danger of war, we are determined, while engaging in peaceful construction at home, to do our part, together with the people of all other countries, to safeguard peace and put off war.

250. Reviewing the international developments of the past year and looking ahead into the future, we see that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this historical trend is irresistible though the road may be tortuous and the sky may be overcast from time to time. The world belongs to the people, and the future of the world is bright. Of this we are fully confident.

251. Mr. DENNIS (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia extends its warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. We wish you well in the performance of your tedious responsibilities and pledge our unswerving co-operation and support. It is our hope that under your able leadership and guidance this session will be marked by a constructive and creative spirit.

252. In the same light, we wish to express our appreciation to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who presided with distinction over the thirty-second session of this Assembly and three special sessions of significant historic meaning. His tactful handling of delicate issues and

his wise conduct of difficult negotiations certainly merit our high commendation.

253. To the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we offer a special word of appreciation for his undaunted efforts in the interest of peace, prosperity and justice for all mankind, again reflected in his concise but comprehensive annual report to this Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]. The selfless, loyal and dedicated service he continues to render to the international community has won for him high esteem and credit.

Mr. Tsering (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

254. Once again we have assembled in this great hall of the United Nations, as we do each year, to assess the progress of peace in our world, to debate the problems of global concern and to chart the course for a better future for mankind. Standing on the threshold of the last quarter of this century, we perceive grave challenges for the international community with respect to those noble principles and great objectives which we as Members of this Organization are pledged to pursue and implement.

255. Peace remains precarious and human rights are wantonly denied in many parts of our one world. Self-determination is still less than universal. Debasing policies of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination continue to insult the conscience of humanity. Vestiges and upsurges of colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression and foreign domination remain deeply entrenched. Exploitation and deprivation bear heavily on the underprivileged. The race for weapons of mass destruction escalates unabated. Imbalances in world economic relations seem to defy change. Various forms of pollution and the wasteful use of limited and irreplaceable resources threaten to plunge humanity into an environmental crisis of unprecedented magnitude.

256. Those are the dismal realities of our times. A reversal of those trends and the blossoming of a more hopeful future demand concerted and positive action by us all. It will require the adoption of an approach truly reflective of the interdependence of nations, an approach transcending parochial conceptions of national interests and demonstrating genuine commitment to the fulfilment of shared goals and aspirations. The seeds of mistrust, fear and suspicion, whether planted in the Middle East, southern Africa or Cyprus, must be uprooted and replaced by mutual trust and understanding, friendship and co-operation.

257. Our total energies, our determined efforts must be galvanized and directed towards the resolution of problems that affect our common interests. It is through these efforts that we might ensure for all mankind the enjoyment of a minimum standard of living devoid of hunger, apprehensions, ignorance, disease and poverty.

258. In this global undertaking we welcome the participation of Solomon Islands, whose admission as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of the United Nations represents a step forward in this Organization's endeavour to attain true universality as envisaged by the Charter. But mere increase in membership alone is no guarantee of an effective and viable organization; nor will it ensure the realization of established objectives: those can come to

fruition only through the determined will and combined effort of each and every Member State.

259. The new world order to which we aspire must envisage an equitable and democratic system of international relations. It must be based on co-operation, equality and justice, rooted in respect for fundamental rights, and geared towards the achievement of the greatest good for the greatest number.

260. We can all agree that those factors constitute the essential prerequisites for an enduring international peace. And yet, peace continues to elude us. Whether mankind's common fate will be one of peace or of destruction remains uncertain. That uncertainty is as glaring in southern Africa as in the Middle East and other vortices of tension.

261. In the case of southern Africa, the inhuman, abhorrent and repressive system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination still undermines the dignity and worth of the true African personality. There, an immoral and callous white minority daily suppresses the majority black population. There, racist obstinacy and recalcitrance sharply confront the wrath and dogged determination of a people whose just claim to freedom, human dignity, equality and independence will inevitably triumph.

262. The just entitlement of Namibia to independence in the entirety of its territory has always been upheld by this Assembly, as recently confirmed at its ninth special session devoted to that question. My Government had taken the occasion of that special session to indicate its recognition of the proposal of the five Western nations²² as a basis for further negotiations towards independence of the Territory. In the same vein our doubts were expressed about the sincerity of South Africa's acceptance of the proposal. Time and events have substantiated those apprehensions. The deceptive nature of the South African régime has thus been exposed by its decision to implement its own formula for independence in Namibia, implicitly rejecting the proposal of the five Western nations, which has won the endorsement of the Security Council and the international community.

