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*President:* Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. OREJA AGUIRRE (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is our privilege to have as our President at this Assembly an eminent personality in the world of Latin American thought and politics, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre. Ties of long-standing admiration and affection link me to him, as does the maternal surname we share—Aguirre—which evokes, in our common Basque stock, the virtues of steadfastness and industry of a people that has contributed so much to forging the destinies of Spain and the Latin American nations.

2. While congratulating you most warmly on your election, Mr. President, I should also like to express our deep respect for your work as a historian, a thinker and a man in public life. As a genuinely liberal spirit you have succeeded in imbuing your entire life's work with that thoughtful depth which is so much a part of the tradition of our cultural and human heritage.

3. Through you I greet a people that makes of the cult of language a rigorous and living expression of essential national qualities. Through you I pay homage to Colombia, a country that shares close and deep affinities with us, and which has successfully moulded its institutional and political life with respect for democratic principles.

4. I should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Mojsov, for the skilful and unswerving dedication with which he carried out his duties during a period which saw the greatest number of sessions in the history of the Assembly.

5. I could not let this opportunity pass without paying a tribute once again to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the intensive work he is doing; a tireless traveller, a skilful diplomat and a persevering mediator, he is always ready to serve without flagging the cause of peace.

6. We receive into this Assembly a new Member of the United Nations, Solomon Islands, which I wish to welcome most warmly. I also wish to express, on behalf of my Government, the desire to maintain cordial relations of friendship and collaboration between our two countries.

7. Spain, which is a part of Europe and a neighbour of Africa and has a special bond with the peoples of Latin America through certain common forms of life and culture, is fully aware of the growing interdependence characteristic of the world today and of how its own peculiar identity takes shape within this universal framework; hence, our understanding of and solidarity with the aspirations and expectations of men and peoples of very diverse continents in their thirst for freedom, dignity and justice.

8. We reaffirmed recently our will to join the European institutions, having become a member of the Council of Europe in November 1977 and having applied for membership in the European Communities with the full support of all the Spanish political forces. In so doing, my Government has made not an economic choice alone, but also, and above all, a political one, with a view to the attainment of a form of community life in freedom and justice. Spain is aware of what its presence can contribute to the Communities in the defence of the values of Christian humanism in the building up of a more complete and balanced Europe and in its dialogue and co-operation with the third world.

9. Africa, by reason of its geographical proximity and as a result of a political decision, is one of the objectives of Spanish foreign policy to which we had not hitherto given the over-all attention it required. We Spaniards feel particular solidarity with the countries of that continent, which, having emerged from the decolonization process, is now undergoing development and modernization and is seeking to assimilate technology and knowledge, not as a passive import, but rather as the application of means that will permit the defence of their values and the strengthening of their identity. In a world at once manifold and one, like that of today, we consider that the enriching phenomenon of decolonization should be economic and cultural, and not merely political.

10. Spain has clearly defined its Latin American policy as a priority issue in its foreign policy. Our efforts are directed towards the strengthening of a community spirit which will be wholly compatible with our integration into Europe and which we hope will crystallize into institutional schemes pragmatic enough to serve effectively the interests of our peoples and to facilitate the necessary dialogue, on a wider scale, between Europe and America.

11. In short, we wish to project this historical legacy of the common experience of our past and the immense

possibilities inherent in the obvious fact of the linguistic and cultural unity of Spanish America into a real phenomenon that will be effective and active in the world today. For this purpose, this common culture and past must be taken as the starting-point for a whole line of action, guided by the goals of steady, undiscriminating solidarity between our peoples and aimed at securing specific kinds of co-operation, at both the bilateral and the multilateral level, that will not only attempt to solve our most pressing socio-economic problems but also safeguard in our area, as a contribution to the design of a new international order, the supreme values of justice, freedom and peace.

12. Spain, which is living through a decisive period in its history as it consolidates its democracy and awaits the imminent adoption of its Constitution, also desires to exert a firm and realistic influence abroad. Nowadays, no people can avoid the key question, What is, and what should be, its share in seeking to secure peace, in building a more peaceful and just world and in constructing an international order suited to the demands of our historical era?

13. The starting-point for our action in the world is the reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the determined undertaking to spare no effort to advance peace and international security through détente and disarmament, defend human rights, and close the gap between the developing and the industrialized countries.

14. Our Organization has a grave responsibility in this matter. The United Nations cannot be reduced to being a mere forum for the discussion or assertion of principles, or a last resort in times of crisis or danger. Its universality and permanence require that it be a melting-pot in which a new international community can be moulded and in which solutions to present and future problems can be defined collectively and put into practice through co-operation. The United Nations is not just a useful institution for tackling present problems; it should also become a centre for long-term efforts designed to resolve the difficulties of a world that is facing challenges that make us ever more interdependent.

15. The only ways to tackle this series of problems are those based on political and legal principles accepted by the international community as a whole. The Spanish Government believes that such principles are founded on dialogue and compromise; they exclude so-called solutions imposed by force; they confirm respect for human rights and call for the establishment of a new international economic order drawing its inspiration from equity, sovereign equality, interdependence and common interests, and co-operation. It was to put into practice these principles that our Organization was created. There is no valid alternative to this Organization, which, in a framework of suitable dynamic co-operation with the regional organizations, can and must become an instrument of peaceful change through negotiation, a source of security and an institution at the service of international co-operation.

16. We are opposed to the use of violence from profound conviction, but we cannot simply indulge in rhetorical lamentations or mere exhortations to reach agreement. Tensions and conflicts have causes which must be identified

and overcome by our acting upon them resolutely, and with the political will. We are convinced—and the recent historical experience of my country bears witness to this—that change is always possible by peaceful means, since all causes of tension and conflict can be settled politically.

17. Thus, with regard to the Middle East, we are convinced that it is necessary to persevere with the efforts to overcome tension and to eliminate the threat of armed conflict once and for all. After the hopes raised by the visit to Jerusalem of the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El-Sadat, we followed with great interest the Camp David talks, which constitute an attempt to advance towards the solution of one of the most difficult issues in the present international situation.

18. We believe that the only possible course is for the parties involved to try to reach a political agreement that will make possible the establishment of a just, lasting and general peace in the whole of the Middle East, within the framework of the resolutions of the United Nations and taking into account the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

19. As regards this geographical area, my Government looks, with the special interest and affection with which it views everything pertaining to the Arab nation, upon the dramatic situation in Lebanon, whose sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence must be respected within the framework of national conciliation.

20. Spain is pleased by the dynamic role played by the Organization in another grave conflict of the present time, that of Namibia. An international administration and the active presence of the United Nations should make possible the self-determination of the people of Namibia and the maintenance of the integrity of the Territory. We regret the intransigent attitude of the South African Government, which could lead to a deterioration of the situation, with unforeseeable consequences.

21. This is an ideal opportunity of ensuring, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the resolutions of the Security Council—the latest one, resolution 435 (1978), adopted on 29 September—a swift and peaceful transition towards the independence of a people whose swift liberation we fervently desire.

22. The same means of peaceful transition should prevail in Rhodesia, where we consider it essential to put an end to a conflict that is endangering the peace and stability of the African continent. It is urgently necessary to ensure the independence of Zimbabwe on the basis of a majority Government, with the agreement of all the parties involved and in accordance with the indisputable democratic principle of “one man, one vote”.

