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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, on behalf of the Tanzanian delegation I offer you my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to and assumption of the high office of President of the General Assembly. Your personal qualifications and experience guarantee that you will guide the Assembly to a successful conclusion. The Tanzanian delegation is glad to welcome you, and pledges its co-operation in the smooth and successful discharge of your responsibilities.

2. Allow me also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Mojsov of Yugoslavia, for the distinguished service he gave this Organization as President of the last General Assembly session and the three special sessions over which he presided. We are both proud of and indebted to him.

3. This year yet another nation was born, an important event in the process of decolonization. The Tanzanian delegation joins other members of the United Nations General Assembly in rejoicing over the attainment of independence by Solomon Islands and in extending a warm welcome to this one hundred and fiftieth Member of the United Nations.

4. I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his succinct and penetrating survey and analysis of developments in the period since the last session which was contained in his report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]. His statement provides a useful starting-point for an assessment of the international situation.

5. I wish to underscore in particular the timely warning of increasing areas of frustration to which the world community is daily subjected. We would like first to agree with

the Secretary-General that, in spite of the many frustrations experienced—and indeed because of them—we cannot afford to succumb to cynical pessimism, for our peoples want to live, and they aspire to the better life this Organization has promised them.

6. Action to banish these frustrations can come if and when all concerned have woken up to the reality not only of the perilous precipice on which the very survival of all mankind is delicately balanced but also of the general unhealthy physical and psychological conditions in which both poor and rich, powerful and weak, are being engulfed. The future is bright and secure either for all or for none.

7. The international environment is at present most unfavourable for the development needs of the developing countries. The increasingly severe economic crisis—including widespread unemployment, galloping inflation, currency fluctuations, instability in commodity earnings, indebtedness and protectionist tendencies in international trade—continues to place serious constraints on the development efforts of the developing countries. All evidence suggests that these problems are manifestations of the malfunctioning of the present international economic system and its inability to cope with the new realities of today's world of interdependence. These are structural problems which require structural solutions through the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

8. Unfortunately, the urgency of the establishment of the New International Economic Order is not often felt by some developed countries because of their satisfaction with the inequitable world based on selfish and short-term interests, as can be clearly seen from the disappointing record of inconclusive negotiations on various aspects of international economic relations. Thus, although the international community has the capability of redressing world imbalances and inequalities, and the prescriptions for such problems are known, lack of political will on the part of these few developed countries has prevented progress in various negotiations on the New International Economic Order.

9. It is this lack of political will, for example, that is holding back progress in the negotiations on both the individual commodity agreements and the common fund in spite of general agreement on the integrated programme for commodities. The United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities has yet to be reconvened after having twice been suspended last year without reaching agreement on the basic elements of the fund. In the multilateral trade negotiations and in the negotiations on the reform of the international monetary system progress is also negligible because of increasing resistance to structural change. The

conference of plenipotentiaries on the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency,¹ failed to adopt a constitution for UNIDO as a specialized agency because of opposition from some developed countries.

10. What is more disappointing, however, is that even where general agreement has been reached, procedural arguments are applied as a pretext for inaction. The most recent example of these delaying tactics was manifested during the inconclusive sessions of the Committee of the Whole or the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. While the contents of that resolution, including the mandate of the Committee, were negotiated by all interested parties and adopted by the General Assembly by consensus, some developed countries have chosen to associate the mandate of the Committee with only one function, to the exclusion of the other three. We are told that the Committee should merely engage in periodic exchanges of views on the problems of the world economy without reaching formal agreements. These negative attitudes have led to the inability of the international community to agree even on the mandate of the body for continuing the North-South dialogue.

11. The North-South dialogue can produce concrete results only if all parties are prepared to engage in genuine negotiations with the necessary political commitment to establish just and equitable economic relations among nations. The disappointing results of the negotiations taking place in various forums clearly demonstrate that certain developed countries are not yet prepared to part with the privilege derived from the present unjust system.

12. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] recognizes the interrelationship between the prosperity of the developed countries and the growth and development of the developing countries and that the two can no longer be isolated. It also follows, therefore, that those who use political and economic barriers to delay or even prevent the establishment of the New International Economic Order are by their actions creating obstacles to growth and prosperity for all mankind. The international community will be justified in holding those people responsible for the lack of progress in the establishment of the New International Economic Order and for whatever consequences their actions may have on relations among nations and on the world community as a whole. In this respect it must be recognized that the tolerance of the masses of people condemned to the vicious circle of poverty and malnutrition has its own limitations.

13. The struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order has been given new momentum by the conclusions and recommendations of the recently concluded United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries.² My Government

believes that implementation of the Plan of Action adopted by that Conference,³ which we hope will receive the unanimous support of this Assembly, would contribute significantly to our search for peace, justice and equality.

14. We recognize that the primary objective of technical co-operation among developing countries is to promote the development of the developing countries on the basis of national and collective self-reliance and thereby improve the living standards of the peoples of the third world. But we also view technical co-operation among developing countries as one of the important instruments which should be applied in the process of restructuring the present international economic system, which has been not only the source of the sharp contrasts between the affluent countries of the North and the poor countries of the South but also a major obstacle to the development efforts of the developing countries. It is because of this interrelationship between national development efforts and the external environment which affects such efforts that we consider collective self-reliance and the establishment of the New International Economic Order to be complementary.

15. If change in the economic relations of nations is a problem because it involves some form of sacrifice, the same cannot be said of the refusal of the developed countries to place the wealth from minerals of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction at the disposal of an international institution to help the developing countries. Yet even over that common heritage of mankind there rages in the current Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea a desperate tug of war between the developed countries and the developing countries, because the developed countries will not give up the prospect of adding more wealth to their existing wealth, with almost total indifference to the plight of the millions of the destitute who make up the vast majority of the third world.

16. The total liberation of our continent remains the overriding concern of Tanzania's external policy, and for this reason the deteriorating situation in southern Africa has become an increasing preoccupation.

17. There continue to exist two paths to decolonization and the establishment of majority rule in southern Africa. The people there have to take up arms and violently overthrow their oppressors in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, or, in the face of a disposition by the minority régime to agree to a transfer of power to the majority of the population, take the path of negotiated settlement. The two alternatives are not parallel and mutually exclusive; they may in fact be complementary. We for our part have always pursued both.

18. In Zimbabwe, the Anglo-American proposals⁴ offered a framework for a negotiated settlement. The possibility of this was endorsed by the front-line States, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations, which later authorized the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative. At present these proposals are seriously

¹ United Nations Conference on the Establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization as a Specialized Agency, held at United Nations headquarters from 21 February to 11 March 1978.

² See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11).

³ *Ibid.*, chap. I.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

eroded, for negotiations within their framework have been either haphazard or unprincipled. Our support for them was contingent on two prerequisites. The first is that Smith has to go. He cannot be a part of the solution of the problem. Rather, he has been the problem. The second is that his power structure—and especially his army of oppression—has to be dismantled and a new army of an independent Zimbabwe built with the freedom fighters of the Patriotic Front as its base.

19. Smith's response to the Anglo-American proposals was the internal settlement of 3 March [see A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63], which denied those two prerequisites. In view of the orchestrated drama of momentum, vacillation and indecision of the past few months, I wish to stress that those two prerequisites are the key to a successful negotiated settlement. We do not wish that the participation of any black leaders in an internal settlement will bring about independence based on majority rule and in conditions of peace and stability.

20. We support the unity of the Patriotic Front. We shall work for the consolidation of its unity on the diplomatic front and that of the armed struggle against Smith's minority régime.

21. In Namibia, the illegal occupation régime of South Africa, after months of pretending reasonableness in negotiations for a settlement, has defied the five Western authors of their proposals.⁵ It has also defied the United Nations, which endorsed both the proposals and their implementation programme.⁶ Much is at stake here: the earnestness of the five, the seriousness of the international community, the word of the United Nations Security Council. The people of Namibia and of Africa see this as a test case.

22. There is no room for equivocation. There is an incontrovertible logic to these negotiations. South Africa must either comply with the will of the international community over an area of international jurisdiction or be made to comply with this will. For our part, we believe that this Organization has more than deferred to South Africa's sensitivities, to the extent that they legitimately exist. The time has come to resort to all the provisions of the Charter, especially under Chapter VII, to demonstrate to South Africa that the will and conscience of the international community must prevail.

23. Inside South Africa itself, racial tension continues to mount, and by now not even the white population could claim to enjoy mental or physical security. If at this stage in history anyone can still imagine that the blacks there will give up and resign themselves to the inferior status to which the white man has attempted to condemn them, it must be the result of total ignorance of the trend of historic events.

24. The only choice before all of us is between supporting the anti-racist struggle, which is sure ultimately to succeed, on the one hand, and equivocating, which only amounts to lending support, albeit by default, to the doomed régimes,

on the other. However, the implications of our choice, it must be stressed, are far-reaching, not only with regard to peace and human life in South Africa itself but with regard to international peace and security. Even to appear to side with the régime lends support to the continued existence of the racist régime and with it a protraction and spreading of bloodshed and suffering within the beyond South Africa itself. We cannot cease to call on the Western countries, in particular, to reconsider their relations with that neo-Nazi régime.

25. Beyond southern Africa, where undoubtedly colonialism and racism are in their most entrenched and ugly forms, there still exist a number of other countries and peoples suffering the indignities of colonialism. Tanzania's support for these peoples' right to self-determination is equally firm, for the right of decolonized people to self-determination and independence is universal and must be respected as such. In this context, we reaffirm our support for, and solidarity with, the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of Frente POLISARIO,⁷ in their struggle for self-determination and independence and we pledge our unshakeable support to the Government and people of Belize in their legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity.

26. The Middle East situation continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The continued occupation of Arab lands, the denial of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the escalation of violence and civil strife in Lebanon, compounded by Israeli intervention there, have made the situation in the region even more explosive.

27. In reaffirming our firm support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], for self-determination and the creation of an independent State, as well as our unequivocal support for the termination of the consequences of the 1967 war of aggression, we wish to underscore the fact that these two elements are prerequisites for a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. It remains our considered judgement that the key to the attainment of permanent peace and security in the Middle East lies both in the resolution of the real cause of the conflict, namely, the attainment by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights, and in the refusal to give any recognition to the enjoyment of the fruits of conquest.