263. The historical role of Liberia in championing the cause of independence for Namibia is well known and needs no further elaboration here. My Government maintains that any formula for independence in Namibia must accord to SWAPO a distinction commensurate with its role in the vanguard of the liberation struggle.

264. The United Nations cannot accept, without losing credibility, yet another affront by South Africa to its legitimate authority over Namibia. The international community cannot shirk its responsibility by tolerating the subterfuges, schemes and machinations of racist bigots in South Africa who are bent on imposing an unrepresentative and puppet leadership on the Namibian people. It is more imperative now than ever before that we counter this new South African challenge by imposing mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We believe that even those countries which heretofore had opposed the application of those measures should by now be convinced of their necessity given the continued intransigence and obstinacy of racist South Africa.

265. With respect to Zimbabwe, the international community has rejected the so-called internal settlement as a basis for genuine independence with majority rule. Even the signatories to that agreement have come to recognize its inadequacy. Yet they refuse to join the international community in the search for a more wholesome settlement. Thus, increasing violence is the state of affairs in that troubled Territory.

266. My Government believes that the last hope for a peaceful resolution of this crisis lies in the proposal for an all-party conference involving the Patriotic Front and other political factions of Zimbabwe, aimed at reaching an acceptable formula for independence on the basis of the Anglo-American proposal.²³

267. We have repeatedly cautioned that time is of the essence if we are to avert a catastrophe in southern Africa. For the patience and endurance of the oppressed people are by no means without limits. Already their quest for freedom has taken the form of armed resistance. It will intensify and escalate unless the international community resolves to take firm, positive and united action to remove all obstructions in the path of independence in Namibia, independence with majority rule in Zimbabwe, and majority rule in South Africa itself. For its part, Liberia will continue to consolidate its efforts for the attainment of those objectives, whether by peaceful means or through an intensified armed struggle.

268. Towards the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East, recent developments have given cause for guarded optimism. I refer to the historic tripartite summit meetings convened at Camp David in the United States between the heads of State of Egypt, Israel and the United States. It has been disclosed that the summit meetings succeeded in designing a framework for peace in the Middle East and laying the basis for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

269. My Government, always preferring that conflicts be resolved through the instruments of conciliation and negotiation, commends the initiative taken by President Jimmy Carter in hosting this important meeting and the flexibility, goodwill and compromising spirit demonstrated by the parties concerned. The results of the summit meetings no doubt represent a significant step in the application of the principle of peaceful coexistence in the Middle East.

270. It remains our hope, however, that within the framework of the agreements reached at Camp David the Palestinian people will be allowed fully to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of a State of their own. To this we add the wish that the impact of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East will serve to extinguish the fires of hatred and conflict now ablaze in Lebanon. Such a settlement, if it is to occasion genuine and enduring peace, must rest on Arab unity and solidarity.

271. The calm that prevails in Cyprus, in the presence of a United Nations peace-keeping force, should not lure the

²² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

²³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

international community into a false notion that conditions for a genuine peace have thus been fulfilled; for the danger of renewed explosion simmers beneath the current stalemate, making real the possibility of an eruption of hostilities. Liberia remains convinced that the two communities in Cyprus have the capacity to decide their common fate with due regard to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island and the enjoyment of freedom, justice and equality by both communities. This cause can be advanced through the implementation of relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

272. Similarly, as regards the Korean question, my Government strongly believes that the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972²⁴ constitutes a realistic basis for bridging the chasm that divides the Korean people. We hold the view that a pragmatic and realistic effort to resolve this problem should be aimed at encouraging the two parties directly concerned to resume their dialogue as early as possible. This approach would enable them to dispel lingering mistrust and fear.

273. It is regrettable to note that 30 years have elapsed since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and yet gross violations of these fundamental rights are still common occurrences in many parts of our one world. Man's inhumanity to his fellow man has taken more repugnant forms, clearly violating internationally accepted standards of morality and decency.

274. There is a pressing need to reaffirm these rights in all their aspects since they must be recognized as the strongest foundation for international peace and security. It is here that the phenomenon of progress finds its truest significance, for development can be fully appreciated only when man serves as the central point of all development objectives and goals. This is the conviction that shapes and directs Liberia's domestic and foreign policy. There could be no better way to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights than by a common resolve to translate these lofty principles into meaningful action for human progress.

275. The question of international terrorism continues to be of deep concern to the world community. My Government regrets any action by anyone anywhere that takes or endangers innocent human life. We stand ready to cooperate with other Members of the United Nations in pursuing appropriate action to combat international terrorism, whether it be the hijacking of international carriers or the indiscriminate taking of hostages or the killing of innocent persons. Indeed, my Government during the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly supported the drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages.