23. The Spanish Government is firmly opposed to any kind of racial discrimination wherever it may be found. Therefore we condemn and reject *apartheid* and the policy of territorial segregation, which, far from being a way of solving problems, is merely a stratagem for maintaining the unjust discrimination which *apartheid* involves, and which implies complete contempt for the indisputable postulate of absolute equality among men.

24. There will be no end to this "crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind", as the General Assembly and the Security Council have described it, so long as South Africa imposes measures which exclude the majority of the population from the political life of the country. Such discriminatory policies progressively reduce the chances of achieving reconciliation and peaceful change, and justify the indignation and condemnation of the international community as a whole.

25. While speaking of Africa, I should like to make a few comments on the question of Western Sahara, where a peaceful negotiated solution is also urgently needed.

26. Spain, which is alien to any kind of axis, genuine or fictitious, real or imaginary, and wishes only to maintain close and cordial relations with all the peoples of the region, to which it is linked by so many cultural, historical and human ties, is watching the course of events with keen anxiety. That is why it has been advocating the establishment of a climate of conciliation and concord which will make it possible to deal with objectivity and realism and in a constructive spirit, with all the problems of the Maghreb, particularly the one which has arisen over the process of the decolonization of the Territory of the Sahara, respecting the right of the Saharan people to self-determination.

27. Our hopes have been stirred as we have seen the recent events in the area, and specifically the movement that began in Mauritania on 10 July, which seems to point the way to dialogue and negotiation. We are glad that the Organization of African Unity [OAU] has decided to set up an *ad hoc* committee entrusted with the consideration of all the data of the question [see A/33/235, annex II, AHG/Res.92 (XV)]. We will support any initiative our Secretary-General may take within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We are willing to collaborate actively in every effort to work out formulas which will make possible the relaxation of tension and the achievement and consolidation of peace.

28. All the peoples of the area must be allowed to make their human and cultural similarities and the complementary nature of their geography and economies factors for economic and social development for their common and reciprocal benefit. In this way the entire region would become a centre of stability and peace. Obviously, such a peace will not be a lasting one if it is not satisfactory to all the parties concerned.

29. The question of Cyprus is another source of instability which affects the equilibrium and security in an important strategic area of the eastern Mediterranean. We believe that our Organization should continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General, encouraging intercommunal talks and, at the same time, ensuring that an atmosphere of relaxation of tension is maintained and that the principles of the Charter are respected. In this way, in the near future the Cypriot people may find a legal and political formula that will enable them to live together peacefully, ensure their independent unity and further their economic and cultural development.

30. The demand for security is an especially acute and sensitive issue in the entire Mediterranean. That is why my Government presses the need for such security by means of

an understanding among the coastal States and the creation of a system of regional co-operation. It fills us with concern that the patterns of global strategy are applied automatically to such a delicate and complex area. The international community must realize that it is necessary and in everyone's interest to contain and gradually reduce the military forces present in that sea, and to set up a complementary system among the coastal States that will make the presence of such forces unnecessary and enable them to be progressively reduced.

31. We believe that the various sources of tension in the Mediterranean can and must be overcome by negotiation. We also believe that it is both necessary and urgent to increase co-operation among the coastal States so that their greater solidarity might become a factor of peace and stability in the region.

32. This concern for security, together with the conviction that change is always possible through negotiation and peaceful means, is fully applicable to a historical and political anachronism, namely Gibraltar. As an imposed military base, Gibraltar is a danger to the security of Spain and its 36 million inhabitants, whom it exposes to risks they have never accepted; its status as a colony is a violation of our territorial integrity; as an anachronism, Gibraltar is also an obstacle to co-operation among peoples which, in the natural course of events, are called upon to attain mutual understanding.

33. The United Nations has already established with clarity and precision a doctrine for the decolonization of the Rock, and has repeatedly emphasized the need for Spain and the United Kingdom to achieve a negotiated settlement which, in accordance with that doctrine, would put an end to this colonial situation. The United Kingdom Government must realize that it can no longer go on ignoring this duty to begin negotiations with Spain. For our part, we are convinced that there are formulas which, while restoring the territorial integrity of Spain, will at the same time give satisfaction to the United Kingdom and provide a due safeguard for the legitimate interests of the people of Gibraltar, by means of a comprehensive approach to the problem.

34. We have seen recent evidence of how long-standing problems have been successfully channelled or resolved through imagination and political will, and we trust that the United Kingdom will become clearly aware that the present situation cannot continue.

35. Security and co-operation are indeed the objectives of the next session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, scheduled for 1980 in Madrid. Although the results obtained at the second session of that Conference, held in Belgrade in 1977, were by no means spectacular, my Government is of the opinion that they had one fundamental effect: they showed that compromise is possible and that the basic principles adopted in Helsinki<sup>1</sup> are still fully valid.

36. Now the important thing is to look to the future. The next session of the Conference must contribute to giving

<sup>1</sup> See the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

real shape to the hopes and expectations which undoubtedly exist concerning security and co-operation within Europe. Spain is determined to discharge its responsibilities as the host country, and will give the greatest attention to proper preparation for the Madrid session.

37. Together with specific current problems, to some of which I have just referred, the world of today is also faced with more general issues which affect the international community as a whole and cast doubt upon the ability of our Organization to create the conditions for peace. I refer to problems such as the safeguarding and protection of human rights; the inequality between developed and developing countries; co-operation; and, finally, security and disarmament.

38. I shall begin by speaking of human rights because this year we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of one of the most important texts of all those which, on the domestic and international planes, are landmarks in man's struggle for liberty and justice: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

39. In spite of the goals that the United Nations has already achieved in defining the obligations of States on human rights questions, we are still very far from meeting the expectations of 1948. This is undoubtedly serious, because in the last analysis the effectiveness of United Nations activities in this field can be measured only on the basis of the effectiveness of the safeguarding and exercise of human rights on a world-wide scale.

40. We believe that disregard of and contempt for human rights leads to acts that outrage the conscience of mankind, and we condemn such practices wherever they occur, because we are against tyranny and oppression. Within the regional ambit of the Council of Europe and the world-wide framework of our Organization, Spain has undertaken—and will continue to do so in future—legal obligations that bear witness to our attitude on this issue, which is at once the basis and the ultimate aim of real peace.

41. My Government is convinced that it is essential to endeavour, now and during the coming years, to improve and perfect the institutional machinery that will guarantee and supervise the exercise of human rights along the lines of the proposals before this Assembly. That is why we advocate a policy based on the following guidelines. First, the persistent violation of basic human rights, wherever it may occur, must be condemned and cannot be dismissed as a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of States. Secondly, the flagrant suppression of human rights, wherever it may arise, constitutes a threat to peace. Thirdly, existing inspection machinery must be improved in order to make it not only more effective, but also more objective and impartial, because this extremely grave question of human rights cannot be left to the mercy of selective criteria of a subjective nature.

42. These three fundamental guidelines are the basis of our conviction that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States cannot be considered as a legal obstacle preventing serious breaches of basic human rights from being examined by the international community; the safeguarding of human rights is a matter which

goes beyond the national, domestic sphere and takes its place in the setting of international affairs. At the same time, these guidelines are the reason for our decision to help secure the establishment of a more effective procedure for the protection of human rights; hence our support for the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and for the appointment and dispatch, when circumstances so require, of United Nations fact-finding missions.

43. In this connexion, and continuing the trend already initiated with the ratification of the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, I wish to announce that my Government intends to recognize the jurisdiction of the Human Rights Committee in accordance with article 41 of the latter Covenant and to accept its Optional Protocol [*see resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]. That will be Spain's contribution to ensuring that the United Nations machinery for the safeguarding and supervision of human rights can effectively accomplish the aims for which it was established.