28. In the Mediterranean region, the problem of Cyprus has remained a source of anguish to us all, in spite of the serious efforts by the Secretary-General to help resolve it. Despite the setbacks that have so far always prevented movement towards a solution, we cannot afford to resign ourselves to total despondency, for in that problem principles of far-reaching implications are threatened, quite apart from the immediate threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that country. Both communities have a stake in the defence of these principles and their nation. We cannot but hope that the two communities will finally come together for the unity, peace and prosperity of their nation.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

⁷ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

29. In the Far East, no solution appears yet to be in sight for the Korean problem. The Korean people, of both the North and the South, want the reunification of their motherland and nation, peacefully and without foreign interference. Tanzania will continue to lend its support to these efforts.

30. In May this year the United Nations General Assembly began a special session devoted entirely to the most critical problem threatening mankind: the existence and further production of stockpiles of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, the tenth special session was a milestone in the dialogue on this problem. That session succeeded in drawing the special attention of the world to the peril of extinction that mankind faces and the critical choices the situation poses. But, beyond that, we are reluctant to attribute any substantive achievement to the special session.

31. It is true that the special session was able to produce a Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, chap. III*]. But a Programme of Action is no substitute for concrete action. The true success of the special session will only be seen when and if actual disarmament starts. Previous experiences and the continued existence of the crisis demand that we do not yet congratulate ourselves.

32. This has been a very eventful year in the United Nations' search for the resolution of many problems that bedevil our world. At the end of this year we shall be commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet, despite all these efforts aimed at the resolution of conflict and promotion of a better and safer world, the state of international affairs leaves a lot to be desired. Indeed, at no time has there been a greater need to intensify our collective efforts to try to put an end to the injustice and tyranny that continue to afflict millions of people. At no time has it been more compelling to put an end to the escalating arms race. Indeed, at no time has it been more urgent to strive for a new political, social and economic order. More than ever before we must persevere in the search for a world of nations in human equality, prosperity and solidarity: a world at peace.

33. Sheikh SABAH AL-AHMAD AL-JABER AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the Government and the people of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election is a tribute to the high status you enjoy in international circles as a statesman of wide experience and recognition of your country's role in international affairs, especially in the Latin American hemisphere. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for the manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and that of the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions, which was marked by great efficiency and impartiality.

34. I wish also to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who worked hard to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and to express appreciation of his concern with problems of the developing countries.

35. I want to welcome Solomon Islands, the new Member of the United Nations. Kuwait staunchly supports the principle of universality within the United Nations and is gratified that this principle is now within our reach.

36. The international climate has been precarious since the end of the last regular session. It has been characterized as uneasy détente, which avoids extreme political tension and military confrontation without actually succeeding in expanding co-operation between States with differing economic and social systems. Détente should be a positive element in present-day international relations; it should be instrumental in creating a better international political order which respects the sovereignty and political independence of all States, large or small. We oppose the policy of the search for spheres of influence by super-Powers in the developing countries. If détente should endure, it must be universal and not confined to one continent. The decrease in tension between the major Powers should slacken the pace of the arms race and gradually contribute to disarmament.

37. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was a step in the right direction. We did not expect it to create general and complete disarmament overnight. Yet we expected it to serve as a historic opportunity for announcing agreement on outstanding issues, such as a new agreement reached at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Though our expectations were not fulfilled on substantive issues, the special session created many institutional changes in the machinery and procedures of disarmament which would ensure greater participation by all nuclear Powers, as well as all Members of the United Nations. We hope that this will augur well for expediting disarmament negotiations and finalizing long-awaited disarmament agreements.

38. Twentieth-century technology has revolutionized the nature of warfare. It has vastly enlarged the potential for destruction, and has moved war from the battlefield to everyone's back yard.

39. Of all the weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons are still the most formidable. Each of the super-Powers has a force of these weapons sufficient to destroy the other many times over. There is no defence, no shield, against nuclear weapons. Damage from the combined effects of the nuclear blasts, fall-out and firestorms that would result from a full nuclear exchange would destroy all life not only in the warring nations but in the rest of the world as well. Our primary aim, therefore, should be cessation of nuclear-weapon tests in all atmospheres, banning production of nuclear weapons and destroying their stockpiles.

40. The Government of Kuwait would like to comment on the initiative of the Soviet Union in presenting a draft international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [*A/33/241, annex, addendum*]. Such a draft convention may prevent the wider proliferation of nuclear weapons by assuring non-nuclear-weapon States against the use of the threat of use of nuclear weapons against them. We have already heard solemn pronouncements by some nuclear Powers that they

will not use nuclear weapons against those States which refuse to manufacture or acquire such weapons and do not have them in their territories. As the international convention is still the main instrument of international legislation, we believe that creating mutual binding obligations between nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States, within an international convention, may prove to be a constructive step. The final form which such a convention may take is a matter which requires careful study and negotiation.

41. One of the major issues to which Kuwait attaches great importance is the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. Kuwait has from the outset rallied to the call to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace from which great-Power military bases and nuclear weapons would be excluded. We are looking forward to a conference which will serve as a negotiating forum for the great Powers and the littoral States of the Indian Ocean, with a view to halting further escalation and expansion of great-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean and eliminating from the Ocean all bases, military installations and logistic supply facilities, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great-Power military presence conceived in the context of great-Power rivalry or areas of influence.

42. Today peace is indispensable not only for the social, material, scientific and technical progress of mankind but also to safeguard the sovereign rights of peoples and States. Disarmament and a cut in military spending are major conditions for the full use of vast scientific and technical knowledge for the development of productive forces in the interests of transforming the material, cultural and everyday life of peoples and their vital living conditions and combating hunger, poverty and disease.

43. Aware of its responsibility as a member of the Security Council, Kuwait has acted in the spirit and letter of United Nations Charter and its resolutions. Kuwait attaches special importance to uprooting the causes of insecurity and finding equitable solutions for world problems. The Security Council has demonstrated on more than one occasion this year that it can act in an effective and decisive manner whenever there is agreement among the permanent members. The Council has so far been more successful in adopting resolutions than in securing their implementation. The Council should not be reluctant to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure compliance with its resolutions and respect for its authority. There is no indication, however, that some permanent members are willing to make possible the application of sanctions by the Council.

44. *Apartheid* and racial discrimination are still the major ailments that afflict international society. It is not surprising that the Security Council is usually convened to deal with the intransigence of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Israel.

45. *Apartheid* is not only repugnant and indefensible but is also a crime against mankind, as the General Assembly has declared on many occasions. *Apartheid* is a particular form of economic and social organization deriving from settler colonialism in countries of the third world. It

institutionalizes the most extreme kinds of inequality in every possible sphere. South Africa has denied the most elementary human rights to the vast majority of its citizens.

46. Both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have covered themselves into garrison States and have accumulated arsenals in order to maintain the *status quo* and prevent the emancipation of the majority. The two have concluded a sinister alliance whose ostensible aim is to persist in wanton suppression, to intensify measures of oppression and repression on the basis of racial supremacy and to dehumanize the non-white people and coerce them into submission so that they will accept a state of perpetual bondage.

47. It is ironic that, by concluding the Salisbury agreement of 3 March 1978, the illegal Smith régime was desperately attempting to give itself a semblance of legality. However, the nature of the illegal régime has not changed, in spite of its deceptive mask and its abuse of the concept of majority rule. In this respect I should like to stress the importance of observing the provisions of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and of resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa. The violation of sanctions is inadmissible, not only because it is in contravention of those resolutions, but even more because it gives an additional lease of life to the illegal régime in Rhodesia and encourages the intransigence of South Africa.

48. As history has taught us, man will not indefinitely accept humiliation, exploitation and tyranny. If conflicts are not resolved in a peaceful and orderly manner in accordance with the dictates of right and justice, armed struggle will prove to be the only alternative if the oppressed are to escape from the odious shackles imposed upon them.

49. The situation in the Middle East remains—as it has been for many years—explosive, precarious and fraught with dangers for international peace and security. The danger is more acute now with the deepening division among the Arabs, who continue to be victims of power politics because of their strategic, economic and political importance. Nowadays our region is witnessing a resurgence of outmoded alliances that are contrary to the interests of the peoples of the area, yet are pursued in order to promote interests that serve foreign Powers. There is an attempt in major-Power politics to return to the Middle East in the aftermath of the dramatic events that took place recently at Camp David. The Government of Kuwait follows such developments with grave concern since they are bound to have a serious effect on the genuine independence of the States in the region.

50. The changeable nature of politics in the Middle East will continue because the fundamental problems the solution of which would bring stability and tranquillity are not seriously confronted. Without that necessary solution of age-old, chronic problems, peace and stability will remain as elusive as ever. The international community deserves to see real peace in the Middle East, a peace based on justice and conforming to the United Nations Charter and its principles and purposes, especially since that community has made such strenuous efforts for the achievement of a genuine and

durable solution of the Middle East problem. Yet we are still seized of that problem, the solution of which lies in the implementation of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the provisions of which are based on the United Nations Charter.

51. The delegation of Kuwait states every year to this body that the key to the solution of the Middle East problem is the question of Palestine.

52. I should like to state unequivocally that Kuwait fully supports the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and statehood for Palestine. The people of Palestine—talented, creative and determined as it is—is no less entitled to statehood in its land than is any other nation represented here. That people has all the attributes of statehood and its determination to obtain it in its ancestral land is unquestionable. The principle of self-determination for the people of Palestine, as well as for others, is inherently recognized in the United Nations Charter.

53. The General Assembly endorsed in its resolution 3236 (XXIX) the aspirations and the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to return to their homes and property, to self-determination and to statehood. Those rights and the right of Palestinians to exercise them are as valid today as they were at the time of the adoption of resolution 3236 (XXIX). The right of the displaced Palestinians, whether they were displaced in 1948 or in 1967, to return to their homes and land is as sacred as ever. The General Assembly should continue to emphasize its resolution 194 (III) on the return of the Palestinian refugees and should also reaffirm Security Council resolution 237 (1967) and relevant General Assembly resolutions on the persons displaced in 1967. These people cannot forgo their rights, regardless of recent events. All Palestinian refugees, whose determination to go back to their home is as strong as ever, should be supported by the General Assembly, which, I am sure, cannot condone the attempt to abrogate their rights and put an end to their aspirations.

54. The Government of Kuwait is bound by the decisions of the Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government, held in Rabat in 1974, which conferred on the PLO the responsibility for the future of the West Bank and Gaza and recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. It is our duty to support and enhance the position of the PLO, which is fighting on behalf of the people of Palestine to recover their legitimate rights. There are no persons outside the PLO who can claim any legitimacy in representing the people of Palestine.