276. At this point, permit me to express to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, through its Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, my Government's deep appreciation of the

Federal Republic's initiative²⁵ in this grave and important matter. We pledge our full support for this laudable effort.

277. During the thirty-second session of the General Assembly my delegation also joined in the efforts to seek measures to prevent international terrorism, which resulted in the adoption of a resolution on this question [*resolution 32/147*]. We remain deeply disturbed over all acts of international terrorism, but my delegation also recognizes that there are often underlying causes that breed and spawn terrorism and that these causes need to be redressed if international terrorism is to be eliminated.

278. The process of human development could be aided by a progressive movement towards general and complete disarmament. The tenth special session, devoted to this question, marked a major step towards the attainment of this goal. We consider that session to be indicative of the growing awareness that peace remains fragile in the face of a mounting arms race, with the unchecked economic burden it entails. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the session lies in the establishment of a constructive framework for deliberations on and negotiation of disarmament issues in all their aspects. While institutional machinery cannot be a guarantee of the translation of ideals into realities or serve as a substitute for political will, it constitutes an essential link in the realization of declared intentions and aspirations. Therefore we believe that a rededication of our efforts would contribute to maintaining the momentum of the tenth special session both in principle and in practice.

279. The central role of the sea for the future quality of life cannot be over-emphasized. As the last untapped reservoir of terrestrial natural resources, it represents man's last hope in the management of the limited resources of our planet. It must, therefore, be the link that unites us in our endeavour to achieve collective economic security. Thus the oceans and the sea-bed must remain the common heritage of mankind, allowing all to benefit equally from the exploration and exploitation of resources in that region. We should each refrain from undertaking unilateral action which could undermine the efforts of the international community to formulate an acceptable convention on the law of the sea.

280. The quest for sustained world economic growth and development remains a major preoccupation of my Government. We are mindful that only after the first decade of its existence did this Organization become regularly seized of problems of economic development. The sixth and seventh special sessions of this Assembly are historic for the unequivocal and unprecedented emphasis they placed on development and economic issues, which were made co-equal with political and security questions. We are gratified by the creation, within the structure of the United Nations, of the new post of Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation and here we commend the Secretary-General for his selection of Mr. Dadzie, a worthy son of Africa, to serve the international community in this vitally important position.

281. Nevertheless, it is a sad commentary that the constructive spirit that characterized the two special

²⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

²⁵ *Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 123, document A/31/242.*

sessions has not permeated the wide range of negotiations motivated by them. Empty pronouncements, stalemated talks and endless rhetoric remain the order of the day. This is most evident in the case of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which has failed to reach agreement on a matter as elementary as its mandate and terms of reference. The North-South dialogue remains deadlocked on such issues as orderly commodity markets, stabilized foreign exchange earnings, mutually beneficial corporate partnership, debt problems and an increased transfer of real resources to developing countries.

282. The need for structural adjustments to meet the imbalances and inequalities among nations must be considered, negotiated and promoted. It is only through a continuing commitment to change and reform, coupled with the requisite political will and co-operation, that the New International Economic Order will be achieved.

283. Facing the future, we have endorsed a blueprint for harmonious inter-State relations based on justice and solidarity. The United Nations provides the most appropriate framework for the attainment of this objective. It is within this Organization that a veritable code of conduct for nations can be progressively defined and adopted; it is here that peaceful co-operation between countries possessing different social structures can be developed, nurtured and transformed into more dynamic collaboration in building a genuinely humane world.

284. While this Organization has been severely criticized for its weaknesses and short-comings, it has nevertheless remained a dynamic organism for contemporary international relations. From its very inception it was hampered by great-Power conflicts, buffeted by racism and nationalism and beset by financial and constitutional crises which threatened its very existence. It has not only survived these crises but has made significant contributions to peace and security. It has localized major conflicts, spearheaded the transition from colonialism to independence, mobilized substantial resources to enhance the socio-economic progress of peoples all over the world and championed the search for equality and justice in inter-State relations. In essence, the United Nations has served the interest of its Member States and the world community reasonably well.

285. Whatever its short-comings, we must remain mindful of the fact that this Organization will be no less and can be no better than what we, its Member States, endeavour to make it. In an era of magnanimity and ruthlessness, of hopes and fears, of faith and doubt, of noble prospects and challenging adventure, ours is the duty to make this Organization a viable instrument of international peace and security. This is our challenge.