44. While speaking on this essential issue I can hardly omit a reference to one of the most odious and brutal breaches of human rights: terrorism. This is the latest and most repugnant form of violence, which constitutes an assault on the right to security and life. Terrorism is a threat to all, because its action is characterized by the refusal to recognize the existence of innocent people. For this reason the terrorist must find neither justification nor sanctuary.

45. Our Organization must face this challenge by establishing the bases for an international agreement enabling this scourge of our time to be legally classified and effectively combated.

46. We consider that poverty, hunger and squalor are equally grievous assaults on human rights, and we firmly believe that this concept cannot continue to be limited to its traditional proportions, but that it must rather take within its compass the new horizons of human rights. Human rights, which include economic, social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights, are interdependent and inseparable. It is not possible to conceive of peace, justice and equity without the guarantee that respect for such rights offers against arbitrariness and all kinds of oppression.

47. The inequality between developed countries and developing countries is one of the most serious problems facing the international community. Here, too, the time has come to move from words to action, with a view to creating an order which will be the expression of greater international justice and solidarity and in which the right to growth and change, to development, will be understood as a fundamental human right.

48. We are in urgent need of practices of international solidarity, for it is not enough to bring about apparent solutions which, based as they are more on self-interest than on any sense of solidarity, may perhaps benefit some countries, but do not eliminate the deepest causes of poverty and squalor. No kind of international action can replace, by itself, national policies aimed at combating

under-development. But the full and harmonious development of all peoples is a responsibility incumbent upon the international community. That is why we think that to get rid of the basic causes of poverty and inequality, to endow economic growth with a new direction and a new significance, in short, to lay the foundations for greater international justice, are practical goals within the reach of our Organization.

49. Any assessment of the factors which today bear upon the world economy is to be approached from the viewpoint of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], since the economic progress and the political stability of both industrialized and developing countries depend on its success or failure. We have been seeking solutions for too long; we have come a long way and we have gradually become aware of the pressing need for interdependence, and of the importance of the idea of a common interest between developed and developing countries.

50. It is true that there is encouraging evidence of the ability of our Organization to restructure the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system. But there are also reasons for anxiety, and in this connexion we are concerned at the lack of progress at the recent meeting of the so-called Committee of the Whole, or the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, because the North-South dialogue does not affect one country or group of countries, it affects us all.

51. The seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose debates have just concluded, should make us think about how to bring about a global agreement on not only a desirable but a necessary universal maritime code, which is the ambitious goal of the Conference. The legitimate interests of all countries must be reflected there in balanced solutions which contribute to the new international economic order which we want to create. The necessary consensus can be achieved only if there are formulas which are sufficiently harmonious to make them generally acceptable.

52. Among the matters to which we ascribe most importance is access to the living resources of the exclusive economic zones of other States by customary fishermen. It is necessary to recognize and protect interests worthy of respect in human communities which have made of fishing their traditional livelihood, and the legal and moral justification for that cannot be ignored.

53. In connexion with living resources and so many other matters, we need an order based on co-operation. That is the only valid way to express the reality of our interdependence. In this connexion, Spain is carrying out a reappraisal of its policy of co-operation, in order to channel it in a more co-ordinated and effective way towards those countries and regions to which we are bound by special geographical or cultural ties.

54. Aware of our limitations and possibilities, but aware also of our responsibilities, we are prepared to carry out an active policy of co-operation with those countries as an expression of our desire to establish and consolidate

networks of solidarity, interdependence and mutual benefit.

55. The quest for a peace linked to human rights, development and co-operation also depends on the organization of international security and disarmament.

56. We live in an insecure world, which has hardly become aware, or has not wished to become aware, of the requirements for security, and thus it is a world of conflict. The quantitative and qualitative arms race has disastrous economic and social effects in such diverse areas as education, public health, nutrition, the environment and human resources.

57. Millions of human beings are unable to understand the reason for this absurd situation, and for the scandalous extravagance that the arms race involves.

58. At a historical time when the State is too small to face the great challenges of our era—which are problems with world-wide causes and dimensions—our Organization still does not satisfactorily meet the needs of security. We tend to react rather than to foresee, to concern ourselves with the effects of a crisis rather than to ward it off, and this is the reason why our conflicts often seem insoluble. We have not adapted our Organization to a world different from that of 1945, and also different from that of the cold war, and we have not explored all the possibilities that the Charter of the United Nations has to offer with regard to machinery for the peaceful settlement of situations likely to degenerate into conflict, or the peaceful settlement of disputes or questions of collective security.

59. The organization of international security is closely connected with the control of arms and disarmament. Last June, during the general debate at the tenth special session of the Assembly,<sup>2</sup> I recalled that the Spanish Government included the question of disarmament among the fundamental objectives of its foreign policy.

60. In the recently adopted Final Document of the Tenth Special Session [*resolution S-10/2*], there is to be found the source of a closer collaboration among all the members of the international community. It is a positive fact that the results obtained by the General Assembly should have been achieved through a consensus, and that means that on an issue of the greatest significance for the cause of peace we have entered a new stage in which all of us will be able to obtain a hearing.

61. Finally, after this rapid analysis of some of the general and specific problems of our world of today, I wish to express our whole-hearted agreement with the observations of the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization, where he points out:

“The work of the United Nations runs on two main and parallel lines. One is an attempt to deal, through international co-operation, with the immense actual problems of a world in a state of fundamental change and development. [The other is] that of gradually replacing . . . tensions and conflict with [political solu-

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 14th meeting.

tions reached through negotiation and agreement] and the spirit of solidarity of a world order based on a sense of community.” [See A/33/1, sect. XII.]

62. Co-operation and negotiation for peaceful change are two of the most important functions of our Organization. For these functions to be performed, the United Nations does not need words, but the firm political support of Member States and practical means. In an imperfect world, the United Nations offers the best approach and the best channel for the solution of the vital problems upon which the wellbeing of the international community and peace depend.

63. Today more than ever, on account of the gravity and complexity of the problems that beset the world, the United Nations is a necessity. It represents the hope of millions of human beings for a more just world, one freer and less imperfect, and thus it is the United Nations that must guide our steps in dealing with situations which must find the way to a solution through a peaceful process of change, by means of negotiation and co-operation between equals.

64. Such a process of peaceful change is the means that has made it possible—and may I recall this here with an emotion not untouched by pride—that we in the Kingdom of Spain, through the free and responsible decision of Spaniards, should be living together under a system of political pluralism and freedom; for we are convinced that it is in freedom, justice and respect for human rights that the basis of concord and peace lie.

65. Mr. IBRAHIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is with sincere and deep-felt emotion that Jordan shares the sorrow of the world on the occasion of the death of a great man, His Holiness Pope John Paul I. We consider it to be a loss not only for the Catholic world but also for mankind in general. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our condolences to the world at large.

66. With sincere and deep feeling I join the speakers who have preceded me at this podium in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the esteemed presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualities of statesmanship and as a dedicated son of friendly Colombia and Latin America have deservedly been accorded universal recognition.

67. Jordan cherishes the close ties which bind our two countries and regions together, because so many of our people are proud and dedicated citizens of Colombia and of Latin America as a whole. Likewise, we share a wide spectrum of ideals, approaches and objectives within the framework of the United Nations which lead to proximity of policies and attitudes in our common striving towards their fulfilment.