55. The only real spokesman of the people of Palestine is the PLO and any attempt to bypass it will mean that the genuine voice of the people of Palestine is not heard. Therefore the solution of the Palestine question must be worked out with the PLO and any attempt to forge any agreement behind its back is bound to create more problems than solutions.

56. There will never be peace in the Middle East without the active, real and genuine participation of the people of Palestine, whose representatives have repeatedly stated in

the General Assembly that they seek self-determination and statehood for the Palestinians. Those sacred rights, which are embodied in the United Nations Charter, cannot be tampered with if a genuine and real solution to the Middle East problem is seriously contemplated.

57. The Middle East will see peace if the following conditions are fulfilled: Israeli troops withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied by Israel, including the Syrian Golan Heights, Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem; genuine self-determination is given for the people of Palestine in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which calls for respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine in their country, including the right to statehood; Jerusalem is returned to Arab sovereignty, for Jerusalem is a city holy to Jews, Christians and Moslems, and to the Moslems, it is the city from which the Prophet Mohammed ascended to heaven; Israeli settlements are removed from the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, for those settlements, established in violation of international law, are signs of the creeping annexation which Israel started in 1967 and their continuance is a promise of future wars; the Palestinian refugees of 1948 return to their homes and properties and compensation for those who freely choose not to go back.

58. The future of refugees is a crucial issue because Israel wants them, contrary to United Nations resolutions, to be settled in host countries, against their will and in total disregard of the ability and the wishes of the host countries. The people of Palestine cannot be expected to accept a fate of living in Diaspora in different countries, with no bright future. They yearn for self-determination, statehood and a return to their land. They want to put an end to their agonizing alienation.

59. Without the achievement of those elements, peace will never reign in the Middle East. There may be a truce, the absence of an active war, but peace will remain a mirage. Without a solution to the Palestine problem there will never be peace and without self-determination for the Palestinians there will never be a solution of their problem.

60. The Government of Kuwait issued on 21 September the following statement:

“The Cabinet studied the agreements concluded at Camp David and their repercussions on the decisions of the Arab Summit Conference, as well as the United Nations resolutions pertaining to total Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination.

“The Cabinet reaffirmed the previous position of Kuwait, which is committed to Arab Summit Conference decisions, especially those decisions taken at the Rabat Conference, and its conviction that a just and durable peace in the region requires total Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory, including Jerusalem, and the restoration to the people of Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, of its inalienable rights.”

61. It is the duty of the world, now more than ever, to lend its support more generously to the people of Palestine in

their determined struggle to achieve their just and legitimate rights in accordance with the United Nations resolutions and the purposes and goals of the United Nations Charter.

62. I am positive that Palestine, whose land is a land of peace, will see that desire fulfilled if the conditions I have cited are implemented.

63. The Government of Kuwait note with concern the reference in the documents of the Camp David meetings to the role of the Security Council in endorsing such documents, although the Council had not been consulted about the provisions. It is unfair to the Council that a deal struck between three Members of the United Nations after negotiations shrouded in unprecedented secrecy should be brought before the Security Council for the Council to endorse and for the Council to be expected to play a role in its implementation, while the United Nations was totally ignored. That gives the impression that the Security Council is subordinate to the wishes of a few privileged States, which assume that the Council will automatically act in accordance with their wishes. Kuwait, as a member of the Security Council, cannot endorse that approach.

64. Any solution to the problem of Namibia should be based on the free exercise of the right of self-determination and should lead to genuine independence. We reject the endeavour of South Africa to conduct elections under its supervision, without adequate United Nations presence such as is described in the Secretary-General's report which was adopted by the Council last Friday, 29 September, in its resolution 435 (1978).

65. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is one of the major events in world history. Its specific task is to devise a régime for the oceans, which constitute 60 per cent of the area of this globe. The issues involved are of great complexity and the vital interests of all States are clearly involved. The achievement of an agreed final text is something that will be welcomed by the international community.

66. The post-war economic structure and the relationship between developing primary producers and developed industrial producers have been a major obstacle to balanced world economic growth and international political stability. The backwardness of the developing countries has been due mainly to the low return on their raw material exports which are still the major source of their livelihood and development. The New International Economic Order has been devised as a major measure to create new opportunities for the developing countries and to launch them on the path of self-sustained growth. Though the industrial countries have grudgingly accepted the new order in theory, they have done little to make it a reality in practice. The latest development was the setting up of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, which has been entrusted with the task of implementing the New International Economic Order. I should like to take this opportunity to express my Government's support for the work of the Committee and solidarity with its aims and its mandate, as defined in this resolution. We prefer to see the continuance of the dialogue within the framework of the

United Nations. What is needed in this context is the emergence of the political will on the part of the industrial countries to secure a break-through in the suspended dialogue between the developing and developed countries.

67. The United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries was convened at a critical time in the evolution of relations among the developing countries themselves and between them and the developed countries. The successful adoption of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action is a striking example of the determination of the developing countries to co-operate among themselves for the enhancement of their national and collective self-reliance. We view technical co-operation among developing countries as an additional input in the process of economic development and not as a substitute for the already-existing technical co-operation. We hope that the implementation of the Buenos Aires Plan of Action will increase the quantum and enhance the quality of international technical co-operation and improve the effectiveness of the resources devoted to it.

68. The most recent example in our region of technical co-operation among developing countries was the Kuwait regional conference, which adopted a convention on co-operation among the Gulf States for the protection and development of the marine environment. Instead of making the usual appeal for further research and technical assistance, the plan of action puts emphasis on applying knowledge and skills already available in the region to tackle environmental problems. The plan of action, furthermore, calls for a comprehensive survey of the national capabilities.

69. There is a wide gap at United Nations meetings between words and deeds, preaching and practice, theory and application. Conferences are becoming so frequent that Governments must strain their resources to cover them adequately. There is rarely any follow-up. Resolutions are allowed to languish without having any tangible effect on the course of future events.

70. It is a cause of great satisfaction that the Secretary-General adverted to this problem in his recent report on the work of the Organization when he said:

"There is widespread criticism that we are long on oratory and documentation, but short on performance, spontaneous debate and practical action.

"... What disturbs me is that our procedures may have the effect of overloading the absorptive capacity of Governments, numbing public interest in vital subjects and substituting formal and, sometimes, rhetorical exchanges for action. If international institutions are to increase in influence and in effectiveness and if they are to be taken seriously by the public at large, this is a problem which we must face with the same seriousness that we face political and economic problems." [See A/33/1, sect. X.]

71. Human institutions are a response to the needs of the societies which they serve. The prerequisite for flourishing international institutions is a well-developed international

society, and yet that is still only in the making. The hard fact is that the United Nations, with its acknowledged limitations, is probably all that the world is at present ready for. Side by side, therefore, with the endeavour to improve the United Nations and its organs, a major effort is required to develop a greater sense of interdependence and community among nations.

72. To strengthen the United Nations, Member States should work to improve it as an object worth while in itself. The present tendency is to take it as it is, lament its short-comings with more or less cynicism and use it for the furtherance of national policies. There is also the challenging task of educating peoples throughout the world to appreciate the need for international organization.

73. Mr. BOUPHA (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):⁸ Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election to the lofty post of President of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am convinced that you will successfully perform the arduous task entrusted to you.

74. My heartfelt congratulations and my sincere thanks go likewise to Mr. Lazar Mojsov for the excellent way in which he guided the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

75. I take this opportunity to tell the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, how much we appreciate his persevering efforts to strengthen peace and international co-operation, and his appeals for international aid for my country following the serious drought that beset us last year and the unprecedented floods we have suffered this year.

76. Finally, I should like to congratulate most sincerely the people of Solomon Islands on the admission of their country this year to membership of the United Nations after a long struggle for independence. I am convinced that the accession of that country to full national sovereignty will speed up the decolonization process.

77. Generally speaking, throughout this year the international situation has continued to develop in favour of the forces of national independence, peace, democracy and social progress. Nevertheless, the world is confronted by fresh problems which seriously threaten international peace and co-operation. Recently, in view of the intensified revolutionary struggle of peoples, imperialism and international reactionary forces, notwithstanding the failure of their manoeuvres to perpetuate international tension and their attempts at sabotage, division, intimidation, interference and aggression against the peoples, have closed their ranks in order to maintain their position and to extend their sphere of influence at the expense of peoples struggling for their national independence, peace, democracy and social progress.

78. In order to achieve their evil designs, imperialism and reactionary forces have, in certain parts of the world, had

recourse to pressure and subversion, to try to topple or destabilize progressive régimes. They have also practised, in certain parts of the world, the policy of decrying interference in order to justify their own treacherous interference and aggression.

79. But, thanks to vigilance and the resolute struggle of peoples and international solidarity, imperialism and the forces of international reaction have not succeeded in their criminal designs and it is obvious that they will not succeed just as they will never manage to stop the march of history. The world has noted that since the overwhelming victory won by the peoples of Laos, Viet-Nam and Kampuchea over aggressive imperialism, the balance of power in the world has always tipped in favour of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In that respect the brilliant victories won by the stalwart peoples of Angola and Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism, the victory of the revolution in Ethiopia, as well as that of the people of Afghanistan, are eloquent examples.

Mr. Vunibobo (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

80. We hail those great successes, so many positive contributions to the strengthening of peace and so many defeats for imperialism, colonialism and reaction.

81. I should like to take stock of the present situation in the Lao People's Democratic Republic. While relying basically on our own capacity, with the benefit of the assistance and support of various United Nations bodies, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and our friends, as well as various international organizations, the Lao people has exerted great efforts to defend its independence and to rebuild its homeland.

82. While overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles our people has achieved major successes in the creation of the material bases for a socialist economy, in maintaining security and order in the country, in eliminating the aftermath of war and the defects that were the legacy of the former régime, in improving the material and cultural conditions of life of our people and in making an active contribution to the strengthening of peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

83. I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government my deep thanks to the specialized agencies and the United Nations, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and other friendly countries, as well as to the non-governmental organizations, for the assistance and valuable support they have given to us in our immense task of national rebuilding.

84. I express the hope that the movement of assistance and international support for my country will be expanded even further in the future to allow us to resolve the urgent problems posed by the serious floods which have just severely affected the centre and south of my country, causing considerable damage to our economy, which is essentially based upon agriculture. According to the preliminary estimate, more than 110,000 hectares of paddy fields have been flooded. That represents a loss of about 120,500 tons of rice; 500,000 people are threatened with

⁸ Mr. Bouphe spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

famine; 22,381 families have been left without shelter; and hundreds of head of cattle have been lost. Those losses must be added to those caused by the great drought of last year and they have compounded our difficulties. I wish to appeal to the international community for sizeable temporary assistance.