286. Mr. MUGANGA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Not so long ago the United Nations was subjected to criticisms which were as vehement as they were destructive by some forces. Accused of powerlessness, it was thus insidiously kept out of the settlement of questions vital to peace, international security and the progress of peoples, which are its fundamental goals.

287. In so doing, those forces tried to keep an exclusive hold on the conduct of international affairs, on the one

hand, and, on the other hand, they tried to divert the United Nations from its primary mission: the democratization of international relations in favour of all Members, large and small.

288. Today, the credibility of the United Nations is increasing among nations. This renewal of confidence is due to a large extent to the world-wide scope of the problems dealt with here, to the results attained and to the quality of the men called upon to exercise responsibilities therein.

289. Mr. Liévano is the most convincing example of that quality. My delegation welcomes his election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. In these difficult times of tension and confrontation the choice could not have been wiser. His long diplomatic experience and the fact that he belongs to a people whose philosophy is one of both moderation and resolute determination in the service of just causes are encouraging factors for those who are expecting this session to be conducted in an experienced manner, giving clear but judicious expression to the right of peoples, the very *raison d'être* of our Organization. It would be superfluous, I think, to assure the President, of the co-operation of my delegation in ensuring the total success of this session, which will do honour not only to him but also to Colombia, his country. And his success will be his own.

290. I should like on this occasion to pay a tribute and express our thanks to the Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who conducted with such wisdom and vision the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and the special sessions which followed it.

291. I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts in the interests of peace and security, which can only be attained by a more democratic redistribution of responsibilities and resources among nations, as he himself has often recalled.

292. The admission of Solomon Islands to the concert of free nations which Burundi welcomes with pleasure falls within an inevitable process of decolonization for all peoples of the earth.

293. The serious problems before our Organization have been subjected to wide and comprehensive analyses at this rostrum. From that standpoint, our contribution might run the risk of merely reiterating the relevant statements made by those who preceded me, and thus tire an audience already sorely tried.

294. Nevertheless, the persistence of colonialism and racist régimes, the re-emergence of conflicts among States fed by the allies involved, the permanence of a system of exploitation of the weak by the rich, the accelerated waste of human and material resources invested in an over-armament which is as dangerous as it is inexplicable are concerns which cannot but be mentioned here.

295. To be sure, all the voices of the world combined would not bring any answer to the problems involving such vast egotistical and contradictory interests. Nevertheless, it

is true that the constant return to the same questions gradually defines their shape, thus making possible greater awareness on the part of the peoples, which alone in the final analysis are capable of finding lasting and just solutions.

296. Were it not for the possibility of learning to speak on behalf of the right of peoples, the recurrence of our debates within this Organization would be reduced to vain reiteration of statements, irritating because of their futility. So the right tone must be used so that the lesson makes it mark.

297. A certain Power endeavours to single out the faults, even the crimes of others, in the conduct of third parties, hoping thus to blind its own people and be considered innocent by other Members.

298. A humble nation sometimes advocates the interests of its defenders and assists its adversaries, forgetting its own short-comings vis-à-vis its responsibilities. Accusing others becomes the art of vindicating oneself. Thus, the rostrum of the United Nations may soon run the risk of becoming the place for passionate invective and petty bickering.

299. As for us, along with many others, we think that the seriousness of the situations requiring our attention calls for a lucid approach and calm and collective thought, which should be concerned not with overcoming or diminishing the adversary but with together finding dynamic compromises for the benefit of all.

300. Guided by the spirit of conciliation, without complacency or surrender, any statement would be a positive contribution to transforming old situations of injustice of which colonialism, *apartheid* and zionism are typical examples.

301. Whether we are dealing with southern Africa, Western Sahara, the Middle East, East Timor or Belize, we are faced with flagrant colonial situations: the denial to peoples of their right to self-determination, the diversion of their resources and labour forces for the profit of their masters and metropolitan countries, cultural subordination and the distortion of their values.

302. Faced with that iniquity, the advantage of an objective start requires that we identify the protagonists in order to allocate the respective responsibilities.

303. Within our Organization and elsewhere it has become a commonplace to denigrate the white minority régimes. Of course, those régimes bear the grave responsibility of exercising anachronistic racist domination over millions of Africans. Nevertheless, this cannot vindicate the Powers that are the allies of those minorities, which in certain respects are the tools of exploitation of the black people.

304. If, instead of resorting to the usual subterfuges, the friends of Pretoria and Salisbury were to recognize their open complicity, and if, instead of virtuous protests, effective pressure were brought to bear upon those advocating racial discrimination, there is no doubt that a step would be taken towards peace and the rehabilitation of those peoples reduced to slavery in their own land.