68. I wish you, Mr. President, every success in steering this session to a satisfactory conclusion.

69. I wish also to pay the highest tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of friendly Yugoslavia, whose outstanding achievements as President of the four sessions of the General Assembly during 1977 and 1978 have earned him profound acknowledgement and respect.

70. I need hardly reiterate Jordan's complete endorsement and support of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dynamic, courageous and untiring efforts and initiatives in upholding the principles, objectives and resolutions of the United Nations in circumstances which can be described only as exacting, agonizing and oftentimes downright frustrating.

71. Jordan is happy to extend a warm welcome to Solomon Islands on its admission to the family of nations as a sovereign, independent State. We wish it every success in contributing to the work of the United Nations.

72. In assessing the world situation as it has unfolded over the past year, it requires a good deal of cynicism to express any meaningful optimism, or even to subdue the profound sense of unease and pessimism that pervades the world at large and sensitive areas of it in particular. This appraisal is almost as true globally as it is regionally or subregionally. In any objective diagnosis of world issues—including the all-important issue of war and peace, wild economic turbulence, military balances and imbalances, détente as a positive element contributing to friendly and universal coexistence and not merely as a negative mechanism, hot spots, and stalled dialogues over unresolved but fundamental issues—all these and more leave no room for doubt that we are living in a troubled and divided world unable or unwilling to seek and attain real and realistic remedial action. The world is far from achieving its aspirations; to the contrary, it seems to be compounding its already perennial and inherent difficulties and to be drifting helplessly and complacently without positive and articulate direction, notwithstanding all the rhetoric and symbols to the contrary.

73. A reading of the items included in the agenda of this thirty-third regular session is impressive indeed in the breadth, depth and pervasiveness of the issues which our world Organization is assiduously striving to tackle and resolve. These represent the Utopian's dream of a world organization of member States working towards transforming itself into a world community, with all the ramifications which such a transformation would bestow, exact and regulate in the variegated walks of life.

74. The aim is laudable and so are the persistent efforts which Member States, large, medium and small, are exerting through the numerous conferences and the even more massive preparations which the executive branches, the specialized agencies and experts of Member States are shouldering to enhance their chances of success. But a meaningful break-through has so far eluded those efforts, and a great deal of time and endeavour is needed to attain the avowed objectives and aspirations of our world Organization.

75. In specific areas of paramount importance, the question of measured and gradual disarmament leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control must be accorded pride of place, because, in the absence of progress in this field, the fate of the world will continue to be in precarious jeopardy. World-wide consciousness of this inescapable fact and the failure of the Disarmament Decade, solemnly declared in 1969 by the United Nations, prompted the convening at

the highest level, of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, from 23 May to 30 June of this year. In spite of differences in approaches, it emerged clearly that a consensus had been achieved and that consensus was embodied in a Declaration, a Programme of Action and recommendations concerning the international machinery for disarmament negotiations [resolution S-10/2, sects. II, III and IV].

76. We must acknowledge with deep satisfaction the following areas of consensus: first, an emphatic recognition that a continuation of the arms race in the nuclear age is much more a threat to, than a protection of, the future of mankind; secondly, that there has not been any real progress that might lead to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament; thirdly, that security, peace and gradual disarmament are inseparably intertwined with the efforts to accelerate the establishment of the New International Economic Order; fourthly, that appropriate machinery in which the United Nations system should play a pivotal role is imperative; and lastly, but most important, the existence of the political will of Member States, particularly the major States, to open a new chapter which, as all agree, would be to the advantage of mankind as a whole.

77. No miracles were achieved at the special session, nor were any anticipated, but to kindle a light is far better than to curse the dark and the special session devoted to disarmament may well turn out to be that flicker of light.

78. The imaginative and timely perception enunciated at the sixth special session [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] of the General Assembly concerning the creation of a New International Economic Order based on a more equitable system of international relationships has still to witness the take-off stage in the vital subject of the transfer of resources in real terms, including the transfer of technology. We must express our appreciation of the serious efforts exerted by the developing countries at the Conference held in Argentina in the latter part of August and through mid-September.<sup>3</sup> Those commendable efforts on the part of the developing countries were deployed in co-operation with UNDP in scientific and technological sharing and dissemination of the benefits of technology.

79. However, as a member of the Group of 77 representing the developing world, Jordan shares the serious disenchantment at the very slow pace which has characterized the dialogue in the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 to bring about significant structural changes between the relatively small group of the rich and affluent and the two thirds of mankind who are poverty stricken, downtrodden and deprived. It had been hoped that the Committee, supplanting the small forum outside the United Nations system at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, would reflect the urgency, commonly agreed upon, of bringing about fundamental structural changes in the global economic system which would be consonant with the cherished new economic order. Unhappily, that has not proved to be the case, in spite of all the strenuous efforts made during the year.

80. It would be redundant to repeat that a healthy global economy must have global dimensions in which the deprived two thirds of mankind can be transformed into dynamic producers and consumers of goods and services. It is only the short-sighted and the downright selfish who fail to see the benefits that would inevitably accrue to the developed as much as the developing countries in the wake of a real structural transformation of the world economic system.

81. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that at this current session we shall resolve the stalemate which seems to have immobilized the dialogue of the Committee and enable it to fulfil its assigned task.

82. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, an equally formidable challenge, is still bogged down on many vital issues, as reflected at both the New York and the Geneva sessions. Its eventual success will require patience and persistence. In the meantime, and pending agreement, it is mankind's earnest hope that Member States will refrain from stampedes and scrambles. The sea should be a unifying factor, and not a divisive factor of discord. It has always been an artery for co-operation among nations. Let us not turn it into a new arena of struggle.

83. Last year at the thirty-second session my delegation expressed the fervent hope that at this session we would all welcome into our midst a sovereign, independent Namibia and a sovereign, independent Zimbabwe. The hopes and expectations of this body have been thwarted by the racist régime of South Africa which, in addition to its abominable policy of *apartheid*, continues unlawfully to occupy South West Africa, and by the equally obdurate and reprehensible usurpation of the racist minority Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia.

84. While the considerable efforts made by the five Western members of the Security Council, which culminated in an accord in Luanda on 12 July 1978 between the South West Africa People's Organization and the five Western countries,<sup>4</sup> are appreciated, it is clear that racist South Africa is trying to subvert and circumvent that accord. It is universally agreed that at this eleventh hour failure can result only in plunging the peace-loving peoples of Africa into indescribable destruction and untold suffering.

85. Jordan unreservedly endorses the resolutions on Namibia adopted at Khartoum by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its fifteenth ordinary session from 18 to 22 July, as well as the resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the OAU at their thirty-first ordinary session from 7 to 18 July [see A/33/235 and Corr.1].

86. As for friendly Cyprus, it is the earnest hope of Jordan that the two Cypriot communities and the citizens of Cyprus will speedily work out a *modus vivendi* which would be acceptable to both parties within a framework of the territorial integrity and independence of the island and

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12775.

a mutual recognition of the basic rights of the two communities.

87. Lebanon, over the past three years, has suffered an absolutely catastrophic tragedy. Lebanon has one, and only one, legitimate Government under the presidency of Mr. Elias Sarkis.

88. All the efforts which the President of Lebanon has been exerting, with the support of the overwhelming majority of Lebanon's peace-loving citizens, are being thwarted by a multiplicity of covert Israeli acts of interventions, which have nullified efforts to heal the deep wounds that have been inflicted on Lebanon and its people.