85. Since its creation on 2 December 1975, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has always pursued a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. In pursuit of that policy, we are in favour of relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries, irrespective of their social and political régimes, on the basis of a strict respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality and mutual advantage.

86. We are an integral part of the vast region of South-East Asia and my country cannot remain indifferent to the events which are taking place in that part of the world and which might disrupt, in one way or another, peace and stability in the region. The countries of South-East Asia which have been through a long and painful period of hostility and conflict created by external Powers which aimed to divide and dominate the peoples of the region, now need peace and stability, the necessary prerequisites for their independence and development, and that is why we advocate co-operation between the countries and South-East Asia and condemn any policy of the big Powers which would intervene in the internal affairs of those countries, foment confrontation between them and make South-East Asia an instrument of their expansionist and hegemonistic policy. Therefore, we profoundly regret the conflicts which now pit our close neighbours against each other and which destroy the solidarity and the friendship which have long existed between those countries.

87. Faithful to its policy of peace and friendship, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has always maintained the principle according to which any dispute between countries of the region should be resolved by peaceful negotiations without any foreign interference. We deem the proposals put forward by the Socialist Republic of Viet-Nam in a search for a negotiated settlement to the conflict, on the basis of good will and sincerity on both sides, to be just and reasonable. Such a settlement would meet not only the interests of the peoples of the countries concerned but also those of all peoples throughout the region.

88. Furthermore, we staunchly support the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, and calling for the speedy, total and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from South Korea for a peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

89. With regard to the Indian Ocean, we are against the presence of imperialist military bases in Diego Garcia and we support efforts to have the Indian Ocean made a zone of peace.

90. When we look at other parts of the world we note with concern that the Zionist and expansionist State of Israel, benefiting from the massive assistance and uncondi-

tional support of imperialism, continues unabashedly to occupy Arab territories and Palestine in utter contempt for international law and United Nations resolutions.

91. It is quite obvious that the settlement of the Middle East problem will be achieved only by the resolute struggle and solidarity of all the Arab parties concerned. Manoeuvres designed to divide the Arab countries and, possibly, to obtain a separate settlement of the Middle East problem run counter to the legitimate interests of the Arab and Palestinian peoples and do not serve the cause of peace in the Middle East or in the world. Similarly, any attempt to minimize or destroy the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, will certainly be doomed to failure.

92. With regard to Cyprus, we continue to call for the urgent, total and effective implementation of United Nations General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and we support the just struggle of the Cypriot people for the preservation of the unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy of Cyprus, and for the speedy, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island.

93. In the African continent, and especially in southern Africa, we vigorously denounce the acts of barbaric repression of the racist régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa and of imperialism against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and their obstinate refusal to allow those valiant African peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and we firmly support the South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples in their struggle against racism and *apartheid*, colonial oppression and exploitation and interference and acts of aggression by imperialism, neo-colonialism and forces of international reaction, and for the recovery of their fundamental national rights.

94. We support the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, as well as the other peoples of the front-line countries, in their struggle to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence against the aggressive machinations of imperialism and its reactionary flunkies.

95. We support the struggle of the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, for its self-determination, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

96. We firmly support the peoples of Africa in their struggle to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and to foil all manoeuvres of interference and aggression of imperialism.

97. We vigorously condemn the economic blockade imposed by the United States of America on the Republic of Cuba and we firmly support the just struggle of the Cuban people in its tasks of national defence, building socialism and the realization of its noble internationalist duty.

98. We support the efforts of the people of Panama fully to recover its sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

99. Last June the General Assembly held a special session devoted to disarmament, a problem of particular impor-

tance. The Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes the results of the work of the tenth special session, which constitutes an important stage towards the World Disarmament Conference. That is to say that we favour a halt to the arms race and the banning of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb.

100. As a developing country the Lao People's Democratic Republic is in complete solidarity with the struggle being waged by the countries of the Group of 77 to establish the new international economic order. However, we are of the opinion that the developing countries owe it to themselves to forge the new international economic order themselves. To this effect, they must at all costs succeed in building up an independent and autonomous economy, which can be achieved only by increasing relations of co-operation between all developing countries, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, and between the developing countries and the socialist countries, and the developed countries which are sincerely working to bring about the new international economic order.

101. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a small country whose centuries-old backwardness has been made much worse by decades of a colonialist and imperialist war of aggression. At the present time, notwithstanding the numerous difficulties caused by acts of sabotage, intimidation, pressure, interference and the aggression of imperialism and reactionary forces, the Lao people is determined to go forward and to build up its country and make it rich and prosperous, thus contributing to the development of the forces of peace and socialism.

102. On behalf of the Lao people, which is concerned about peace and friendship among peoples, our delegation pledges its active contribution to the work of our Assembly, which has been allotted the tasks of strengthening peace and international security and of promoting friendship, co-operation and progress for all peoples.

103. In conclusion, I hope for the brilliant success of the work of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

104. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the President of the Republic of Gabon, may I join previous speakers in warmly congratulating the President on having been unanimously chosen by our Assembly to guide its debates. In so doing, my delegation, far from simply following tradition is genuinely convinced that our President's eminent qualities as a seasoned diplomat, together with his wealth of experience of international affairs, naturally fit him for his delicate but noble and exalting task and undoubtedly guarantee the final success of our work.

105. Need I emphasize that these congratulations are also extended to the Vice-Presidents and other members of the General Committee, who, together with the President, will be called upon to play a leading role in the course of our debates.

106. I am particularly happy to pay a lively tribute to the President of the thirty-second session of this Assembly, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, for his remarkable work

during that session as well as during the three special sessions, the success of which was so striking. I am happy to attribute that success to that brilliant statesman.

107. Finally, I welcome the admission of Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of our Organization. I can but rejoice at this further step towards universality, one of the Organization's fundamental objectives.

108. While it is fitting to point out with satisfaction that from one year to another solutions of some sort are finally found to certain problems debated here, it is no less true that a cursory look at the agenda of the present session shows us that, most unfortunately, the items included remain the same from one session to the next. This is particularly so in regard to the problems of decolonization and of security and international economic co-operation, for which no solutions are forthcoming. In this range of problems, which never ceases to grow, one can affirm without fear of being mistaken or misjudged that Africa, our advancing Africa, has been in the course of the past few years at the core of the burning concerns of our Organization.

109. As proof of this I need mention only the various meetings held within the framework of our Organization in 1977 and, more particularly, during the present year. Last April we met here in the ninth special session to discuss the problem of Namibia. Without wishing to enter into the details of that question, which is still before the Security Council and on which each of our States has already had an opportunity to be heard, I wish simply to recall some of the terms of the message from the President of the Gabonese Republic, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, which was read to this body by the Prime Minister during the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia. He said:

"We cannot continue to leave in the balance on the one hand the lives of thousands of human beings, slaves in their own countries, and on the other the no doubt considerable material interests, the benefits of which can hardly be compared with their cost in suffering and humiliation."⁹

110. We are pleased by the Security Council's appeal to the Government of South Africa to co-operate immediately with the Secretary-General in implementing its resolution 435 (1978), in which the Council approved the Secretary-General's report,¹⁰ which is an outline of the various stages necessary to lead Namibia to genuine independence.

111. It is reasonable to hope that the Western countries that have many links with South Africa will show themselves to be more determined with regard to their partner so as to bring it to accept a dialogue within the framework of the proposals in the Western plan, which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 431 (1978) and which my country welcomed here as a positive initiative to be encouraged—and which seems to us to be the minimum that

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, para. 26.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

is acceptable. It must be understood that without it there will be a struggle to the death into which the whole of Africa is prepared to throw all its forces.

112. Everyone will recognize that the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] has given sufficient proof of its moderation and keen sense of responsibility for justice finally to be done to it. We shall not despair, once again, of the unanimous support of the international community within the United Nations so that at the opening of the thirty-fourth session we may be able to welcome Namibia as a new Member of this Organization. The unanimous pressure of the international community, and in particular of the Western members of the Security Council, seems to us all the more essential now, when we see the present attempts by South Africa to torpedo peace in order to safeguard its interests.

113. Like the countries members of the OAU, in particular the countries members of the non-aligned movement, and in general all countries that love peace, justice and freedom, the Gabonese Republic supports the tireless struggle of the Namibian people to establish independence on the soil of their ancestors.

114. As regards the question of Zimbabwe, I shall limit myself to repeating what we have had the opportunity to say many times within our pan-African organization as well as in the non-aligned movement and here at the United Nations: that while recognizing the decisive role of the Patriotic Front in finding an equitable solution in Zimbabwe we no less firmly support any constructive dialogue between the various parties to the conflict. Information from the region confirms us in that position.

115. The fighting in the region proves that peace in that Territory can come about only through dialogue between the various parties. That implies sufficient flexibility and understanding on all sides. In this connexion I remind the Assembly that the Gabonese Republic takes the view that the satisfaction of the elementary needs of the African peoples and the free exercise of their political, economic and social rights are not functions of any ideology. There is no reason why the dialogue that we freely accept among nations with different political systems should not be practised within one nation. From that point of view, the proposed meeting between those responsible for the internal settlement and the leaders of the Patriotic Front seems to us the only way likely to lead to the formation of a genuine government of national unity and to put an end to the fratricidal battles, thus preventing those who fought for independence yesterday, both inside and outside the country, from becoming enemies tomorrow. We must not forget that the African signatories to the internal settlement have suffered as much as have the present leaders of the Patriotic Front from the blind repression and brutality of the white racist minority.

116. Need I remind the Assembly that Africa needs peace. We firmly believe that. It is for this reason that we appeal to the wisdom of all concerned. We hope that the minority régime of South Africa will give proof of such wisdom in this part of Africa, that régime which continues to disgrace mankind because of the extent of its obscurantism and political blindness, as we have shown on several occasions.

117. If there are indeed serious reasons to hope for a definite and early solution to the problems in Namibia and Zimbabwe—with South Africa, the only bastions of *apartheid* as a system of government—we are bound to note that there is still no prospect of improvement for the black peoples of that part of our continent so long as it is true that, as President Bongo emphasized at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly,¹¹ abominable racial segregation blocks any political negotiation.