305. One seeks in vain the reason for the constant support provided to the white régimes in the political, economic and above all military fields.

306. It is true that Pretoria is constantly developing preposterous ideas to legitimize its policy, such as the superiority of the white man, to be safeguarded by racial solidarity against black barbarity or Western civilization threatened by communism, for which the blacks serve as middleman.

307. It would be alarming if such falsifications were to gain support, however vaguely it might be expressed. It goes without saying that a formal disavowal in fact would not be sufficient to comfort the victims of *apartheid* and their allies, led by Africa.

308. Rather than be given verbal assurances, Africa and our Organization are entitled to witness specific gestures on the part of the Western Members. On the one hand, instructed by colonial history, they are in a position to understand the justice of the cause of subjected peoples and to assess their determination to win in the end. Moreover, the past of many of them is characterized by desperate struggles to gain or maintain their independence. Finally, it seems that the place of those who escaped the scourge of nazism should naturally be in the forefront of the anti-*apartheid* and anti-colonial struggle. The humiliations and the tombs are there: devastating proof to compensate for any lapse of memory which might occur.

309. If, despite all these reasons, a decisive opening has been so long in coming, it is beyond all doubt because of the existence in these colonies—and in southern Africa especially—of vital material interests, objectively linked to the socio-political structures of the racist and colonialist systems.

310. Here again, a cool and open-minded look at the reality of the future reveals the possible choices. Either the West will try to guarantee its interests by maintaining the socio-political régimes which are an insult to mankind and therefore must be condemned, or it will change its allies and become involved in the task of establishing co-operation among the far-sighted humanist elements existing in white society on the one hand, and the popular forces on the other—those forces which are the architects of the inevitable national liberation, whatever may be the short-comings, the backward steps or even the internal betrayals.

311. The alternative seems clear.

312. Given the temporary material superiority of the white régimes and the colonial Powers, the first choice, alliance with oppressive forces, has the tenuous advantage that it maintains the enormous immediate interests in an outmoded situation. The second path, alliance with progressive forces, opens up a threefold prospect: first of all, preventing white and black mankind being struck down in the flower of its youth in a savage and deadly war; then setting up between former enemies lasting egalitarian co-operation which takes account of the legitimate aspirations and interests of all the parties involved; finally, after so much hatred and blood, proclaiming before the world that right is greater than might, that freedom will prevail

over subjugation and that fraternity will prevail over discrimination, all of which is in accordance with the humanist tradition of Western civilization and honours man *per se*.

313. If reason thus took precedence over passion and emotion, the essential over what is expedient, and if, therefore, those who have traditionally supported the oppressors chose the second path, backing the progressive forces, such a development would impose new duties and attitudes with respect to each colonial situation.

314. In South Africa, instead of adopting a reprehensible delaying attitude which allows Pretoria time to create irreversible situations, our Organization, unanimously this time, must proceed to threefold concerted action: first of all, to breaking off all relations with the *apartheid* régime to force it into total isolation; secondly, at the same time to begin, using all the communications media, a psychological campaign to rid the white and black people of their respective complexes of racial superiority and inferiority, which create psychological trauma, mutual distrust and reciprocal persecution. If one assesses the destruction caused to people's minds by the ideology of the natural supremacy of some and the inherent deficiencies of others, one realizes that this cleansing action is in no way superfluous. Finally, it will be necessary to promote internal structures of egalitarian co-operation among races, at work, in the schools and in the areas of social and political life.

315. These structures of co-operation will not only counterbalance the dismemberment of the country into bantustans, but will also be the necessary internal link which, together with the co-ordinated struggles of the nationalist movements, will create the conditions for the final overthrow of the stubborn racist core in power.

316. Let no one see in what I have said mere academic thoughts. Victory will be the fruit of multifarious popular resistance, co-ordinated both internally and externally.

317. We are among those who abhor the use of violence. If the racists renounce the use of violence, the nationalists—who have little means of violence—will have to use peaceful means; otherwise, they will have to fight.

318. On Zimbabwe, our Organization must reiterate its condemnation of the "internal settlement" and discourage inconsistent compromises aimed at undermining the unity of the Patriotic Front, the sole fighting force and the only guarantee of decolonization which would not be merely a revitalization of foreign domination in the guise of docile and complaisant black power.