89. In spite of the Security Council's categorical and unambiguous resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), which have been reaffirmed recently by the Security Council, Israel persists, in the presence of UNIFIL, to frustrate the efforts of the legitimate Lebanese authority through its armed forces to restore its sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon's national soil; these efforts, if successful, would have paved the way for Lebanon's return to what we have always known it to be: a land of love, fraternity and prosperity.

90. At the same time, we feel in duty bound to appeal solemnly to all Lebanese leaders and citizens to rally behind their lawful Government and to give it their full endorsement to enable it to carry out its historic responsibility to settle the manifold internal conflicts and restore security, stability and prosperity to Lebanon. We are unanimous in requesting that an end be brought to Lebanon's tragedy, which has persisted for so long that it has become impossible to keep silent about its prolongation.

91. Jordan's position concerning the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East is inspired by principles and basic rights which cannot be compromised. Since 1967 Jordan has been striving to achieve a comprehensive settlement and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region. Jordan participated in 1967, in the most trying conditions, in the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has worked incessantly for its implementation in the international arena as well as within the Arab area. It had done so prompted by the urge to spare the region the calamities of continuing wars and to enable our people to live in peace within the framework of a peaceful settlement based upon reciprocal obligations. In accordance with those obligations, Israel would withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and the people of Palestine would exercise their right to self-determination, in total freedom, in exchange for the termination of hostilities, the establishment of peace and the establishment of mutual security guarantees, with the support of the international community, which has repeatedly called for such guarantees. But Israel, as revealed through its practices over the past 11 years or more of occupation and the repeated declarations of its leaders, has rejected the principle of withdrawal and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. On the contrary, it has actively pursued a policy of "planting" colonies in the occupied lands and has striven assiduously to erase the Arab identity of the occupied Arab lands, particularly in holy Jerusalem, the heart of the Palestinian cause, the focal

point of all the faithful and the symbol of Arab rights and faith in peace, goodness and fraternity.

92. The practices of consecutive Israeli Governments have changed the connotations and meaning of the term "occupation" as laid down unambiguously in international law, because Israeli occupation, compared with military occupation by others, is far more devastating and ominous, in that it has been accompanied by a deliberate, calculated and continuing policy of colonizing the remnants of what remained of Palestine in the aftermath of 1948.

93. The Government of Jordan has repeatedly declared its support for a just peace and a comprehensive settlement based on clear objectives and substantive issues. It should include categorical indications that Israel has genuinely altered its real policy concerning withdrawal, the cause of the Palestinian people and the prerequisites for a just peace. We seek an honourable peace with which we can live and with which future generations can live too.

94. We support any reasonable formula for common Arab and international action, which is acceptable to all the parties concerned during the coming decisive phases, including the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. We say this to the world community, at whose behest the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967) and gave it its correct interpretation. It is the interpretation which stems from the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by means of occupation by force. It is incumbent upon this international community to impose its will, halt aggression, prevent any breach of international law and precepts and, furthermore, implement the resolutions of the United Nations.

95. Jordan reiterated anew after the publication of the results of the Camp David talks that it stands for a just peace and supports all efforts designed to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

96. Jordan has also expressed to the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, its deep appreciation of his courage and his persistent efforts and perseverance in the cause of peace. The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has studied most carefully and with an open mind the agreements<sup>5</sup> which emerged from the Camp David meetings, to which it was not a party and to the results of which it is not committed. It wishes to reiterate anew the principles which will determine Jordan's position in assessing the results of the Camp David meetings in their totality and in taking whatever steps and positions flow therefrom. Those principles are the following.

97. First, Jordan believes in a comprehensive settlement which tackles the manifold dimensions of the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Israeli conflict to which it has given rise. It should also ensure the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people over Palestinian soil, as well as Arab rights in a comprehensive form, on all fronts and with the participation of all the parties concerned.

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



98. Secondly, any forthcoming final settlement must be based upon complete Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab countries occupied in 1967, including the West Bank, Gaza and Golan, and the restoration of Arab sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem. It must also include the right of the Palestinian people to determine their fate in total freedom, and the attainment of security and peace by all the parties.

99. The Jordanian leadership was recently visited by Mr. Cyrus Vance, the Secretary of State of the United States of America. There were frank and useful exchanges of view in the course of which the American Secretary of State explained the agreements which had emerged from the Camp David meetings and the United States interpretation of them. The Jordanian side, in turn, sought clarifications on a number of basic issues relating to total withdrawal from occupied Arab lands, the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the restoration of Arab sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem, the principle of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the cause of the Palestine refugees, the presence of Israeli colonies in the occupied Arab lands and other issues connected with a peaceful settlement.

100. Jordan will not close any doors which might lead to the termination of occupation, but will continue to knock on all doors in order to deliver our people from their bondage. We wish to reiterate that we shall not sacrifice our principles and our national rights. And, while Jordan regards the people of Palestine as the principal party in the issue, it will not shirk or evade its national and international responsibilities in the cause of peace.

101. Jordan stands for a just peace and will continue its dialogue with the Government of the United States with a view to finding a *modus vivendi* for co-operation in the peace efforts, which ensure the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement in accordance with the principles which we have outlined. Jordan will also conduct parallel, extensive and comprehensive talks within the Arab and the international arenas, in pursuit of these avowed objectives.

102. As we witness the region of the Middle East entering a new and most delicate phase in the process of peace-making, we cherish solid hopes and strong faith that Jordan's clear-cut basic position will meet with a positive response from the international community and that this will bring to an end the prolonged agony of the Palestinian people, ensure security and stability for the peoples of the Middle East and contribute to peace in the world as a whole.

103. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of our delegation I should like to congratulate you, Sir, upon your election to the high post of President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly and to wish you success in that responsible task.

104. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to welcome the delegation of the State of Solomon Islands on the occasion of its admission to membership in the United Nations. We sincerely wish the people of that State prosperity and good fortune.

105. The actual situation in the world and the evaluation of it made by many delegations during this session give occasion to conclude that, despite the intrigues of the opponents of peace and co-operation among nations, the struggle for stable détente, peace and disarmament has demonstrated that it has enormous vitality and enjoys the wide support of peoples. The example of Europe, where the situation is developing under the favourable impact of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, shows how détente is becoming something quite specific and tangible. That becomes particularly apparent in the relations of the Soviet Union with France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Sweden, Austria, Finland and other countries, in an over-all development of the links of socialist countries with countries of Western Europe.

106. Being closely united by mutual objectives and unbreakable friendship, and acting as one, the States of the socialist community are doing everything possible further to widen and deepen détente, to curb the arms race and to strengthen peace and international security. Peoples are becoming ever more convinced that peace and socialism are inseparable.

107. However, at this time we should like to draw attention to what is complicating the international situation. Facts reveal that at the present time we are witnessing an activation of the imperialist and other reactionary forces which are trying to block the dynamic development of détente and its extension to the entire world. Recent developments show that the world is undergoing dangerous changes which are impeding the future development of positive trends. What is really the matter?

108. In our opinion, the activation of the opponents of détente and of imperialists and reactionaries can be explained, first and foremost by the fact that positive processes in international relations have threatened the interests of those who capitalize on the arms race, on the preservation of colonial bonds, on inequality and exploitation, and also on the needs arising from the waging of the "cold war".

109. To block the further development of détente, to prevent the merging of political and military détente and to halt social progress—that is the goal set for themselves by the enemies of the peoples, from the imperialists and extreme reactionaries to the Chinese leaders who work hand in hand with them.