118. While the changes that will not fail to take place in Namibia and Zimbabwe should lead South Africa to greater understanding, a better discernment of the just claims of the South African peoples, there seems to be a trend in that sanctuary of *apartheid* towards a hardening of that policy. We repeat that the white minority régime of South Africa, with its 4 million whites—not all of whom agree with its policies—will never be able to resist the pressure of the 400 million inhabitants of independent and free Africa, despite its military superiority, acquired with the assistance of the Western Powers, which no longer dare to sanction its ignoble policy. As the President of the Gabonese Republic, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo said during the thirty-second session: "It must, therefore, be eliminated, not in six years, six months or six weeks, but right now."¹² It is the only chance of survival for a minority population which already has its back to the wall.

119. In November last an astonished world learned of the heroic gesture of the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El-Sadat, in taking the risk going personally to Israel to propose to the Hebrew State peace in acceptable conditions.

120. We have real hopes as a result of the evolution of events since then—and in this respect we are pleased that it now appears to be almost unanimously agreed that any solution to this problem must duly take into account the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO, which our Organization has recognized as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

121. It is, in fact, inconceivable that the people of Israel, which owes its existence as a State solely to the will of the United Nations, should refuse to implement the decisions of the Organization in favour of the Palestinian people, which, like the Israeli people, has a right to a homeland. History has indeed taught us that force alone does not constitute a solution to the major problems of the times. Yesterday's victor may well prove to be the vanquished of tomorrow.

122. This last remark applies equally to the Cypriot problem, which can be solved only through implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Here again, no solution is possible without genuine dialogue between the two communities on the island, free of foreign interference, a dialogue that would safeguard their territorial integrity as well as the independence of the country, which has played a major role in the formation of the non-aligned movement, of which we are a part.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 34th meeting, paras. 23-154.

¹² *Ibid.*, para. 80.

123. Such dialogue and mutual understanding between two communities that have the same ethnic background but different beliefs have always been specific characteristics of Lebanon. Regrettably, that unusual character has been destroyed by circumstances beyond the control of the Lebanese people, but we do not despair of its restoration with the valuable assistance of the Arab nations in particular and the United Nations in general, whose presence in that country is an undeniable factor for peace.

124. "Dialogue, tolerance and peace": that is the motto of our great national political party, the Gabonese Democratic Party, under the leadership of His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, in building a united and new Gabon.

125. To engage in dialogue, a factor of peace among men and nations, is what we recommend also to all peoples that are destroying each other for reasons that are ultimately non-existent or have been created by foreign interference. In the same way that we have recommended it to African peoples and to the peoples of the Middle East; we recommend this method to the people of Korea, who can arrive at peaceful reunification and the restoration of peace only through dialogue free of foreign interference.

126. While we recognize the virtues of dialogue on a bilateral or even a regional level, we also recognize that, because of the powers conferred on it under the Charter, the United Nations constitutes a valuable instrument for the purpose of dialogue. It is therefore fitting to praise the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to promote understanding, tolerance and non-violence among people of different nations or people having different political or religious opinions. His excellent report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] submitted to us at the opening of this session is sufficiently eloquent from that point of view, and we congratulate him for it.

127. The deplorable situation we have just recalled, which is reflected in various parts of the world, seems all the more exacerbated since each party thinks or knows it has the means or can count on the necessary support to allow it to crush its adversary. This situation would not obtain if some were to abandon their roles as providers of arms to all sides. True, there were wars even before the invention of these increasingly sophisticated weapons, but we are bound to recognize that they make war even more deadly. At the tenth special session of the United Nations, held recently, the Assembly dealt specifically with this problem. We do not doubt the goodwill of all and the genuine determination to defuse hotbeds of tension throughout the world so as progressively to adopt measures likely to eradicate the arms race for ever. I am certain that at the present session the Assembly will not fail to adopt resolutions intended to achieve that end.

128. We have already had an opportunity to indicate that man does not live by ideology alone; also, and above all, he lives by bread. Thus we cannot fail to speak of economic problems, which have a definite effect upon development.

129. I emphasized a moment ago the eminent role played by the Secretary-General of our Organization in seeking solutions to international problems.

130. For the delegation of Gabon—we wish to believe this is true of all delegations present here—the United Nations remains the ideal framework for the major dialogue that is indispensable among nations and necessary to lessen inequalities and tensions born of selfishness, which generate misunderstandings among nations. The role that we accord to the United Nations is made specific by the adoption of resolutions sometimes followed by conferences. This is the case with the development of international co-operation which is the goal of the North-South dialogue; the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea; and, quite recently the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries; and similarly the fourth regular session of UNCTAD, whose resolution 93 (IV), on the Integrated Programme of Commodities,¹³ aroused the greatest hopes among the States members of the Group of 77, to mention only a few.

131. One of the burning questions that arise for developing countries is that of the search for a just economic balance and, something that has been the subject of repeated efforts by the United Nations for a number of years: the drafting of a new law of the sea.

132. In actively participating in the drafting of an international convention on the law of the sea, the countries of the third world, so long exploited, have submitted constructive proposals so that the resources of the sea-bed, which have been declared the common heritage of mankind in accordance with resolution 2749 (XXV), should be used for the benefit of the international community as a whole.

133. Throughout the sessions of that Conference, however, it has nevertheless appeared that all proposals from developing countries systematically come up against the hurdle of opposition from the great Powers, particularly in regard to the transfer of technology, the training of staff for the enterprise, the single system for the exploitation of the sea-bed, and so on.

134. We deplore this all the more because we remain convinced that it is in the interests of none to create situations of conflict. Accordingly, we energetically denounce any manoeuvre intended to permit unilateral appropriation of the resources of the sea-bed through the adoption of national legislation.

135. That is why we appeal to the conscience and the goodwill of certain major and medium-sized Powers if they really wish to contribute to the well-being of the "have-nots". By going against the just and legitimate aspirations of more than three fourths of mankind we undoubtedly run the risk of a conflict.

136. As regards the North-South dialogue we simply wish to recall that an improvement in the economic situation of the developing countries includes the settlement of the problem of the deterioration in the terms of trade of countries exporters of raw materials and the instability of the currency used for international payments, not forgetting that of the growing indebtedness of the developing

¹³ 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), part One A.

countries, which today amounts to close to \$250 billion, not including debt servicing, which represents 25 per cent of that amount. In this respect, we must pay a tribute to the "have" countries which decided to cancel the debts of certain developing countries. We can never sufficiently encourage the other wealthy countries to envisage similar measures or others for the partial reduction of the external debt of all the poor countries—this within the framework of the agreement between debtors and creditors as decided in Geneva in the month of March last [see A/33/15, part two, annex I].

137. As regards the fourth session of UNCTAD and particularly resolution 93 (IV), which I have already mentioned, unfortunately, two years later, we are bound to express regret that, in respect both of indebtedness and of the common fund, and also in respect of economic co-operation among developing countries and the transfer of technology, no substantial progress has been registered in the implementation of that resolution, which has nevertheless been recognized as the corner-stone of the new international economic order—this being due to the absence of political will on the part of most of the industrialized countries.

138. So my country once again makes an appeal to the international conscience that the self-centredness of some may yield to the solidarity of the peoples of the entire world. In this connexion, we are pleased that the question of the insufficiency of trade relations among developing countries and the outward direction of the economies of those countries was at the core of the discussions at the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries at Buenos Aires.

139. To those who tend to look upon the conclusions of that important Conference as a failure we would simply reply that it would have been Utopian to try to settle in two weeks of negotiations a situation born of several decades, indeed several centuries, of economic alienation.

140. Nevertheless, we remain fully convinced that the countries engaged in nation building, aware that they owe it to themselves to be first and foremost the promoters and moving force of their own development, will, within a comparatively short time, find the means to overcome the many obstacles slowing their development and thus avoid their progressive pauperization.

141. It is on this note of optimism that I shall end my statement. But first of all I should like to recall to members the significance of our presence here. It proves "that we retain our confidence in mankind, which can only flourish in peace and harmony among all men of all races."¹⁴ That was what the President of the Gabonese Republic, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, stated in his message to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to Namibia.

142. Mr. ONDO OBIANG ALOGO (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am addressing this General

Assembly of the United Nations at its thirty-third session on behalf of the President of the Central Committee of the Single National Labour Party and President-for-life under the Constitution of the Republic, our great comrade Masie Nguema Biyogo Ngué Ndong. On behalf of the delegation that I have the honour to lead, and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate Mr. Indalecio Liévano on his well-deserved unanimous election as President of the Assembly at this session. His competence and experience in the field of international affairs are strengthened by the profound ideals of his Government and people, which are bound to mine by the historic links of a colonial past. We are convinced that in the debates on the items on our agenda we shall reach just decisions reflecting and affirming once again the important task of implementing the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

143. Through you, Sir, we wish to congratulate also all the members of the General Committee, who, we trust, with their competence and skill in the management of international affairs, will decisively contribute to our efforts to solve the serious international problems afflicting the world today.

144. Noting the large number of items before us, which my delegation trusts that the Assembly will be able to examine objectively, we believe that, because of the importance and urgency of some items, it is essential that the Assembly should give priority to questions relating to decolonization and in particular the elimination of its last vestiges in southern Africa, the maintenance of peace and security in the world, the establishment of a new international economic order that would be just and equitable, international co-operation to promote and implement civil, political, economic and cultural rights, and the elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. These are our main objectives.

145. When the Charter was signed at San Francisco in 1945 the United Nations had only 51 Member States. The 33 years since have been devoted completely to reaffirming unequivocally the devotion of the Organization to the implementation of one of its founding principles, namely, the right of all peoples of the world to freedom, self-determination and independence. The present number of 150 Member States, including the fledgling State of Solomon Islands, gives a forceful demonstration of the efforts made of the United Nations in the field of decolonization since it came into being. At this time I am pleased to reiterate most sincerely the congratulations of the Government of Equatorial Guinea to the Government of the new State of Solomon Islands and its people on their accession to independence and their entry into the great family of the United Nations. In accordance with the spirit of our Organization, there is no country in the world that is small or large in the world. That is why we believe that the entry of this new State, besides reaffirming the universality of the United Nations, also strengthens its role in the establishment of a world of peace, security, justice, equity and social well-being.

146. We are also pleased to know that, without any further impediment, the island of Tuvalu has acceded to independence on the first day of this month. We most

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, para. 27.

sincerely congratulate the new Government and the people of Tuvalu and wish them a new era of peace and prosperity.

147. Nevertheless, despite these efforts by the United Nations to eliminate colonialism throughout the world, it is deplorable and even disconcerting to note the persistence of the colonial system in some parts of the world, particularly in southern Africa which, despite the attention focused upon that area by the United Nations since its foundation, remains at the centre of our concerns.