319. As for Namibia, the international community must unconditionally support the decolonization plan of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and call on the Security Council to implement it without further delay. The fact that South Africa exercises over Namibia a power usurped from our Organization in 1966 and, moreover, today arrogates to itself the right to dispute the provisions established by the legitimate administering Power, is inadmissible. Recent developments are not encouraging. We must nevertheless show the Western countries, which have

already made praiseworthy efforts, that those efforts are not sufficient and that more pressure and more sanctions are necessary in order to lead Namibia to total independence, with complete territorial integrity, under the leadership of SWAPO.

320. The heroic struggle of the Saharan people must be hailed by all those who believe in right and freedom. The best tribute which Burundi can pay to that people is to call on our Organization to give general recognition to the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.²⁶ If this desire is not fulfilled immediately, I am happy to say that justice will certainly not be long delayed. Already positive prospects are opening up, which are the just results of a bitter and tenacious struggle out of all proportion to the modest numbers and means available. This is touching proof of the invincibility of peoples who abhor submission.

321. Turning to the question of Palestine and the Middle East, whatever the initiatives taken in various bodies, the position of my country is clear: the restoration of the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people constitute the foundation of a just agreement. But to reach that point, the Arab nation must assess the dangers of fragmentation on the one hand and, on the other, the possible relegation to the background of Palestinian resistance, which is the principal protagonist in the struggle against Israel and the driving force of any lasting victory.

322. There is no need to review all the colonial situations. Those profiting from such injustice should understand that the liberation of peoples is an irreversible phenomenon. Therefore the manoeuvres, whether overt or disguised, designed to maintain under foreign domination East Timor, Belize, Mayotte and all the African islands around the continent, appear futile.

323. If our Organization is to live up to its objective of maintaining peace and security, some Members will have to refrain from fostering hotbeds of tension and divisive situations, which must be eliminated in whatever way necessary. In fact sooner or later like the two Viet Nams, the two communities of Cyprus will find a *modus vivendi*. Taiwan will be reintegrated in the People's Republic of China and the two Koreas will be reunited, as Burundi whole-heartedly hopes. That is the profound wish of the peoples; that is the course of history. Capriciously dismembered, torn apart by countless dissensions, Africa itself will find within itself the resources necessary to make it whole again.

324. Decolonization would be an unfinished task and the relaxation of tensions and the solution of conflicts a success without a future if conditions for a genuine economic liberation were not created at the same time.

325. After the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth and seventh special sessions, after the proclamation of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], despite all attempts to establish equitable international economic relations, a

²⁶ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

minority of wealthy nations continues to prosper at the expense of others who suffer from hunger, disease, ignorance and natural disasters.

326. While the structures which have created these injustices still exist some would have the so-called poor countries believe that access to the capital, technology and products of the rich world is the royal road to development.

327. It is easy to forget that this affluence is what is blocking the development of our countries. Extreme indebtedness, the facile and subordinate role of the supplier of raw materials—a role which keeps us from industrialization—the outward flow of trade which prevents us from having access to huge potential neighbouring markets, and the intrusion of inappropriate technology, which inhibits the creative skills of our people—all these are things unlikely to produce the goods required to meet the basic needs of the majority.

328. If at least this policy were proposed at least in good faith! But what do we see? As soon as the developing countries are able to master a given technology for the market the rich countries overtly or covertly resort to protectionism; they want to ensure in every possible way that the international economic system operates first and foremost in their favour, while making certain concessions which are reassuring to the third world.

329. We must indeed in our Organization continue to look for tentative solutions to such serious problems as those of commodities, foreign indebtedness, the balance of payments and the transfer of technology.

330. However, in order successfully to achieve real development for our countries, we must have a complete transformation of the world economic system. While that is easy to say, it must nevertheless be translated into facts. This involves two requirements: first of all, the poor countries must resolutely choose a new development policy; and secondly, it is necessary to elaborate a global strategy accordingly.

331. This new vision of development is based on two main beliefs. The first is that the so-called poor countries possess an enormous potential. Instead of yielding to a sense of powerlessness and dearth, Africa, Asia and Latin America should show their people the wealth of their soil, their manpower, and their energy and mineral resources. The second belief is that, instead of allowing the foreign exploitation of this wealth, the third world has enough imagination to develop it on its own on the basis of interdependence with the industrialized countries and not on the basis of servitude.

332. Having recovered their sense of self-confidence, the people of the third world can bring about genuine development, guided by a few key ideas which have become increasingly popular and which have been tried and tested: autonomy, on the one hand, and, on the other, the belief that man is the centre of initiative as well as of creation.