110. A real affront was dealt to the peoples by the militarist decisions of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which approved a long-term programme for stepping up the arms race of the North Atlantic bloc at the time when the tenth special session of the General Assembly was being held. In the United States, a huge military budget has been approved for the fiscal year 1979, with tremendous appropriations earmarked for the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb and the cruise missile. One hears again bellicose speeches which are reminiscent of the days of the "cold war" and which are designed, according to the United States press, to demonstrate "military muscle". In order to camouflage their militarist course, they present the Soviet Union as a

“danger to peace” and slander its policy of solidarity with peoples fighting against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. That absurdity reaches its peak with allegations that new types of weapons and bellicose speeches are, as it were, necessary only as a “trump card in the game” with the Soviet side or as a “confirmation of the strength and courage” of various leaders in the administration. There is too much at stake; the world is oversaturated with armaments; one should not play with fire and risk peace for the sake of one or another temporary consideration.

111. The aggressive forces of the West are joined by the Peking leaders in openly boasting of their course towards the militarization of their country and in predicting the inevitability of new war and a thermonuclear clash. By provoking conflicts and zealously opposing détente, the statesmen in Peking are, however, increasingly unmasking themselves. Their attempts to fall into step with the non-aligned countries will hardly mislead anyone. It was quite recently in this very hall, at the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, that Peking’s representatives spoke against the aspirations of the non-aligned countries towards the consolidation of détente and the halting of the arms race, only to find themselves covered with shame. Now they are, in fact, opposed to the non-nuclear States being given special guarantees by the nuclear Powers. We are confident that that position will not find support either at this session or at any subsequent one.

112. Rejecting the dangerous course of rivalry in the field of armaments, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, have put forward a realistic and wide-ranging programme of measures to curb the arms race. This programme covers both nuclear and conventional weapons.

113. The halting of the arms race and disarmament are the cardinal problems of contemporary international relations. They are the cardinal problems because, to borrow Leonid Brezhnev’s graphic phrase, “the soil for peaceful co-operation between States has obviously been seriously disturbed by the continuing arms race”.

114. In recent years some important steps towards curbing the arms race have been taken. Certain progress has already been achieved in the negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the general and complete prohibition of all nuclear test explosions in all spheres. The Soviet-American negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons have continued to harmonize positions. However, no agreement on these issues has been reached as yet and we urge the speeding-up of the work on them.

115. There is a reasonably clear understanding in the world that to stop the nuclear-arms race and in particular to prevent the increase in the number of its participants means coming to grips with nuclear disarmament. A substantial contribution to the solution of this problem could be made by the conclusion of an agreement which would enable non-nuclear-weapon States to strengthen their security.

116. The Soviet Union has submitted for the consideration of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, as an important and urgent matter, a

proposal for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [A/33/241]. This proposal was convincingly explained here a few days ago [8th meeting] by Mr. A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully supports this proposal and the draft convention submitted by the Soviet Union [*ibid.*, annex, addendum].

117. This proposal takes into account the wishes of non-nuclear States concerning their security guarantees, a subject they have spoken of repeatedly in the United Nations. At the same time the proposal takes into account the relevant appeal by the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

118. The Soviet Union has recently stated that it will never use nuclear weapons against States which renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have them in their territories. At the same time the Soviet Union has called upon other nuclear Powers to follow its example and assume similar obligations. The United States and the United Kingdom are known also to have made statements in this respect, but their reservations lessened the importance of those statements. It is obvious that the most effective solution of this problem would be a universal commitment on the subject embodied in the form of a multilateral agreement. Such is the purpose of the draft international convention submitted by the Soviet Union.

119. This convention would undoubtedly strengthen the rules governing the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is no secret that many feel anxiety over the possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of such States as South Africa and Israel. Their policies of nuclear armament would be extremely dangerous for peace, particularly in Africa and in the Middle East.

120. The problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is closely related to the problem of the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at the present time. What is meant here is that those States should pledge themselves to prevent nuclear devices from being introduced into their territories, and nuclear States, in turn, should pledge themselves not to deploy nuclear weapons in countries where there are no such weapons at present. A pledge given to this effect by nuclear and non-nuclear Powers would help prevent a possible destabilization of the present strategic situation and would constitute a step towards the complete withdrawal of these weapons from the territories of other countries. We support the idea of such obligations being undertaken by the States concerned.

121. The Soviet Union proposed at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament the discontinuance of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles with a view to their subsequent total elimination. The Final Document of the session pointed out that negotiations on this subject should be started as a matter of the highest priority.

122. Our delegation, too, supports the idea of starting such negotiations as soon as possible.

123. We understand that many important problems will have to be negotiated in the course of those talks, such as how to stop the manufacture of nuclear arms, how to begin gradually reducing accumulated stockpiles; what should be the stages and phases of this process; to what extent some nuclear Powers would participate in each stage of this process, bearing in mind the differences in their nuclear war potential; how to preserve intact the present balance of nuclear power while continually reducing its levels. The very fact that these problems were raised in the document submitted by the Soviet Union<sup>6</sup> for consideration at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament testifies to a profoundly business-like approach on the part of the USSR to the forthcoming talks and indicates that various opinions on this question, particularly those voiced at the United Nations General Assembly sessions, have been taken into account. Thus, the purpose is clear and the ways to achieve it are well defined. We call upon delegations to the current session to do all they can to ensure that the talks start immediately.

124. Our delegation is in favour of commencing concrete preparatory work for the World Disarmament Conference. Such an authoritative international forum as the World Disarmament Conference could take practical decisions which would be binding on all States.

125. We will continue to state that the development and implementation of measures of nuclear disarmament should naturally be inseparably connected with the consolidation of international legal guarantees for the security of States, such as a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. In this connexion we note with satisfaction that the United Nations Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations, which is considering this draft treaty, has started its work. In our opinion this draft deserves universal support.

126. Our delegation regards as very important the proposal of the Polish People's Republic that the General Assembly adopt a declaration on preparation of societies for life in peace [A/C.1/33/2]. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR favours its adoption.

127. The agenda of the session, as usual, includes many items related to the complete elimination of the colonial system and the establishment of such relations in the world as would make it impossible for imperialist Powers to exploit newly independent States. Of late, Africa has become the focus of world politics. The end of colonial and racist domination in the south of that continent is near. The United Nations, and in particular its Special Committee against *Apartheid* of which the Ukrainian SSR is a member, plays its proper role in this matter.

128. It is more than two years now since imperialism began the offensive against the forces of national and social liberation in Africa. That offensive is conducted under the false slogan of "restoring stability", which the peoples of

that continent allegedly need. From the imperialists' point of view "stability" means, first of all, the possibility of exploiting Africa unhindered and confidence as to the security and safety of the economic positions of imperialist Powers and monopolies in African countries for centuries to come. Similarly, everything that poses a threat to the preservation and consolidation of the neo-colonialist positions of the West is called "destabilization" of Africa or a violation of the "code of détente" interpreted in a very peculiar way. Meanwhile, the West is busy making up so-called plans for a settlement in Zimbabwe that would keep, in a slightly renovated form, the same old racist régime. Moreover, imperialists are frustrating the implementation of the decisions taken at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Namibia. We are confident that the peoples of Africa will not allow their destiny to be decided by those who some 15 to 20 years ago exercised complete colonial domination on their continent.