148. Bearing in mind that the world is closely concerned with the evolution of nations that are free and nations that are not, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea defends the right of each people to self-determination. We have come to this Assembly convinced that we shall find here guidelines for our struggle to establish new methods for militant solidarity with and support of the peoples in Africa and in the rest of the world who are fighting for their national independence and human dignity.

149. The efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to secure independence for Namibia by 31 December next constitute the basic elements for the self-determination and independence of that African territory under the auspices of the United Nations. The People's Revolutionary Government of Equatorial Guinea, consistent with its democratic principles, resolutely supports the independence of Namibia, including Walvis Bay as an integral and inseparable part of its territory, and the transfer of power to the Namibian people under the direction of SWAPO, on 31 December of this year. Accordingly, we reject any manoeuvre intended to detract from the process of securing the independence of Namibia in accordance with the plan established by the United Nations.

150. In reaching this important decision on the immediate independence of Namibia, I need hardly refer in this Assembly to the unyielding attitude of the South African racist Government and the various manoeuvres it has attempted for some years in defiance of the international community. We consider that the time has come to put an end to this state of affairs, which constitutes open disregard of the African countries and is an insult to the international community.

151. Also within the framework of the serious problems which affect this zone of southern Africa is the question of Rhodesia, where a white minority oppresses millions of blacks, with the complicity of the large Western capitalist monopolies, and despite the efforts made and sanctions imposed by the United Nations, little progress has been effected. My Government considers once again that it is the duty of this Assembly to arrive at adequate solutions at this session. We energetically condemn the military incursions of the South African racist aggressors and Rhodesians into neighbouring countries. These incursions constitute a threat not only to the peace of the region, but also to international peace and security.

152. Equatorial Guinea, in advocating the genuine independence of the people of Zimbabwe, expresses its concern over manoeuvres introduced, promoted and attempted by the illegal régime of Mr. Smith with the aim of setting up a

puppet government in Zimbabwe with the sole and deliberate purpose of having his interests prevail in that African Territory. In this respect my Government resolutely supports the struggle undertaken by the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front as the legitimate representative and defender of the real aspirations of the African people of Zimbabwe.

153. The valiant brother people of the Sahara are deprived of their sacred rights to self-determination and independence because of the manifest complicity of the colonialist policy of Spain. In this context the position of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea is clear. We resolutely support self-determination for the Saharan people and their genuine, authentic movement, the Frente POLISARIO, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and resolutions of the OAU, which provide for a summit meeting of the heads of State and Government of Africa, which would determine the status of the present situation in that region, and we are certain that the parties concerned will strive to arrive at an agreement that will make the independence of Western Sahara possible.

154. Specifically, the Popular Revolutionary Government of Equatorial Guinea lends its total support to the process of decolonization and, as we have indicated earlier, the United Nations has made a major effort to eliminate the major centres of colonialism in the world. We therefore completely and unconditionally support all Territories which are still under the colonial yoke and are struggling for their independence.

155. Another of the burning problems of our planet which for 30 years now has been threatening the maintenance of world peace and security is the question of the Middle East.

156. In this respect, taking into account the parties concerned, my Government considers, and has always maintained, that any settlement or negotiation on this conflict should be carried out within the context of the Security Council resolutions, with the direct participation of the parties concerned, including the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We confirm that a just and lasting peace in that conflict cannot be obtained without Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories which were occupied after 1967, and without the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, particularly their right to return to their country and establish their own State, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. Any solution of this conflict should not ignore the existence of a Hebrew State with secure and recognized frontiers, in accordance with United Nations resolutions. On the other hand, the situation in Lebanon should be linked to the general situation of the Middle East. The United Nations must continue its peace-keeping efforts in Lebanon.

157. In considering the review of the problems which affect peace and security throughout the world, I cannot fail to mention the concern of my Government over the question of the peaceful reunification of Korea and the question of Cyprus. It is our hope that in these parts of the world order, peace and tranquillity will prevail. Furthermore, we maintain that the Chinese province of Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and should be restored to its legitimate Government. Its illegal

occupation is a focus of tension and a threat to peace in the region.

158. The disarmament question is another of the fundamental problems to which this Organization should devote special attention, because of the harmful effects of the arms race both for the maintenance of international peace and security and for world economic development. Indeed, complying with the principal requirements of the United Nations Charter—namely “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”—means, first and foremost, striving to halt the arms race.

159. Disarmament is the task which, in our opinion, is within the competence of the great Powers in particular, and of all mankind in general. The vast material and intellectual resources of mankind have been spent so unproductively in creating means of mass extermination against the human species itself. The international community is perfectly aware of the present needs of millions of human beings, and those needs—for food, medical assistance, education, housing and so on—should not be allowed to go unmet because of the arms race, while huge amounts of money, up to as much as \$400 billion a year, are invested in this absurd programme to do away with man himself.

160. The problem of disarmament is of singular importance and significance for the African continent in our efforts for the denuclearization of Africa. In its resolution 3261 E (XXIX) of 9 December 1974, the General Assembly, after recalling its resolutions 1652 (XVI) and 2033 (XX), reaffirmed its call upon all States to consider and respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone and reiterated its call upon all States to refrain from testing, manufacturing, deploying, transporting, storing, using or threatening to use nuclear weapons on the African continent. In this respect, my delegation denounces before this General Assembly the programmes undertaken by the racist South African Government intended to establish nuclear bases on the southern part of the African continent, as well as the co-operation being given by other Western countries which produce nuclear bombs.

161. Given the growing tensions recently created on our continent, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea in this Assembly appeals to all members of the international community to take note of the grave situation in Africa caused by the constant endeavour of the great Powers to dominate the continent, maintaining enormous military installations there, and by their desire to encourage the creation of military blocs and supply nuclear materials to certain African countries, all of which is a clear violation of General Assembly resolution 32/18 of 12 December 1977 on the denuclearization of Africa. We demand strict observance of that resolution so as to save the peoples of our continent from the danger of a thermonuclear war and the use of military bases established in Africa for aggressive purposes.

162. As regards the world economic situation, my Government expresses its concern about the effects of world inflation, monetary imbalances and the persistent injustice in international economic and trade relations. It is our hope that the results of the first United Nations Conference on

Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held recently in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina, which adopted the Programme of Action of Buenos Aires, will be fully complied with, so as to ensure balance in economic and technical relations among developing countries.

163. As regards economic relations between the industrialized and developing countries, new principles of justice and equity should be affirmed, as advocated for the new international economic order. My Government regrets the stagnation in the North-South dialogue resulting from the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries to attain the objectives sought by the establishment of a new international economic order [see resolution 3201 (S-VI)].

164. In the field of our economic relations with all the countries of the world, I should like to mention a shameful attitude against my country adopted by large Western capitalist companies which, in the middle of the twentieth century, have had recourse to piracy in their effort to strangle our national economy and thus weaken our democratic institutions. A United States company, owned by Messrs. Allotey, took from my country more than 1,000 tons of commercial cocoa—and the operations were endorsed by the then United States Ambassador in Malabo—valued at more than \$US 3 million. A Dutch company, the property of a Mr. Fobman, also took out a cargo of more than 500 tons of commercial cocoa valued at more than \$US 2 million. And, finally, a small capitalist company of imperialist Spain named El Goriaga carried out a similar operation of commercial fraud in the piracy of some 500 tons of commercial cocoa. All those thefts committed in my country by those large Western companies have been made brought to the attention of the respective Governments and in the courts even high representatives of my Government have been present, but there has been no reaction from those large developed countries.

165. It is my Government's hope that the Governments concerned will take the measures necessary to recover the value of our products removed by their citizens. In the light of all this, we consider that the system applied by those countries against my country is not in accordance with the assistance framework that they advocate in this world Organization.

166. Internally, I wish to point out that since the triumph of our revolution on 5 March 1969, which marked the beginning of the era of the colossal beginning of our total independence, when our great popular leader frustrated the attempt at a coup d'état made by Spain and its Guinean lackeys, we have become masters of our own destiny, which has recorded revolutionary social transformation and radical changes in the colonial socio-economic structure of our nation and the life of our people, giving high value to the dignity inherent in the human being, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

167. At this stage it is fitting to mention that the Government of Spain, resenting the colonial interests it lost in our country, has undertaken an international campaign of discredit and defamation, completely lacking in any

substance, against the People's Revolutionary Government of Equatorial Guinea, giving assistance to its unsuccessful Guinean lackeys, training them on their territory with the main objective of disturbing the peace and harmony of our people and continuing their anti-governmental activities against our régime.

168. After the creation of our people's movement of the revolutionary masses, the Single National Labour Party, the fundamental task at the present stage of the combat which our heroic people are undertaking in accordance with our revolutionary policy is essentially to consolidate our independent policy, create national awareness for creative work, defend our country, ensure the total and systematic elimination of all methods of exploitation, sabotage and blackmail of our vast natural resources, and conquer freedom, dignity and a genuinely African personality for the Guinean people which had been trampled underfoot by the Spanish colonial system for the purpose of perpetrating its domination and exploitation of our people.

169. Our great people's movement of the revolutionary masses has established the bases for equality between men and women. In this respect, our Government welcomed with satisfaction the Convention on the Political Rights of Women [resolution 640 (VII)]. Women in Equatorial Guinea have the same rights and duties as men and carry out their activities under the sponsorship of the National Organization of Women of Equatorial Guinea, called the Feminine Revolutionary Section.

170. Senior Government officials of Western countries, Western newspapers and information media and private organizations have distributed throughout the world false reports, devoid of substance, that my Government does not respect the human rights of its own people. In this respect, although we know that they can say nothing in favour of our Government because they are incapable of coexisting with our revolution, I should nevertheless like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the following facts. First, the Popular Revolutionary Government of Equatorial Guinea has chosen its revolutionary course, which of necessity implies radical changes but in no way means disregard for the fundamental rights of human beings. Secondly, those who claim to defend human rights in our country are none other than those who oppose our revolutionary policy because they have had to give up their selfish interests and can no longer dominate our beautiful country. They cannot demand that we change our revolutionary course, which constitutes the reason for our popular aspirations, just as we cannot demand of them that they abandon their covetousness and their desire to dominate and exploit the world.

171. Nevertheless, we understand the reasons why terrorists pass themselves off as protectors of human rights in Equatorial Guinea, since their political outlook is so totally divergent from that of our Popular Revolutionary Government. We understand them perfectly, because they cannot conceive of the idea that the Government of Equatorial Guinea is linked with countries of every political system and tendency. We are the friends of all, and we are opposed to those who oppose us.