333. Without overlooking the need for co-operation, the need for autonomy gives to those who choose this option

the assurance that the tools of development are within their reach in the mastery of their environment on the basis of existing potential, thanks to their own strength. Such a reasoning will bring about a beneficial breaking off of all kinds of colonial relationships and structures of dependence.

334. Thus, instead of engaging in a frenzied search for capital, technology and expertise as the only nostrums the men of the third world, since they are most directly concerned, must be the initiators of development, with the help of well organized collective work, workmanlike methods constantly being perfected and their own creativity which can become expertise. This outlook has often been criticized as backward-looking. But, while like the flow of capital from abroad, the flow of technology and expertise remain useful and even indispensable, it could never be a lasting substitute for genuine involvement and the use of one's own tools.

335. While history does give examples of societies which have developed themselves from within by their own muscle power using simple, local techniques and appropriate imitations when necessary, on the other hand, when industrialization has invaded man's living space from the outside, breaking down his doors, it is not development that is produced, but the marginalization of the peoples, who are reduced to serving crushing machines without overcoming hunger and disease.

336. In short, rather than lagging behind the industrialized world, the third world should rely first on its own population and the means at its disposal in order to achieve development on the basis of self-reliance and to satisfy the basic needs of the masses of the people.

337. What is needed is realism rather than originality. We need the politics of the possible. To try to create the most modern industry at the expense of agriculture in areas where there is hunger and disease runs counter to reason and common sense.

338. Most nations Members of our Organization, even those which have many options and choices, could not achieve development by themselves in the face of the crushing power of the transnational corporations and the nationalistic selfishness of the industrialized world. What is needed is concerted action on the part of all the forces of progress. The bases of a tripartite strategy already exist and must be strengthened; I am referring to a strategy of the developing countries, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and the forces of the industrialized world.

339. Even though they do not always satisfy everyone the tireless efforts of the United Nations have exceptional merit. Evidence of this is the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, whose decisions and recommendations have the strong support of my delegation.

340. May I also be permitted to pay a tribute to our Organization for persevering in the elaboration of an international convention on the law of the sea which is designed to govern the equitable distribution of marine resource. The drafting of national legislation in this

connexion by some technologically powerful States worries us. Such actions seek to circumvent the future international convention and to lend legitimacy to the appropriation of the wealth of the sea at the expense of our countries. This, we think, is inadmissible and must cease.

341. Although the efforts of the United Nations are important they can never replace the struggle of the third world itself. In order to determine the role the countries of the third world should play in the strategy for the new economic order they must draw up an inventory of their strengths and their weaknesses. Suffice it to point out the disparity of their means as well as the diversity of their cultural and socio-political systems. This is an indication of the need for greater consistency, which is indispensable for the achievement of economic integration.

342. This integration is needed for several reasons. First, it is impossible for most States of the third world to achieve development separately because of a lack of adequate human and material resources. Secondly, even the richly endowed large States cannot individually withstand the partisans of an international system of economic exploitation. Lastly, in the absence of a genuine, well-balanced development profitable to everyone, it will be impossible to ensure inner stability, peace and security among neighbouring States.

343. It is therefore clear that integration is necessary in order to increase the ability to resist the forces of exploitation and neo-colonialism. In this connexion the non-aligned movement, the continental organizations which are not in the sphere of influence of the major Powers, regional co-operation under the leadership of young economic communities, and the groupings of producers of raw materials are all reasons for satisfaction and, at the same time, an indication of what remains to be done for the third world in order effectively to counteract the imperialist coalition.

344. In addition to the timely efforts needed there are other requirements for the success of economic integration which are as yet far from being met: without an effective harnessing of the national wealth, without greater intensification of horizontal trade and the development of regional industrial policy, without the joint financing of autonomous scientific and technical research programmes the third world will continue to be exploited by the industrialized world and its disinherited peoples will have to suffer further intolerable consequences.

345. Even if it were in our interests a show of force is not part of our tradition. But, in light of our responsibility to our people, I would like to ask: what other options do we have when faced with the intransigence of the rich?

346. Instead of being an exercise in empty polemics, this statement was designed as an objective reflection in an effort to contribute to the understanding of certain painful problems and also to outline some solutions which have not been sufficiently explored.

347. In the areas of colonial domination or dangerous conflicts and tensions we have called upon the victims and the oppressors to reassess their conduct in order to

safeguard their long-term mutual interests and to respect the people who no longer accept brute force as the guiding principle of their relations with others.

348. As to the unequal distribution of resources and unfair trade, a new way must be found to achieve development on the basis of autonomy and the skills of the people themselves. Moreover, at the international level equitable co-operation is preferable to economic warfare.