129. The policy pursued by the socialist countries with respect to Africa is clear and consistent. As usual, they are on the side of the forces which defend the cause of national independence, social progress and democracy. At the same time, they seek no advantages for themselves, nor hunt for concessions, nor strive for political domination, nor seek any military bases. The Ukrainian SSR, in particular, takes an active part in the development of relations between the USSR and young, independent States that are designed to strengthen their political and economic independence, to help combat the vestiges of colonial oppression, *apartheid* and racism. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will also be guided by this position of principle in the discussion of appropriate items on the session's agenda.

130. The settlement of the Middle East crisis takes a place of prominence in United Nations activities. The Middle East crisis continues unabated, and the coals of the hotbed of war smoulder, threatening to burst into flame. Behind-the-scenes manoeuvres and separate deals, which are now under way, cannot untie the knot of differences in the Middle East. In fact, these behind-the-scenes separate deals are really aimed at splitting the Arabs and pitting them one against the other, imposing upon the Arab countries conditions profitable to Israel and consolidating the existing situation, under which Israel is reaping the fruits of its aggression without let or hindrance. These deals push aside the Palestine Liberation Organization from any part in solving the crisis, although it is the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine and is at the head of their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

131. The conflict can be eliminated only on the basis of complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the creation of their own independent State; and international guarantees for the security of all States of this region.

132. Not far from the Middle East lies Cyprus. The situation on the island remains tense. The Ukrainian SSR advocates, as before, the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the

<sup>6</sup> See document A/S-10/AC.1/4.

convening of a representative international conference on Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations.

133. Of late, greater understanding has been developing in Asia to the effect that peace and security on that continent also should be strengthened by joint action by all Asian States. To achieve this, it is necessary, above all, to put an end to the attempts at hegemonic pressure on socialist Viet Nam and at violations of its sovereignty. We declare from this rostrum the complete solidarity of the Ukrainian people, together with the entire Soviet people, with heroic Viet Nam.

134. It is high time to fulfil the resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question [*resolution 3390 A (XXX)*] that is aimed at a peaceful reunification of Korea without foreign interference and at the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

135. Among the distracting manoeuvres of imperialism designed to prevent the adoption of concrete decisions on acute contemporary issues there is also the prominent hypocritical campaign waged by it in defence of human rights. Attempts are made to interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples, including the Ukrainian people, and to distort the real nature of socialist democracy. The echoes of that campaign are also heard in the United Nations, where the Western Powers engineered the notorious proposal to establish a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. In the recent past, that campaign developed the very peculiar and frequent practice of defending persons who, being recruited by foreign intelligence agencies, are engaged in subversive activities against the socialist system. But there is no State in the world that would not punish crimes and would not protect its security from the plotting of agents of foreign intelligence services. The socialist countries are no exception to this general rule.

136. We stand for the co-operation of States in promoting and encouraging human rights. The capitalist countries—where unemployment is on the rise and where the right to work, to housing, to rest and to health services is not ensured—violate blatantly and on a large scale the rights of many millions of working peoples. Despite the fact that these countries practise discrimination against national minorities, that immigrants from developing countries are subjected there to ruthless exploitation and that thousands of political prisoners languish in gaols, responsible representatives of these countries set records of hypocrisy in speaking out in defence of human rights.

137. There is no moral right to speak of human rights for those who maintain close ties with South African racists oppressing 20 million Africans, those who supply modern weapons to the Israeli aggressors, who have deprived the Arab people of Palestine of their ancestral lands, or those who have brought to power the Pinochet Fascist clique in Chile. The Ukrainian SSR, a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, will, as before, make its contribution to the struggle for ensuring human rights, which are trampled underfoot in the countries where capitalism rules supreme. To those who are eager to interfere in our domestic affairs, to “critics” of

social democracy, we should like to reply with the following words of V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, delivered from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of the adoption of the Republic’s new Constitution. Our democracy, he said,

“... reflects and defends the interests of the working class, of all working people of socialist society. The people of the Ukraine has always stood and stands in support of such a democracy.”

138. The agenda of this session also contains another group of major problems of world significance whose solutions are being impatiently awaited by a large part of humanity. These are the problems of overcoming the backwardness of developing countries and of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

139. The matter is that the present character of international economic relations, which has developed under a completely different correlation of world forces and which satisfies only the selfish interests of imperialist monopolies, has run counter to the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of countries and to the development of the international situation in general. This discrepancy became especially evident as the process of *détente* produced the prerequisites needed for solving pressing economic problems in the interests of all the nations of the world.

140. As for the substantive contribution to the solution of the problems of development, the direct way to increase it is indicated in the Soviet proposal on the reduction of military budgets.<sup>7</sup> We hope that proposal will win universal support and will be implemented.

141. We emphatically stress that the main factor for the achievement of real progress by developing countries lies in their uncompromising struggle against the policy of *diktat* and neo-colonialism in international economic relations and the implementation of sweeping social and economic reforms in those countries. In this struggle, the developing countries can fully count on the solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, their allies in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

142. At present the world situation has become more complex. The burning problems of today are awaiting resolution. The course towards *détente* pursued by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and peace-loving forces in the world has created possibilities for stopping the arms race, eliminating hotbeds of conflict and developing co-operation between States. The duty of the United Nations is to use these opportunities and to remove the road-blocks put up by those who are afraid of the prospects of peace and international security. What is necessary today is to turn from words to deeds. This concerns above all the problem of stopping the arms race and of disarmament. We are quite sure that, if we do not take resolute steps against the arms race in the very near future, we shall have to pay dearly. The thirty-third session of the United Nations

<sup>7</sup> See document A/S-10/AC.1/4, annex, sect. 7.

General Assembly should make its contribution to ensuring the change to concrete activities and actions, practical solutions and understandings.

143. Along with other delegations, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is ready for such a change and is ready to support it. Let deeds speak louder than words; let the cause of peace all over the world really grow in strength.

144. Mr. NSEKALIJE (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Rwanda wishes to join in the congratulations and praise addressed to you, Sir, on your election as President of this Assembly. The unanimous confidence shown by our Assembly in electing you President of its thirty-third regular session is undoubtedly a well-deserved tribute both to your exceptional personal qualities and to the role that your country has played and continues to play in the international arena in order to bring about a world of freedom, justice and progress.

145. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, a distinguished son of the people of Yugoslavia, a country which has constantly striven for the attainment of the noble objectives of non-alignment.

146. At this same rostrum at the same time last year, speaking of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I said:

"My country, Rwanda, has always greatly appreciated the efforts and the wisdom shown by our Secretary-General... in carrying out his very delicate tasks to ensure for the United Nations influence and effectiveness in keeping with its mission."<sup>8</sup>

I take particular pleasure in once again expressing my country's great esteem for his tireless efforts to bring about the triumph of the objectives and principles of our Organization.

147. Furthermore, we share the joy of the people of Solomon Islands on this memorable occasion of its admission as a new State Member of our Organization. The independence of Solomon Islands is another landmark on the road to the complete elimination of colonialism and foreign domination throughout the world.

148. The irresistible march towards the elimination of colonialism and foreign domination should go hand in hand with the fight against the present imbalances in the world, a dominant feature of which is the establishment of a new international economic order.

149. The quest for this new order involves the elimination of poverty, ignorance and sickness, and a reduction of the gap separating the poor nations from the wealthy nations. Instead of competing in the production of increasingly sophisticated weapons the wealthy nations should realize that there is a nobler struggle, that for universal social justice. That struggle would be made easier if the funds used for the arms race were diverted to development assistance. Indeed, the more than \$US 400 billion poured

every year into the production of weapons of mass destruction would be sufficient, we think, to enable a start to be made in improving the national economies of all the poor countries.