172. My country welcomes with great satisfaction the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. We shall work for international co-operation to promote and respect civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. I wish to make it quite clear that in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea there are no problems of human rights and far less any persistent violation of them. The Constitution of Equatorial Guinea, which rules our country, guarantees in article II the equality of rights of all Guineans without discrimination for any reasons of race, sex, ethnic origin, religion or social status.

173. In conclusion, my Government confirms its loyalty to the purposes and principles of the United Nations as embodied in its Charter. The United Nations, despite the enormous difficulty of the problems it faces, has achieved many positive results in the maintenance of international peace and security and the elimination of colonialism and *apartheid*. We express our satisfaction that the United Nations has stood the test of time, has achieved quasi-total universality and has focused its attention on the primary needs of mankind, such as a change in the present injustices in international economic and political relations and the bringing about of a new system of world relations based on peace, justice and the equality of all countries and peoples.

174. Mr. SIMONET (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I would ask you, Sir, to transmit to the President of this Assembly my congratulations on his election. The scope of his career as an historian, an economist, a diplomat and a statesman is a precious asset to our work. His presidency also illustrates the genius and spirit of a continent with which many Europeans seek ever closer ties and to which, rightly, we are never indifferent.

175. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, spoke from this rostrum on 26 September in a particularly explicit speech on behalf of the countries of the European Community on the principal subjects of concern in foreign policy [see 8th meeting, paras. 135-200]. That makes it unnecessary for me to raise today several problems—even though I am aware of their importance—such as Rhodesia, *apartheid* and the situation in the Horn of Africa.

176. Each year we read with interest to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]. This year we were particularly impressed by the growing diversity of the tasks of the Organization, the magnitude of its responsibilities and its achievements in so many fields, such as human rights, disarmament, North-South relations and peace-keeping. Those are the first four subjects which I shall deal with.

177. First, however, I should like to welcome Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of the Organization. On this occasion I extend my Government's cordial wishes for its prosperity.

178. The United Nations has long been disparaged—and often still is—for its powerlessness to tackle certain conflicts, to prevent them or to resolve them, and to bestir its Secretariat, which has been described as enormous, and for its tendency to proliferate resolutions which may not be applied. However, I note with pleasure that during the past few years, and particularly during last year, the balance-

sheet of the Organization has clearly been on the positive side and is worthy of the appreciation of public opinion.

179. Who can fail to be struck by the burgeoning of ideas and activities in this Organization? Who can forget that this is the only place on earth where all countries of the world meet daily, where cordial relations are maintained by the permanent missions, regardless of the differences between Governments, thus creating a relaxed approach? The practice of consensus is developing slowly, a sign that the spirit of international co-operation prevails. We are pleased to note we have all understood that the numerical law of the majority vote cannot bring about a solution of conflicts if all the interested parties do not participate in the agreement reached and that resolutions adopted will have no effect if they do not reflect a general conviction.

180. This favourable evolution must not prevent us from ensuring that we maintain a constant evaluation of the results of the activities and actions of the Organization, as well as a more effective co-ordination between various bodies, and that we pursue budgetary management according to the financial possibilities of the Member States.

181. The thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which coincides with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, urges us to consider the scope of the work of standard-setting accomplished by the United Nations in the field of the protection of human beings.

182. An exhaustive list of adopted conventions, declarations and resolutions would cover pages, but none of us forgets the value for mankind of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI)], as well as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [see resolution 2106 A (XX)].

183. But thought, research and codification must not stop. It is imperative that the world community should become ever more aware of the value and dignity of each human being, ensuring him wider protection.

184. For myself, I believe that our activities can be pushed ahead in two directions. First, there is the monitoring of the application of human rights.

185. The subject of human rights is becoming more and more a principal concern of world public opinion. Yet there is a prevailing impression, for example, that torture is scarcely on the wane in the world. Terrorism is rampant, and the last words of His Holiness Pope John Paul I were to condemn it. Often, rights are completely flouted by Governments, none of which would dare publicly to question the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

186. When trying to define means for international monitoring, our Organization always meets with strong opposition where concern, albeit legitimate, for national sovereignty is too easily invoked.

187. The existing possibilities for monitoring could be used better and to a greater extent. The recent mission of

the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile, which was able to exercise its mandate in that country, is a first encouraging example of such use.

188. The machinery of the Commission on Human Rights should be able to take care of all cases of serious and persistent violations of human rights that are flaunted in the public eye.

189. One could say that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the body of conventions already concluded or those being negotiated are such as to form an essential element in the legal order of world society. In the long run, the machinery for international monitoring of human rights should take the form of genuine legal institutions offering all guarantees of impartiality and objectivity. No doubt this is a distant goal, but I believe we should not lose sight of it.

190. A second part of our efforts should concern itself with relations between rights.

191. The existence of two Covenants, one relating to civil and political rights, and the other to economic and social rights, cannot prejudice the principles of the universality and the indivisibility of rights.

192. However, it is clear that, while civil and political rights are of immediate concern, the progressive nature of the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights cannot be gainsaid.

193. Moreover, for certain rights Government action is required and the nature of that action will depend on the economic and social situation; while other rights, such as the right not to be tortured, are identified with the protection of the human being and are independent of the type of society in which they are exercised.

194. Let us focus our efforts, in any case, on the maximum application of human rights.

195. In concluding this first part of my statement, I should like to express regret that the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held this summer in Geneva, did not meet with the success that was anticipated. Some countries, including Belgium, were forced to withdraw from the work of the Conference and dissociate themselves from the final texts of the Conference.

196. Those texts contained paragraphs similar to those of resolution 3379 (XXX). Belgium has always been vigorously opposed to that resolution, which equates zionism with a form of racism and racial discrimination. We are determined to continue not to associate ourselves with documents which explicitly or implicitly refer to it, whatever their value may be.

197. I wish to stress here that Belgium continues vigorously to support the original goals of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination—goals that are an essential element of United Nations action in the promotion of human rights.

198. In the economic field also we have seen development in the activities of the United Nations during the last few years.

199. It was here that the new international economic order was launched. It was here that the bases for a new balance in economic relations between developing and developed countries slowly began to be established. It is here that the Group of 77--now 113 nations--still presided over by prominent personalities--this year by Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, with whom we have close ties of friendship--gives the political impetus to the peaceful economic revolution that we are experiencing.

200. For Belgium, traditionally open to the world, international economic co-operation is of primary importance. We have always participated, with our partners in the European Community, in the North-South dialogue in a constructive spirit, and in particular in the activities of what is known as the Committee of the Whole, or the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which was created last year with a view to the special session of the Assembly to be held in 1980 and to be devoted to international economic co-operation.

201. As was said, on behalf of the States members of the European Community, by my colleague, Mr. Genscher, we regret that the Committee of the Whole was unable to overcome the difficulties of interpreting its role and of defining its methods of work. Thus, it was unable to complete its task. I hope that this Assembly will be able to define the conditions for a proper functioning of the Committee for the future. In this respect, we feel that two remarks are useful.

202. There is no question of denying the Committee of the Whole its right to be concerned with important questions being negotiated in other bodies. However, one must avoid duplication or the substitution of various competent international bodies. Indeed, it is preferable to let the work continue in organizations which have the responsibility, the experience and the infrastructure. Most of these institutions have political bodies where ministers convene periodically to give the necessary impetus to current negotiations. One cannot assign to a single committee a general decision-making capacity in matters of development.

203. My second comment has to do with the mandate of the Committee of the Whole, which was defined last year by the General Assembly after lengthy and difficult discussions. It seems to us to be sufficiently wide. Would it not be wise to exploit all its possibilities during the relatively brief period which separates us from the special session of the General Assembly in 1980? In view of this, should not the Committee of the Whole start as detailed an examination as possible of the problems of the North-South dialogue? But if for this purpose the General Assembly wishes the mandate of the Committee of the Whole to be "interpreted" Belgium will join in the consensus, and I am pleased to note, on this point, that the political will exists to resolve that problem.

204. What seems essential to us is to see the start of a common reflection on the broad lines of the new strategy for economic development.

205. As far as we are concerned, we do not pretend to have reached final conclusions on this subject already. But, as of now, it would seem to us that several considerations ought to be taken into account for the examination of the new strategy.

206. First, United Nations agencies, which sometimes--even often--act in a haphazard manner, have assigned themselves about 250 development goals in the framework of the implementation of the new international economic order. When one considers them all together, do they appear to be feasible? I doubt it. It seems to me essential to make a choice as well as, at the same time, to examine the present validity of certain of those goals. It is important to maintain only feasible and coherent goals, in a global economic context, inasmuch, of course, as that context is foreseeable. In my view, it is necessary to establish priorities and to fix a time-limit for attaining these goals.

207. Secondly, it is not imperative to examine a better way of allocating aid to economic development so that it may further promote social development?

208. Thirdly, the recent United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires, has shown the determination of those countries to mobilize their resources with a view to achieving these common goals. This concern, which has nothing to do with either economic self-sufficiency or confrontation, is worthy of our attention and the support of the developed countries.

209. Fourthly, should one not consider the desirability of having a clearer differentiation in types of aid for development, taking into account the economic structures of the countries concerned and the development levels already reached and giving priority to low-income countries?

210. Finally, should we not endeavour to improve the quality of development aid? Should not one endeavour also to diminish the percentage of the management and operating costs of projects assigned to multilateral bodies and rectify a situation in which 30 to 45 per cent of the funds they manage do not reach the developing countries?

211. Belgium welcomes the fact that the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board has reached agreement on the agenda of the fifth session which will take place in Manila in May 1979. That agenda is ambitious and covers all our concerns. At that session we could take into account the considerations I have just expressed. So far as we are concerned, we will go there conscious of the convergence of our long-term interests in an interdependent world.

212. The North-South dialogue is the concern of all countries. Since our interests are common we must all make efforts to create a just economic order. Belgium does not intend to side-step that obligation.

213. Defining human rights and being concerned to guarantee their inviolability and trying to improve the material conditions of mankind through the search for a new international economic order would be vain if the relative climate of peace which we now enjoy should be further threatened. We cannot delude ourselves. Despite a certain atmosphere of détente the climate of peace remains

fragile. Too many hotbeds of tension persist in the world. Too much distrust exists between countries, generating an ever more complex and frenetic arms race. We all recognize that this arms race is itself one of the biggest factors of imbalance and risk. It is imperative to slow it down and to try to stop it. As the problems of disarmament remain among our primary concerns, I should like to dwell on them briefly as most speakers before me have done.