349. Aware of their needs and of the complementarity which is necessary among people, the poorer countries unceasingly display patience. Some may have believed that the systematic resort to compromise was tantamount to capitulation.

350. A long history of humiliation always brings serious dangers for the victim as well as for the adversary. Human rights are so often mentioned these days. Is it not time to render justice to this humanity of the third world, the prime victim of exploitation and domination? Despair and resistance are interpreted everywhere as expressions of anarchy and terrorism. Should we not gradually put an end to all situations of frustration which are tantamount to provocation?

351. To those who rely on the lassitude of the oppressed and the abandonment of their rights, we would like to say that the people have never given up. On the contrary, each passing day strengthens their faith in their cause. The exemplary history of the peoples who have triumphed—in former Portuguese Africa, in Indo-China—the maturation of their aspirations for freedom in the wake of the suffering they have endured in their struggles; the growing solidarity of the progressive forces of the world—all these elements converge to strengthen the legitimate combat of the peoples and inevitably lead them to victory.

352. Between intransigent oppression and the determination of the victims to take up the challenge, our Organization has no choice.

353. In keeping with our Charter, its objectives of peace and justice, it is our obligation to promote solutions acceptable to all. Where there is obstructionism or bad faith, we must side with the victim. It is our duty: our Organization cannot fail in this duty without betraying us.

354. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Mexico has asked to speak in right of reply. I now call on him.

355. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On Tuesday, 26 September [9th meeting], the representative of Nicaragua spoke in exercise of his right of reply, and felt it necessary to refer to the comments made by Mexico, during the general debate, on the tragic situation in the sister country of Nicaragua.

356. Very calmly I should like to make some very brief comments now in order to ensure that no doubt remains on the position of Mexico with regard to that question. Our position was spelled out by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of my country at the meeting of consultation of the Organization of American States, as well as during the general debate on Tuesday, 26 September. Let me recall the

fact that in a spirit of solidarity with Latin America, and because of its faith in justice, Mexico deploras the violence, the loss of innocent lives, the massive violation of human rights and of the fundamental rights of the civilian population which occur in cases of human conflict. We strictly adhere to the fundamental principles of our foreign policy in this manner, since such adherence will be conducive to halting the bloodshed and to bringing peace to that sister country.

357. This legitimate concern found expression in the meeting of consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States when Mexico proposed that a paragraph be inserted in the draft resolution then under consideration which would deplore and censure the excesses committed in the conflict that has brought such bloodshed to the Nicaraguan people and appeal to all the parties in this tragedy not to continue in the perpetration of such acts. That amendment was supported by 16 countries of the American continent, including Mexico. However, owing to the non-participation of one of the States members, the Mexican amendment was not adopted.

358. In explaining the meaning of our specific proposal, my country stated that it was inspired by very clear humanitarian goals, that it did not have any political purpose and had no interventionist designs. It was simply reacting to the popular outcry in Latin America and to a feeling of justified indignation at the excesses committed in the civil struggle in Nicaragua.

359. In these statements, as was made clear, no reference was made to any action on the part of the authorities of that sister country. Therefore, it would seem symptomatic that the representative of Nicaragua should have interpreted references to the violation of human rights and other excesses as an attack on his Government. That representative in his reply referred to my delegation's lack of information as the sole basis for our references to massive

violation of human rights. Let us say that we did not refer exclusively to international agencies nor did we rely on newspapers, which very often distort information on the basis of all kinds of interests. In our statement we recalled the fact that 16 Governments of the Americas with their own sources of information, in voting in favour of the Mexican amendment, acknowledged the existence of excesses in the civil struggle which was taking place on Nicaraguan soil.

360. With regard to the argument also mentioned by the representative of Nicaragua, to the effect that once a regional organization is considering or has considered a matter the way is closed for bringing that situation before the world forum, let me recall the traditional position of my country, which is, incidentally, shared by many other States: membership in a regional body cannot constitute a pretext for discrimination with regard to the rights and prerogatives that all States Members of the United Nations have to consider any situation in which it is felt that there has been a violation of one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

361. Finally, let me say that the Secretary-General of our Organization himself, on the occasion of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which concluded its work recently in Geneva, reminded us of the clear-cut relationship which exists between the respect for human rights and the maintenance of international peace and security. He also recalled the circumstances under which it is clear that no nation can claim immunity on the basis of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter—which, as the representatives may recall, refers to the non-intervention of this Organization in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States—when it comes to the examination of flagrant abuses of human rights and expressions of international concern with regard to such abuses.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.