150. We are convinced that the present crises, both economic and political, are based on that inequality which certain countries are perpetuating in the service of a policy which is unscrupulous and tied to various forms of hegemony.

151. In this connexion, now that the need for respect for human rights is receiving the greatest attention in the international community, a determined effort must be made by the major Powers to substitute respect for human dignity for violence and oppression by the wicked régimes of racism and *apartheid*.

152. The people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania must recover their freedom. Our duty, based on concrete solidarity, is to support them by every means, including armed force because peaceful means alone have not made the tyranny of the régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury more yielding.

153. These two murderous régimes have become infamous in the history of Africa and in the history of the world, not only because of what they have done to the black race but also because of their misdeeds against all of Africa and mankind as a whole.

154. On the subject of Zimbabwe, the peace talks now having failed, the freedom fighters must be encouraged to stand firm. We support the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of Zimbabwe, in its determination to lead the country to genuine independence. The other nationalists, who were so anxious to make a deal with the racist rebels, must at last realize that they were deceived by illusory promises, because whatever happens, any genuine negotiations must take account above all of the proposals of the Patriotic Front.

155. We are fully convinced that the two bastions of racism will fall before the irresistible march of history sooner or later. Their provocation of the front-line States will be to no avail, for the front-line States are determined to continue to help their fighting brothers, supported as they are by the rest of the peoples of Africa and by other peoples of the world which cherish peace and freedom.

156. Furthermore, as regards Namibia, the delegation of Rwanda has not lost sight of the fact that the efforts of the Western Powers members of the Security Council deserve credit. However, the delaying tactics and the treachery of Ian Smith and Vorster, and in particular the brutal aggression against and the massacres of the peaceful populations of Zambia, Mozambique and Angola cast doubt on their credibility and good faith. It is for them to draw the proper conclusions from these events.

157. Africa remains attentive to all these vicissitudes and to any attempt to undermine its cohesiveness and unity by supporting or encouraging conflicts among the African States and diverting them from their primary concerns.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 26th meeting, para. 3.*

158. Our continent must no longer be a breeding-ground for power struggles encouraged by thinly-disguised neo-colonialism.
159. Inter-State relations must be based on the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and recalled in the Charter of the OAU. We must always settle our conflicts by peaceful means and without foreign interference, whose only aim is to incite Africans to blind self-destruction to serve the interests of hegemonistic forces.
160. The aggression perpetrated by Israel against the Arab nation is of direct concern to the peoples of our continent. The peoples of the Middle East belong to two civilizations: African and Arab. Our bonds with the Arab world justify our indignation against the annexationist policy of Israel.
161. This high organ has never ceased to recall that Israel must return the occupied Arab territories, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and that the Palestinian people must be able to determine its own fate and to exercise its right to self-determination in a regained homeland.
162. My Government, in this connexion, supports the efforts of the Government of the United States to increase the momentum of the process of achieving a just and lasting peace in the area. We believe that the Camp David summit talks may have been a very important step towards that objective.
163. I do not know whether this Assembly will have an immediate and adequate reply to the fundamental question of how to put an end to armed conflicts and bring about universal peace, the ultimate goal of our Organization.
164. We note that certain conflicts have come to an end but that others have arisen, elsewhere or in the same area, throughout the world.
165. My delegation deplores such conflicts, especially between fraternal neighbouring countries, such as those on the Sino-Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Cambodian borders. We regret the exodus which such tensions impose on innocent populations that have fallen victim to intrigues beyond their understanding.
166. Another major obstacle to the creation of universal peace is the division of certain nations such as Germany, Korea, Cyprus and a number of others.
167. Rwanda has always supported from this rostrum a realistic approach to this problem—an approach worthy of rising generations and, hence, of history. The irresistible march towards the unification of divided nations, in accordance with the will of their peoples and without foreign interference, should enjoy the complete support of the international community.
168. Together with all these concerns, we believe that the first step for bringing about the universal peace we seek is complete disarmament and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.
169. The talks that have begun in this connexion under United Nations auspices should be pursued and lead to concrete results. The recent tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, has laid the groundwork for an international conference on disarmament.
170. We are pleased that solution of the problem of disarmament and of halting the arms race is no longer the domain of the super-Powers alone but has become the common undertaking of all countries. It is, of course, a question of great concern to all mankind.
171. We have already had occasion to hail France's initiative on this important and timely issue. The proposals it made to the special session<sup>9</sup> deserve special attention, especially since disarmament is related to development. Moreover, France's position in this connexion is akin to that of the non-aligned countries, which initiated that session.
172. Even though the special session yielded limited results and brought to light very significant differences among States, we believe that its merit is that it made it possible to start the process of disarmament negotiation and identify the demands of mankind.
173. Since the sixth special session of the General Assembly in April 1974, a problem as old as our Organization itself has come to the forefront of the international scene because of its explosive nature and the urgent need to solve it. I am referring to the establishment of a new international economic order.
174. The present economic order, which the international community is trying to change, has become a source of deep concern and bitterness over the years.
175. This unjust system, under which a small number of countries controls more than 80 per cent of the world's markets, all of its technology and, consequently, nearly all industrial investments, is forcing the developing countries into a state of poverty and misery because of the constant deterioration in the terms of trade and because of the resultant inflation and economic recession.
176. The international community, and in particular the developed countries, must take appropriate action in this connexion to make it possible for the third world to have wider access to the markets of the industrialized countries by providing, not just in resolutions but also in deeds, more equitable outlets for the manufactures of the developing countries.
177. Moreover, while it is true that the modern approach to development is closely connected to the problems of energy, it is consequently a matter of urgency that this question, which since the beginning of the North-South dialogue has been a stumbling-block in the negotiations between industrialized and developing countries, be speedily settled in a fair manner.
178. The industrialized countries must therefore take an active and substantial part in the solution of this problem,

<sup>9</sup> See documents A/S-10/AC.1/7 and 28.

not resorting to unjustified protectionism but respecting the principle of mutual advantage. That implies, in addition to guarantees of non-discriminatory access to ordinary energy sources, the technology of which they control, but easier access also to nuclear energy.

179. As far as raw materials are concerned, in the world economy they continue to be subject to instability and disquieting price fluctuations, which are at the root of the sudden drops in the export earnings of the developing countries.

180. Although the importance and urgency of creating a common stabilization fund for the prices of raw materials require no further proof, they run up against a lack of political will on the part of some developed countries. We are very pleased with the position taken by Japan from this rostrum [6th meeting] in support of an equitable solution to this problem.

181. We are equally pleased to note the efforts of some of the developed countries both as regards the setting up of that common fund and increasing their public assistance for development and as regards debt cancellation.

182. The Government of the Republic of Rwanda highly appreciates the commitment of certain industrialized coun-

tries, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, to convert into grants development assistance loans which they have already made or will make in future to the least-developed countries.

183. But this praiseworthy effort, unless shared by the international community as a whole, cannot bring a final solution to the world's economic problems. That is why the United Nations must make a major effort to promote true economic and social progress throughout the world.

184. This brief outline of our major international concerns has perhaps not done full justice to the complexity of the many problems which are on the agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, but it does nevertheless reflect the present basic realities of international relations.

185. We hope that the desire of the peoples of the world for peace, freedom and social justice will not be eternally thwarted. That, of course, will depend on the good will that each State brings to the implementation of the noble principles of our Organization.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*