214. As I said last June from this very rostrum,¹⁵ there is no field more difficult than that of disarmament. The beginning of any negotiation is particularly hesitant and once it has been set in motion progress is slow. Discussions touch on problems of national security and therefore they are marked by the extreme caution with which the participants engage in these discussions and it is only with the greatest difficulty that they manage to overcome their fears and precautions. But the difficulties of the task must not discourage us so long as the process of détente continues. As some of my colleagues have pointed out, favourable events have occurred since the beginning of the 1960s which should prompt the international community to redouble its efforts to bring us closer to the ultimate goal, namely, general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

215. Our Assembly took an important step forward in that direction during the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament. Of course I know that the results have been evaluated and commented on, often very differently. The participation of 23 Heads of State and an impressive number of ministers has indicated the importance of that session to all parts of the world. For the first time a detailed inventory has been drawn up of the problems with which we are confronted and also of certain priorities which we should respect. For the first time the road has been opened up for new endeavours which should finally make possible genuine disarmament measures.

216. Although we agree that nuclear arms pose the heaviest global threat to mankind we have recognized nevertheless that we must not underestimate the danger of local, conventional conflicts which may degenerate and set entire regions aflame. Hence we welcome the fact that the question of conventional armaments was retained by the special session of the General Assembly as one of the priorities to be dealt with alongside the question of nuclear weapons. We are also pleased to note the extent to which the regional dimension of the problems of security and therefore of disarmament was stressed during the work of that session.

217. Belgium will pursue its initiative with the aim of undertaking a systematic study of all aspects of regional disarmament in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/87 D. We must in that respect take into account national contributions submitted to the general Secretariat, as well as the conclusions of the special session. My delegation will submit to this session of the Assembly a new draft resolution aimed at creating a group of governmental experts entrusted with the task of starting a general study of all aspects of regional disarmament.¹⁶

218. Finally, machinery established in the field of disarmament by the special session also gives us reason for satisfaction. The Belgian Government is pleased with the token of trust and the honour bestowed on it by the inclusion of our country among the 35 non-nuclear States which are members of the new Committee on Disarmament. That nomination is the fulfilment of a long-standing and legitimate ambition of my country: its history and geography have rendered it particularly sensitive to the problems of disarmament. I should like to take this opportunity to thank those who made that nomination possible. I can assure the Assembly that Belgium will be worthy of the mandate entrusted to it.

219. World opinion has observed the growing role of the United Nations in a completely different field, that of peace-keeping operations. The Secretary-General's report mentions the existence of six distinct operations, namely, in Lebanon, in the Sinai, in Golan, in Kashmir and in Cyprus, deploying troops totalling nearly 13,000 men coming from 27 nations [see A/33/1, sect. IV], and the Security Council has just approved a sizeable operation in Namibia. The world must pay a tribute to this activity of the United Nations that is so complex and requires co-operation and restraint for all. On the road to security these operations seem to us to be of overriding importance, deserving the unanimous support of all nations.

220. That is the aim of the draft declaration which the countries of the European Community wish to submit to this session of the Assembly.¹⁷ Belgium played a decisive part in this and is certain of the approval of the peace-loving international community.

221. The four subjects which I have just discussed give an idea of the considerable activities undertaken by the United Nations. Now I should like to say a few words concerning the problems of Africa and the Middle East, complementing the thoughts developed by Foreign Minister Genscher on behalf of the member countries of the European Community.

222. Since taking office I have been quite concerned with the problems of Africa. That has led me on many occasions to confirm the main lines of Belgian policy towards that continent. That policy is first and foremost concerned with co-operation beneficial to the African countries themselves—whether that is established bilaterally or within the framework of the European Community and the multi-lateral organizations of the United Nations. Our policy respects the independence and sovereignty of the African countries. It is to be pursued in a climate of the security and stability of the African countries. If any disputes or conflicts arise between them, we leave it in the first place to the OAU to encourage negotiation and to bear the responsibility of providing ideas for solutions, whether the problem is to re-establish peace in subregions, to settle border disputes, or to smooth out ethnic rivalries. We note that certain principles are gradually becoming accepted among the members of that organization: respect for territorial integrity, the rejection of interference, abstention from resort to subversive activities, the maintenance of the territorial frontiers existing at the time of accession to

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting.

¹⁶ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/33/L.14.

¹⁷ Subsequently circulated as document A/SPC/33/L.19.

independence since, if they were to be challenged, calm relations between the parties concerned would be an essential condition.

223. That approach was progressively asserted among the African countries. It is gaining the respect of all nations. That is also our position. I would add, however, following the Secretary-General, that the United Nations and the Security Council cannot renounce their global responsibility in peace keeping and in resolving conflicts which a regional organization would not be able to settle.

224. In Belgium's opinion, African stability, of which the Africans themselves are the best guarantors, demands moderation and restraint on the part of the international community. The bringing in of massive arms shipments and foreign troops can only cause justifiable concern among the African States, and, furthermore, to the entire international community. In view of this, I am pleased to be speaking in accordance with the statement made in the General Assembly on 27 September last [10th meeting], on behalf of the OAU, by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, current President of the OAU.

225. All this will make clear to the Assembly the difficulty for the Belgian Government of taking the decision to stage a humanitarian rescue operation in Shaba last May with the agreement of the authorities of the Government of Zaire. Our intervention was brief, limited in aim and we were not responsible for the loss of a single life among the local population. Our action put an end to the danger of a greater blood-bath, at a time when almost 1,000 human lives had already been lost.

226. The Government of Zaire has since then been tackling the solution of its many problems with the help of the international community. The presence of African troops to ensure security in certain regions, international consultation, under Belgian leadership, on the "Mobutu plan" and the many reforms decided on by Zaire itself lead one to hope that this country, with which we have so many ties, will assert itself in central Africa as a factor for peace, stability and prosperity.

227. We must welcome particularly the meeting last month of the President of Zaire, Mr. Mobutu, and the President of Angola, Mr. Neto. The reconciliation between those two countries proves that the reasons for agreement have, happily, prevailed. My recent visits to Kinshasa and Luanda have indicated to me to what extent this understanding can bring about the solution of bilateral problems which are of vital importance for those two great African neighbours.

228. By the same token, untiring efforts have been made towards the solution of the Namibian problem. We are aware of the persistent patience of the Western members of the Security Council, of the front-line African States and of many others to ensure the solution of a problem which a while ago was considered intractable.

229. The report of the Secretary-General of our Organization has taken note of the possibilities for bringing together the various viewpoints. The Security Council, in its turn, has by adopting resolution 435 (1978) of 29

September just confirmed a plan which allows for the peaceful accession to independence of the Territory of Namibia by democratic means.

230. We cannot believe that the South African leaders will fail to choose the only way that offers hope for a lasting, peaceful and generally acceptable settlement instead of confrontation and a bloody conflict.

231. To conclude, I should like to say that no international problem has held the attention of our Organization for such a long time and so intensely as that of the Middle East. Thirty long years of tension and war have plunged that region into the depths of hatred and suspicion.

232. As I speak now violence is continuing in Lebanon. That country, which was once an example of political wisdom and of balance in a pluralist society, is now torn asunder by murderous conflict. This is a source of sadness and anxiety for my country and for all civilized countries. Each day the world could find itself face to face with a new war involving the entire region.

233. In view of this, we cannot fail to be pleased at the fact that the tenacious efforts of the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, at Camp David and American diplomacy have succeeded in outlining specific lines for negotiations rather than merely stopping at general principles. The dialogue which was initiated by the historic and courageous visit of the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat, to Jerusalem last year has thus been renewed, thanks to the political wisdom shown by the Israeli and the Egyptian Governments.

234. Will the results of these negotiations produce miracles? Difficult negotiations will still have to take place in order to agree on the implementation of the agreements and to build upon them.

235. On 26 September Foreign Minister Genscher recalled here the principles of the statement of 29 June 1977 of the Ministers of the European Community.

236. No action, however partial, no agreement, however limited, should be neglected, despised or, *a fortiori*, attacked. The Camp David agreements must be a starting-point for dynamic peace. Of course, we cannot build a lasting and general peace in the Middle East on one or two bilateral agreements. An over-all settlement will be necessary with all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the Palestinian people. It is up to them to determine the form of the homeland which is to express Palestinian legitimacy. The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East would provide a framework, as would any other similar formula.

237. To observe the international scene is to take note of the growing interdependence of our destinies. To find solutions to our problems, we are obliged to co-operate on a regional as well as on a world level, and, in order to do this, we must make use of universal organizations.

238. If there are many imperfections in the United Nations, let us improve this indispensable tool, but, above all, let us use it patiently and tirelessly to communicate, to maintain dialogue and to act together.

239. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Guatemala has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call on him.

240. Mr. MARROQUIN-NAJERA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Guatemala, I wish to comment, in exercise of my right of reply, on the references made on the problem of Belize on Friday last in the general debate by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica [15th meeting].

241. The Foreign Minister expressed serious concern at the fact that the efforts of the international community had not yet succeeded in obtaining the independence of Belize. He incorrectly maintained that some time ago the time-limit for Belize to attain its independence and territorial integrity had gone by.

242. I should like to remind the Assembly that Belize was not a colonial territory under the administration of any Power and that, therefore, it is not a case of decolonization covered by the provisions of the relevant Chapter of the Charter.

243. In view of this, Guatemala has since the time when the United Nations Charter was signed at San Francisco expressed its reservations concerning the consideration of this territory, which is an integral part of our own, as a colony.

244. Even so, Guatemala would have nothing to argue against the independence of Belize were it not for the legal

and historical fact that it is being attempted to make Belize independent to the detriment and in violation of the territorial integrity of a Member State, Guatemala, of which that territory is a part.

245. The territory of Belize continues to be a territory occupied by an extracontinental Power, with which Guatemala has disputed sovereignty over Belize, without success, because of the differences between a great Power and a small Latin American State which defends its territorial integrity.

246. We have carried on a lengthy dispute over the territory and the parties to it have agreed that paths to a peaceful settlement by means of direct negotiation should remain open, in the hope that we may find a just, equitable, rational and honest solution in keeping with the interests of the parties and of the people of Belize.

247. Guatemala also deplores the external pressures and threats to which it has been subjected in an attempt to impose the independence of Belize in the name of the international community, as proposed by the representative of Jamaica. This threatens our territorial integrity and we do not recognize the competence or capacity of the international community to solve by political means a legal dispute submitted under Article 33 of the United Nations Charter to the peaceful process of settlement by direct negotiation.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.